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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session, Paris, December 1953

THE North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Paris from December 14 to 16, inclusive. M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, was Chairman. Canada was represented by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress. They were accompanied by officials of the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence, Finance and Defence Production.

The text of the Communiqué issued at the end of the session is annexed below.

The last time the Ministers attended meetings of the Council had been in April of last year. The Ministerial session in December was, therefore, timely in a number of ways. It offered a good opportunity to review NATO policy in the light of the developments in Soviet policy in the past nine months. The imminence of the proposed Four-Power meeting in Berlin lent added importance to this review since the subjects of discussion in Berlin would inevitably involve the collective security of all the NATO countries. Moreover, as the Three-Power meeting in Bermuda had immediately preceded the Ministerial session of the Council, it was possible for the Council to take the Bermuda discussions into account in making its own review.

Exchange of Views on the International Situation

The Ministers continued at this session their past practice of exchanging political views on current questions of common interest, and developed this practice further by having an informal discussion in restricted session, attended only by the Ministers themselves, the Permanent Representatives and one adviser to each Delegation. These off-the-record discussions, in which the participants spoke their minds freely, made a worthwhile contribution to the cause of better understanding between member countries.

There were two main conclusions. The first was that, regardless of any changes that may have taken place in Soviet tactics, there was as yet no evidence that the objectives of the Soviet Government did not remain basically hostile to the free world. Therefore, given the facts of Soviet military power, it had to be assumed that the present threat to the free world would continue for a long time to come. The second conclusion was that the policy of the NATO countries in these circumstances must be to pursue the twin aims of building the defensive and economic strength and political unity of the Atlantic community, while at the same time seeking to negotiate on outstanding differences wherever possible (as, for example, at the proposed meeting in Berlin). The Council was convinced that the Atlantic alliance had already been instrumental in preserving peace but that the defensive forces must be further reinforced if they were to provide an effective long-term deterrent against aggression. In this connection, the vital importance was stressed of completing the arrangements for European unity and collective security, including the institution of the European Defence Community, which would make possible



NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING

The Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Ministerial Session included left to right, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.

a German defence contribution. At the same time, it was emphasized that such arrangements must be brought within and become part of the developing Atlantic community and that no security or stability could be found through isolated arrangements either in North America or in Europe.

Annual Review

Last April the Council completed a comprehensive review of member countries' defence programmes and adopted firm goals for the level of forces to be achieved by the end of this year. Since then a further Annual Review had been carried out of the progress made in the NATO defence effort, and the Council at this session considered a report on this review. The report recorded that the force goals for the current year had been completely achieved for land forces, and had been met "to a substantial extent" for the naval and air forces. The total defence expenditures of all the NATO countries in 1953 were calculated to amount to about \$65.5 billion, which is nearly ten per cent over the corresponding figure for 1952 and three and a half times the figure for 1949 (the year immediately preceding the start of the NATO defence build-up). Notable progress had been made in the current year in increasing the effectiveness of the NATO forces, in improving their training and equipment and in developing additional support units. North American aid programmes continued to make a major contribution to equipping the forces of the European NATO countries. The value of military equipment shipped to Europe under United States and Canadian aid programmes increased from about \$2.1 billion in 1952 to between \$3 and \$4 billion in 1953. Canadian appropriations for this purpose have totalled over \$1 billion since the inception of the Canadian Mutual Aid Programme in 1950-51.

On the basis of the report on the 1953 Annual Review, the Council agreed upon the level of NATO forces to be achieved and maintained over the next

three years, the goals for 1954 being firm commitments, while the goals for 1955 and 1956 are provisional and for planning purposes. Following the practice established at the last Ministerial meeting, the Council released no precise figures. It can be said, however, that the forces planned for the end of 1954 are to be somewhat larger in numbers and substantially better in quality than those now in existence.

The broad lines of future NATO defence planning to meet the threat of aggression over an extended period were agreed. Member countries would have to be prepared to maintain a high level of military preparedness, while at the same time strengthening their economic and social structures. To insure that their forces were adequate either to discourage attack or, if war came, to hold up the enemy until the full strength of the alliance could be mobilized, member countries must see that these forces are furnished with the most modern equipment possible and are ready to go into action rapidly. In this connection, the Council's Military Committee has under way a comprehensive re-assessment of the organization and use of the NATO forces in the light of the effect of new weapons and was asked to keep the Council informed of its progress. These studies will be aided, it is hoped, by information on nuclear weapons which the President of the United States is seeking Congressional authority to provide to the NATO Supreme Commanders. The Council also recognized that this long-term defence plan had important financial implications, particularly with respect to replacing obsolete weapons, and that it would have to keep these under continuous review.

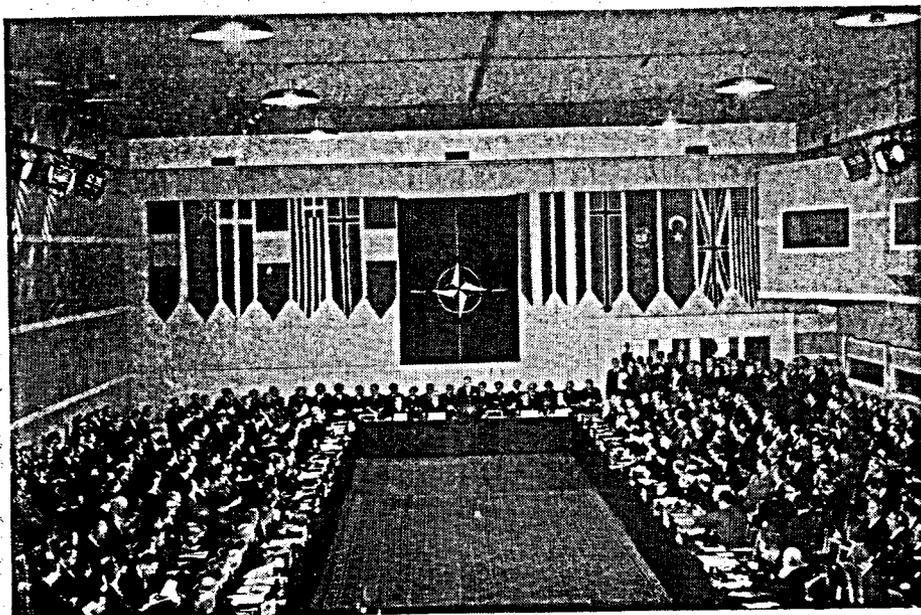
Military Matters

The Council took note of a report by the Military Committee on the progress made during the current year in NATO military planning and organization. It also heard statements by the NATO Supreme Commanders supplementing this report. Admiral Sir John Edelsten, Commander-in-Chief Channel, spoke of developments in his command (which covers the area of the English Channel and the Eastern and Western approaches to United Kingdom ports), since he and his colleague, Air Marshal Boothman (Commander-in-chief for Air, Channel) took up their joint appointments earlier this year. Admiral L. D. McCormick, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), outlined the progress made in the plans of his Command for safeguarding the lines of communication across the Atlantic. And General A. M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), referred to the remarkable progress so far made, but emphasized the tremendous work still to be done in improving the effectiveness of the forces under his command and maintaining public interest and support for the defence effort.

The Council approved a recommendation that a new light-weight .30 calibre cartridge be adopted as standard small arms ammunition for NATO use. This recommendation arose out of an agreement reached by Belgium, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, and announced during this Ministerial meeting, that this should be the new standard round. Tribute was paid to Mr. Claxton for Canada's contribution to this remarkable achievement.

Secretary-General's Report

The Council also considered a report by the Secretary-General on the progress recorded in a number of fields of NATO work since the previous



—Shape

THE 12th MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING OF NATO

A general view of the Conference Room at NATO Headquarters, Palais de Chaillot, Paris.

Ministerial meeting. An indication of the subjects covered is given in paragraph 9 of the Communiqué. In discussing these matters, a number of Ministers emphasized the need to develop increased co-operation between the NATO countries in non-military spheres, to develop greater unity and wider public understanding, if the Organization was to endure.

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

1. The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Paris in Ministerial Session under the Chairmanship of the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bidault, completed its work today.

2. The Council examined the international situation and views were exchanged on matters of common concern, including Soviet policy. The Council concluded that there had been no evidence of any change in ultimate Soviet objectives and that it remained a principal Soviet aim to bring about the disintegration of the Atlantic Alliance. While the Soviet Government had yet to show that it genuinely desired to reach agreement on any of the outstanding points of difference throughout the world, the policy of NATO is to seek solutions to problems by peaceful means. The Council therefore welcomed the steps taken by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States in their recent exchanges of notes with the Soviet Government to bring about an early meeting of the four Foreign Ministers in Berlin. The Council also warmly endorsed the initiative taken by the President of the United States in placing before the United Nations proposals for developing and expediting the peaceful use of atomic energy and bringing together the Powers principally involved in order to seek a solution to the problem of atomic armaments.

3. The Council reaffirmed its conviction that peace and security must be the paramount aim of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It recognized

that the increasing strength and unity of the North Atlantic Powers, which must be steadily reinforced, had proved to be decisive factors in maintaining peace and preventing aggression. Nevertheless, the threat to the Western world remains and member countries must be ready to face a continuance of this threat over a long period. The Atlantic community must therefore be prepared to keep in being over a period of years forces and weapons which will be a major factor in deterring aggression and in contributing to the effective security of the NATO area, and which member countries can afford while at the same time maintaining and strengthening their economic and social structures. Improvements must continually be sought in the quality of NATO forces and to ensure that they have equipment which is always up-to-date so that, in the event of attack, they can act as a shield behind which the full strength of the member countries can be rapidly mobilized.

Within the continuously developing framework of the Atlantic community the institution of the European Defence Community including a German contribution, remains an essential objective for the reinforcement of the defensive strength of the Alliance.

4. The Council considered the Report on the Annual Review for 1953 which records the progress in the NATO defence effort, particularly during the past year. At its meeting in December 1952, the Council laid emphasis on the development of the effectiveness of the forces. In this respect notable progress has been made. Large quantities of new equipment have been provided to the forces. This has enabled, in particular, many new support units to be built up. The goals established for the current year have been completely met for the land forces and to a substantial extent for the naval and air forces.

5. On the basis of recommendations made in the Report, the Council adopted firm force goals for 1954, provisional goals for 1955, and planning goals for 1956. The force goals agreed upon for 1954 envisage some increase in the numerical strength of existing NATO forces and a very substantial improvement in their quality and effectiveness.

6. It was agreed that special attention should be given to the continuing provision of modern weapons of the latest types to support the NATO defence system.

The Council noted with satisfaction the intention of the President of the United States of America to ask Congress for authority to provide information on nuclear weapons to NATO Commanders for purposes of NATO military planning.

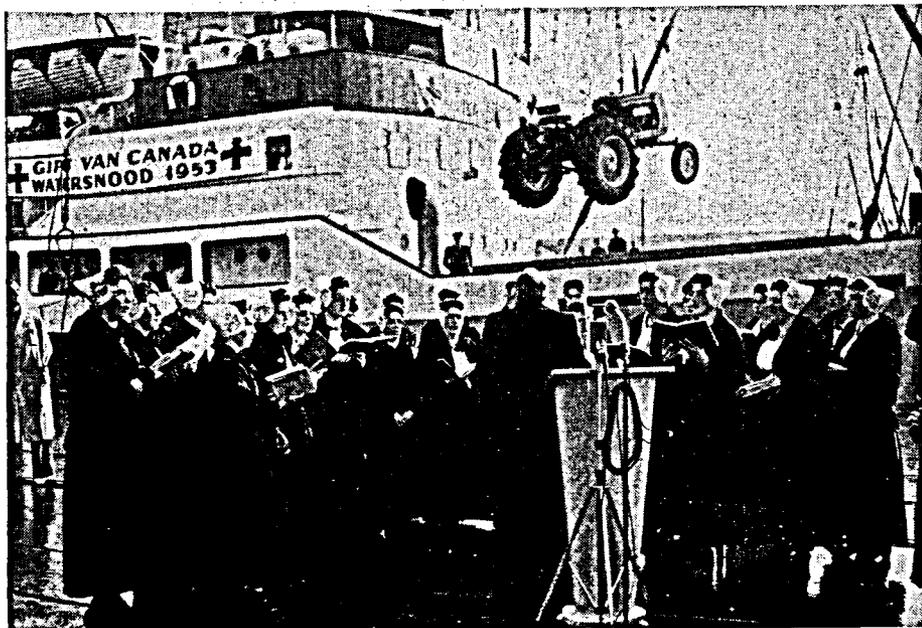
7. The Council recognized that a long-term defence system as now envisaged raises important military and financial problems. With respect to the military problems the Council invited the Military Committee to continue its re-assessment of the most effective pattern of military forces, for this long term, both active and reserve, due regard being paid to the results of studies of the effect of new weapons. The Council will be kept informed of the progress of this work and a report will be submitted to it in due course. The Council will also keep under review the very considerable financial effort still required to continue the present build-up, to maintain NATO forces at an adequate level of readiness and to replace obsolescent weapons.

8. The Council heard statements by Admiral Sir John Edelsten, Commander-in-Chief Channel, Admiral L. D. McCormick, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, and General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Com-

mander Europe, on the work achieved in their Commands, and took note of a progress report by the Military Committee.

9. In the course of its review the Council considered the Secretary General's Report and welcomed the progress recorded since the last Ministerial meeting in April. It emphasized the importance of the work being done to co-ordinate national planning in such matters as civil defence, the wartime control and distribution of commodities and of shipping and other means of transport. Agreement was expressed with Lord Ismay's view that the preparations by member governments in these fields should parallel the progress already achieved in the military field. The Council took note that the problems of manpower had been kept under review and that several recommendations to governments had been approved. Progress which had been achieved this year in preparing correlated production programmes was welcomed. These programmes cover production, for several years ahead, of important ranges of military equipment. The Council expressed satisfaction with the Secretary General's Report on the implementation of the common infrastructure programmes. Besides a large number of projects now under construction, no less than 120 airfields and a large network of signals communications facilities are in use by NATO forces.

10. Ministers took the opportunity to meet together in restricted session and discussed informally matters of interest to all the member governments. They intend at future meetings to continue this procedure, which developed naturally from the sense of unity in the Alliance. They are continually mindful of the political links which bind them in an Alliance which is not solely military in character.



CANADIAN RED CROSS FLOOD RELIEF SHIPMENT

The West Capelle ladies choir of the Walcheren Island singing "O Canada" at a ceremony which marked the arrival of \$412,000 shipment via "Prins Wilhelm III" of agricultural equipment sent to the Netherlands by the Canadian Red Cross to help that country bring back the agricultural land into productive use.

Progress in the Colombo Plan

IN October 1953 the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia held its Fifth Meeting in New Delhi under the chairmanship of the leader of the Indian Delegation, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Indian Minister of Finance. The Minister of Fisheries, Mr. James Sinclair, headed the Canadian Delegation. On the invitation of the Government of Canada, extended by Mr. Sinclair, the Committee decided to hold its next meeting in Ottawa. This meeting will take place probably in the Autumn of 1954.

The Consultative Committee was set up, following the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers at Colombo in January 1950, to provide a framework within which an international co-operative effort could be promoted to assist countries of South and Southeast Asia in raising their living standards. The previous meetings of the Committee were held at Sydney in May 1950, London in September of the same year, Colombo in February 1951 and Karachi in March 1952.

Communiqué

In addition to delegations from India and Canada, the New Delhi meeting was attended by representatives from Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, Malaya, Singapore, the United States, and Viet Nam. This was the first time that Indonesia had been represented as a full member of the Colombo Plan. Thailand, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), were represented by observers, while the Director of the Bureau for Technical Co-operation attended on behalf of the Co-operative Technical Assistance Scheme of the Colombo Plan. The Progress Report, prepared by the Consultative Committee in its New Delhi meeting, was tabled in the House of Commons on December 15. The following is the substance of the communiqué issued at the end of the meeting.

The main purpose of the Session was to review progress under the Colombo Plan during 1952-53, including the achievements of countries in South and Southeast Asia in their development programmes.

A Progress Report, upon which preliminary work had been done by officials of the participating Governments in New Delhi from September 28 to October 8, was unanimously adopted by the Committee at its final meeting today. It is expected that it will be possible to issue this report in the capitals of the various member countries by December 15, 1953.

The Committee recognized the desirability of stimulating increased understanding of, and interest in, the Colombo Plan and its aims and objectives. It accepted the proposal for the setting up of a small information unit in Colombo. This unit will collect information relating to the Colombo Plan and arrange for the exchange and distribution of this information to all member Governments. It will also serve as a central pool of information which will be available to the Press and to the public.

The report approved by the Committee at its present meeting examines the progress achieved, the problems encountered and the tasks which lie ahead



COLOMBO PLAN MEETING

The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, left, and the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. James Sinclair, at the October meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan.

in carrying forward the development programmes. The report notes that the resources being devoted to development projects have progressively increased since 1951. Although many of the projects included in the development programme are of a long term character and the full benefits from them will not accrue for several years, there are already indications of considerable progress, especially in agriculture, irrigation, power, and transportation.

Burma is still engaged in rehabilitating her economy after the extensive damage of the war period. A considerable amount of land has been reclaimed and is now under cultivation. In 1952, 633,000 more acres were sown to paddy than in 1951. A cotton seed farm was established for a long-staple cotton; a dairy farm was set up with imported cows from Pakistan; seedlings were pro-

cured for planting 300,000 coconut trees. A large oil refinery is under construction and a small sulphuric acid plant is nearing completion. A number of Government buildings have been erected and several housing projects are under way.

In Ceylon about 20,000 more acres of irrigable land were opened up in 1952-53, mainly under the important Gal Oya Scheme, work on which continues to make satisfactory progress. The rural development scheme was in successful operation. Satisfactory progress was maintained in fisheries development. The improvement of Colombo harbour was well under way. Stage I of the hydro-electric scheme at Norton Bridge was completed, resulting in an increase in capacity of 25,000 K.W. The plywood factory was reorganized and satisfactory progress was made with the vegetable oil, D.D.T. and caustic soda factory and with the paper factory.

In India, irrigation works benefited 3.5 million acres of land during 1952-53. The Central Tractor Organization reclaimed some 510,000 acres. Owing partly to good seasons, but also as a result of these and other developmental measures, the production of food increased by nearly 5 million tons as compared with 1951-52. Work on Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud and Tungabhadra and other projects was progressing satisfactorily. Power generation capacity was increased by 315,000 K.W. The fertilizer factory, the Chittaranjan locomotive factory and the telephone factory went into production. The production of fertilizer increased from 35,000 tons in 1951-52 to 230,000 tons in 1952-53. The construction of three ships was completed. 333 new railway locomotives were commissioned, which included 90 procured from domestic production. The two principal producers of iron and steel were expanding their production capacity. Two oil refineries were being erected near Bombay. The production of cotton cloth reached 4,700 million yards, a post-war record. The production of coal increased from 32 million tons in 1950 to 36 million tons in 1952 and that of steel from 1,004,000 tons in 1950 to 1,103,000 tons in 1952.

In Indonesia, considerable progress has already been made in approaching the goal of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, especially rice; imports of rice were reduced from 600,000 tons in 1951-52 to 300,000 tons in 1952-53. Rural education centres were set up to intensify extension work. The important programme for the transfer of population from over-populated areas to under-populated areas was under way. Work continued on irrigation projects during recent years. Nearly one million miles of irrigation canals have been constructed. Progress was made with highway construction and other communication. A start was made on the South Borneo drainage plan, involving an area of nearly 500,000 acres. The motorization of the fishing fleet began. The production of petroleum products was greatly increased. Various projects concerning industry, labour health, social development and education were under way.

In the Federation of Malaya the resettlement of over 400,000 squatters was completed. 50,000 acres were replanted with high-yielding rubber. At Tanjong Karang the irrigation of 50,000 acres of paddy land was completed. The first stage (40,000 k.w.) of the Connaught Bridge Power Station was completed. The gap in the East Coast Railway was closed by the relaying of 200 miles of line.

In Singapore, a new station with an interim capacity of 50,000 K.W. has been brought into operation. Substantial progress was made with the new airport and with housing schemes.

In Sarawak, progress was made with development of roads and air transport and with telecommunications.

In North Borneo, schemes for irrigation, communications, electricity and housing were under way.



—Express Photo

LEADER OF CANADIAN DELEGATION VISITS BOMBAY

The Minister of Fisheries Mr. James Sinclair, on the occasion of his visit during November to the Tardeo Vehicles Depot of the Bombay State Road Transport Corporation, to which Canada has supplied a substantial number of vehicles under the Colombo Plan.

In Nepal, the construction of 79 miles of motor road to connect Kathmandu and Bhaise was started in September 1952 and the track has already been rendered fit to be negotiated by jeeps. Five important districts were connected with each other by air services. A systematic geological survey of Nepal was got under way. A Central livestock development farm was established at Kathmandu. A village development scheme was inaugurated with trained workers.

In Pakistan, satisfactory progress was made with the various multipurpose and irrigation projects. The lower Sind barrage was brought to an advanced stage. The total electric power capacity was increased from 70,000 to 140,000 K.W. The cotton textile industry made remarkable progress. The number of spindles installed, or in process of being installed, amounted to 950,000 as against 178,000 at the time of partition. Similarly the number of looms increased from 4,824 to 13,300. The jute textile industry also made satisfactory progress. 3,000 looms were already in production and were able to meet the internal requirements of the country in respect of jute goods. Two woollen mills with 9,652 worsted spindles and five mills with 4,906 woollen spindles, went into operation. Machinery for 3,660 woollen and 1,060 worsted spindles had arrived and was under installation. Four cotton seed oil plants with an annual crushing capacity of 19,500 tons had gone into production and additional capacity for 57,500 tons was under construction. A sugar mill with an annual capacity of 35,000 tons of sugar was established. A 50,000 ton ammonium sulphate fertilizer plant is under construction.

In Viet Nam the area under rice has increased by nearly 500,000 acres since 1951. The consumption of electric power increased from 195 million k.w.h. in 1952 to 238 million k.w.h. in 1953. The output of coal increased from 638,000 tons in 1951 to 894,000 tons in 1952 and is expected to exceed 1,000,000 tons in 1953.

The report recognizes that by far the large part of an economic development programme in any country has to come from the resources of the country itself. External aid nevertheless has a vital role to play. Since the inception of the Colombo Plan substantial aid has been provided, both in the form of goods and of technical assistance. Some of this has been supplied by the countries in the region to one another and some has been received from countries outside South and Southeast Asia. Grants and loans so far made available by the countries outside the area for economic development purposes in this region since the end of 1950 have totalled more than \$1,000 million (or about £360 million). This assistance has come from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, U.K. and U.S.A. and the I.B.R.D.

The report notes that the supply position for imported equipment and materials has generally improved thus easing somewhat certain of the difficulties experienced in the early stages of the programmes. The report emphasizes that the decline in raw material prices from the high levels reached in 1950-51 has left most of the countries in the area with greatly reduced resources. At the same time costs of the development programmes have risen appreciably since their inception.

Although the problems are serious, it is fundamental that the development programmes should continue to move forward as rapidly as possible. It is, therefore, clearly necessary that the countries of the area should make the maximum efforts to mobilize their own resources. The need for external aid to supplement these resources continues to be at least as great as in the first years of the plan.

The Colombo Plan countries have shown, in the face of the magnitude of the task, that they can plan both boldly and realistically and readjust themselves to good fortune and bad. Their courage and resourcefulness have been severely tested in the past years and the manner in which they have responded is perhaps the surest guarantee that the Colombo Plan will come up to, and even surpass, the hopes with which it began.

Canada's Contribution

An extract from the report explaining Canada's contribution to the Colombo Plan is reproduced below.

Canada has so far made available to the countries of South and Southeast Asia through the Colombo Plan, in a series of annual parliamentary votes, a total of approximately \$76.6 million. Of this amount \$75 million was for economic assistance and about \$1.6 million for technical assistance. In order to facilitate effective planning and execution, the Canadian Parliament this year agreed to the carrying over of unexpended Colombo Plan monies from year to year.

Capital Aid

Canada has provided assistance to India, Pakistan and Ceylon in accordance with a general statement of principles agreed with each of these Governments. These principles envisage the provision of aid in the form of goods and services related to specific development programmes. Assistance may be on either a grant or a loan basis, depending on the nature of the project, but so far

all capital assistance has been by way of grants. If the goods supplied by Canada on a grant basis are sold by the receiving government, counterpart funds are set aside in the national currency to finance local costs of such specific development projects as may be agreed upon by the two governments. Although in particular cases the exact amounts of counterpart funds may be subject to discussion, they will normally be equivalent to the expenditures made by the Canadian Government.

In providing aid to these countries, Canada recognizes that they are generally in the best position to know their own needs and it is therefore left to their initiative to propose projects for Canadian aid. When deciding which projects should be accepted, the Canadian authorities take into account both the contribution which the particular project is likely to make to basic economic development and also the extent to which the required goods and services can be supplied from Canada. In practice the Canadian contribution has included commodities as well as equipment. While most of the goods and services provided have been of Canadian origin, some have been procured from outside sources when necessary to complete a predominantly Canadian portion of a project. The principal projects so far assisted have been in the fields of food production, transportation and public utilities.

In the first year of the Colombo Plan, the Canadian contribution of \$25 million was divided between India and Pakistan, with \$15 million allocated to India and \$10 million to Pakistan. In 1952-53, Ceylon was included in the Canadian programme and provision was made for about \$2 million of aid to that country with the remaining funds to be allotted to India and Pakistan in the light of programmes suggested by those governments. It would appear that approximately \$13.7 million will be devoted to projects in India and approximately \$9.3 million to Pakistan. Plans for the use of the funds appropriated in 1953-54 are well advanced.

Any assistance which Canada might provide to other countries of the area would presumably be supplied on a basis similar to that used in the cases of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

India

In view of the serious food shortage in India during the first two years, the Canadian programme included \$10 million for wheat in 1951-52 and \$5 million for the same purpose in 1952-53. Of the resulting counterpart funds it has so far been agreed that \$10 million will be used for the irrigation and hydro-electric project at Mayurakshi. This contribution to local construction costs will supplement the \$3 million of Canadian Colombo Plan funds earmarked for the provision and installation of hydro-electric equipment from Canada at this site. Since this equipment is being transferred by the Government of India as a loan to the project, it will in turn yield counterpart funds over a period of years.

Another project assisted by Canada has been the modernization and expansion of the Bombay State transport system. Trucks, buses, tractors, and trailers, as well as a considerable quantity of tools and spare parts have been supplied out of the \$4.5 million allocated for the project. This equipment is being transferred by the Government of India on a loan basis and will therefore produce counterpart funds in due course.

In the field of transportation Canada has also agreed to supply a number of boilers for installation in locomotives manufactured at Chittaranjan. Canada's assistance to this project, which is expected to be between \$1.3 million and \$2.08 million, will also generate counterpart funds.



—Capital Press

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE MISSION MEETS PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, welcomed members of the Indian Co-operative Mission which toured Canada last month under the Colombo Plan. Left to right: Mr. R. H. Jay, Department of External Affairs; Mr. H. L. Trueman, Department of Agriculture; Mr. M. R. Bhide, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi; the Prime Minister; Mr. Shyam Bharosay, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bhopal; Mr. R. P. Bhardwaj, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Uttar Pradesh; and Mr. J. E. O'Meara, Department of Agriculture.

It is anticipated that agreement will shortly be reached on an additional programme of capital assistance to be financed from funds carried forward from 1952-53 and funds voted for the current fiscal year. This programme may include industrial materials as well as locomotives and other equipment from Canada.

Pakistan

Canadian assistance to Pakistan has included \$5.5 million for a cement plant in the Thal Development area, the output of which will be used for resettlement housing and the lining of irrigation canals. Canada has also joined with the Government of Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand in establishing a model livestock farm in the same area and will contribute machinery to the value of approximately \$200,000.

During the second year Canada undertook the financing of an aerial resources survey of Pakistan at an estimated cost of \$2 million. The photographic part of this survey is almost completed and Canada has agreed to an extension of the project at a maximum cost of \$1 million to cover the remainder of West Pakistan. In the extended survey, emphasis is being placed on agricultural potentialities.

In connection with the rehabilitation and modernization of the railway system now proceeding with assistance from the International Bank, Canada is contributing \$2.8 million worth of railway sleepers.

Three Beaver aircraft, fitted with dusting and spraying equipment, are being supplied at a cost of \$178,000 to assist in controlling the locust pest in Pakistan.

In view of the serious food shortage in Pakistan, the Canadian Government agreed that a total of \$10 million of Colombo Plan funds should be used for the provision of wheat with the understanding that an equivalent amount of counterpart funds would be set aside by the Pakistan Government for development purposes. For half of this amount, Colombo Plan funds were used initially as a means of temporary financing and it is the intention of the Canadian Government to ask Parliament at the next session to replace these funds for additional Colombo Plan expenditures.

So far Canada has earmarked \$3.4 million for the purpose of hydro-electric and related equipment for the Warsak Dam. Canada may also provide consulting engineering services and certain light construction equipment for this project. Moreover, some portion of the counterpart funds generated from the supply of wheat may be used to meet local costs.

Although several projects are being examined, agreement has not yet been reached on the projects to be assisted from Colombo Plan funds voted in 1953-54.

Ceylon

The 1952-53 programme included \$1 million made available for a fisheries research and development project, and \$600,000 for the electricity transmission system in the Gal Oya area.

With respect to funds voted in 1953-54, agreement has been reached on certain specific projects, totalling \$1,785 million, including two diesel locomotives, equipment for 15 agricultural maintenance workshops, a number of pumping sets, a well-boring machine for drainage and irrigation purposes, a rural road building programme and the constructing and equipment of a polytechnic institute. The local costs involved in rural road construction and in the building of the polytechnic institute will be met from counterpart funds arising from the sale of flour supplied by Canada. The transfer of the diesel locomotives will also create counterpart funds. In addition to these specific items, the Canadian Government has agreed in principle to the provision of further assistance for the fisheries pilot project and for pest control.

Technical Co-operation

There has been an intimate relationship between Canadian technical and capital assistance. In many cases, technical assistance supplied by Canada has given rise to capital projects while in other cases, capital projects which Canada was assisting have entailed the provision of technical advice and training from Canada. Thus aid so far given to the fisheries project in Ceylon was in part based upon advice and recommendations made to the Government of Ceylon by a Canadian fisheries expert. In connection with this project and other capital assistance projects such as the cement plant, the aerial resources survey and the Thal Development Farm in Pakistan, training is being arranged for personnel from the area. Although some distinction is maintained between capital and technical assistance activities, the funds made available by the Canadian Parliament for the two purposes are now covered by a single vote.

In view of the importance of an increase in training facilities in the area for farmers, foremen and other skilled or semi-skilled workers, several proposals for the provision of training equipment from Canadian Colombo Plan funds are under study. In addition to the decision to provide a polytechnic institute for Ceylon as part of the capital assistance programme, agreement has also been reached on the supply of some \$15,000 worth of equipment for the Agricultural Faculty of the University of Ceylon. The Government of Canada has also agreed to provide funds for the construction, equipment and maintenance of

(Continued on page 33)

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

TWO references to the increasing strategic and economic importance of Canada's northland from the international view point were made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 8 in an address moving the second reading of a bill establishing the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. After explaining that the primary duty of the new Department would be to administer the northern territories, the Prime Minister referred to Canadian sovereignty over the areas in question:

Now, it seemed to us that it was becoming increasingly apparent that it would be desirable to alter the situation and to create conditions in which it is clearly indicated that the Government and Parliament want further attention given to the development of our north country, and I may say that that was further impressed upon us by the fact that there have to be quite a number of non-Canadians going into that territory. We felt that it was very important to have the situation such that whenever they went there they realized they were in Canadian territory and in territory that was administered by Canadian authorities.

The present bill is designed to give more emphasis to the fact that the people of Canada are greatly interested in this northern territory and regard it as an important part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation. The purpose of this bill is to further that objective . . .

Later in his address the Prime Minister referred to the strategic importance of Canada's northland with the following words:

There is another aspect which makes it necessary for us to give more attention to these northern territories and that is the fact that the Canadian northland lies between the two greatest powers in the world at the present time, namely, the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., and our own security is probably made more difficult to provide for by the fact that this northland of ours is between these two great world powers. There will, no doubt, have to be joint measures taken for the security of the North American continent. It is a continental problem that presents itself for solution by that mere fact of geology. I am not going to say any more about it than was said by the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Claxton), but all these joint undertakings are carried out under the principle which the President enunciated from the head of the table here only three or four weeks ago. They are implemented with full respect for the sovereignty of the country in which they are carried out.

We must leave no doubt about our active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty in these northern lands right up to the Pole. That is something which puts these lands in a somewhat different position from other parts of Canada. From other parts of Canada we get representations from the localities about the things that are required for their development. Here I think there must be someone having ministerial responsibility to take initiatives so we will not have to wait until there are representations from the so sparse population in the area as to what is required. It was for these reasons that it was held it would be desirable to have on the statute books a Department of Northern Affairs and to have representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs present in various parts of these territories and symbolic of the actuality of the exercise of Canadian sovereignty over them.

Canada and the United Nations

The Korean Negotiations

One of the recommendations contained in the General Assembly resolution of August 28, the declared purpose of which was to implement on the United Nations side the recommendation of the Armistice Agreement that a political conference be convened to settle the Korean problem, was that the United States, after consultation with those states primarily concerned with Korea, should arrange with the other side for the conference to be held not later than October 28, 1953, at a time and place satisfactory to both sides.

Beginning in September, the United States sent a number of messages to the Peking and North Korean regimes concerning the time and place for the Conference. At first the Communists did not choose to reply. Then on September 13, Chou En-lai, in a message to the United Nations' Secretary-General obviously timed to coincide with the opening of the eighth session of the General Assembly on September 15, called on the Assembly to provide for a conference which would include not only the belligerents on both sides but also the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma as neutral nations. He said that when agreement had been reached on the composition of the conference, the two sides should consult concerning its time and place of meeting. The Assembly refused the Soviet demand to place this message on its agenda. The majority view seemed to be that the Assembly had taken its decision concerning the composition of the United Nations side of the conference and that it was now up to the Communist side to designate its representatives and express its views regarding a time and place for the Conference.

Agreement on Time and Place

On October 10 the Peking Government and North Korea accepted a United States proposal that their emissaries meet with a United States representative to discuss arrangements for the conference. Both sides agreed on Panmunjom as the place, and meetings began there on October 26. At first, the representatives were unable to agree on an agenda for the talks. The Communists wished first to have the question of composition of the Conference discussed and settled. The United States representative, Mr. Arthur Dean, however, wanted to obtain agreement on the time and place of the conference. The difficulty concerning agenda was circumvented when the Communists agreed to a United States proposal that the representatives refer the question to a committee of advisors from each side, who should attempt to reach a solution. The advisors suggested that a composite agenda be accepted, according to which the questions of time, place and composition would be discussed simultaneously by sub-committees. The plenary meeting of representatives endorsed this suggestion.

In subsequent meetings, two main points of issue arose. The first concerned the status of Soviet participation in the Conference. The Communists insisted that the Soviet Union take its place as a neutral and not as a member of their side. The United States emissary held that the Soviet Union could not be regarded as a neutral and would have to register its vote with the Communist side on every substantive agreement reached by the conference. The second

question concerned the participation of neutrals generally. The Communists continued to favor India and three other Asian neutrals attending; the United States emissary suggested the participation as non-voting observers of some or all of the governments which had been actually working in Korea or which had current experience there. Such governments could be those belonging to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, i.e. India, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

By December 8 both sides had put in writing their proposals for the Conference. These differed concerning time and place as well as the other matters. The Communists wanted the Conference convened on December 28, 1953; the United States emissary, Mr. Dean, proposed that the Conference meet not less than 28 days or more than 42 days after the termination of the Panmunjom talks. According to the Communists, the Conference should be held in New Delhi, India; according to Mr. Dean, in Geneva, Switzerland.

At the meeting of December 12, the Communists questioned whether Mr. Dean had authority to speak for the Republic of Korea in the negotiations. They went on to accuse the United States of conniving with the Republic of Korea in the release last June of some 27,000 Korean prisoners of war, and termed this alleged action perfidious. Mr. Dean denied the charge, stated that he would treat it as notification that the Communists wished the talks recessed indefinitely and left the conference room. He has since returned to Washington for consultation.

General Assembly

This is the fourth consecutive report summarizing the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly, which met in New York from September 15 to December 9, 1953, under the presidency of Madame Pandit of India.

The session was the first held since 1949 which did not take place against the background of fighting in Korea. On the whole, it was a quiet session. Because of the Korean negotiations, which were being conducted simultaneously but outside the Assembly, and the imminence of conferences among the Great Powers to discuss the most important topics of international concern, the Assembly was, in some respects, marking time. Progress was achieved, however, and useful work done on such issues as Chinese Nationalist troops in Burma, amendments to the staff regulations of the United Nations, the High Commissioner for Refugees, technical assistance, Korean reconstruction, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), Charter revision and UNICEF, which are the subjects of separate sections in this or previous articles. In addition, President Eisenhower's address to the General Assembly on his new proposals concerning atomic energy provided a moving and hopeful climax to the session, an assurance that, although the powers principally involved may negotiate privately among themselves, any constructive new plans resulting will be implemented through and by the United Nations.

In her concluding address to the Assembly, the President noted "how earnestly great powers and small have tried to achieve a real meeting of minds." Madame Pandit declared that "the purpose of the United Nations is not only to solve specific international disputes but to lead mankind into a new age of constructive co-operation for the common good of all peoples everywhere. To this task the present Assembly has made a contribution, not spectacular perhaps, but adequate for greater success in the coming months and years."



—United Nations

CANADA SIGNS THREE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

The Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. David M. Johnson, right, signs the Slavery Protocol, the third Protocol of Rectifications and Modifications to the Text of the Schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the Declaration on Continued Application of GATT Tariff Schedules. At Mr. Johnson's right is Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos, Principal Director in charge of the United Nations Legal Department.

Korean Reconstruction

On December 7, the General Assembly approved without discussion by a vote of 52 in favour, none against and 5 abstentions (the Soviet bloc) a resolution submitted by the Second Committee which had been sponsored by Canada together with Argentina, France, the Philippines, the United Kingdom and the United States. By this resolution, the General Assembly approved, subject to consultation between the United Nations Agent-General for Korean Reconstruction and the UNKRA Advisory Committee, the Agency's programmes for the financial years 1953-54 and 1954-55, noted with concern that sufficient funds were not available to carry out these programmes and urged all governments to implement pledges already made or to contribute to the Agency's programmes. Canada has paid its pledge of \$7,250,000 (Canadian) in full.

As at November 30, 1953, 28 countries members of the United Nations and five non-members had made pledges to UNKRA amounting to \$207,598,517 of which \$88,000,000 had been paid. Thirteen member countries had not yet paid their pledges in full. The main contributors besides Canada are the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia which have pledged \$162,500,000, \$28,000,000 and \$4,000,000 respectively, of which approximately \$65,700,000, \$11,300,000 and \$1,300,000 have already been paid.

The combined 1952-53 and 1953-54 programme now being carried out by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency involves expenditures amounting to \$155,000,000 (US) while the 1954-55 programme envisages expenditures in the amount of \$110,000,000.

U.S. Report on Korean Atrocities

Concern was felt at the eighth session of the General Assembly over a report issued by the United States on atrocities committed by the Communist side in the Korean conflict. Speakers in the debate dwelt on their revulsion at such inhuman acts but made it clear that they were aware of the many practical and political difficulties which full investigation and punishment would involve. The U.S.S.R. representative charged that the report was without foundation and had been fabricated as a means of stirring up hatred and opposing peace. In a statement on November 30 the Canadian representative drew attention to the legal requirements for humane treatment of prisoners and recalled the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949. He expressed the view that the least that could be done in the present situation was to demonstrate concern at the report of atrocities and to condemn such acts which violated international law and the basic standards of morality. It was the hope of the Canadian Delegation that when the judgment of world opinion had been passed upon any governments guilty of such atrocities, the Assembly would be able to close this gruesome chapter and look forward to the task of rehabilitating Korea and to the business of making peace. After a four-day debate in plenary session the General Assembly adopted a joint draft resolution introduced by Australia, France, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, in which grave concern is expressed at the reports of atrocities, and the commission of such atrocities is condemned. The vote was 42 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (the Soviet bloc) with 10 abstentions.

President Eisenhower's Speech of December 8

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower put forward the proposal that to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, the governments principally involved should begin and should continue to make joint contributions from their stock piles of fissionable material to an International Atomic Energy Agency set up under the aegis of the United Nations. The Agency would use this fissionable material for peaceful purposes only, experts being mobilized to advise methods whereby atomic energy would be applied for agriculture, medicine, electric power, etc. The President suggested that this proposal be examined during private conversations which might take place pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of November 28 last which suggested that "the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a special committee, consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek, in private, an acceptable solution—and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954".

The Eisenhower proposal was presented as a measure designed to bring about East-West co-operation on one aspect of atomic energy, thus paving the way for a general settlement of all the problems of atomic energy including the prohibition of atomic weapons. Repeated efforts by the United Nations to solve this problem since 1946 have ended in a deadlock between the Western powers and the U.S.S.R. It is true that these efforts have produced the United Nations Plan for International Control of Atomic Energy which was approved by the General Assembly in 1948, but the Communist countries opposed the plan at the time and no progress has been made since then. The stumbling block in East-West negotiations has been the question of international control



—United Nations

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER VISITS THE UNITED NATIONS

President Eisenhower, second from left, visited the United Nations Headquarters on December 8 and delivered an address to the General Assembly. Before proceeding to the General Assembly auditorium, Mr. Eisenhower is shown above, left to right, with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations; Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, President of the United Nations General Assembly; and Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States.

of atomic energy without which adequate safeguards against the use of atomic bombs cannot be insured. The U.S.S.R. has up to now shown no indication that it is ready to accept all the implications of what is regarded by the West as an effective international control system including continuous inspection of national territories and plants. As pointed out by President Eisenhower, his proposal has "the great virtue that it can be undertaken without irritations and mutual suspicions incident to, any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of world wide inspection and control".

On December 9 the Prime Minister welcomed the President's "imaginative and constructive approach to what is perhaps the greatest problem of the day" and assured the Members of the House of Commons that the President's statement would receive "most careful and sympathetic consideration by the Canadian Government".

Measures to Reduce Tension

The Soviet Union's demands for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and a one-third reduction of armed forces (see above) were repeated in the Soviet draft resolution on the subject of "Measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations", which was belatedly placed on the agenda of the eighth session at the request of the U.S.S.R., and which was discussed by the Political Committee during the week of November 19-26. In addition to the usual requests concerning disarmament, the Soviet resolution urged the holding under the auspices of the Security Council of an International Conference on Disarmament, the elimination of military bases on foreign territories which should be recognized as "increasing the threat of a new world war" and the condemnation of war propaganda. The

debate on this resolution enabled Mr. Vyshinsky to make further propaganda speeches along familiar lines during which he accused "reactionary circles" in the United States who feared a depression, of deliberately increasing international tension in preparation for a third world war. Mr. Vyshinsky also attacked recent United States agreements with Greece, Turkey and Spain and the "prospective" treaty with Pakistan. He also mentioned in passing the United States-Canadian communiqué of November 15 concerning joint defence arrangements which he considered as "calculated to maintain and intensify international tension".

The Canadian Delegation pointed to the utterly unco-operative attitude adopted by the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament to which the U.S.S.R. attached the utmost importance and also to the indignation aroused by religious persecution in Poland which certainly did not help to reduce international tension. A number of countries including France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Peru and the Dominican Republic answered the Soviet representative's charges. The latter three also attacked religious persecution in Poland. In his effective reply to Soviet accusations, the Peruvian representative traced the source of present international tension to the failure of the Soviet Union to disarm after the war and its cynical pursuit of a "real politik" policy of pan-slavism and sovietization of Eastern Europe. Only the atomic bomb and subsequently NATO had kept the U.S.S.R. within bounds and had therefore served the cause of peace rather than the reverse.

The Soviet resolution was ultimately rejected by the Political Committee in a paragraph-by-paragraph vote, no vote being taken on the resolution as a whole since all its operative paragraphs were rejected. The Soviet Union re-introduced its resolution in the General Assembly, but the attempt of the Soviet Delegate to reopen the debate was defeated and the U.S.S.R. resolution was rejected on November 30 by a vote similar to that which had taken place in the Political Committee.

Disarmament

On November 28 last, the General Assembly approved by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), none against, with five abstentions (the Soviet bloc) a resolution asking the Disarmament Commission to continue its work with a view to ending the deadlock between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. and requesting the Commission to report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954. This resolution, which had given rise to a prolonged debate in the Political Committee, had been sponsored by 14 countries which are, or will be, members of the Disarmament Commission. The Commission normally consists of the eleven members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof. The Soviet Union was the only member of the Commission which did not sponsor the resolution.

The resolution approved by the Assembly suggests that the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a special committee consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek, in private, an acceptable solution—and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954. This suggestion for private talks did not appear in the original text of the Fourteen Power Resolution and was added at the request of the Indian Delegation.

During the debate on disarmament in the spring of 1943, the Soviet Union had given indications that it might adopt in the future a more co-operative atti-

tude on this problem. However, both in his opening speech during the Assembly general debate in the early part of the eighth session and during the discussion of the disarmament item later, the representative of the U.S.S.R. repeated his country's requests for the immediate unconditional outlawing of atomic weapons and for a one-third reduction in the armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council. The majority of the countries members of the United Nations have up to now refused to accept the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons before the establishment of effective international control of atomic energy and unless there are clear indications that the Soviet Union is ready to accept the implications of this control, including inspection of national territories. A one-third reduction of armed forces is equally unacceptable by the Western Powers in view of the present numerical superiority of the Soviet forces. By putting forward requests which have been repeatedly rejected in the past, Mr. Vyshinsky made it clear that the position of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament remained unchanged, even though the Soviet Delegate did not vote against the Fourteen Power Resolution but merely abstained.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma

On November 5, the joint draft resolution, co-sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Mexico, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, which postponed discussion of the Burmese item in the First Committee until a date not earlier than November 23, was adopted. This postponement was designed to allow time for the implementation of the plans of the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok for the evacuation of 2,000 Chinese troops from Burma.*

On November 27, 1953, the debate on the Burmese item was resumed. After statements by the Burmese, Chinese and United States representatives, the debate was recessed and the First Committee did not consider this item again until December 4.

On November 27 the First Committee had for consideration a joint draft resolution, co-sponsored by Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, on the situation regarding the evacuation of the foreign forces from Burma. On December 1, Thailand and the United States submitted amendments to this eight-power draft resolution which were designed to give some United Nations recognition to the activities of the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok and to express appreciation of the efforts of third parties in the dispute. Burma was opposed to any mention of the Joint Military Committee, since it thought its hands would be tied in making any further direct approach to the United Nations. A satisfactory revised resolution, with Uruguay as an additional co-sponsor, was submitted to the First Committee on December 4 and Thailand and the United States agreed to withdraw their amendments. On the same date, the representative of the U.S.S.R. proposed an oral amendment to delete paragraph 3 of the revised nine-Power draft resolution which expresses appreciation for "the efforts of the United States and Thailand in striving for the evacuation of these forces". On December 4, the Committee rejected the U.S.S.R. amendment by a vote of 49 against (including Canada), 5 in favour (Soviet bloc), with 2 abstentions (Afghanistan, Syria). The Committee adopted the revised nine-Power draft resolution by 51 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, and 6 abstentions (Soviet bloc and Syria). The representative of China did not participate

* See "External Affairs", December 1953, pp. 344-345.

in either of these votes. On the afternoon of December 8, 1953, the resolution from the First Committee dealing with the Burmese complaint against Nationalist China was adopted in plenary session of the General Assembly by a vote of 60 in favour (including Canada), none against, and 1 abstention (Afghanistan). The representative of China did not participate in the vote.

The revised resolution, which was adopted unanimously, states that the General Assembly has considered the report of the Government of the Union of Burma and "all other information on the subject laid before the Assembly" relating to the presence of foreign forces in Burma. It notes that "limited evacuation" of these forces began on November 7 and expresses concern that few arms have been surrendered. The resolution further appreciates the efforts of the United States and Thailand and "urges that efforts be continued on the part of those concerned for the evacuation or internment of these foreign forces and the surrender of all arms". The General Assembly reaffirmed the principle of the resolution adopted at the seventh session on April 23, 1953 and invites "the governments concerned" to inform the General Assembly of any action they have taken to implement this resolution. Lastly, it "requests the Government of the Union of Burma to report on the situation to the General Assembly as appropriate".

In a brief statement in plenary session, the Chinese representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, expressed the hope that the total number of evacuated troops might exceed 5,000. The United States Representative predicted that more than 2,000 troops would have been evacuated from Burma by December 11. Although a number of dependents were included in this figure, the percentage of officers among the evacuated combatants is high and includes nine "jungle generals". The main difficulty in the evacuation thus far has been the limited number of arms which have been surrendered to the Joint Military Committee. The Chinese Representative has explained, however, that these arms are being stockpiled for delivery *en bloc* at a later date.

Trusteeship Questions

The Assembly examined carefully the progress made by the eleven territories which are administered under the international trusteeship system established in accordance with Chapter XII of the Charter. The general report of the Trusteeship Council came in for close attention, as did several special reports, and also various petitions and letters from individuals and groups in the territories concerned. In discussions of trusteeship matters a gulf is often evident between administering powers and anti-colonial delegations. This gulf was very much in evidence at the eighth session of the Assembly, but at least it was not widened by developments in Committee and plenary discussions. In participating in these debates the Canadian Delegation has taken the view that the United Nations must endeavour to balance the legitimate hopes and interests of dependent peoples against both the necessity of recognizing the rights of the administering states and of fostering the orderly and gradual processes of evolution. The Assembly adopted nine resolutions relating to trusteeship questions. These involved the method of reporting followed by administering powers; target dates for the attainment of self-government; use of scholarships; dissemination of information about the United Nations; progress of Italian Somaliland; petitions from the French Cameroons; and the Report of the Trusteeship Council.

Race Conflict in South Africa

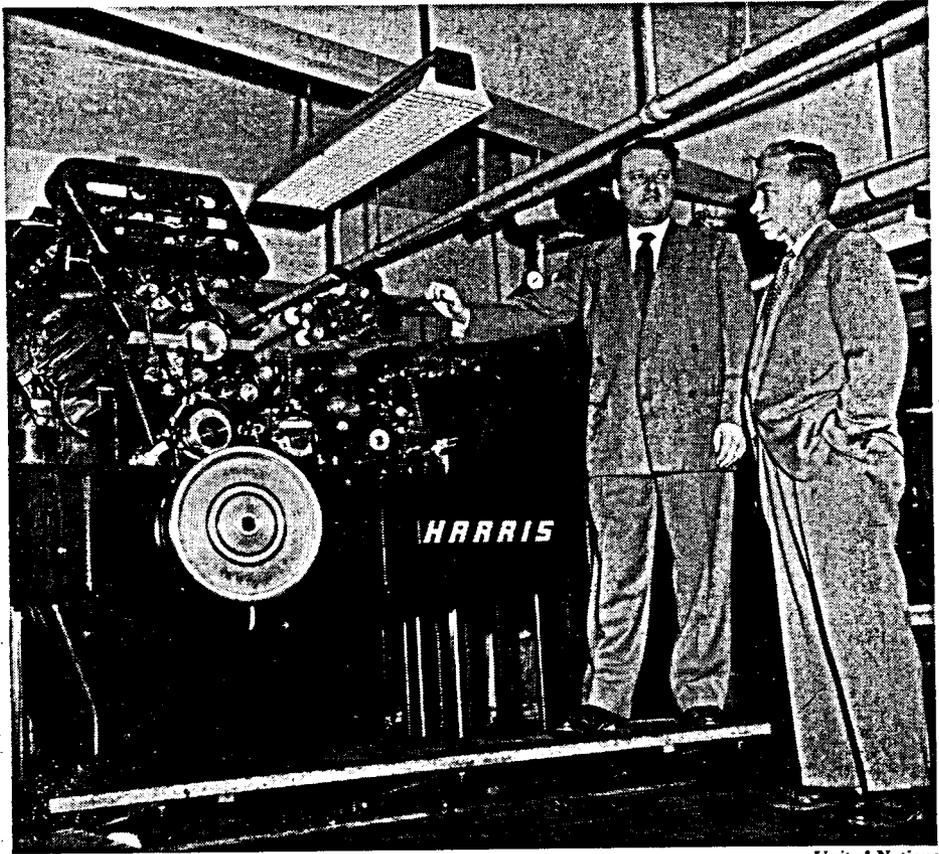
The question of race conflict in South Africa was first placed on the General Assembly agenda at the seventh session, when India and twelve other Arab-Asian states submitted the item, asserting that race conflict resulting from the Union Government's policies of *apartheid* was creating "a dangerous and explosive situation which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations". At its seventh session the General Assembly adopted a resolution which established a Commission of three members to study the racial situation in South Africa and to report to the eighth session. As the South African Government regarded the establishment of this Commission as outside the competence of the United Nations under the Charter, it did not recognize the Commission and would not permit it to enter South Africa. The Commission accordingly prepared its report in Geneva.

At the eighth session the question of race conflict in South Africa was referred to the Ad Hoc Committee together with the report of the study Commission. The South African Delegate opened the debate by proposing a resolution which noted that the question of race conflict in South Africa was concerned with a number of subjects (such as social security, education, public health, etc.) which were matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state, and asserted that in view of the domestic jurisdiction clause of the Charter the *Ad Hoc* Committee had no competence to intervene in the matters above-mentioned. This resolution would in effect have denied the competence of the Committee to deal with the race conflict question. The South African Delegate based his main argument on the question of competence, but in passing questioned the accuracy and impartiality of the Study Commission report.

Indian Resolution

The Indian Delegation introduced a resolution co-sponsored by sixteen other countries which requested the Commission established at the seventh session to continue its study of the development of the racial situation in South Africa and to suggest measures which would help to alleviate the situation and promote a peaceful settlement. Delegates of forty-three countries participated in the debate which revolved around these two resolutions. On November 27, Mr. Alcide Côté made a statement to the Committee expressing Canada's opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and support for human rights and fundamental freedoms. He indicated that in Canada's view the United Nations was competent to discuss the racial conflict question because of the possible international repercussions of the racial policies of South Africa. He said that Canada would oppose the re-establishment of the Study Commission partly because of doubts concerning the competence of the United Nations but principally because further work by the Commission would not accomplish any useful result.

In the course of the debate the Chilean Delegation introduced an amendment to the seventeen-Power resolution which did not affect its principal terms but reiterated previous General Assembly resolutions in support of human rights and fundamental freedoms.



—United Nations

CANADIAN TECHNICAL EXPERTS AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS

Mr. James P. Carroll, left, and Mr. J. A. Kiefl, two Canadian printing experts who are being sent to Mexico by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration to work with Mexican National Printing Office.

In the final committee vote the South African resolution on competence was rejected by 7 in favour to 42 against with 7 abstentions (including Canada). The seventeen-power resolution was adopted by 37 in favour to 10 against (including Canada) with 9 abstentions; and the Chilean amendment was adopted by 41 in favour (including Canada) to 4 against, with 7 abstentions.

In plenary session of the General Assembly the South African Delegation introduced a motion asking the Assembly to reject the Committee's recommendation on the grounds that it would involve intervention in the domestic affairs of South Africa. This motion was rejected by 42 to 8 with 10 abstentions (including Canada) and the seventeen-power resolution was subsequently adopted by 38 to 11 (including Canada) with 11 abstentions.

Palestine Refugees

On November 27, 1953, the General Assembly extended the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees until June 30, 1955. The vote approving this extension was 52 in favour, including Canada, none against, and 5 abstentions (Soviet bloc). Under the Blandford Three-Year

Plan approved by the Assembly in 1950, the Agency's activities should have terminated on June 30, 1954, by which time it had been hoped that all refugees would have returned to their homes or would have re-settled in the Arab countries where they took refuge, i.e. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and the Gaza district under Egyptian control. While it was successful in carrying out its relief programme, the Agency has experienced difficulties in implementing its long-term programme for the re-settlement of refugees, and the number of refugees on June 30, 1953, was about the same as it was when the Agency began its operations.

The Assembly at the same time authorized an increase in the 1953-54 relief budget of the Agency from U.S. \$18 million to \$24.8 million. A 1954-55 relief budget, for which there is no provision in the Blandford Plan, was also authorized in the provisional amount of \$18 million.

In a second resolution on the Palestine Refugees item, the General Assembly authorized, by a vote of 51 in favour, including Canada, none against, and 6 abstentions (the Soviet bloc and Israel), the UNRWA Advisory Commission to increase its present membership of 7 by not more than 2 members. At present the Advisory Commission is composed of representatives from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Egypt.

Financial Assistance for Libya

It was recognized during the sixth session of the General Assembly in Paris in the winter of 1951-52 that Libya, which had just achieved independence with the aid of the United Nations and the two occupying powers (the United Kingdom and France), would have to rely for some time to come on outside financial assistance if it was to remain a separate political unit. Although the United Kingdom and France were willing to meet reasonable budgetary deficits on the basis of separate bilateral agreements with Libya, certain Arab states proposed the creation of a special United Nations fund through which financial contributions toward Libya's economic and social development might be made by United Nations members generally. This, they argued, would help to prevent Libya from becoming unduly dependent on bilateral aid, to the possible prejudice of its political independence. The Chilean Representative then piloted through the Assembly successfully a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council to make a broad study of ways and means of furnishing aid to Libya; the creation of a special fund might be one aspect of this study.

At the eighth session the General Assembly had before it an ECOSOC recommendation that the United Nations should invite all Governments in a position to do so to give Libya, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the financial and technical assistance which was within their means. The resolution did not specify whether this aid should be given on the basis of bilateral agreements with Libya or indirectly through the United Nations itself.

On December 7, 1953, Libya and the United Kingdom exchanged ratifications of a friendship treaty accompanied by military and financial agreements under which Libya is assured substantial aid from the United Kingdom. On the following day the General Assembly adopted by 41 votes in favour, with none opposed and 5 abstaining, a resolution sponsored by the Arab States, Indonesia and Turkey which invited Governments willing and able to do so to

contribute toward the reconstruction and economic and social development of Libya through "appropriate mechanisms within the United Nations available for receiving voluntary contributions". The resolution asked the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to give all possible favourable consideration to Libya's requests for technical assistance, waiving the payment by Libya of local costs. Should further means become available for helping to finance the development of under-developed areas, due consideration should be given by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies to Libya's specific needs. Nothing was said in the resolution about continued bilateral aid, which is thus not ruled out, and it is expected that Libya will continue to receive aid on this basis from two or three countries in addition to the financial assistance already promised by the United Kingdom in the recently-ratified treaty of July 29, 1953.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners of War

The Commission on Prisoners of War was established by the General Assembly at its fifth session to determine what had happened to Second World War prisoners who had not been accounted for or repatriated to their homelands. Members of the Commission were chosen from El Salvador, Sweden and Burma. In its report to the eighth session of the Assembly the Commission was able to report very little progress, largely because of the refusal of the U.S.S.R. to co-operate. At the same time charges continued to be made by other nations, principally Germany, Italy and Japan, that large numbers of prisoners were still held by Soviet bloc countries. In a statement on December 2 the Canadian Representative, Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, regretted that it had not been possible to avoid emphasis on political differences in what was largely a humanitarian problem. She said that the recent return from the U.S.S.R. of a few German prisoners and the working arrangements established between Japan and Communist China on the prisoner question were encouraging. By a vote of 46 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (Soviet bloc) and 6 abstentions, the General Assembly passed a resolution praising the work of the Commission and asking it to continue its efforts. It noted with concern that certain governments had refused to co-operate with the Commission, and it urgently appealed to all governments to supply information to the Commission and to grant it access to areas in which prisoners are detained.

Forced Labour

The report of the joint United Nations-International Labour Office (ILO) *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour was debated for a week in the Third Committee in November. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, which was appointed in 1951, reported that its investigations had shown that forced labour for political coercion and for important economic purposes existed in the world and that those governments which made use of it were contravening the United Nations Charter. The Soviet Union and the satellite countries were found to be particular offenders.

During the debate the Canadian representative on the Third Committee, Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, deplored the fact that in the last six years six countries with populations of some 200 to 300 million have passed laws permitting forms of forced labour. The Canadian Representative declared that "humanity has marched backward in this respect". She expressed full support for the resolution.

put before the Committee by ten countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, which affirmed the importance attached by the Assembly to the abolition of all forced labour systems, invited the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and ILO to give early consideration to the Committee's report and requested the Secretary-General to ask governments which had not yet provided the Committee with the necessary information to do so before the seventeenth session of ECOSOC. The resolution was approved by the Assembly in plenary by 40 votes to 5 (the Soviet bloc) with 12 abstentions (the Arab bloc, India, South Africa and Argentina).

The Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries

Aside from the technical assistance programme, which was dealt with in the November issue of *External Affairs*, the principal matters under the heading of economic development discussed at the eighth session of the General Assembly were the question of the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development and the status of the proposal for an international finance corporation. These two projects have now been under study for several years and the question to be decided at the eighth session was whether steps could or should be actively taken towards the establishment of either or both of the proposed institutions.

A Committee of Nine Experts had reported in March 1953, on the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. The report was considered at the sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council which transmitted it to the General Assembly without specific comment except a recommendation, based on a United States proposal, that member states consider joining in a declaration that they stood ready to ask their peoples, when sufficient progress had been made in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament, to devote a proportion of the savings therefrom to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in under-developed countries. This proposal was re-introduced by the United States at the eighth session and was adopted without negative vote. It was accompanied by statements, from the United States and the other industrialized countries which supported it, including Canada, that owing to the heavy burden of defence expenditures, they were unable at the present time to consider contributing to a development fund. In these circumstances, the countries which had hoped to initiate action at this session to establish the fund did not press their plans but instead supported a resolution which referred the report of the Committee of Nine to governments for comment and appointed Monsieur Raymond Scheyven of Belgium to examine these comments with the assistance of the Secretary-General, and where he judged necessary, to request elaboration of them "if desirable by direct consultation with governments". He is to make an interim report to the eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1954 and a final report to the ninth session of the General Assembly. This resolution was also passed without negative vote, Canada voting in favour.

Within Framework of U.N.

The proposed international finance corporation would be an organization, within the framework of the United Nations, which would help to stimulate private investments in its member countries by bringing together investment

opportunities, capital (both domestic and foreign) and experienced management and by helping to finance private productive undertakings through equity investments and loans without government guarantee. At the request of the Economic and Social Council, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has twice reported on this proposal. The second report, in the summer of 1953, summarized the results of inquiries addressed to governments and to private financing institutions and stated that, since countries on which the corporation would have to depend for the greater part of its funds had not yet indicated their willingness to subscribe to its capital, no point would be served "by greater formalization of the project at this time". The resolution adopted at the eighth session, which Canada supported, urged governments to give early consideration to the merits of establishing such a corporation and to make known to the International Bank their views on the possibility of supporting such a corporation. The Bank in its turn was requested to analyze in detail the questions raised and the views expressed by governments and non-governmental institutions on the methods of providing capital for an international finance corporation and to conduct its consultations "in a more intensive manner". The Economic and Social Council is requested to review the matter at its eighteenth session in the summer of 1954 and to report thereon to the ninth session of the General Assembly.

Personnel Policy

A wide measure of support for the Secretary-General was expressed in the debate in the Fifth Committee on his proposals for amendments to the Staff Regulations for the Secretariat. The Assembly approved amendments, largely based on the Secretary-General's proposals, which spell out his powers of dismissal and clarify their relationship to the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal. An amendment to the Statute of the Tribunal has placed an upper limit on the amount of compensation it can award save in exceptional circumstances. The Canadian Delegation spoke in favour, by and large, of the Secretary-General's proposals but sponsored a resolution which calls on the Assembly to review in 1955 both the Staff Regulations and the principles of interpretation the Secretary-General uses in applying the new amendments. This resolution was passed unanimously.

The Fifth Committee then discussed a contentious personnel issue concerning the compensation awarded by the Administrative Tribunal to eleven United States employees of the United Nations who cited the Fifth Amendment when their loyalty was being investigated by a United States Senate Committee and a Grand Jury. The Tribunal had awarded a total of \$179,420 to the eleven former employees, whom it held to have been illegally dismissed by the Secretary-General. Some United States Congressmen and newspapers attacked these awards, and in the Assembly the United States Delegation opposed the appropriation for money to pay the awards on the grounds that the Tribunal had exceeded its competence. Despite the provision in the Tribunal's Statute that there was to be no appeal from its decisions, the United States representative claimed that the Assembly could reject the awards, because the Tribunal was merely a subsidiary body of the Assembly. This argument was not accepted by the spokesmen of many delegations in the debate, but several of them thought that the amounts of the awards were inconsistent and too high in some cases. The Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Alcide Côté,

stated that his Delegation believed the Assembly legally bound to pay the awards, but in view of the conflict of opinion in the Assembly, thought the questions should be referred to a "higher judicial authority". Canada co-sponsored with the United Kingdom and Colombia a resolution which referred the question to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether the Assembly could reject awards of the Administrative Tribunal and, if so, on what grounds. The resolution was approved by the Assembly by a vote of 41 to 6 with 12 abstentions (including the United States). The Assembly elected a United States citizen to replace the Czech member of the Administrative Tribunal and re-elected Lord Crook, the United Kingdom member who was one of the three who made the disputed awards.

The Assembly endorsed the Secretary-General's far reaching proposals for simplifying the top structure of the Secretariat and reducing the total staff of the Secretariat by 15 per cent during the next two years, largely by a policy of not filling vacancies as they occur.

1954 Budget

After a close examination during the course of the 30 meetings of the estimates prepared by the Secretary-General for the 1954 financial year, the General Assembly approved on December 9 a budget of \$47,827,110 for the 1954 administrative expenses of the United Nations. This represents a reduction of some \$296,290 from the original estimate prepared by the Secretary-General. This year's budget is less by approximately \$900,000 than the 1953 budget. In addition, in submitting his proposals for the reorganization of the Secretariat to the Fifth Committee, Mr. Hammarskjold declared that, if the tasks of the Secretariat were re-examined and the other revisions that he proposed were carried out, a financial saving of up to one million dollars might be achieved during the course of the year.

After various adjustments are made to this figure, a net figure of \$41,300,000 is reached to which contributions must be made by member states. Assessments of the various countries for the United Nations budget are approved by the Assembly on the basis of a report from the Committee on Contributions. This Committee annually examines the assessments of member states with reference to the various factors which determine countries ability to pay. On November 27, the Assembly approved the report of the Committee on Contributions recommending that the United States contribution be reduced from 35.12 per cent to 33.33 per cent, and the contribution of the Soviet Union be raised from 12.28 per cent to 14.15 per cent. The decision to lower the United States contribution was in accordance with a General Assembly directive in 1952 to the effect that from January 1, 1954 no member state should contribute more than one-third of the total Assessment. Several minor changes were recommended by the Committee. The Canadian assessment remains at last year's level of 3.3 per cent. During the debate strong objections were made by the Soviet Union and satellite countries to the proposed up-grading of the contributions of Eastern European countries. Most delegations spoke against these objections, however, pointing out that, while the Soviet Union and the satellites were pleading in the General Assembly that their economies were still badly dislocated from the ravages of the Second World War, their official publications were announcing daily the strength of the Eastern European economies and the rapid advances in the production of raw materials and the manufacture of capital and consumer goods.

Recess of the Eighth Session of the General Assembly

The eighth session of the General Assembly recessed on the evening of December 9, 1953, after taking up 73 items on its agenda. In the closing meeting, the Canadian Delegation paid tribute to Madame Pandit in her role as President. Mr. Vyshinsky took advantage of this occasion to deplore the fact that Communist China had not been accepted as the representative of China in the United Nations, and the fact that the Soviet disarmament proposals had not been adopted.

By the adoption of a resolution on December 8 sponsored by India and Brazil, under the UNCURK item, the Assembly recessed instead of adjourning. No action was taken on the substance of the UNCURK item. Under the terms of the resolution adopted, the Assembly can be called back into session by the President with the concurrence of the majority of members if, in her opinion, developments concerning Korean matters warrant re-convening of the eighth session or if for the same reason she is requested to take such action by one or more members. This resolution was carried in a plenary meeting on December 8 by a vote of 55 in favour (including Canada), no abstentions and 5 against (the Soviet bloc).

Security Council

Observance of Armistice Agreements between Israel and its Neighbours

On November 24 the Security Council adopted a resolution relating to the Palestine question submitted to it on October 17 by the United Kingdom, the United States and France, the three Powers which had declared on May 25, 1950, their intention of intervening within and outside the United Nations should they find any of the Arab States or Israel preparing to violate existing frontiers or armistice lines. As finally formulated by the Security Council, the question under discussion was that of "compliance with and enforcement of the general armistice agreements with special reference to recent acts of violence, and in particular to the incident at Qibiya on 14-15 October", when more than two score Arabs were killed during a night attack by Israelis on a Jordanian village.

The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, General Bennike, described to the Council the state of security along the armistice lines between Israel and its four Arab neighbours and listed serious incidents which had occurred along part of the armistice line between Israel and Jordan after the abrogation by Israel in January 1953 of two local agreements designed to check illegal border-crossing.

The representative of Jordan attributed the frequent infiltration into Israel by Arabs to the fact that Israel had occupied a good deal more territory than the United Nations had intended it to control. This had increased the number of refugees and intensified the pressure of the Arab population against the armistice line. Jordan's police force had done much to reduce Arab infiltration into Israel. Half the Jordanian jail population had been imprisoned for crossing the armistice line illegally. If Israel would police its side of the armistice line and withdraw military personnel from the vicinity the number of border incidents could be further reduced.

The representative of Israel, although deploring the loss of life at Qibiya, described the attack as an explosion of pent-up feelings of settlers who had been subjected to intolerable strain as a result of a long series of acts of violence by Arab infiltrators. He asked the Security Council to call on the Arab States to negotiate final peace settlements with Israel as the only way to put an end to the conditions of insecurity now prevailing. When it became apparent that the Security Council was not likely to do this, Israel formally requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to call a conference of Jordanian and Israeli representatives to review the terms of the armistice agreement. Under Article 12 of the agreement attendance at such a conference is mandatory.

The Security Council's resolution was adopted on November 24 with 9 in favour, none opposed and 2 abstaining. It expressed "the strongest censure" of the action taken at Qibiya "by armed forces of Israel" and the belief that the attack could only prejudice chances for peaceful settlement. The Security Council called on Israel to prevent such actions in the future. It asked Jordan to continue and strengthen the measures it is already taking to prevent infiltration and called on both Governments to ensure the effective co-operation of local security forces. Both were invited to co-operate fully with General Bennike, who was asked to consider with the Secretary-General the best ways of strengthening his truce supervision staff. In three months General Bennike is to report to the Security Council making any recommendations he considers appropriate, taking into account any agreement which may have been reached by that time in the conference of Jordanians and Israelis to be convoked by the Secretary-General.

PROGRESS IN THE COLOMBO PLAN

(Continued from page 15)

field stations in India and Pakistan to do experimental work on the biological control of insect and plant pests.

From 1950 to the end of June 1953, Canada provided training facilities for 116 fellows and scholars from countries participating in the Technical Co-operation Scheme in a large number of fields, among them aviation, business and public administration, co-operative marketing and film production. Special emphasis has, however, been placed on training in agriculture, medicine and engineering. Officials from India, Pakistan and Ceylon have come to Canada on technical missions to study developments in medicine, agriculture, highway and bridge construction and hydro-electric power. A training programme was given in Canada over a five-month period to 12 junior administrative officers from the Pakistan civil service. Following on the visit of a medical mission, training is now being provided for 20 Indian doctors and nurses. With the co-operation of WHO, active consideration is being given to the provision of training facilities for trainees from Thailand in public health and medicine. Some 20 Canadian experts have been appointed to Commonwealth countries in the area and arrangements are being made to recruit a technical education expert to head the Technical School in Cambodia. In connection with projects being considered for capital assistance, engineering experts have been sent to India, Pakistan and Ceylon while a visiting Canadian team has explored the feasibility of extending assistance relating to co-operatives and agriculture.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

Text of statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast over the CBC network on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1953.

On the pathway of human progress, certain great documents have served as mileposts. One was Britain's Magna Carta—which became the great Charter of personal and political liberty. It has guided the aspirations of men for freedom in many continents for seven hundred years. Another was the Declaration of Independence upon which rest the foundations of liberty in the United States, but whose influence has been universal.

Another document in this historic series was the United Nations Charter in which the nations agreed that one binding purpose of the world organization must be to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms. To show the way to the fulfilment of that purpose the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly five years ago, on December 10, the day now known throughout the world as Human Rights Day. This Declaration sets a common standard of achievement toward which peoples and governments throughout the world can strive.

The road toward such achievement has not been easy. There have been disputes and disappointments in the discussions which have taken place concerning it at the United Nations. There have been differences and difficulties in our effort to translate into reality the high principles set forth in the Declaration. There have been disagreements and dissension over the best methods to be adopted and over the pace at which progress should be made.

Some countries, like my own, consider themselves fortunate in possessing traditions and being able to build on experience which simplifies the task of ensuring broad acceptance and support of the principles in the Declaration. But all countries face real difficulties in devising precise legal forms which will fit in with the existing pattern of their constitutional systems. All member countries of the United Nations have not been able to

agree upon the form of the international instrument which should codify human rights and be binding on all those signing it. There have been a multitude of suggestions, often cancelling each other out.

It is not surprising, however, that we have not found it easy to arrive at a formula which will provide even the necessary minimum of satisfaction for all. In this and in other problems in the United Nations, we are bringing together peoples with widely different legal, economic and social backgrounds; with varied philosophical and intellectual approaches; differing, even opposed ideologies.

Without elations, then, but certainly without despair, on this fifth anniversary of Human Rights Day, we should pause and assess our progress. It should concern us deeply that there are large areas of the world where essential human rights have been eliminated, where personal liberty, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion have been stamped out.

In other parts of the world, however, there has been real progress and we should be gratified that the very firmness and determination shown on this question in United Nations debates and elsewhere is a sign of the deep-rooted support these great principles have gained.

Let us resolve, therefore, to press forward on the long and difficult road leading to the objective we set for ourselves in the Charter in 1945, and reaffirmed in the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

There can, however, be no rights, without obligations; as there can be no freedom without law.

In the last analysis, therefore, the manner in which we discharge our obligations as citizens of our countries, and as members of the international community, will determine whether we are to have and to keep—or whether we deserve to have—the rights of free men.

JANUARY 1 CBC BROADCAST

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast on January 1 by the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The year just past has seen some heartening achievements in the weary and seemingly endless struggle for world security. It has also seen some old problems remain unsolved and new ones arise which demand action.

During the year we have become more conscious than ever of the fact that many of the problems which we face are long-term ones, and that there is no quick or easy way to solve them. Great wisdom, great patience and great effort will be demanded of us, if we are to develop the strength and co-operation among the free democratic nations which is required if the right solutions are to be found and put into effect.

Prominent among the achievements of 1953, in the search for security, was the signature of an armistice agreement in Korea, which has brought—if not yet peace—at least an end to fighting.

The fact that aggression has been stopped in Korea by the collective action of the free world is in itself a major achievement of the United Nations; and especially of the United States, which has provided the leadership and by far the largest proportion of the United Nations forces involved. That the armistice was signed only after twenty-five months of weary and often exasperating negotiations, is also important as an illustration of the prin-

principle—no less true in diplomacy than in other fields of human action—that patience and perseverance can produce results, even in the face of obstacles that often seem to make further effort futile. In the pursuit of peace, whatever the difficulties, hope must never be abandoned.

Korea, however, is only one phase of the great challenge presented by forces now on the move in the Far East, demanding national freedom and better conditions of life; as well as by the attempt of Communism to exploit these forces for their own purposes. We of the West must be careful lest differing views as to how we should face these Far Eastern questions should disrupt the unity of our coalition against Communist imperialism. Anti-Communism or anti anything else will not be enough to hold us together. Our Asian policy must comprise much more than mere opposition to Communism. We must have a positive policy and convince the peoples of Asia, by deed and word, that free democracy is a vital liberating force and can do more for the individual, and for society, than Communism can ever hope to do.

In Europe, as in Asia, there has been progress towards security and stability, but here also the outlook gives no reason for complacency.

Menace to Security Remains

At the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris, from which I have just returned, there was general recognition that international tensions have somewhat diminished, and that the danger of open military aggression is perhaps less than it was a year or two ago. But it was also agreed that the menace to our security from the forces of Communist imperialism remains, and that the Communist conspiracy against freedom still persists.

Furthermore, any comfort which we might derive from such easing of tension as may have occurred during the year, is neutralized, to some extent at least, by the knowledge that if war *does* come, it will now be far more terrible even than it would have been a year or so ago; because of developments, in the U.S.S.R. as well as on our side, in the power and the quantity of nuclear weapons and in the means of delivering them.

It would be folly, therefore, to allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of false security. But it would also be wrong to so harden our hearts, or close our minds to the point where we could not respond to any genuine peace move, to any sincere offer to negotiate, that might eventually appear from behind the iron curtain.

One such move of encouraging and far-reaching significance was made from our side early in December, 1953, when President Eisenhower, in a memorable address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, outlined a new and imaginative approach to the problem of international co-operation in the field of atomic energy. His plan calls for the establishment of a United Nations agency to develop the peaceful possibilities of atomic energy. All men of good will must welcome

such a proposal. What its ultimate fate will be, it is too early to say. However, as the year ends, we perhaps may take some hope in the acceptance (however cautiously expressed and however hedged with conditions) by the Soviet Government of the invitation to negotiate on this all-important matter.

Another major problem which demands a decision during 1954 concerns the relations of the Western democracies and Germany; more specifically, whether the European Defence Community is to come into being, as a framework, within the general system of the North Atlantic coalition, for the association of Germany with the defence of the West. No one with any sense of history can fail to understand and, indeed, to sympathize with the hesitations and doubts of our French friends over this issue; doubts derived from a cruel and tragic national experience. But some solution must be found, for it is not possible for a political vacuum to remain in the centre of Europe. Nature abhors a vacuum, but a potential aggressor relishes one. It is essential, therefore, that some way be found of completing the arrangements for collective security, begun with the inception of the North Atlantic Treaty system. That completion requires that the German people play an appropriate part in collective defence. The method of achieving this will have to be settled soon.

In our preoccupation with regional and limited security and political arrangements, we should not overlook or minimize what has been done during the year by our world organization.

"Under-Development" Problem

At the United Nations there has been achievement—notably in the Korean armistice. There has also been frustration. The work, however, goes on, and this indispensable piece of international machinery remains at the service of its members in their efforts to realize the ideals of the Charter which established it.

In many fields which, if not spectacular, are of great long-term importance, encouraging and useful progress has been made in 1953. I have mentioned two of the principal long-term problems of the Western democracies—defence against Communist imperialism, and relations with the peoples of Asia. There is a third basic question which sometimes overlaps with the two, but which has a fundamental and distinct importance in itself. In United Nations circles this is called the question of "under-development"—the social and economic relations between the advanced industrial nations and the peoples in those parts of the planet whose economies are still relatively primitive and whose standards of living are consequently low. Particularly through its expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the United Nations has developed a realistic and practicable method whereby the technically more advanced nations can help the economic and social development of those less fortunate. Through this and through other

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APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. G. S. Patterson, Canadian Consul General in Boston, died suddenly, December 8, 1953.

- Mr. V. Dore, relinquished his appointment as Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland and Minister to Austria and proceeded on leave pending retirement, effective October 29, 1953.
- Lt. General M. A. Pope, Ambassador, proceeded from Brussels to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective December 1, 1953.
- Mr. C. F. Elliott, formerly High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, retired from the public service effective December 12, 1953.
- Mr. C. P. Hebert, Ambassador, proceeded from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective December 12, 1953.
- Maj. General George P. Vanier, Ambassador, proceeded on leave pending retirement effective December 31, 1953.
- Mr. J. W. L. H. Lavigne was posted from Ottawa to the Office of The High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, South Africa effective November 28, 1953.
- Mr. G. Ignatieff was posted from Washington to the Imperial Defence College, London, effective December 1, 1953.
- Miss P. A. McDougall was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective December 3, 1953.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Berne, effective December 22, 1953.
- Mr. G. C. McInnes was transferred from New Delhi to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, New Zealand effective December 24, 1953.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault proceeded from New York (Permanent Delegation to the United Nations) to home leave effective December 28, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

International Court of Justice — Yearbook 1952-1953. Pp. 255. Sales number 107.

International Labour Organization Financial Regulations (1953 Edition). Geneva. Pp. 21.

Year Book of Labour Statistics 1953 (Thirteenth Issue): Labour Force. Employment. Unemployment. Hours of Work. Wages. Consumer Prices. Family Budgets, Social Security. Industrial Injuries. Industrial Disputes. Migration. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 375. \$5.00.

UNESCO

The Gandhian Way by Humayun Kabir. A report on the seminar to consider the contribution of Gandhian outlook and techniques to the solution of tensions within and among nations held at New Delhi from 5 to 17 January 1953. (Reprinted from the "International Social Science Bulletin" Volume V, No. 2, 1953) Paris 1953. Pp. 23.

Records of the General Conference — Second Extraordinary Session, Paris 1953: Resolutions and Proceedings. Paris 1953.

2XC/Resolutions and Proceedings. Pp. 150. \$2.00.

National Bibliographical Services by Knud Larsen — Their creation and operation. (UNESCO Bibliographical Handbook — 1) Paris 1953. Pp. 142.

Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (Tensions and Technology Series) Paris 1953. Pp. 348. \$1.75.

U.N.

The Impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 29 June 1953. Document ST/SOA/5/Rev.1. Sales No.: 1953.XIV.1. Pp. 56. 25 cents. (Department of Social Affairs).

Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. April 1953. Document ST/TRI/SER.A/7/Add.2. Pp. 270. \$2.00. Sales No.: 1953.VI.B.2.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Questions of atrocities committed by the North Korean and Chinese Communist forces against United Nations Prisoners of war in Korea; 26 November 1953. Document A/2563.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually; this listing as of December 1953. Date of establishment of each body given in brackets)

I. CANADA-UNITED STATES

1. *International Joint Commission* (1909). Canadian Section: Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Commissioners: J. L. Dansereau and G. Spence. Section: The terms of reference specify the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Ministers of Finance and Trade and Commerce and either the Minister of Agriculture or the Minister of Fisheries.
2. *International Boundary Commission* (1912). J. E. R. Ross, Dominion Geodesist, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
3. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence* (1940). Canadian Section: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Rear-Admiral W. B. Creery, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff; Maj. Gen. H. A. Sparling, Vice-Chief of the General Staff; Air Vice-Marshal F. R. Miller, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; R. A. MacKay, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Secretary: W. H. Barton, Department of External Affairs.
4. *United States-Canada Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*. Canadian
5. *Joint United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Committee* (1949). Canadian Section: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production.
6. *International Pacific Halibut Commission* (1935). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries; Richard Nelson, Vancouver; Harold S. Helland, Prince Rupert.
7. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission* (1947). Senator T. Reid; H. R. MacMillan, Vancouver; A. J. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.

2. CANADA-UNITED KINGDOM

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

3. COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

1. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee* (1920). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London. United Kingdom, London.
2. *Commonwealth Economic Committee* (1925). F. Hudd and D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
3. *Commonwealth Agricultural Bureau* (1928). Executive Council: J. G. Robertson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
4. *Commonwealth Telecommunications Board* (1948). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council* (1945). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
6. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council* (1947). A/V/M D. M. Smith, J. H. Parkin and Dr. J. J. Green, Department of National Defence; R. J. Brearley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
7. *Commonwealth Liaison Committee* (1948). L. Couillard and J. Grandy, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
8. *Imperial War Graves Commission*. N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
9. *Imperial Institute* (1888). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
10. *Commonwealth Committee on Mineral Resources and Geology*. Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

4. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (1949)

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

5. UNITED NATIONS (1945)

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

Functional Commissions:

 - i. *Fiscal Commission*. A. K. Eaton, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.
 - ii. *Statistical Commission*. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician.
 - iii. *Commission on Narcotic Drugs*.
 - iv. *Population Commission*. J. T. Marshall, Bureau of Statistics.
4. *Special Bodies of the Principal Organs*:
 - i. *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (1946) Executive Board*: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 - ii. *Drug Supervisory Body*. Col. C. H. L. Sharman (a Canadian elected by the Narcotics Commission to the Drug Supervisory Body).
 - iii. *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency Advisory Committee* (1950): Delegate: D. M. Johnson (Chairman), Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
5. *International Court of Justice*. (The parties of the Statutes of the Court automatically include all members of the United Nations. The Court consists of fifteen judges, in no way representatives of their country of origin, elected for a nine year term of office by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. A Canadian citizen, John Erskine Reid, presently sits on the Court, his term of office due to expire in 1958).

6. UNITED NATIONS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. *International Labour Organization* (1919)*
 - i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegations comprising two Government Members and one Member each representing management and labour together with their advisers to each session of the Conference which meets at least annually. Delegations to the conferences are not permanent and are appointed for each session).
 - ii. *Governing Body*. Dr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour. (Canada holds a seat as one of the States of chief industrial importance).
2. *Food and Agriculture Organization* (1945)
 - i. *Conference*. (Canada, as a member of FAO sends a representative, together with his alternate and advisers to each session of the Conference which meets bi-annually. Canada's representative

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

- is not permanent and is appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Council*. (Canada has always been a member and was re-elected at the 1953 Rome Conference for a further term of membership).
3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (1946).
 - i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegates to each session of the General Conference. Delegations comprising delegates, alternates and advisers are not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session).
 4. *International Civil Aviation Organization* (1947)*
 - i. *Assembly*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; H. A. L. Pattison, Deputy Delegate.
 - ii. *Council*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO.
 5. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* (1946).
 - i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance.
 - ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.
 6. *International Monetary Fund* (1945)
 - i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: G. F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada.
 - ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.
 7. *Universal Postal Union* (1875)
 - i. *Universal Postal Congress*. (Canada, as a member of the UPU, is represented at each meeting of the Congress, usually held at intervals of five years. Canadian Delegations are appointed by the Government for each meeting. The next (14th) Congress of the UPU will be held in Ottawa in 1957).
 8. *World Health Organization* (1948)*
 - i. *World Health Assembly*. (Canada as a member of the WHO, sends delegations to each annual session of the Assembly. Delegations are not permanent and are appointed by the Government at each session).
 - ii. *Executive Board*. Dr. P. E. Moore, Department of National Health and Welfare, serves as an independent expert on the Executive Board.
 9. *International Telecommunication Union* (1947)
 - i. *Plenipotentiary Conference*. (Canada, as a member of ITU, is represented at the Conference which meets every five years. Canadian Delegations to the Conference are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - ii. *Administrative Council*. C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
 - iii. *Administrative Conferences*. (These meet in principle at the same time and place as the Plenipotentiary Conference and, as a rule, every five years. Canadian representatives at the Administrative Conference usually form part of the Delegation appointed by the Government to represent the country at the Plenipotentiary Conference).
 10. *Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization***
 11. *International Trade Organization***
 - i. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (1947). (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is an international trade agreement. It is not a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, but is serviced by the Secretariat of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization (ICITO). The regular sessions of the contracting parties are, as a rule, held once a year and these sessions are supplemented by intersessional meetings at the call of the Secretariat. Canada is one of the original contracting parties).
 12. *World Meteorological Organization*
 - i. *Executive Committee*. A. Thompson, Department of Transport.
 - ii. *Regional Association I*. President: A. Thompson, Department of Transport.

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

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

7. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency* (1946). J. P. Erichsen-Brown, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
2. *International Whaling Commission* (1949). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
3. *International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries* (1951). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; S. H. MacKichan, United Maritime Fisheries Board.
4. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation* (1948). Representative: A. D. P. Heeney; Minister: A. F. W. Plumptre; Counsellor: M. Cadieux.
5. *International North Pacific Fisheries Commission* (1953). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; John M. Buchanan, Vancouver; Roger T. Hager, Vancouver; James Cameron, Pender Harbour, B.C.
6. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union* (1948). Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
7. *International Wheat Council* (1949). Delegations vary from meeting to meeting but are usually headed by a Senior Official of the Department of Trade and Commerce or by one of the Commissioners of the Canadian Wheat Board).
8. *Consultative Committee for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia* ("Colombo Plan", 1950). (Annual sessions attended by Government appointed delegates usually of Ministerial rank).
 - i. *Council for Technical Co-operation in South and Southeast Asia* (1950). J. J. Hurley, High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon.
9. *International Hydrographic Bureau* (1921). F. C. G. Smith, Dominion Hydrographer.
10. *International Committee on Military Medicine and Pharmacy* (1921). Chairman of the Inter-Service Medical Committee, Department of National Defence.
11. *Inter-American Statistical Institute* (1940).
12. *Postal Union of the Americas and Spain* (1921).
13. *Inter-American Social Security Conference* (1942).
14. *International Bureau of Weights and Measures* (1875).
15. *International Criminal Police Commission* (1923).
16. *International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property* (1883).
17. *International Cotton Advisory Commission* (1939).
18. *International Wool Study Group* (1947).
19. *International Rubber Study Group* (1944).
20. *International Tin Study Group* (1947).
21. *Inter-American Radio Office* (1937).
22. *International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs* (1890).
23. *International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1886).
24. *Commissions on Geography and Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History* (1928).
25. *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration* (1952, succeeded the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, established in 1951).
26. *Inter-American Statistical Institute* (1940).

JANUARY 1 CBC BROADCAST

(Continued from page 35)

social and economic programmes, and through its various Specialized Agencies, the United Nations has continued to do a great deal of useful, if little publicized, work for human welfare. The amount of resources that can be devoted to such activities may be limited, particularly so long as the threat of aggression necessitates large expenditures for defence; but it would be foolish to forget that for most of the so-called "under-developed" nations of the world, it is precisely in the social and economic articles of the United Nations Charter that they see the main appeal and the greatest value in international co-operation.

Comparing the situation of the Western world with that of a few years ago (and with that too of the 1930's), and looking forward to the problems which lie ahead, we can, I think, feel measured confidence that the general lines of the policies pursued by the Western democracies are sound. If complacency is unjustified, so too is defeatism or despair.

If the free nations, together, with patience and persistence, follow the lines of international policy now laid down, 1954 may bring us closer to the kind of world for which all right-thinking and peace-loving men and women pray.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Prime Minister's Tour

THE Prime Minister of Canada left Ottawa by Air on February 4 on a round-the-world tour which will enable him to have discussions with leaders of government and other personalities in eleven countries, including the Asian members of the Commonwealth. When he returns to Ottawa on March 17 the Prime Minister will have travelled more than 26,000 miles and will have spent more than five full days in flying time on his journey.

Mr. St. Laurent, who is travelling in a RCAF C-5 aircraft, is being accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell; his son, Mr. Jean-Paul St. Laurent; Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie of the Department of External Affairs; Mr. Ross Martin of the Privy Council Office, and a small group of other officials.

In the United Kingdom where the Prime Minister was to spend a day and a half on his way to Europe, Sir Winston Churchill was to be his host at lunch.

Europe

In Paris where his visit was to extend from February 7 to February 10, Mr. St. Laurent expected to call on President Coty and have conversations with the Premier and other Ministers. During his stay the Prime Minister was to broadcast to the people of France and to lay a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe. Mr. St. Laurent was to be the guest of honour at functions given by the French Government and to meet the representatives of the North Atlantic Council at a reception.

Early on February 10, the Prime Minister was scheduled to fly to Bonn where, after lunch with President Heuss, he was to have talks with Chancellor Adenauer, hold a press conference and be guest of honour at a dinner given by the Chancellor. The Prime Minister planned to inspect members of the 1st Canadian Brigade in the Soest area on February 11 and speak to the troops. He was to lunch with Brigade officers at Fort York. The following day, the Prime Minister was to view an air demonstration when he visited the RCAF station at Grostenquin. After lunch at the station, Mr. St. Laurent was to fly to the RCAF station at Zwiebrucken where he would inspect the airfield facilities. At both air bases the Prime Minister planned to speak to the airmen.

Mr. St. Laurent will visit Italy from February 12 to February 16. The morning following his arrival at Rome, he will lay a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, will lunch with President Einaudi and have conversations with the Prime Minister and other prominent Italians. On Sunday, February 14, he will visit Vatican City and will be received in audience by His Holiness the Pope. On Saturday evening Mr. St. Laurent will be guest of honour at a Government banquet at Villa Madama and on Monday morning will be the guest of the Mayor of Rome at a reception at the Capitol. He will lunch at the Canadian College on that day.

Pakistan, India, Ceylon

From February 17 to 21, Mr. St. Laurent will be in Pakistan. He will spend two days in Karachi as the guest of the Governor General, H. E. Chulam



—National Defence

THE PRIME MINISTER'S TOUR AIRCRAFT

The Royal Canadian Air Force C-5 aircraft which Mr. St. Laurent is using for his tour, February-March, 1954.

Mohammed. He will lay wreaths on the graves of the Pakistan leaders, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, have conversations with the Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ali and some members of the Cabinet, hold a press conference, and record a speech for broadcast to the people of Pakistan. On the afternoon of February 19, Mr. St. Laurent will fly to Peshawar, the capital of the North West Frontier Province, where he will be the guest of the Governor. After a drive up the historic Khyber Pass, the Prime Minister will travel to Lahore, where he will stay with the Governor of the Punjab, and visit historical monuments in the city.

The Prime Minister will be in India from February 21 to 28. He will spend three days in New Delhi where he will be the guest of the President, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, and will then make short visits to Agra, Bombay and Madras. In New Delhi, Mr. St. Laurent will lay a wreath at the monument erected to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. He will have conversations with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian leaders, receive a degree from Delhi University and address the members of the Indian Houses of Parliament. He will also visit a village and a community development project close to Delhi, hold a press conference, and attend various government functions. The visits to Agra, Bombay and Madras will take the Prime Minister to important cities where he will see historical monuments including the Taj Mahal and meet Indian leaders outside the capital. These will include Mr. Morayi Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay State, and Mr. C. R. Rajagopolachari, Chief Minister of Madras State.

Late in the afternoon of February 28, the Prime Minister will arrive in Ceylon for a three-day visit. That evening he will be the dinner guest of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, at the official residence, "Temple Trees". The next day he will call on the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, record a brief radio address to the people of Ceylon, and hold a press conference. Mr. St. Laurent will then drive to Kandy in the hills where he will be the guest of the Governor General, Lord Soulbury. He will stop en route at the shrine of the late Prime Minister, Dr. D. S. Senanayake. His stay in Ceylon will include visits to the University of Ceylon and the famous Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya.

Far East

Late on March 4 Mr. St. Laurent will arrive in Djakarta where he will be the guest of the Indonesian government and will have conversations with President Soekarno, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo and other prominent Indonesians.

En route from Indonesia to Korea, the Prime Minister will stop overnight in Manila and will meet President Magsaysay.

After calling on President Rhee following his arrival in Seoul on March 7, Mr. St. Laurent will spend the greater part of his two days in Korea with the Canadian Brigade. The day following his arrival he will proceed to Brigade headquarters where, after lunch, he will have discussions with General Taylor, U.S. 8th Army Commander, General Murray, Commander of the Commonwealth Division, and Brigadier Allard, Commander of the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. During his stay with the Brigade, the Prime Minister will visit the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, the Royal 22nd Regiment where he will lunch on March 9, the Royal Highlanders of Canada, and the Royal Canadian Regiment.

In Japan, where he will arrive on March 10, the Prime Minister will call on His Majesty the Emperor. He will have conversations with Prime Minister Yoshida and Foreign Minister Okazaki, and will meet General Hull, Commander-in-Chief UN Command. The Prime Minister will visit three destroyers of the Royal Canadian Navy at Tokyo on March 11 and will speak to the ships' companies. The following day, the Prime Minister will address a luncheon meeting sponsored jointly by the Canada-Japan Society and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Japan. Later he will attend a performance of traditional Japanese theatre as the guest of Foreign Minister Okasaki and afterward will meet members of the Canadian colony at tea at the Canadian Embassy.

The Prime Minister will leave Japan on March 13 returning via Midway, Honolulu where he will stop briefly, and San Francisco where he will arrive about noon on March 16. He will reach Ottawa on March 17.

As the February issue of "External Affairs" was going to press, the untimely death of Mr. Hume Wrong, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, was announced. A tribute to Mr. Wrong will appear in the March issue.



TRIBUTE TO DR. GEORGE PATTERSON

During the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Canada lost one of its senior Foreign Service Officers, Dr. George S. Patterson, who was serving at the time as Alternate Delegate.

Dr. Patterson joined the Department of External Affairs in 1943, bringing with him a broad experience in Y.M.C.A. work in Japan and Canada. He served in a series of difficult assignments in the Far East where his knowledge of Asian affairs and great-hearted human sympathies endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He was Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy in Chungking and Nanking during the difficult war years; Canadian representative on the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea when the United Nations first tried in 1948 to unify that unhappy peninsula by peaceful democratic means. He was appointed Consul General in Shanghai just before the Communists took over in May 1949, and served nearly two years there under difficult circumstances trying to look after Canadian citizens and interests. On returning from China, Dr. Patterson was appointed Canadian Consul General in Boston in 1952, the appointment he held at the time of his death. I wish to pay tribute to the services rendered our country by this devoted civil servant.

—L. B. Pearson

Progress and Achievements of UNICEF

BY ADELAIDE SINCLAIR*

UNANIMOUS votes are rare in the General Assembly of the United Nations, but on October 6, 1953, every hand was raised in favour of a resolution authorizing the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to continue its work indefinitely on the lines laid down in earlier Assembly resolutions.

For seven years this phase of United Nations activity has contributed to the health and welfare of millions of children throughout the world. It is at present assisting more than two hundred projects in seventy-five countries and territories.

The Fund was established by resolution of the General Assembly in December 1946, with the primary purpose of providing assistance for children in war devastated countries. As the more urgent needs of the post-war period were met, the problems of the under-developed areas with their chronic and recurring needs claimed a larger and larger share of the attention of the United Nations. This change of emphasis was reflected in an increasing number of requests to UNICEF for assistance in developing children's programmes with long term benefits in under-developed countries. In 1950 the General Assembly instructed UNICEF to give priority to projects of this kind and to continue its work for a further period of three years. The result has been that while up to 1950 76 per cent of UNICEF aid was for emergency programmes, in 1953 less than 20 per cent was voted for this purpose.

Long Range Programmes

Long range programmes take various forms. They may attempt the control or elimination of certain diseases to which children are particularly susceptible; they may assist in carrying out demonstration projects; in training personnel; in improving the milk supply or in equipping rural health and welfare centres. At present over one half the programmes are mass health campaigns against such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis and yaws. About one fifth are in the field of maternal and child welfare, one fifth deal with child nutrition and the remainder are emergency programmes to meet unforeseen disasters, such as famine, flood and earthquakes.

As the scope of the programmes increased so too did the number of countries receiving assistance. The seventy-five countries and territories being assisted at the present time include fifteen in Africa, nineteen in Asia, eleven in the Eastern Mediterranean, five in Europe and twenty-five in Latin America. The Asian group receive about 40 per cent of the present allocations.

UNICEF is designed to assist governments in developing their own services for children. Every country applying for UNICEF aid must be prepared to invest an amount at least equal to the UNICEF contribution in the

* Mrs. Sinclair, who is Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, has been Canadian Representative on the Executive Board of UNICEF since its inception. She was Chairman of the Board in 1951 and 1952.



—ICEF

UNICEF IN THAILAND

A week-old baby being weighed by Sumsuk Surwanbul, a midwife trained and equipped by UNICEF as part of the programme of the development of child health services in the rural areas of Thailand.

programme. In many cases the UNICEF grant is more than matched locally. In 1952 UNICEF allocations of over \$15 million were matched by recipient government commitments of over \$23 million. UNICEF aid consists mainly of imported supplies and services, the receiving countries bearing the local costs.

No Overlap

The United Nations with its wide variety of interests and activities has always to be on guard against overlapping and duplication of work. UNICEF programmes fall into fields which closely concern the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization. Over the years a satisfactory relationship has been evolved in which UNICEF provides the supplies needed for a programme, but seeks the help of one or more of the other groups for the technical approval of its programmes and for the recruiting of the international professional personnel agreed upon. The payment of the personnel is sometimes assumed by UNICEF, sometimes by the agency which recruits it. UNICEF's special competence and experience in supplies has in turn led to requests to make its procurement facilities available to other United Nations agencies, such as UNWRA and UNKRA.

Mass campaigns against disease have been one of the largest and most spectacular forms of UNICEF work. The earliest of these was an attack on

tuberculosis. The cure of this disease is expensive and many countries cannot afford the necessary treatments, but prevention can be offered at a relatively low cost per child. A high degree of protection can be given by the vaccine BCG (Bacillus-Calmette-Guérin). Children are tested to see whether they have tuberculosis or have developed a natural resistance. Those with a negative reaction are given an injection, and the chances are four out of five that they will be protected thereafter. Up to the end of 1953, 42 million children have been tested. The UNICEF share of this programme consists of the vaccine, the imported equipment necessary for the campaign including the transportation and the payment of foreign professional staff. WHO gives technical approval of the programme and recruits the necessary foreign medical personnel. The local governments are responsible for the local costs for personnel and facilities and for organizing the campaign. Local doctors and nurses must be available to carry on, after training by a small international staff.

The original BCG campaigns were provided with vaccine from the Danish laboratories but because of the limited period of effectiveness of BCG, local sources of supply had to be established for campaigns in countries distant from Europe. UNICEF, therefore, has assisted certain countries with equipment to make possible the local production of BCG.

Mass campaigns have also been used to combat yaws, an extremely crippling disease which attacks children through any simple scratch and which eats away the flesh, then bone and then tendon. Modern medical science has made it possible to cure most cases with one shot of penicillin. In the last four years nearly 3 million children have been treated for this disease under UNICEF programmes and there is reason to hope that within five or ten years the disease will be under control in many countries where it has been a burden for centuries.

Malaria Campaign

Malaria claims about 300 million victims a year and kills about 3 million. DDT spraying has proved a most effective weapon to combat this disease. Teams of workers spray the houses once or twice a year to kill the infected mosquito. UNICEF supplies DDT, sprayers, vehicles and other essential equipment, WHO gives technical advice and supervision and the local government provides organization and labour. The Fund in 1953 was assisting campaigns in thirty countries which gave protection to an estimated 17 million people. The results have been so encouraging that other agencies and governments are undertaking to carry on this work on an unprecedented scale. There is hope that in time malaria may cease to be a major cause of illness and death in the areas where it is most prevalent.

The Fund has also contributed on a smaller scale to campaigns against whooping cough, diphtheria, trachoma and leprosy.

The basic health education which accompanies any campaign against a particular disease can have important results for the general health of a country and UNICEF is becoming increasingly active in assisting the development of child health services, mainly through the setting up of rural health centres. The work is less spectacular than the mass campaigns, but quite as fundamental. Approval has been given for the provision of supplies and equipment for over 5,300 maternal and child welfare centres mostly in rural areas. Here it is hoped



ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

—United Nations

Local nurses observe while Dr. Eric Roelsgaard, a Norwegian, vaccinates a new born baby with BCG serum at Lady Dufferin Hospital in Karachi. This wide-scale anti-tuberculosis international campaign is sponsored by UNICEF, the United Nations World Health Organization, the Scandinavian Relief Societies, and the Pakistan Government.

there may be follow-up work after the mass campaigns as well as pre-natal, post-natal and public health services. But supplies alone will not solve problems and the lack of trained personnel in many under-developed areas has limited the rate at which such services could expand. UNICEF in co-operation with the World Health Organization has helped to organize courses in midwifery and in public hygiene and has helped with the establishment of local training centres to continue this important work. Training centres such as the International Children's Centre in Paris and the All India Institute of Hygiene also receive aid from the Fund.

Nutrition Problems

Nutrition was the first concern of UNICEF and in the early years mass feeding in the war devastated countries of Europe was its main pre-occupation. The nature of its work in nutrition has changed with the increasing emphasis on long-range programmes. Demonstration school-feeding programmes are undertaken where it is the intention of the government to make these a permanent part of their child welfare programme. Where countries have a sufficient milk supply UNICEF has also given assistance to conservation schemes by supplying milk processing machinery for pasteurizing and drying milk. The countries receiving this help agree that a portion and in many cases all of the additional milk will be used in children's programmes. In some countries lack of sufficient milk makes it necessary to look for other sources of proteins. Some

interesting experiments are underway to assist the drying of soybean milk in the hope that this may help to meet the deficiency.

Economic Significance

Programmes such as those outlined could no doubt be justified on humanitarian grounds alone but they are not without economic significance as well. Children who grow up well nourished and without disease will be much more productive citizens than those unable to support themselves because they are crippled by yaws or invalidated by tuberculosis. The land which breeds the malaria mosquito is usually highly productive agriculturally. The destruction of the mosquito not only brings improved health but a substantial increase in the local food supply.

The extent to which UNICEF can contribute to the health and welfare of the world's children, beyond the small fraction who have so far benefited, depends in part on its resources. The fact that UNICEF depends entirely on voluntary contributions from government and private sources has influenced its planning. Limited funds have led it to favour programmes where the largest benefits could be secured from small per capita costs. Administrative costs have been kept to the lowest level compatible with the efficiency of a world-wide operation.

The board does not vote funds on an annual basis. The full amount required for the UNICEF share of a programme is allocated when the project is approved. So, regardless of the time required for completion or the fluctuations of total income, the Fund is always able to complete its undertakings.

Contributions Increasing

Both the number and amount of government contributions have increased each year since 1950. In 1950 thirty governments contributed approximately \$8 million. In 1953 fifty governments contributed over \$14 million. Though encouraging, this still falls short of the Fund's target of \$20 million. The Canadian Government has contributed \$8,375,000 (Can.) to UNICEF since its establishment out of total governmental contributions amounting to approximately \$136,645,000 (US). UNICEF has also proved popular among the Canadian public which has contributed more than \$1,500,000 to the Fund's operations.

UNICEF received encouraging and heartwarming tributes in all speeches made during the General Assembly debate. It has been given a mandate to continue its work. Provided it receives sufficient financial support it can do so. The situation was well summed up by the Assembly president, Mrs. Pandit, in announcing the unanimous vote on the Fund. "Its value lies not only in the lives saved, but in the entire communities which it strengthens and in the faith in the United Nations which it establishes and renews wherever it operates. The support from as many governments as possible is vital if the Fund is to sustain the high hopes which this Assembly has experienced in it."

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

THE establishment of the new Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in October 1953 marks the emergence of a new and important political unit in Africa under the British Crown. The Federation commands special interest because it joins together three territories at different stages of constitutional advancement, and is based on the principle of partnership between the European and African inhabitants.

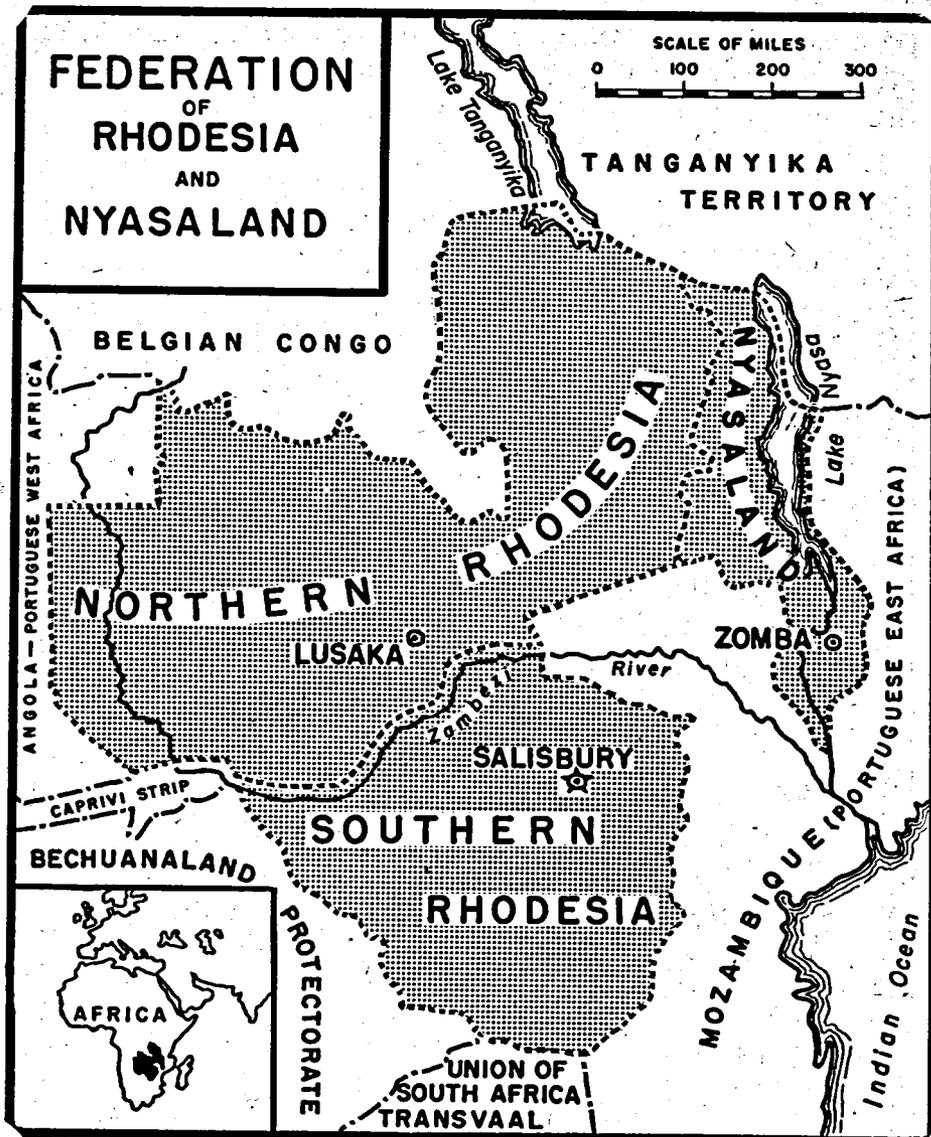
With an area of 485,973 square miles, the new Federation is one of the largest political units in Africa. Although the new Federation is located in the tropics, the climate of the two Rhodesias is temperate owing to the fact that the altitude is mainly over 3000 feet. The topography of Nyasaland is somewhat different, its chief characteristic being the long Rift Valley at the bottom of which lies Lake Nyasa. The climate tends to be more variable, and consequently the territory has been less attractive to European settlement.

The total population of the new Federation is approximately 6,470,000 with roughly one-third of the total in each territory. The white population forms only about 3 per cent of the total; there are about 145,000 persons of European descent in Southern Rhodesia, about 43,000 in Northern Rhodesia and about 4,300 in Nyasaland. Persons of Asian and mixed races amount to about 18,000 throughout the Federation. The density of the population varies considerably among the territories, the figures being fourteen persons per square mile in South Rhodesia, seven per square mile in Northern Rhodesia and forty-nine per square mile in Nyasaland.

Development Began in 1889

Development of the Rhodesias was begun by the British South Africa Company, which, in 1889, obtained a Royal Charter to promote, under the supervision of the High Commissioner of South Africa, "trade, commerce, civilization and good government in the area." In what is now Southern Rhodesia, a Legislative Council with some representative members was set up and subsequently twice enlarged. In 1920 the Legislative Council petitioned the United Kingdom Government for the establishment of responsible government. Before a new constitution was put into effect, however, a referendum was held to determine whether the colony should join the Union of South Africa. A majority voted in favour of responsible government, which was granted in 1923 when the territory was formally annexed by the United Kingdom as the Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia is the most advanced of the three territories economically. Prior to the war, mining occupied a particularly important position in the economy, and gold was the most important mineral. During the period 1934-38 gold accounted for nearly 60 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's total exports. The picture has since changed considerably. Other minerals, particularly chrome and asbestos, have become relatively more important. Tobacco has replaced gold as the colony's chief export, accounting for 40 per cent of its exports in



1949. The government's economic policy has laid great stress on the development of a more balanced economy. Wartime shortages hastened the development of secondary industry, and this trend has continued since the war. There is a good heavy industry basis for this development in the growing steel and cement industries. The growth of the Southern Rhodesian economy generally is partly indicated in the trade figures: in 1938 imports and exports were valued at £9.7 millions and £11.9 millions respectively, and at £85.8 millions and £51.8 millions respectively in 1951.

What is now Northern Rhodesia had been included in the terms of the charter granted to the British South Africa Company in 1889. The Company's administration of the territory was more clearly defined by Orders in Council

passed in 1899 and 1900. Company administration of the territory continued until 1924, subject to the exercise of certain powers of control by the Crown. The Crown took over direct control of Northern Rhodesia as a protectorate in 1924. At that time, the office of Governor was created, an Executive Council was constituted, and provision was made for the establishment of a Legislative Council. As now constituted, the Legislative Council is made up of nine official members, ten unofficial elected members and four unofficial nominated members representing African interests. Two of these latter are Africans selected by the African Representative Council.

Important Copper Producer

The economy of Northern Rhodesia is dominated by copper, which constitutes 90 per cent of its exports. The protectorate is now the third largest producer of copper in the world and the second largest exporter. Other important minerals are zinc, lead and cobalt. Government policy has been directed towards the achievement of a more diversified economy, and some progress has been made in the establishment of secondary industries. Although some tobacco is grown, Northern Rhodesia's agricultural products do not bulk large. Cattle farming cannot be extensive because five-eighths of the country is infested with the tsetse fly, and crop production is limited because of certain deficiencies in the soil. Northern Rhodesia's exports and imports were valued at £4½ million and £10 million respectively in 1939 and at £81 million and £43 million, respectively, in 1952.

British influence in Nyasaland was extended mainly as the result of missionary endeavour. The first missions were established shortly after Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyasa in 1859. The first representative of the British Government in the territory did not arrive until 1883, when a Consul was accredited to "the Kings and Chiefs of Central Africa". The territory was made a protectorate in 1891. Nyasaland is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council made up of four official and two unofficial members. There is also a Legislative Council made up of nine official members and nine unofficial members, all of whom are nominated.

Nyasaland's economy is on a relatively small scale and is primarily agricultural, the chief products being tea, tobacco, maize and tung oil. Total exports amounted to £6 million in 1952, while imports were valued at nearly £9 million. Nyasaland contributes substantially to the labour force in adjoining territories and in the Union of South Africa. As many as 148,000 Africans were absent as migrant labourers from the protectorate in 1951. Of this total it was estimated that 90,000 were in Southern Rhodesia and 6,000 in Northern Rhodesia.

Federation Considered in 1938

The idea of closer association of the three Central African Territories was considered by a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Bledisloe in 1938. This Commission, while anticipating that the three territories would become progressively more interdependent, recommended against immediate amalgamation. Federation as an alternative was not seriously considered. One recommendation of the Commission was implemented immediately after the war in 1945: this was the establishment of a Central African Council, a con-



—U.K.I.O.

HEALTH SERVICES IN RHODESIA
An African baby clinic at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

sultative body which was intended to promote closer contacts between the three territories and the co-ordination of policy and action in matters of common interest. The next few years showed that because of its purely advisory status, the Council could not do a great deal to promote collaboration between the three governments.

The first real step towards federation was taken in March 1951, when the United Kingdom Government called a conference in London of representatives of the Central African territories to examine afresh the question of closer association of the three territories. The report of the conference stated the case in favour of closer association mainly in economic terms. The interdependence of the economies of the three territories was seen to necessitate a co-ordinated economic policy in the interests of the maximum development of the area as a whole. It was pointed out that the narrow scope of the economies of the individual territories made them very vulnerable, and that they might suffer acutely from a fall in the world price of commodities such as tobacco, copper, cotton or tea. Economic integration of the territories would reduce this danger. The clear advantages of closer association in defence, communications and the maintenance of public services were also noted in the report.

In connection with native policy, the conference reached the conclusion that the similarities between the policies and practices of the three territories were a good deal more important than the remaining differences. The ultimate objective of the three governments was regarded as being broadly the same—the economic, social and political advancement of the Africans in partnership

with the Europeans. It was noted that African opinion in the two northern territories was opposed to closed association, and this was recognized as a serious obstacle. The hope was expressed that African apprehensions could be overcome if the form of closer association contained adequate provision for African representation and adequate protection for African interests. Referring to the growing political consciousness among Africans, the report stated: "We believe strongly that economic and political partnership between Europeans and Africans is the only policy which can succeed in the conditions of Central Africa". It was asserted that closer association of the three territories should provide a sounder basis for developing and extending the policy of racial co-operation and partnership than would be the case if each territory pursued its separate course.

Having established a case in favour of closer association, the conference made detailed recommendations as to the form it should take. Amalgamation and the establishment of a "league" with delegated powers were rejected on the ground that neither solution would be generally acceptable. The conference unanimously recommended that closer association should take the form of a federation, in which specific powers would be allocated to the central government in such matters as external affairs, defence, customs, trade, economic planning and development, transport, electricity supply and distribution, higher education and research. Residual powers would rest with the territorial governments, and, in respect of these, the authority and the constitutional position of each of the three territories and their relation to the United Kingdom Government would be unaltered. It was particularly intended that matters pertaining to the daily life of the Africans (e.g. African education, health, agriculture, land and settlement questions) should remain within the purview of the individual territories. None of the governments concerned was committed to the recommendations of the conference, which were published as a basis for consideration and discussion.

In August 1951, the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies visited the Central African territories to discuss the federation proposals with representatives of the European and African communities. Their tour concluded with a consultative conference at Victoria Falls in September.

Victoria Falls Conference

Whereas the conference of March, 1951, had produced a report containing unanimous proposals, the Victoria Falls conference brought out differences in points of view that led to the conclusion that further discussion within the territories and exchanges of views between the four governments were desirable. The federation conference was accordingly adjourned. The final communique stated that the conference, with the exception of the African representatives, was favourable to the principle of federation. It was reaffirmed that the principle of economic and political partnership between the races was basic to the whole idea of closer association. It was observed, however, that one of the main obstacles to the general acceptance of federation rested in the "apprehensions felt by the Africans in the two northern territories that federation might impair their position and prospects in the respective territories". The communique asserted that in any further consideration of proposals for federation the protectorate status of the two northern territories would be accepted and preserved, and that questions concerning land and land settlement in Northern

Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the political advancement of the peoples of the two territories, both in local and territorial government, must remain the responsibility of the territorial governments, subject to the ultimate authority of the United Kingdom Government, and not of any federal authority.

The misgivings of the African populations of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland about federation were not entirely overcome by the assurances given in the final communiqué of the Victoria Falls conference and in a subsequent statement made by Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, who had taken over the Colonial Office in October 1951. Representatives of the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia and the African Protectorate Council of Nyasaland were invited to attend the federation conference when it was reconvened in London in April 1952 by the new United Kingdom Government. Although these representatives came to London for informal talks with the Colonial Secretary, they declined to attend the conference; the two African members of the Southern Rhodesian delegation, however, did attend and took an active part in the proceedings.

Detailed Plan Drafted

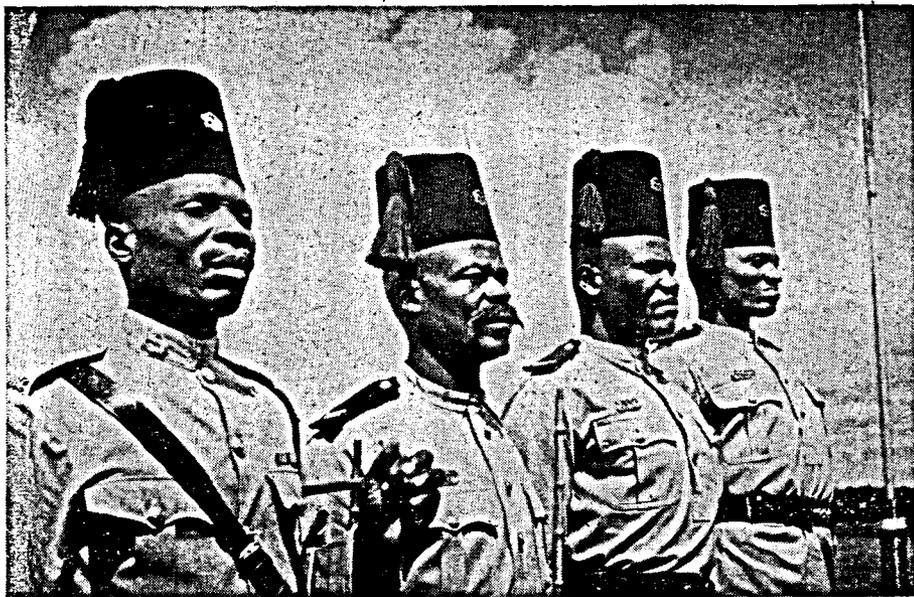
The reconvened conference proceeded to prepare a detailed draft scheme of federation which could be readily translated into a constitutional instrument. The scheme as drafted followed fairly closely on the recommendations of the March 1951 conference.

The draft federal scheme did not attempt to set out in detail the financial arrangements for the federation, nor the arrangements for the federal public service and the federal judicature. It was decided that three special commissions should be set up to study these problems and to make recommendations to the governments concerned. These commissions, which were appointed in June 1952, took evidence during the ensuing two months in Central Africa, and published their reports in October 1952.

The final conference met in London during January 1953. Its main task was to consider the draft federal scheme in the light of the reports of the Fiscal, Civil Service and Judicial Commissions; to consider any amendments to the draft federal scheme and to prepare a revised scheme which could be submitted to the electorate in Southern Rhodesia, to the legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to the United Kingdom Parliament. Once again African representatives from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were invited to attend the conference, but declined.

In the federal scheme drawn up at this conference, division of legislative powers is provided for by means of two lists, the first, or Exclusive List, setting forth those subjects on which the Federal Legislature alone will be empowered to make laws, and the second, or Concurrent List, containing matters on which both the Federal Legislature and the territorial legislatures will be empowered to legislate, with federal law prevailing in case of inconsistency. It is provided that exclusive power to make laws with respect to matters not included in either the Exclusive List or the Concurrent List will rest with the territorial legislatures.

The legislative powers of the federation are vested in the Federal Legislature, which consists of the Queen (represented by a Governor General) and



—U.K.I.O.

NORTHERN RHODESIA POLICE FORCE

A warrant officer and sergeants of the Northern Rhodesia Police Force.

the Federal Assembly. The Federal Assembly described in the scheme consists of a Speaker and 35 members. Of these 26 are elected members, six are Specially Elected African Members, and three are European Members charged with special responsibilities for African interests (one of these latter is "the Specially Elected European Member" and two are "Specially Appointed European Members"). The Speaker may be chosen either from among the thirty-five members mentioned above or from outside the Assembly. The maximum life of the Assembly is set at five years.

Distribution of Members

Of the twenty-six elected members, fourteen are to be returned from Southern Rhodesia, eight from Northern Rhodesia, and four from Nyasaland. Territorial electoral law is to apply in the Rhodesians in the first federal general election and subsequently until the Federal Legislature provides otherwise. In Nyasaland, where no territorial electoral law exists, the Governor General is to make regulations with the agreement of the Governor of Nyasaland.

Each territory is to return two Specially Elected African members. Southern Rhodesia will, in addition, return one Specially Elected European Member for African interests. The other two territories will each return one Specially Appointed European member for African interests nominated by the Governor of the territory.

The reserve powers granted to the Governor General in the federal scheme are of special interest. Bills which the Governor General is obliged to "reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure"—or the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies—include those which amend the Federal Constitution, those designated for this procedure by the African Affairs Board, bills relating

to the electoral law, and any bill "the provisions of which appear inconsistent with the obligations of Her Majesty under any international agreement". The scheme also reserves to the Queen the power to disallow a federal law at any time within twelve months after it has been assented to by the Governor General.

African Affairs Board

A distinctive feature of the federal scheme is the African Affairs Board, which is given the status of a standing committee of the Federal Assembly. The Board is to consist of the Specially Elected European Member and the two Specially Appointed European Members, and one Specially Elected African Member from each of the three territories. The Chairman of the Board is to be appointed from among these six members. The Board is given the general power to make representations to the Prime Minister concerning matters in the Federal field affecting the interests of Africans; and the power to assist the Government of any territory on request in relation to the study of matters affecting Africans. In relation to legislation, the Board is given power to report a bill as a differentiating measure if it is considered to discriminate against Africans; if such a bill is proceeded with, the Board may request that the Governor General reserve the bill for the signification of Royal pleasure. The Board is given similar functions in relation to subordinate legislation.

With regard to finance, the scheme provides that income tax revenues will be distributed between the Federation and the three territories in the following proportions:

	%	
The Federation	64	Northern Rhodesia
Southern Rhodesia	13	Nyasaland
		17 6

Provision is made for a federal emergency tax for use during periods of war or when the security of the Federation is threatened. This tax will be for the sole use of the Federation and no part of it would be distributed to the territories. The scheme also enables a territorial government to authorize the Federal Government to collect a territorial surcharge at a rate not exceeding 20 per cent of the federal income tax.

Amendments to Constitution

Amendment of the Constitution must be carried out by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the Federal Assembly and the amending legislation must be reserved for the signification of Royal pleasure. During the first ten years of federation, amendments to the constitution affecting the division of powers between the Federation and the territories can only be made with the express approval of the territorial legislatures. Provision is made for a review of the Federal Constitution at a conference to be held between seven and nine years of its coming into force.

At the conclusion of its report, the conference on federation made the following statement:

We have reached the moment for decision. We are convinced that a Federation on the lines proposed is the only practicable means by which the three Central African Territories can achieve security for the future and ensure the well-being

and contentment of all their peoples. We believe that this Federal Scheme is a sound and a fair scheme which will promote the essential interests of all the inhabitants of the three Territories, and that it should be carried through.

The scheme was debated in and approved by the United Kingdom House of Commons on March 24, 1953. It was later approved by the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The crucial test was its submission to the electorate of Southern Rhodesia in April, which resulted in a substantial majority in favour of the federal scheme—25,570 for and 14,729 against, with over 80 per cent of the electorate voting. In June and July enabling legislation was passed by the United Kingdom Parliament, paving the way for the establishment of the Federation in September and October.

Lord Llewellyn was sworn in as Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Federation on September 4. Subsequently Sir Godfrey Huggins, who had been Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for twenty years and was one of the chief architects of federation, was sworn in as Prime Minister. Two other Ministers were appointed to make up a temporary Executive Council. With the appointment of an Interim Public Service Commission on September 7, and the secondment of officers from the three territories, Federal Government departments were set up and begun functioning. The Constitution was brought fully into force by proclamation on October 23.

First General Election

The first general election in the Federation was held on December 15 after a spirited campaign in which the leading contenders were the Federal Party led by Sir Godfrey Huggins and the Confederate Party led by Mr. Dendy Young. Of the 26 seats for elected members in the Federal Legislature, the Federal Party won 24, the Confederate Party won one and one seat went to an independent. The first Federal Parliament met for the first time on February 2, 1954.

The establishment of the new Federation does not add a new member to the Commonwealth. Full self-government in the normal sense has not been granted to the new Federation, since its constitution provides some measure of control to the United Kingdom Government through the Queen's power of disallowance and the reserve powers of the Governor in respect of certain types of legislation. In the international field the status of the Federation will be similar to that which has obtained in the case of Southern Rhodesia: the United Kingdom will retain general responsibility for the external relations of the Federation, but this will not preclude the Federal Government from dealing directly with neighbouring countries on matters of a local character, nor from entering on its own account into certain types of international agreements concerning trade and technical matters.

The ultimate object of the Federation is set forth in the preamble to its constitution—"to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership in the Commonwealth".

The Imperial Defence College

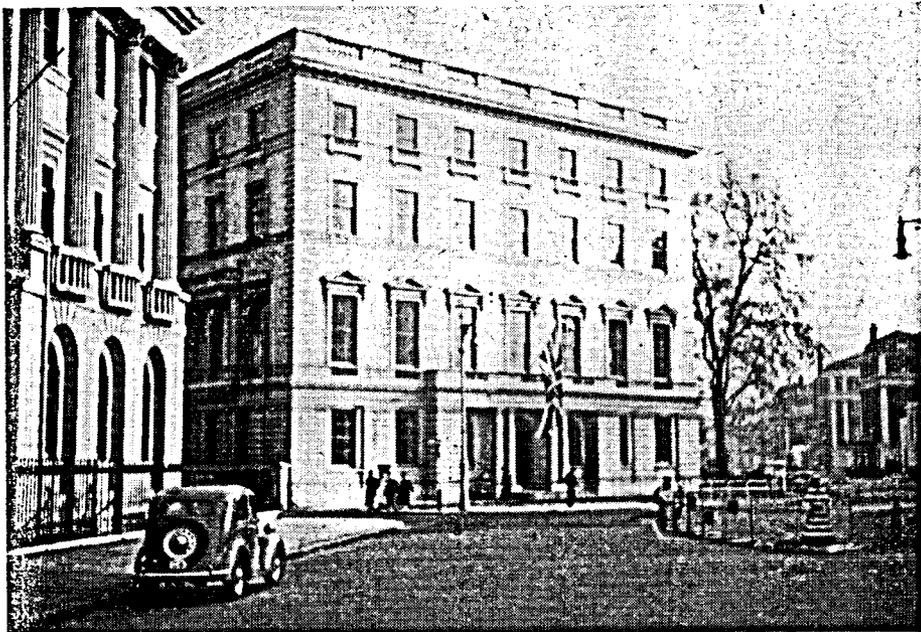
ARTICLES in *External Affairs* of October 1950 and November 1952 mentioned the close contact maintained between Canada's National Defence College and the Imperial Defence College in the United Kingdom. It was pointed out that the Imperial Defence College was the pioneer institution of this kind whose success stimulated the formation of similar establishments in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. Indeed it came into being in 1927 at a time when much thought was being devoted to improving the machinery for the higher direction of war, and after Sir Winston Churchill, who foresaw the future need for combined staffs, had propounded the idea of a College where senior and carefully chosen officers of the Fighting and Civil Services, drawn from all parts of the Commonwealth, should study jointly the problems of the higher direction of Commonwealth defence.

Objective of IDC

Experience has shown that defence involved almost every aspect of a nation's life. The military and civil effort had become so integrated that it was obvious that those taking part in strategic planning and direction had to possess, besides a specialized knowledge of their own field, a sound appreciation of all other aspects of the national effort. It followed, therefore, that the object of the Imperial Defence College should be "to produce throughout the Commonwealth a body of senior officers of the fighting Services and Civil Services who will be capable of holding high commands and key appointments in the structure of Commonwealth defence both in peace and war."

The experiences of the Second World War not only confirmed the need for such an institution for training on the highest level, but enabled many past students of the Imperial Defence College to provide the most convincing evidence of their value in key appointments all over the world. At the end of hostilities there was complete unanimity among the Governments and Services of the Commonwealth that the College, which had had to close at the beginning of the war, should resume its work. In 1946 it re-opened in Belgrave Square, London, with General (later Field Marshal) Sir William Slim as Commandant. Not only were the new premises much more suitable for their purpose, but the number of students attending was more than double the pre-war number.

It is natural that in organization and in method of study there should be much in common between the Imperial Defence College and the National Defence College in Kingston, since the former was the prototype after which the latter was to a large extent modelled. The Imperial Defence College is administered by the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence. At its head is a Commandant, who is responsible to the Chiefs of Staff Committee for the instruction at the College. The Commandant is drawn in turn from each of the Fighting Services of the United Kingdom. The Directing Staff is supplied, in equal proportions, by the Royal Navy, the British Army, the R.A.F., and the U.K. Civil Service. Members are selected not only because of their background as administrators, commanders or planners, but because they have all had considerable experience of the widest aspects of defence.



The Imperial Defence College, "Seaforth House" Belgrave Square, London, S.W. 1.

A study of the higher direction of the effort of the Commonwealth countries in war covers, as will be realized, a vast field—military, economic, scientific, social, industrial, political and financial. It entails a knowledge of national trends, of the relations of Commonwealth countries with other powers, of the development and importance of the United Nations and other international organizations, and of the world economic situation and its effect on almost every field of activity within the Commonwealth. In order to increase and clarify the students' knowledge and thinking on this very broad range of subjects to be examined, a series of problems is studied by student syndicates, or seminars, consisting of members of the Services represented at the College in balanced proportions, with the assistance of lectures by the highest authorities available on the various subjects under discussion. The lectures are given by Cabinet Ministers, ex-Ministers, Ambassadors, Commonwealth High Commissioners, Service Chiefs of Staff, Heads of Government Departments, Naval, Military and R.A.F. commanders, civil servants, university professors and lecturers, together with leading political theorists, economists, writers, businessmen, trades union officials, scientists, and specialists on the particular problem under discussion. There is no need to emphasize the advantage, from the point of view of obtaining lecturers of the kind just mentioned, which the College derives from being situated in London.

The studies in the College are supplemented by visits to specialized Navy, Army and R.A.F. establishments in the United Kingdom, as well as to a wide variety of industrial undertakings including heavy and light engineering, electrical, and chemical plants, coal mines, shipyards and others. In the summer recess the students have an opportunity of visiting a number of parts of the world. They are divided into three groups: one spends five weeks in North America, mostly in Canada; a second spends the same time touring a wide area

of the Middle East; and a third spends just under three weeks visiting Western European countries.

In this way the students are afforded a practical and most valuable insight into some of the many and varied problems which have to be considered not only at the Imperial Defence College, but wherever they may be serving afterwards. To the practical value of the College must be added the more intangible but equally important benefits which the students derive from associating with one another. There are fifty-eight of them on the course, of whom about one quarter are from Commonwealth countries other than the United Kingdom (there are usually four from Canada each year). By being brought to work together intimately but informally for a year these men deepen their understanding of each other's part of and special interest in the Commonwealth, sharpen their appreciation of the ties which bind the Commonwealth countries to each other, and thus cannot fail in their ensuing career to make some contribution to the preservation and strengthening of those ties. Finally, the friendships which they form at the College are themselves a not insignificant contribution to the Commonwealth tradition of informal, friendly and, when necessary, very close co-operation.



THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECESSES

—United Nations

The Permanent Canadian Representative to the United Nations, Mr. D. M. Johnson, greets Madame Lakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the Assembly, as the eighth session recessed.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS

Text of an address delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Public Relations Society, Ritz Carlton Hotel, Montreal, January 5, 1954.

This is the first week of a new year, a time for resolution, retrospect, and speculation.

As for the first, I gave up making New Years' resolutions many years ago, deciding about 1923 that I shouldn't add to my burden of resolutions until I had succeeded in disposing of some of those solemnly taken previously. I am still trying to do that, but it may be that by 1960, say, I can conscientiously feel that the Statute of Limitations has come into operation, and that my inability to carry out old resolves should not prevent me from making and breaking new ones.

So far as retrospection is concerned, as I look back on 1953, my personal prayer is that never again will there be a year when I have to carry out the duties of Foreign Minister, as well as those of President of the United Nations Assembly, and also engage in the somewhat feverish activities that flow from participation in a Canadian general election.

Though 1953 was, for me, a little too crowded for comfort, it was one which, in international affairs, gave cause for some sober satisfaction, if none for jubilation or complacency.

A Year of Transition

It has been said recently that 1953 was a year of transition. Of course it was. Every year is a year of transition from the preceding one to the next one; in this case from 1952 to 1954. But in a serious and important sense, there may be something in this description. The general feeling during the year seemed to be one of waiting and wondering; waiting for some concrete move which would ease international tensions, and lighten the awful shadow of approaching atomic destruction; wondering whether Russian words and gestures really meant that such a move was coming and whether changes were taking place in the ruling circles of the U.S.S.R., that tight little group of autocrats, which would effect it.

The New Year, if I may move now into speculation, may clear up some of these wonderings. But let us not count too much on this; or expect too much from any particular meeting, at Berlin or Bermuda or Panmunjom; or read too much into plausible answers from the Kremlin to selected questions.

Very far-reaching developments may be taking place behind the Iron Curtain. If so, we should keep an open mind and a clear head about them. These developments may make it possible to advance the policy of peaceful co-operation between states to which we of the free world are committed.

On the other hand, words of peace and goodwill which come now from the Communist camp may represent merely an orthodox and normal shift in party tactics, designed to disarm and deceive us.

We had better wait and make sure, before

we draw cheerful conclusions and alter present policies; wait with as much calmness as is possible when exposed to all the weapons of mass propaganda which have now reached such an amazing state of technical efficiency. So many and powerful are they, in fact, that it is at times difficult to decide what actually is going on; to separate facts from fancies, the important from the inconsequential. No wonder that public opinion, while ultimately right, is sometimes immediately wrong. That is itself a strong argument against hasty action on many international problems. Yet public opinion, spurred on by propagandists and pundits, often demands just that; quick and clean-cut solutions for international problems which are not susceptible to this treatment.

Note of Caution

It may, therefore, from the point of view of good international relations and healthy domestic morale, not be amiss to sound a note of caution as we enter a year which could be filled with conferences and discussions from which we may expect too much. It would be a mistake to pitch our hopes too high for a speedy and satisfactory solution at these conferences of all the cold-war problems which plague us. Many of these problems arise not so much for particular situations, as from the very nature of the relationship between Communism and the free world; a relationship which is likely to be with us as long as we live.

We would also be wise, I think, not to get unduly exercised over the meaning of every Kremlin word or gesture. We might recall the good advice of Harold Nicholson when, in discussing the practice of diplomacy, he said: "... it is better to concentrate upon rendering your own attitude as clear as possible, rather than to fiddle with the psychology of others". Nicholson then quoted the words of an experienced diplomat, and they seem particularly apt at this time, "Don't worry so much about what is at the back of their minds; make quite sure that they realize what is at the back of yours".

I hope that, as we enter 1954, we keep at the back, and in the front of our minds, the necessity of following patiently, steadily and persistently the policy that we have now laid down; of building up and maintaining the collective strength and unity of the free world, to be used not to provoke or threaten others, but as the solid foundation for diplomatic negotiation and political settlement. This involves the search for solutions for specific international problems, one by one, so that in so far as we can bring it about the cold war will have begun to disappear by the end of 1954 without having become a hot one.

We must assume, however, that this unity and strength, especially under NATO, is bound to be the object of increasing attack in the coming year from the Communists,

within and without our gates; nos so much, I feel, from direct frontal assault as from the insidious pressure of enticing double-talk and bewildering blandishment.

There never was much doubt that the really serious strain on the Western coalition would begin when the menace of immediate aggression seemed to recede. We are in that period now, with new problems and difficulties—and also new possibilities.

This is certainly no time to weaken the common front by dissension or doubts or indifference. It is no time to lower our guard; or start wrangling among ourselves.

Quiet Negotiations Needed

In meeting these problems, in negotiating with the Communist states and keeping the coalition together in the face of what may seem, or be made to seem, diminishing dangers, diplomacy should, I think, play a greater part than in recent years. By diplomacy I mean something more than monologues at international gatherings, or public press conferences, or calculated leaks to frighten potential adversaries, or to "put the heat on" reluctant friends; or even political quiz programmes before the microphone or camera. There should be more room for and greater reliance on quiet and confidential negotiation, as I am sure you, as public relation experts, will agree. If Moscow, by the crudity of Communist diplomatic methods, and by its incessant and direct appeal to peoples over the heads of governments, makes this procedure difficult or even impossible, we should keep on trying to restore it. In any event, we need not follow these Communist tactics of propaganda diplomacy in conferences and negotiations between friends.

There are, of course, important situations in which the most effective instruments of diplomacy are open conferences with a maximum of publicity. The General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Economic and Social Council, have accomplished a great deal through the opportunities they provide in public sessions for the clarification and mobilization of international public opinion. The Security Council, too, has often found its ability to bring to bear in public the pressure of world opinion on particular issues, a strong instrument for peace.

But there are also situations—and they are sometimes the most difficult and most important ones—where highly publicized meetings offer the least promising method of negotiating. An atmosphere of drama is inevitably generated when the eyes of the world are focussed on a single meeting. Too much drama is not always good for discussion or decision. It may neutralize the value of talks and even doom them in advance to futility. Where public expectations are over-stimulated, deliberation is apt to be confused with dullness and compromise with capitulation. The purpose of negotiation is, necessarily, to seek agreement through mutual adjustments. But adjustments are not made easier, and may well be made impossible, when the negotia-

tors fear that any concession, or compromise is, within the hour, going to be printed, pictured or broadcast as a capitulation.

There is another difficulty which you will appreciate. Quiet and constructive achievement often has no one to write or speak its praise. But conflict is its own publicity agent. A clash looks more exciting than a slow edging towards compromise. It is, therefore, more likely to get the front page.

But when it reaches the front page, the honour and pride of politicians and peoples become engaged. Headlines harden convictions, without clarifying them. As I have said more than once, there is nothing more difficult for a political negotiator to retreat from than a bold, black headline!

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not advocate secret deals around green baize tables in a dim light with all curtains drawn. No genuinely democratic state can or should countenance commitments secretly entered into; or adopt policies or make engagements without the people knowing about them and parliament passing on them.

But full publicity for objectives and policies and results, does not mean, or at least should not mean that negotiation must always be conducted, step by step, in public. Certainly no private business, not even a public relations business, could be operated successfully by such methods. And government is the most important business of all.

Diplomacy is simply the agency for the conduct of that business with other states. As such it involves the application of intelligent public relations procedures to the conduct of foreign affairs.

Job for Diplomats

There are times when I think we might be well advised to leave more of it to the diplomats. They are trained for the job and they are usually happy to conduct a negotiation without issuing a progress report after each 20 minute period.

I hope that I won't be considered as disloyal to my Trade Union of political negotiators if I suggest that there are certain things that ambassadors and officials can do better than foreign or other ministers, especially in the early stages of negotiation.

If governments fail to reach agreement through official diplomatic channels, they can go on trying or, at worst, fail without fury. But when Foreign Ministers or, even more, when heads of governments meet, with their inevitable retinue of press, radio and television companions, with experts, advisors and advisors to advisors, things become more complicated and often more difficult.

There is always the danger that if agreement cannot be reached at meetings on which so much public hope and expectation have been centred, this will inevitably be interpreted as conclusive evidence that agreement never will be possible. The reaction to this may become, in its turn, unnecessarily despairing and pessimistic. Consequently, there is the strong temptation to conceal or deny

the fact of disagreement or to concentrate on blaming the other person or persons for it. In this latter technique the Communists are past masters. Their participation at international conferences is, in fact, often for propaganda purposes only. Their tactics to this end are worked out long before the conference opens, and their exploitation of failure by attributing it to others, continues long after the conference ends.

One reason why there is a reluctance to revert more often to normal methods of diplomacy, using what we call "official channels" rather than political conferences, is that diplomacy as a profession still has a somewhat dubious reputation. This is a 'hang-over' from the days when professional diplomats were the agents of autocratic rulers, in carrying out policies that had little or nothing to do with the welfare of people, or little concern for their interests.

In its origin and in its practice until recent years diplomacy has tended to remain aloof and exclusive. Its spirit and its appeal has often been more dynastic than democratic.

With a faint aura of wickedness still about it, this calling is considered by many to be full of trickery and skull duggery, practiced by sinister, if distinguished looking gentlemen, who have replaced the knee breeches of the 18th century by the striped pants of today.

This is, of course, unwarranted and unfair. No doubt it could be corrected if a good public relations firm was retained to convince the public that the striped pants are really overalls. Striped pants, in any event, are not a garment but a state of mind. That state of mind, I hope and believe, does not exist in the Canadian External Affairs Department or in its Foreign Service. Striped pants and bow ties do not go well together!

Unfortunately, also, the failures of diplomacy have often been charged with responsibility for resulting wars which men have had to fight long after the diplomat has asked for his passports. Diplomatic failures—as is the case with other failures—linger in memory and persist in history long after successes and achievements are forgotten.

Good Public Relations Required

In the past diplomacy has suffered from bad public relations—or—even worse, you will admit—from no public relations at all. It is important to alter this in the future because the public relations aspect of international politics, and hence diplomacy, is now so important as at times to be decisive. The main reason for this is, of course, the inescapable necessity, in a democracy of basing foreign policy, and its conduct, on public opinion, which is now determined by all, not merely a few of the citizens. It is essential, therefore, that public opinion should be kept fully and honestly informed; not, as I have argued, of every step in negotiation, but of every principle of policy, which is something different. Public opinion must, however, be convinced that, even if its representatives in government are to be given—as I think they should—room

to manoeuvre in negotiation, they will not abandon any principle that has been laid down to guide such negotiation.

This is no easy task, especially in dealing with Communist states. Our fear of Communism is understandably so great that if in negotiation we make a concession on any point of detail, and this becomes public as it nearly always does, we may be accused of deserting a principle or of being "soft". This, in fact, can be carried to such a point that fear, both of the Communist and the critic, can freeze diplomacy completely so that no progress of any kind can be made. I hope that we can avoid this purely static position in the coming year just as I hope we can avoid clutching at every proposal as promising peace.

The other difficulty is that any concession or compromise of any kind can be and often is interpreted by a Communist opponent as a sign of weakness generally, and will, therefore, encourage him to be more intransigent than ever.

We have plenty of examples of both these difficulties in contemporary negotiations with Communist governments, especially over Korea and Germany.

Negotiation Methods

The best way, as I see it, to deal with this situation—negotiating with Communist Governments—is to decide in advance what the points and principles are on which you will stand fast and then not to budge from them. At the same time, it is necessary to be flexible on non-essential matters, without worrying too much about the misinterpretation which may be given to a conciliatory attitude on these matters. There are other useful rules to follow. We should not permit the Communists to drag us down to their level of debate and dialectic. In discussion we should not mistake villification for vigour, or sound and fury for sense and firmness.

We would be wise, I think, to follow the advice of a distinguished United States delegate to the United Nations, Senator Warren Austin when he said: "Always leave your enemy room to retreat". That seems to me to make sense, if not in war, at least in negotiation, even with Communists. Equally good advice would be not to allow yourself to be manoeuvred into a blind alley.

Finally, we should resist the Anglo-Saxon failing of making a moral issue of every separate political problem. There are some problems that can be dealt with on the basis of political expediency; others only on the basis of moral principle. It is desirable, though often difficult, to recognize the distinction.

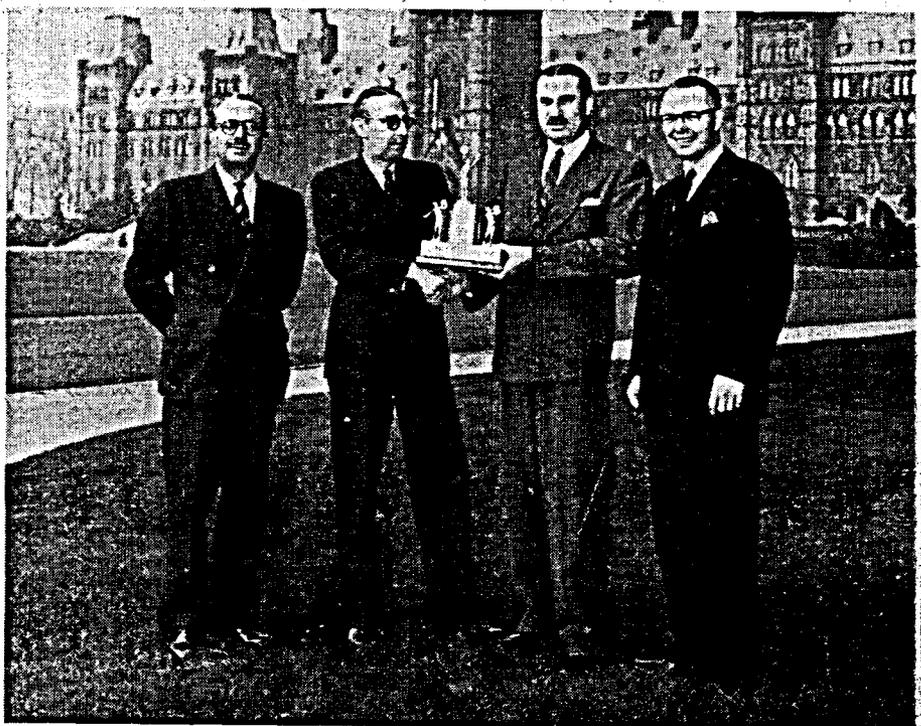
To the Communists, of course, there is no such difficulty, because there is no such thing as a moral issue. This may seem to give them a short-run advantage. But in the long-run a foreign policy which has a sound moral basis will prevail over one which has not, providing we build on that base a structure of strength with freedom.

There is, however, one definite advantage

(Continued on page 68)

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. Désy, Q.C., was appointed Canadian Ambassador to France on January 1, 1954 and he assumed his functions on January 4, 1954.
- Mr. J. S. Nutt was posted from home leave (Rio de Janeiro) to Ottawa effective January 5, 1954.
- Mr. J. R. MacKinney was posted from home leave (Belgrade) to Ottawa effective January 11, 1954.
- Mr. G. Choquette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective January 15, 1954.
- Mr. C. S. Gadd was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective January 20, 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Cleveland was posted from the Canadian Consulate General New York, to Ottawa, in preparation for his transfer to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi. Mr. Cleveland left for Karachi on January 22, 1954.



INTERDEPARTMENTAL TOURNAMENT

—Capital Press

Harmony and co-operation normally characterize relationships between foreign service personnel of the Departments of Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, but in their recently-inaugurated annual golf tournament competition was keen. The first contest at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club last year resulted in a triumph for Trade and Commerce. In the above photograph, Mr. Fred Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce (right) accepts the victory trophy from Mr. Charles Ritchie, former Acting Under-Secretary of State for the Department of External Affairs. At the left in the photograph is Mr. Evan Gill, Head of the Personnel Division, Department of External Affairs. On Mr. Bull's left is Mr. Hugh Aitken, General Manager of the Export Credits Insurance Corporation. The imposing trophy was presented for annual competition by Mr. Dana Wilgress, Canada's Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council. Mr. Wilgress has served both as Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce and Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/48—*Report of the Disarmament Commission*, statement given on November 10, 1953, by the Canadian Representative, Mr. D. M. Johnson, in the First Committee of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.
- No. 53/49—*Measures to Reduce International Tension*, the text of a statement made on November 23, 1953, by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Alcide Côté, in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.
- No. 53/50—*Don't Let Asia Split the West*, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson (Reprinted from "World", December 1953).
- No. 54/1—Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast on January 1, 1954 over the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- No. 54/2—*International Public Relations*, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made to the Canadian Public Relations Society, Montreal, January 5, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

- No. 53/51—*Review of Canada's Economy in 1953*, a statement issued on December 29, 1953, by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

This list of United Nations documents recently received in the Department of External Affairs contains the titles of those documents which may be of general interest. It consists of reports by subsidiary bodies of the United Nations on the more important current activities of the organization, research activities of the organization, research notes by the Secretariat and general surveys of the work of the United Nations. The following list has been divided into two sections, section (a) — printed publications — which may be obtained by the general public from the following addresses: Agents: the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. W., Toronto; Periodica, 4234 De La Roche, Montreal. Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; University of Montreal Bookstore, Montreal; Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec; University of Toronto Press & Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver; Winnipeg Bookstore, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; and section (b) — mimeographed United Nations documents — which can only be procured by the general public, by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat at New York. They are available to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations, from the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. UNESCO documents may be procured from the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario (English), and Le Centre de Publications Internationales, 4234 Rue de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q. (French). The publications and documents listed below may be consulted at the following places in Canada:

University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).

McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed documents).

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

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the International Monetary Fund 1953 (Annual Report of the Executive Directors for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1953); Washington, D.C. Pp. 160. (E/2496, 14 January 1954).

Commodity Trade and Economic Development; 25 November 1953; Document E/2519. Pp. 102. 75 cents. Sales No.: 1954. II.B.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

UNESCO:

XVth International Conference on Public Education—Proceedings and Recommendations. Publication No. 151. Pp. 172. \$1.25.

Humanism and Education in East and West—An International Round-Table Discussion organized by UNESCO (Unity and Diversity of Cultures). Paris 1953. Pp. 224. \$1.50.

Films on Art by Francis Bolen. Panorama 1953. Illustrated International Catalogue. Paris 1953. Pp. 79. 75 cents.

The teaching of the social sciences in the United Kingdom (Teaching in the Social Sciences). Paris 1953. Pp. 140. \$1.00.

WHO:

Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the financial year 1 January - 31 December 1955 with the proposed programme and estimated expenditure for technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries. Geneva, December 1953. Official Records No. 50. Pp. 479. \$2.75.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Report on the Administration of the British/United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste for the period 1 January to 31 December 1952 by Major General Sir John Winterton, KCMG, CB, CBE, Commander, British/United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste (Report No. 12); 23 December 1953; document S/3156. Pp. 46.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS

(Continued from page 65)

which Communists have in negotiation. They speak with one voice. But in a coalition of free states, large and small, powerful and weak, each has its own voice, each has its own pride, prejudice and public opinion. For this reason we hear too often the "voices" rather than the "voice" of freedom.

There may be no more imperative necessity facing us in 1954 than that of working out the applying satisfactory and effective methods of consultation and co-operation within the coalition, so that we can negotiate with the Kremlin—and Peking—as a well-knit and cohesive group.

The United States, the United Kingdom and France have the main responsibility for this but Canada too has a part to play. Our reputation as a people is good, our strength and stature is envied, our objectivity and good faith is recognized. In short, Canada's international public relations are healthy, which is another way of saying that our position and prestige is high.

This gives us justifiable reason for pride. But it also imposes on us obligations and responsibilities.

We have general obligations as a member of the United Nations and NATO. We also have a special responsibility—which involves a special problem in international public relations—in respect of our relations with the United States. That responsibility is, however, reciprocal—for friendship and mutual understanding require two-way effort.

These relations with the United States are becoming more and more important to both countries; and more varied and complicated.

It is not surprising, therefore, that problems are increasing. We must meet and solve them with a minimum of bickering and a maximum of that good will that has been characteristic in this century of the relations between our two countries. Any other approach—or any other result—would be unthinkable. If Canada and the United States cannot grow closer together in good neighbourhood and friendship—and in the mutual respect and understanding on which friendship must rest—what chance is there for peace and stability in the world.

I want to end on this note and in doing so I beg your forgiveness if I repeat as my concluding words something I said in New York a few weeks ago. "We Canadians claim the special privilege, as a close neighbour and a candid friend, of grouching about our big, our overwhelming partner, and of complaining at some of the less attractive manifestations of her way of life. But we Canadians also know, from our own experiences and from our relationship with the United States, which is closer than that of any other country, that the sound and fury of contemporary clamour, while it may at times mar and even conceal, cannot destroy the noble qualities and the deep strength of that land on whom there now rests (for there is no other strong foundation) the hopes of all peoples, for peace and for free existence."

If we can make real progress during 1954 towards that good objective—peace and free existence—then indeed it will be a year for thanksgiving.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Survey of World Affairs

THE Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard, reviewed the international situation in the House of Commons on Friday, January 29. Before beginning his discussion of international affairs Mr. Pearson paid tribute to the memories of the late Mr. Gordon Graydon, M.P., the late Mr. Hume Wrong, and the late Mr. George Patterson. He extended good wishes to Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, M.P., as the new critic for the official opposition in matters of external affairs.

Europe

Turning to the present situation in Europe Mr. Pearson mentioned two important developments in the course of the last year. In the first place the death of Premier Stalin had produced more flexible Soviet policies, both domestic and foreign. The changes in internal policy had been marked by a new emphasis on collective leadership, a modification of the policy of denationalization of minorities within the Soviet Union, some redirection of production to consumer goods and provision of increased incentives for farmers. Soviet foreign policy, the Minister observed, presented a mixed pattern. While the Soviet Government had extended minor concessions, Mr. Pearson believed that there had been "nothing in all this to give us cause to believe that basic Soviet objectives in foreign policy have changed". Secondly, there had been the "remarkable" recovery of West Germany. While this development had been the cause of anxiety to some people, Mr. Pearson believed that "we can understand this fear without agreeing with the conclusions which are sometimes drawn from it". In any case Mr. Pearson believed "the harnessing of German rearmament to a defensive collective purpose" provided a better solution to the problem of Germany than the old alliances between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe against Germany which had failed to prevent war in 1914 and in 1939. Mr. Pearson examined alternative forms of the European Defence Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and various possible relationships between them, and concluded that however the German problem was to be settled, the solution should involve a "close and organic association of a free, strong and cohesive international community, European and Atlantic in character". This, he felt, was the best guarantee that the military strength of a revived Germany would only be used for defensive purposes.

The Secretary of State warned that the Communists would use the question of Germany to divide the free Western coalition, and stated that the willingness of the Soviet Government to see Germany unified on acceptable terms, involving "a government freely elected by the whole of the German people", would be tested at the Berlin Conference. Mr. Pearson held out hope of some good results from the Berlin Conference, but warned the House not to expect too much.

In examining the progress made by NATO the Minister stated that while a good job had been done so far, much remained to be done. NATO forces had doubled in number since 1951 and had improved in quality to the point where



THE PRIME MINISTER'S GOODWILL TOUR

—Capital Press

"I think these relations (with other members of the Commonwealth) will be even closer and even more friendly as the result of the voyage of friendship, goodwill and exploration which our Prime Minister is beginning at the end of next week" the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson said in his statement on world affairs in the House of Commons on January 29. Above, Mr. St. Laurent is shown with his son and daughter, Mr. Jean-Paul St. Laurent and Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell, who are accompanying him on his tour, and Mrs. St. Laurent.

Mr. Pearson believed them sufficiently strong to deter aggression. However, Soviet and satellite forces were also still growing and at the recent Ministerial meeting of NATO it was therefore agreed that the North Atlantic alliance should remain on its guard, while promoting economic and social development and political unity and wherever possible negotiating with the Soviet Union on outstanding differences. Future NATO military planning would emphasize modern equipment, new weapons and swift retaliation on aggressors, including atomic retaliation, the Minister explained. He announced that, by the end of 1954, it was planned that NATO should have forces only slightly larger in number than those existing at present, but substantially improved in quality.

Far East

Turning to a discussion of Far Eastern affairs Mr. Pearson reviewed the situation in Korea since the signing of the Armistice Agreement. He told the House that the Canadian Government had informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Canada did not favour reconvening the General Assembly in February. The reasons behind this decision were the possibility that talks might be resumed at Panmunjom, the fact that Far Eastern items had been included on the agenda of the Berlin Conference, and the impossibility

of restricting discussion in the United Nations to a consideration of Indian action in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. As for the recent release of Chinese Communist and North Korean prisoners-of-war, Mr. Pearson held the view that this move was "not only legally correct, but morally sound and quite consistent with the terms of the Armistice Agreement itself". He blamed the obstructionist attitude of the Communist side on the prisoners-of-war issue to the blow to Communist prestige suffered during the examination of the prisoners-of-war.

Mr. Pearson then proceeded to outline certain principles which he believed should act as a guide in the conduct of Canadian policy towards the Asian countries generally. There should be no compromise with Communist military aggression, he argued; at the same time, we should not assume that every nationalist, anti-colonial or revolutionary movement in Asia was Russian Communist in origin and direction, any more than we should assume that every Asian Communist was a potential Tito.

We should attempt, Mr. Pearson said, to convince the Asian peoples of the superiority of Western democracy over communism through constructive domestic policies of our own, through mutual aid and through avoiding the impression that the West associated only with reactionaries. Our policy, he stated, must be constructive and anti-communism should not be the only claim to our assistance. Further, we should recognize that changes in the social, national and economic structure of Asia would have taken place had there never been a Communist revolution in Russia. This trend could not be reversed and should not be ignored, Mr. Pearson argued, while reminding the House of Canada's special obligation and opportunity as a member of a Commonwealth which included Asian and African as well as Western countries.

United States

Relations between Canada and the United States would continue to become more varied and complex, Mr. Pearson continued. In the conduct of these relations, Canada should not forget the heavy responsibility which the United States bears as the leader of the free world, while the United States should remember that partnership and co-operation are a two-way process. Best results would be achieved, Mr. Pearson said, if "neither partner asks the other to do what it would not like to be asked to do itself". Mentioning one important current problem Mr. Pearson referred to the recent removal of obstacles to power development on the St. Lawrence through action in the U.S. Courts.

So long as Canada and the United States continued to settle their differences in this way, Mr. Pearson believed that hope remained for the rest of the world. In conclusion, Mr. Pearson stated that we could take some comfort from the fact that there was somewhat more hope for peace in the world than had existed a year ago, so long as we remembered that "the world still remains an unsafe place for the weak, the weary and the unwary".

United Nations

Speaking for the first time as Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard discussed the activities of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, which adjourned early in



SIR EDMUND HILLARY VISITS OTTAWA

—Capital Press

A few days after Mr. Pearson had made his statement on world affairs in the House of Commons, Sir Edmund Hillary visited Ottawa. He was presented with a sleeping bag by Mr. Pearson, similar to the one used in the Mount Everest ascent. Left to right: Mr. Pearson; Mrs. Hillary; the High Commissioner for New Zealand in Canada, Mr. T. C. A. Hislop; and Sir Edmund Hillary.

December. Mr. Pinard noted that the eighth session had not been characterized by a great deal of constructive achievement, since the United Nations was in a transitional phase between the termination of the Korean conflict and the development of post-Korea relationships. While major problems were being dealt with elsewhere the United Nations continued to struggle with the challenging problems associated with nationalism, colonialism and racialism. As an illustration of such problems, Mr. Pinard discussed the question of Tunisia and Morocco. He observed that, "as citizens of a country which has gradually and peacefully transformed its status from that of a simple colony to that of a free nation, it is our duty to look with sympathy upon problems of the same nature which are facing other peoples who are also trying to attain maturity and independence. But we also have our duty to perform according to the terms of the Charter of the United Nations."

Continuing, the Parliamentary Assistant examined Soviet policy as reflected in recent debates in the United Nations. The difficulties associated with convening a political conference on Korea, the debate on measures to reduce international tension, and in particular, the debate on disarmament, all indicated that at the eighth session of the General Assembly there had been no basic change in Soviet actions.

(Continued on p. 78)

H. Hume Wrong

(Mr. H. Hume Wrong, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, died in Ottawa on January 24, 1954. The following tribute to him was written by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.)

HUME WRONG had rare quality. Some of this he inherited, because his lineage was distinguished. He added to that distinction by his life, his work and his character. Like his father, Professor G. M. Wrong, he was a historian, and he succeeded in maintaining, even in the midst of making history, the historian's perspective; the capacity for calculating the distant consequences and withstanding the pressures and emotions of the moment. From his grandfather, Edward Blake, he inherited a brilliant intellect as well as strong convictions. When confronted with pomposity or pretence, he often displayed some impatience because of his dislike for sham of any kind. He was considered by some to be an austere person. He was certainly a shy and diffident one—and he never wore his heart on his sleeve. But when you got to that heart, and won his friendship, the reward was a rich one. No one could be a truer, more loyal or more warm-hearted comrade.

In childhood he had suffered an injury which resulted in the loss of sight of one eye. He refused to let this disability handicap him in any way: when he was rejected for the Canadian Army in 1915, he went to England and joined the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry. He was invalided back to Canada after the Battle of the Somme and was later seconded to the Royal Flying Corps.

On demobilization in 1919, he returned to an academic career. After two years' study at Oxford, he came back to Toronto as, first, a lecturer, and later an Assistant Professor of History. During this period he published two books, "The Government of the West Indies" and "Sir Alexander MacKenzie Explorer and Fur Trader", both of which are distinguished for that combination of impeccable scholarship and style which were characteristic of everything he wrote, whether it was an important address or an office memorandum.

Joins External Affairs

It was a fortunate day for the Department of External Affairs when this admirably equipped young historian joined the staff of the new Canadian Legation in Washington. It was a time when Canada was beginning to build up her foreign service and take responsibility for her own foreign policy, a most important phase of which was the conduct of relations with the United States.

Hume Wrong was a good person to help build and strengthen these relations. He had a faith and pride in his country, tempered with discretion, good sense, and an absence of jingoism or national prejudice; qualities especially needed during the early days of Canadian foreign policy.

He remained in Washington until 1937, during which time he was for several lengthy periods Chargé d'Affaires. His experience in these years laid the groundwork for his success when he returned later as Ambassador. He acquired an extraordinary knowledge of the American political scene and the habits and practices of American government. He developed friendships



H. HUME WRONG
1894-1954

—NFB

and associations with many people who later held official positions of great responsibility.

After leaving Washington Hume Wrong became particularly interested in international organization. He had his first direct experience of this subject when he was posted to the League of Nations in Geneva in 1937 as Canadian Advisory Officer and later as Canadian Permanent Delegate. It was characteristic of him that, although he saw without any illusion the weaknesses and the frustrations of Geneva in those demoralizing years, his experience never became the basis of cynicism—a habit of mind at all times completely foreign to him—but rather the material from which he was able to make later an effective and salutary contribution to planning for the new United Nations.

What particularly distinguished his contribution in this field was its rational quality and its pragmatism. He did not suffer from apocalyptic delusions about the nature and the prospects of international government, but his fertile and flexible mind seemed never at a loss for devices to create the most practical and durable means of consultation and collaboration for keeping the peace and increasing the welfare of man.

Assistant Under-Secretary

The first years of the Second World War Mr. Wrong spent in London as a special Economic Adviser at Canada House. Then, after a short term in Washington as Minister-Counsellor, he came to Ottawa as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. His special charge was the Commonwealth and European Division, which, during the period from 1942-1946 when he was in charge, embraced most of the major problems of war and peace. His responsibilities at this time were particularly heavy, and the volume of work enormous. The lightning speed with which he would read through the accumulation of papers on his desk and make his decisions became a legend to those who came after him.

It was during this period that Mr. Wrong made his particular mark on the work of the Department itself. With his fine intellect he combined unusual administrative capacity. His mind was in all things orderly and disciplined, his decisions not only shrewd but swift. He worked his staff hard and imposed upon them his own high standards, and they admired him for it. The flash of his blue pencil excising from memoranda the glandiloquent, the superfluous and the obscure until they attained some of the clean, terse quality of his own prose will not soon be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to work with him in those difficult war years. From the first contact he won the respect of his staff, and this feeling he warmed into affection by his kindness, sincerity and his personal interest in their work and welfare.

Ambassador to Washington

His appointment in 1946 as Canadian Ambassador in Washington was a fitting climax to Mr. Wrong's career. It was the work for which he had trained himself, and both countries were fortunate to have in this post a man of such wisdom and experience during a long period when new problems and more complex relationships had to be worked out. Most of his work, as always, was unobtrusive. He insisted that it should be so. He had a horror of horn blowing. As a diplomat he knew his business, but considered no part of it to assert his

own importance. Consequently, only those who had direct association with him could fully appreciate the extent to which the good relations between Canada and the United States in a difficult period could be attributed to Hume Wrong's professional skill and wise counsel.

As Ambassador in Washington he was always an effective advocate of the Canadian viewpoint, not only because he always presented a case clearly, but also because he was listened to with the respect created by his reputation for good sense and objectivity. His meticulous carefulness and his uncompromising honesty meant that he never left a subject until it was clearly understood, first by himself and then by those with whom he talked. There was no place in his mind for sloppy edges, for unclarified assumptions or for the ambiguities which often lead later to recriminations and charges of bad faith. He was as courageous in presenting unwelcome considerations to his own government as he was in explaining to them the views of the government to which he was accredited.

During the many years spent in Washington, Hume Wrong developed a fondness for the country-side of Virginia and Maryland. He loved to roam in unfrequented spots in the nearby Blue Ridge Mountains. He was not afraid of solitude, and had a sensitive appreciation of beauty. He knew a great deal about birds and their habits, and he delighted in flowers of the field or the garden. While Murray Bay remained for him "the enchanted spot", because of the many happy summers spent there as a boy, later on he grew to love the Gatineau Hills, where he had a log cabin, high up on the rocks, overlooking a lake.

Return to Ottawa

Last Autumn Hume Wrong came back to Ottawa, to assume, as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, direction of the Department which he had done so much to create. Those who had worked with him before were eager to feel the effects of his penetrating mind on the new and even more difficult problems that they were now coping with, and the younger officers were no less anxious to see at work a man of whom their older colleagues spoke with such respect and admiration.

He spent only two short weeks in the Department before his collapse from an illness which had threatened him before but to which he, characteristically, had refused to submit. His passing has left among his associates a feeling of tragic loss and frustration. He had started on what was to be the crowning work of a distinguished career, and in spite of the weakness already upon him there were flashes of the old brilliance which kindled excitement. What he would have accomplished as Under-Secretary we shall never know, but our sense of official loss is diminished by a recognition of what he had already achieved. He had set standards, created patterns, and trained men to carry on his work. He had done much to earn for the Canadian foreign service a reputation abroad which those who come after him will seek to maintain. He had made an unexcelled contribution himself over twenty-seven years to devising the fabric of Canadian foreign policy and establishing principles and practices which others could follow. And he had infused into the service to which he belonged something of his own sincerity and simplicity and devotion to duty.

The fine qualities of Hume Wrong have been described with eloquence and discernment by a close friend of his for many years, Mr. Dean Acheson, the former Secretary of State of the United States. Mr. Acheson, in a letter to *The New York Times* of January 27, said:

As I think of our years of work and friendship, the qualities of his which keep coming back to my mind are his goodness and his integrity. There are many able men in this world, but not nearly so many—indeed, all too few—of whom one says, 'He is a good man.' Hume Wrong was that, and with it went his invincible integrity. What he thought was right, that he did—without bitterness, without aspersions upon a differing view, but without any compromise of his own conviction.

He will be sadly missed and deeply mourned. He was a gallant gentleman and an honourable servant of his country and of mankind.

Some of us were close to Hume Wrong for many years. We shall not soon forget the shy smile of greeting, the diffident warmth of friendly conversation, the look of stern concentration as he tackled some troublesome question. He served his country well and he left those who knew him much richer for his friendship.

—L. B. Pearson

SURVEY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

(Continued from p. 73)

Mr. Pinard summarized the work of the eighth session in the economic, social and administrative fields. In economic matters, he referred to the approval of the principle of an international development fund under United Nations auspices, to the renewal of the expanded programme of technical assistance, to the continuation of the United Nations Children's Fund, and to the assistance requested for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. Social questions debated at the eighth session had included the repatriation of prisoners-of-war from the Second World War, forced labour, the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a proposed programme of concerted United Nations action in the social field, he reported. Important developments in the administrative field had included the appointment of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to succeed Mr. Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of the United Nations, the discussion of far-reaching proposals for simplifying the structure of the Secretariat and preliminary discussions of the "troublesome" question of the Awards of the Administrative Tribunal.

In summing up Mr. Pinard expressed it as his opinion that "the United Nations must remain a cornerstone in our policy in the modern world", and stated that he believed that this view was shared by the majority of Canadians.

(The texts of Mr. Pearson's and Mr. Pinard's speeches are available on request from the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs as S/S No. 54/5 and 54/6.)

GATT - Eighth Session

THE Eighth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was held in Geneva from September 17 to October 24, 1953. At this meeting representatives of the 33 member countries considered several important general trade questions and a large number of matters arising out of the administration of the General Agreement. They also welcomed Japan as a provisional participant. Of particular significance for the future of the General Agreement, the Contracting Parties decided that a review of its provisions should be undertaken in 1954 or 1955. At the end of the session Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, who had been closely associated with the development of the GATT and had been Chairman of the Contracting Parties from the establishment of GATT in 1947 until 1951, was elected Chairman for the coming year.

The Position of the General Agreement in International Commercial relations

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was negotiated at Geneva in 1947. It was the result of a decision among the countries then preparing a draft charter for an International Trade Organization that its job in the field of reducing trade barriers should be taken on at once, without waiting for the establishment of the Organization. The Agreement provides generally for the exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment among the participants and the negotiation of tariff concessions. It also establishes a framework of general rules on commercial relations. The ITO Charter has not come into force and the GATT therefore is the only international instrument governing trading relations on a more or less world-wide basis.

The General Agreement is applied provisionally by 34 countries who among them account for more than 80 per cent of world trade. It came into operation in January 1948 and under it there have been three rounds of tariff negotiations in addition to the eight regular business sessions of the Contracting Parties.

The Eighth Session

The Eighth Session proved once more the ability of the Contracting Parties to resolve difficult and important questions affecting their trade relations. It also successfully dealt with several complaints about actions of member countries and reviewed the discriminatory import restrictions which are maintained by a number of Contracting Parties. The more important issues of concern or interest to Canada are described below.

Review of the General Agreement

When GATT was concluded in 1947 it was contemplated that the ITO Charter would be in force within a short time. It was provided however that if the ITO did not enter into force, the Contracting Parties would consider in due course to what extent it might be desirable to amend or supplement the provisions of the General Agreement. The Contracting Parties have now



GENEVA TRADE MEETING

—Urs. G. Arni

Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, second from right, front row, at a meeting of the Eighth Session of Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, held in Geneva September-October 1953. Seated behind Mr. Howe is Dr. C. M. Isbester, Director of the International Trade Relations Branch, Department of Trade and Commerce, and a member of the Canadian Delegation.

decided that this review should be undertaken in October 1954 or possibly some months later.

A number of Contracting Parties, including Canada, expressed concern about the continued imposition by the United States of import restrictions on dairy products. These restrictions, although they had been modified since the Contracting Parties examined them in 1952, continued to be applied with substantially the same severity. A recommendation was addressed to the United States urging it to consider the harmful effects on international trade relations which resulted from the continued application of these restrictions. The United States was requested to report, before the next session, on action which it might take.

The Contracting Parties noted that Belgium had since their previous meeting, substantially relaxed import restrictions on dollar goods about which Canada and the United States had complained. The Canadian and United States delegations expressed disappointment that Belgium could not announce early plans for further liberalization and it was agreed that these three countries should hold informal consultations and that the question should be reviewed at the next session.

A waiver of the limitations under Article I regarding tariff preferences was granted to the United Kingdom to enable it to impose duties on certain goods

enjoying free entry from Commonwealth sources. These facilities were granted with certain safeguards and it was understood that the United Kingdom would not use them for the purpose of diverting trade from foreign to Commonwealth countries, but only to increase the duty on unbound tariff items as and when adjustments in these tariff rates were considered necessary by the United Kingdom Government.

Tariff negotiations have not been held under GATT since the Conference which took place at Torquay, England, during the winter of 1950-51. Action was taken at that time to extend the assured life of the concessions negotiated there, together with the rates previously negotiated at Geneva in 1947 and at Annecy in 1949, until December 31, 1953. As it appeared desirable not to undertake a fourth round of multilateral tariff negotiations until some time after new trade agreement legislation has been enacted by the United States, it was therefore necessary for the Contracting Parties, in order to assure tariff stability in the meantime, to arrange for a further validation of existing tariff schedules. The Contracting Parties extended the assured life of the concessions until July 1, 1955.

Provisional Participation of Japan

The Contracting Parties arranged for Japan to participate in their meetings and work pending a fourth round of multilateral tariff negotiations when Japan might negotiate with a view to accession. A Declaration was also prepared by which those Contracting Parties in a position to do so would agree to have the provisions of GATT govern commercial relations between themselves and Japan. Canada is expected to give this letter arrangement consideration when the most-favoured-nation trade agreement concurrently under negotiation with Japan has been approved and ratified.

Proposal for the Reduction of Customs Tariff Levels

With respect to the future for tariff relations, the most significant work which was done at the Eighth session possibly was the attention given to a proposal which has been under study since the Sixth Session for a general automatic reduction of tariffs. While this plan would require further elaboration of some of the technical problems involved before the possibility of implementing it could be given serious consideration, the Contracting Parties decided that work on the plan is sufficiently advanced for it to be submitted to Governments for their comments. In the light of prospects for further tariff negotiations and the elimination of quantitative restrictions, Contracting Parties will also examine the questions of principle which are raised by the plan.

The proposals outlined in the plan now before the Contracting Parties would replace bilateral negotiations between countries, on a product-by-product basis aimed at a strict balance of concessions, with an obligation on all participating governments to reduce the protective incidence of their tariffs in accordance with a common standard. The concept of mutual advantage, an essential principle of the negotiating procedures followed heretofore, would therefore remain. The principal features of this possible new approach are described below.

Each participating country would undertake to reduce the average incidence (calculated by the ratio of the total duty actually collected to the value of goods imported for home consumption) of its customs tariff in a base year

by 30 per cent, in stages of 10 per cent in each of three successive years. The tariff would be divided into ten sectors, each of which would cover a broad category of related products (e.g. primary foods, products of the chemical industry, textile products and clothing, etc.), and countries would be required to obtain a 30 per cent reduction in each sector. In this way, while countries would have a degree of latitude in choosing the tariffs on which reductions would be made, the reductions would have to be distributed throughout the tariff and not concentrated in any one part of it. All supplying countries, and even those whose interest might be limited to products of a certain class, should therefore obtain benefits from the various reductions which might be made.

The position of low tariff countries would be taken account of by the establishment of a standard—a demarcation line—in each sector. A country whose average duty incidence in any sector was already below the demarcation line would be required to make less than the 30 per cent reduction. If the incidence was below a floor rate, which would also be established for each sector, no reduction would be required.

As some high tariffs may completely prohibit imports and therefore would not enter into the calculation of a country's average incidence in any sector, countries participating in the proposed plan would also undertake to reduce all tariffs which exceed certain agreed levels. The reductions would be made during the first three years. They would count as part of any reductions required under the 30 per cent rule. The ceilings would be fixed for each of four categories of imports, namely industrial raw materials, semi-finished goods, manufactured goods and agricultural products.

The plan as formulated at present makes certain allowances for countries in the process of economic development. It would remain in operation for five years. The Governments of Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands have indicated their support of the plan in principle. After the views of governments are obtained, and when some of the formulae are further clarified and agreed upon, the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement will then be able to decide whether the plan provides an acceptable basis for agreement. Any such decision will be taken of course after it is apparent which countries are prepared to accept the plan in principle and in the light of modifications which may be made in the General Agreement as a result of the forthcoming review of its provisions.

Consultations and Report on Quantitative Restrictions

Consultations were held with a number of countries on the nature and effects of the import restrictions which they maintain in accordance with the balance of payments provisions of the General Agreement. These consultations are designed to examine the nature of countries' balance of payments difficulties, alternative corrective measures, and the effect of import restrictions on the economies of countries applying them as well as of countries against whom the restrictions are applied.

At the Eighth Session the United Kingdom reviewed the important measures of liberalization affecting imports of basic foodstuffs and raw materials which it had taken and explained the benefits accruing to the United Kingdom economy from these measures. It indicated how they injected a greater element of competition among sources of supply. The Netherlands and South Africa announced in the course of the session the abolition of various measures of discrimination against dollar goods.

Among the many questions arising out of routine operations which were considered at the Eighth Session were complaints about United States export subsidies on sultanas, oranges and almonds. The complainant countries secured assurances from the United States that it was fully prepared to consult with the Governments concerned and report to the Contracting Parties on action taken. Certain Greek import taxes and duties were also examined and the Greek Government settled the problems through domestic action. Australia was granted a waiver under the obligations not to impose any new preferences in order that it could provide certain import advantages for the primary products of the Territory of Papua-New Guinea. Australia proposes to accord certain preferences in order to encourage the economic development of the territory.

The Contracting Parties decided that their Ninth Session should be held in Geneva commencing October 14, 1954.



—Capital Press

MR. DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, paid a two-day visit to Canada in late February in the course of which he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Carleton College, Ottawa. Mr. Hammarskjöld is shown here at the Convocation with Dr. M. M. MacOdrum, President of Carleton College. While in Canada Mr. Hammarskjöld spoke before a luncheon meeting of the Empire Club in Toronto, and also delivered an address at the Convocation.

In Ottawa he called on the Governor General, had discussions with Cabinet Ministers and other government officials, and met members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. He also visited the House of Commons where the Speaker paid high tribute to his accomplishments in helping preserve peace.

(The texts of the addresses given in Canada may be obtained from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada (S/P 54/6 and 7).)

Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers

THE Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers which was held in Sydney, Australia, from January 8 to 15 provided an opportunity for Commonwealth Governments to review together developments in the economic field since the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952. In this respect the meeting therefore differed from previous gatherings of the Commonwealth finance ministers which took place in the shadow of acute balance of payments difficulties for the sterling area. That a meeting now could be held without being pervaded by a sense of crisis was an indication of the substantial progress towards greater economic stability which had been achieved during the past year.

Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, in opening the meeting declared that it was the first time such a notable financial and economic conference had been held in Australia. It was in fact the first time in which Commonwealth Finance Ministers had met together elsewhere than London, at least since the last war. All the independent countries of the Commonwealth were represented by their Finance Ministers except New Zealand where the finance portfolio is held by the Prime Minister. Mr. Bowden, the New Zealand Associate Minister of Finance, attended. The Canadian delegation was led by Mr. D. C. Abbott and the other Canadian representatives included Mr. W. A. Irwin, the High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, Mr. W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. J. J. Deutsch, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, and Mr. Louis Rasminsky of the Bank of Canada.

Object of Meeting

The object of the meeting was to consolidate the economic progress made by the sterling area and the Commonwealth during the last twelve months and to consider how, from this base, further progress could best be made in expanding world production and trade. Attention was given in particular to the outlook for world trade, development programmes, and the general plan elaborated at the 1952 Conference for obtaining an expansion in world production and for moving towards an effective multilateral trade and payments system.

Since January 1952 sterling area countries had made great strides towards their objectives of internal financial stability, paying their way in international commerce, pursuing sound development programmes and generally progressing towards conditions in which discriminatory trade controls could be gradually abolished and a wider and freer system of trade and finance achieved. Generally speaking these latter objectives are summed up in the Commonwealth "Collective Approach" to freer trade and payments—to which further reference is made below. An integral part of this plan is the eventual restoration of sterling convertibility. The plan rejects the notion that a lasting solution to economic problems can be found in a closed system of discriminatory arrangements and affirms that world prosperity can best be furthered by the free exchange of goods and services.



—*Sydney Morning Herald*

MINISTER OF FINANCE IN AUSTRALIA

The Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott, right, is questioned by Mr. F. Coleman, correspondent of Reuters, at a press conference during the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting held at Sydney, Australia, January 1954.

The Outlook for World Trade

In assessing prospects for the future the Conference considered the outlook for world trade. As the Commonwealth accounts for about one-third of that trade, actions and policies of these countries are of vital importance, especially when there may be some uncertainty about the future level of international trade. The Conference Communiqué affirmed that Commonwealth countries were prepared to take appropriate steps, both individually and in concert with one another, to sustain production, trade, and the sound development of resources, and to ensure that temporary economic fluctuations did not interfere with progress towards long-term objectives. The Commonwealth countries also affirmed that they were ready to co-operate with other countries and international institutions to this end.

The Conference Communiqué declared however that it was important for other countries, particularly European countries and the United States, to play their part in pursuing policies conducive to an expansion of world trade. President Eisenhower's declaration in his State of the Union message that his Administration was determined to keep the U.S. economy during the current transition stage both strong and growing was welcomed. The United States has of course a special part to play in view of its predominant position in international commerce.

At the meeting Mr. Butler, the United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer, reported on developments in Europe and particularly in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation where active attention is being

given to measures for progressing towards convertibility of currencies. Mr. Butler called attention to the expansion of production and the strengthening of the economic position of European countries generally.

In considering measures for the maintenance of a high level of trade attention was given to the problem of financial reserves to which reference is made in the recent report of the International Monetary Fund to the U.N. Economic and Social Council. This report states that while primary reliance for the avoidance and cure of depressions must be placed upon appropriate measures at the national level, especially in industrial countries, in order to prevent any economic recession or deflationary adjustments from developing into a major depression, the provision of supplementary financial reserves should be facilitated.

The Conference Communiqué declared "The sound economic policies pursued by the Commonwealth countries, the publicly expressed resolve of the United States Government to keep the economy of the United States strong and growing, the expansion of production in Europe, and the substantial increase in monetary reserves outside the dollar area provide, in our judgment, solid grounds for confidence".

After noting the marked improvement in the balance of payments of the sterling area, prospects for the coming year were examined. The sterling countries agreed that the sterling area as a whole would seek to maintain a substantial surplus in its payments with the rest of the world. While at earlier meetings it had been necessary to place primary emphasis on dollar earnings, and while it is necessary to continue to earn a dollar surplus, it was recognized that today it is just as important to earn a substantial surplus in other non-sterling currencies. Sterling area countries declared that in the forthcoming year earnings should be increased by intensive efforts over the whole field of exports.

At the time of the severe crisis in 1951 extensive restrictions were placed by some Commonwealth countries on imports from all sources including other members of the sterling area. The communiqué of the December 1952 conference, referred to these limitations on trade within the sterling area and it was agreed at that time that these restrictions should be relaxed as the external financial position of these countries improved. The recent Conference noted that some relaxations of these restrictions had been made and that prospects for further progress seemed possible by continuing improvement in the balances of payments of the countries concerned.

Internal Policies

It was recognized that more remained to be done with respect to applying internal policies which would contribute effectively to the common objectives. The Communiqué observed that the importance of this part of the task could not be over-emphasized. "On the application of sound economic policies depends the purchasing power of money, the cost of living and the ability to sell exports in increasingly competitive world markets. Short-comings in the financial position of these countries improved. The recent conference noted sterling area by creating excessive demand for imports, diverting resources from export industries and throwing the balance of payments out of equilibrium." The Conference recognized that some adjustments in policy might be required so as to encourage increased production for export and to stimulate savings.



—Associated Newspapers

COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Representatives of Commonwealth countries attending the Conference of Finance Ministers included, left to right: Sir Percy Spender, Australian Ambassador to the United States; Sir Arthur Fadden, Australian Federal Treasurer; Mr. R. A. Butler, United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. R. A. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia; Mr. Eric Harrison, Vice-President of the Australian Federal Executive Council; Mr. C. M. Bowden, Associate Minister of Finance for New Zealand.

Development

Great industrial and natural resources exist within the Commonwealth, and most countries share substantially in this wealth. But much remains to be done in the way of development. The sterling area Commonwealth countries affirmed that their aim was to concentrate on the development of those resources which, directly or indirectly, contribute on an economic basis towards improving the balance of payments of the sterling area. In some countries, however, it has been necessary for development plans to provide for urgently needed basic improvements in standards of living. This is of course an essential foundation for further economic development. Commonwealth representatives reaffirmed their determination to press on with these development plans. Where private enterprise plays a significant role it will be encouraged. Governments will be concerned to promote balanced development, whether public or private; to pursue policies designed to increase the flow of savings, and to encourage private investment from both internal and external sources.

The Collective Approach to Freer Trade and Payments

The Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952 elaborated a number of proposals designed in general to bring about the widest possible system of multilateral trade and payments including convertibility of currencies.

These proposals are frequently referred to as the "Collective Approach" inasmuch as they are based on collective action by debtor and creditor countries and are designed to obtain the elimination of restrictions on both trade and payments. The proposals call for monetary and financial discipline, particularly among debtor countries, and some liberalization of trade policies by creditor countries. Commonwealth countries reaffirmed that such policies could be the only ones which would permit the most efficient use of resources and a strengthening of national economies.

Illustrative of the progress made by sterling area countries, the Conference noted the growing confidence in sterling and the increasing strength and flexibility of the economies of the sterling area countries. However it was recognized that decisive action in bringing about the objectives of the Collective Approach must be related to the fulfilment of the conditions laid down at the 1952 meeting. These conditions are the continuing success of internal policies of sterling Commonwealth countries, the prospect that they and other trading nations will adopt trade policies which are conducive to the expansion of world trade, and the availability of adequate financial support through the International Monetary Fund or otherwise.

In this connection the Conference noted with encouragement President Eisenhower's message to Congress in which he referred to the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments in which all countries could earn their own living and in which the United States economy could continue to flourish. The Communiqué declared that all Commonwealth countries awaited the detailed recommendations on foreign economic policy which the President will place before the Congress.

Work Through Existing Organizations

Commonwealth countries reaffirmed their intention, as stated in the Communiqué of the 1952 conference, to work as far as possible through existing international organizations dealing with trade and finance in their efforts to implement the Collective Approach.

It was considered that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund would become even more important when moves to freer trade and currencies are concerted; and that the rules, procedures and organization of these institutions could be usefully re-examined. The conference also noted that member countries of the European Payments Union are now studying how a transition can be best effected from the EPU to a wider system of trade and payments. This examination is of particular importance for the collective approach in view of the United Kingdom's membership in the Union and the use of sterling in its transactions.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers attend these periodic meetings in order to review together current developments and discuss the problems facing individual countries. While all the participants are important trading countries they are in varying degrees of economic development. Certain aspects of the deliberations may be of more importance to some countries than to others. Their common interest lies in understanding one another's problems and working together towards the common objective of creating an effective multilateral trade and payments system in which goods and services can be exchanged to the greatest advantage.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on February 10, on a resolution dealing with an increase in Canada's contribution to the United Nations Programme for Technical Assistance, the Secretary of State for External Affairs pointed out that the motion before the House dealt with a subject "the long range importance of which might be very great indeed for international co-operation, and indeed for international peace". Mr. Pearson drew distinctions between relief, economic development and technical assistance. He placed Canada's contribution to the important work done by the United Nations through the Children's Fund and in Korea in the first category. The second, he said, consisted in making loans through national or international agencies, and in making available credit and investment funds to help other countries in their capital and economic development.

"Canada," the Minister stated, "has made available to the International Bank, for purposes I have just indicated—lending and relending—the whole of her original dollar subscription to the bank's capital, amounting to some \$58,000,000." This contribution, one of the largest made by any of its members, had assisted the Bank in advancing by way of loans and credits, somewhat over \$1,700,000,000.

Two Types of Assistance

Mr. Pearson explained that technical assistance proper might be of two types: bilateral or multilateral. The United States Point Four Programme and the Commonwealth Colombo Plan were of the first type. "Canada has contributed in the first three years under the Colombo Plan something over \$75,000,000 for capital assistance and over \$1,000,000 for technical assistance", the Minister added, "and this year the Government will ask Parliament to vote \$25,400,000—I believe that is the amount tentatively agreed upon—of which a portion will be for technical assistance proper." Multilateral schemes to which he referred were those which came out of the annual budget of the United Nations and the budgets of the various Specialized Agencies, "through which Canada has already made a pretty respectable contribution in terms of money and in terms of men".

Unfortunately, while it was one of the most important aspects of the United Nations' work, it was not a phase of that work which received very much publicity or very many headlines. "Too often", the Minister continued, "do we interpret the United Nations in terms of political controversy and not in terms of constructive and economic activity." He warned also of the danger of attempting to do too much in the wrong way and called attention to the need to know existing conditions so as to be in a position to introduce change effectively. Citing a number of concrete examples, Mr. Pearson showed how

productive results had been achieved from small expenditures and minor improvements in technique.

Before considering the record of material support which, while admittedly small, was necessarily so in the early stages of effective international work, the Minister stressed the importance of the proper approach as follows:

In addition to this kind of technical help, as has been pointed out already to-day, these people need sympathy, understanding and a knowledge of their local customs. In some respects that kind of approach and that kind of understanding are just as important as material support. Having said that, I should add that material support must follow sympathy and understanding or they cannot be effectively used.

In the first 18 months of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance a total of \$20,070,000 was contributed by members of the United Nations; to this Canada contributed \$850,000. In 1952 the total was \$19,000,000 and Canada's contribution was \$750,000. In 1953 the total amount went up to \$22,000,000, Canada's contribution increased to \$800,000.

"We have been trying," the Minister explained, "to keep what we think is a fair relationship between our contributions and the total amounts contributed by the United Nations". In the current year (1954) 70 countries have pledged themselves to contribute to the technical assistance fund. The amount firmly pledged is something over \$24,000,000. In this regard the Minister stated:

We also played a most active part in the pledging committee last autumn. We did what we could to get the amount up, and as an earnest of our endeavour in that regard we indicated through our representatives to the United Nations, Senator McKeen, that we would increase our amount this year from \$800,000 to \$1,500,000 (U.S. funds) . . . It seems clear that the conditions which we have laid down in regard to the increase in our contribution are to be fulfilled, and therefore it will be the intention of the Government when that is confirmed to include a figure in a supplementary estimate that would bring our total contribution to the maximum amount pledged . . . The Canadian contribution to technical assistance has been exceeded only by that of the United Kingdom, the United States and France in the past. If Parliament votes the amount which probably will be requested this year in the main and supplementary estimates, Canada's contribution will be the third largest of the members of the United Nations.

Technical Personnel

In conclusion, the Secretary of State for External Affairs referred to the efforts being made to increase the number of trained personnel available:

We are also playing a part not only in the contribution of funds but in the contribution of experts through the United Nations. In Canada to-day there are 217 United Nations technical assistance trainees out of a total of 300; the rest of them, come under the Colombo Plan programme and there are 96 Canadian experts now serving abroad in the United Nations . . . In conclusion Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my agreement with the spirit and indeed the content of this resolution, and to emphasize that we are doing something to carry out the advice contained in it. I also express the hope that it will commend itself to all honourable members in this House because as it has been said more than once, the war on want and backwardness, on deprivation and distress, is the road to peace.

Rollins College Address*

Replying to a question raised in the House of Commons on February 24, 1954, by Mr. M. J. Coldwell, Mr. Pearson presented extracts from a speech made at Rollins College, Florida:

You will find Canada no automatic 'yes man' but a staunch and loyal friend, especially in time of difficulty.

After giving some evidence of this in peace and war, in his address, he concluded as follows:

Canada is a young country, crying out for development; a country of vast distances, expensive and difficult to govern and to administer. Hers is not a determining voice when the big international decisions are to be made. nor will her contribution be decisive in the conference room or where the conflict rages. It might therefore be tempting to try to stand aside in any struggle between the giants and excuse that course by arguing that those who call the tune should pay the piper.

But that is not the way we feel about it. The conflict today is not between empires, or between one super-power and another, but between freedom and slavery, despotism and democracy, right and wrong. So we range ourselves on the side of freedom, under the leadership of the United States of America, and we will play, I hope, a good part in the long and unending fight for peace and a decent world.

* The complete text of this speech is carried on p. 94 of this issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO UNICEF

The Canadian Government's contribution of \$500,000 to the United Nations Children's Fund for the year 1954, subject to parliamentary approval, was announced on March 1 by Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, at the meeting of the Fund's Executive Board which is taking place in New York. The Board normally meets at this time of year to receive reports on the activities of the Fund and to make allocations for future programmes.

The Canadian Government has already contributed \$8,375,000 to the Fund since its establishment. In addition, voluntary contributions from individuals in Canada of approximately \$1,500,000 have been sent to the Fund.

UNICEF was created in 1947 under the name of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in order to help children from war-devastated countries. In 1950 the Fund was authorized to undertake for a period of three years ending December 31, 1953, long-range welfare projects for needy children in under-developed countries. On October 8, 1953, the General Assembly provided by a unanimous vote for the continuation of the Fund for an indefinite period.

Canadians at NATO Defence College

The fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty will be observed in all NATO countries April 4. Statements made on the occasion on behalf of the Canadian Government will be published in a subsequent issue of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

FIVE Canadians, including representatives of the three branches of Canada's Armed Forces, were among the 52 officers and Government officials who recently completed courses at NATO's Defence College in Paris.

On February 11, 1954, at the closing session of the fourth course, commemorative scrolls were presented to the following five Canadian representatives: Group Captain R. M. Cox, D.F.C., A.F.C., R.C.A.F.; Commander N. S. C. Dickinson, R.C.N.; Lt. Col. E. T. Munro; Wing Commander J. V. Watts, D.S.O., D.F.C. and Bar, R.C.A.F., and Mr. Ian R. Stirling, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The fifth course of the NATO Defence College opened on February 22 and will close on July 30, 1954.

The plan for a multi-national Defence College at which military, political, economic and social problems of the Atlantic Alliance would be studied and discussed, was conceived by General Dwight D. Eisenhower when he became NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. After member countries had endorsed the project, the first course, attended by 47 members, began on November 19, 1951. Members nominated by their respective countries are generally of the equivalent rank of lieutenant colonel or above, or civilians of corresponding senior grades.

The course, which lasts approximately 22 weeks, serves as a forum for discussions on subjects of common interest, as well as for instructive lectures. Morning lectures, simultaneously translated in both English and French, the two official languages, alternate with afternoon discussion groups. A flexible curriculum permits the treatment of a wide range of subjects. Visits to NATO member countries, their military bases, industrial centres and government departments, are included in the programme.

The Commandant of the Defence College is a senior officer from one of the three member nations composing the Standing Group—France, United Kingdom and United States—on a two-year rotation basis. He is assisted by four deputies, representing the three services and civil affairs, and by ten instructors.



—National Defence

PRIME MINISTER WELCOMED TO SHAPE

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, during his recent tour of Europe and Asia, is greeted on his arrival at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Paris, by General Alfred M. Gruenther, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR). At the right is Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the Canadian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council.

AIR AGREEMENT WITH PERU

The Department of External Affairs announced on February 24 that a Bilateral Air Transport Agreement was signed at Lima, Peru, on February 18 by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Emile Vaillancourt, on behalf of Canada, and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ricardo Rivera Schreiber, on behalf of Peru.

It provides, among other things, for the reciprocal exchange of air traffic rights to be exercised between Canada and Peru by the designated airlines of both countries over an eastern route between Montreal and Lima, and over a western route between Vancouver and Lima. For several months Canadian Pacific Airlines have been operating a service between Vancouver and Lima, via Mexico City, under a temporary authority granted by the Peruvian Government.

ROLLINS COLLEGE ADDRESS

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 21 1954.

This is the time of the year when Canadians, exposed to their bracing and healthy, if somewhat frigid, climate, turn longingly to the sunshine and warmth of Florida. Some of them are even fortunate enough to get here!

Your neighbour to the north is, however, far more than an enormous cold spot on the map, inhabited, as some people on this side still seem to think, by Mounties, Eskimo, trappers, quintuplets and Rose Marie.

It is true, of course, that we have our picturesque citizens, and that they are surrounded by a lot of geography. Indeed, we have so much geography that if Canada could be turned over, with its southern-most point as a hinge, it would cover the whole of the U.S.A., including Texas, and reach far into the Gulf of Mexico.

I once boasted of this in Texas and in consequence had a narrow escape from injury or investigation. It isn't wise to suggest there that anything—even Canada—could possibly blanket Texas!

"Go North"

This great land of Canada, including, as we are now learning, its Arctic areas, is rich in wealth and resources. It is also rich in the energy and initiative of its people who are developing these resources at a pace and with results that are worthy of comparison with the great days of expansion in this country. Our frontiers of settlement are being pushed steadily northward, and at a time when these northern marches are becoming of great strategic, as well as economic importance. I hate to say it in Florida, but for us, "Go North" is now the summons to adventure and achievement.

Our population, which includes the million or so immigrants that have arrived since the end of World War II, is now growing about as fast as our economy can absorb the increase. It is now over 15 millions, with room for many more. We have secured a good population base for future development.

We are building a strong, stable nation north of your border. Our standard of living and our per capita wealth compares with yours and we have become the third trading nation in the world. Incidentally—though for us it is far from incidental—we buy more of your products, about 3 billion dollars' worth a year—than any other country; more, in fact, than all the countries of South America combined, a result which would give us more satisfaction if we could only sell as much to your 165 millions of people!

In short, Canada is on the march to a great destiny. You should get to know us better; learn more about a country which is becoming more and more important to you.

I can assure you that we know a great deal about this country. I sometimes wish, in fact, that we in Canada didn't get quite so much news; or rather that we got it in a more

balanced form. Through press, radio, screen, and television—which observe no boundary or immigration regulations—we learn in lurid detail about the sensational and controversial, often of the disagreeable and less desirable aspects of American life. Consequently, we are in danger of getting a distorted picture of this country. This perhaps does not do so much harm in Canada, as in other countries, because we know you so well that we are able to see below the surface and reduce these distortions to proper proportions and see them in proper perspective.

Lack of Knowledge

One writer on U.S.-Canadian relations has put it this way: "Americans are benevolently ignorant about Canada, but Canadians are malevolently informed about the United States". "Malevolent" is the wrong word. It might better have been "misleading", because, as I have said, we are often flooded with the wrong news. It is wise, therefore, to remember—and it would help us to do so if we were told about them more often—the deep and steady and beneficent currents of American history and opinion which in the past have always been able to push aside the froth and the fury. We should recall, for instance, your stubborn insistence on freedom and law and justice; the open-hearted generosity and unselfishness of the American character. We should think especially of the millions of quiet, hard-working, sober men and women who make up this great nation—but hardly ever make the headlines that appear in foreign newspapers. These headlines, however, are unfortunately too often taken as characteristic of the American way of life. A country—like a soap—can be 99-77/100 per cent pure, but the 23/100 of 1 per cent will get most of the attention—especially abroad.

The Canadian picture is also often distorted abroad, but with us—as I have said, the distortion is due to ignorance. We do not like, for instance, being considered in Great Britain or Europe as merely a northern extension of the U.S.A. because we talk American, play baseball, and prefer coffee to tea. We are equally touchy at being considered in this country as a species of British Colonial because, among other things, we cherish a monarchy that links us with our past and symbolizes our association with other free nations, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in Australia, in a world Commonwealth.

There are some, I fear, in this country who never will believe that Canada is a free and independent nation until we stage a successful military operation against the Red Coats and force them to sign a Peace Treaty. It might, in fact, be worth doing from a public relations point of view—and I know that the British would be happy to co-operate—if we didn't have more important problems to solve.

Canadians today do not wish to be a reflec-

tion of anybody—but to be themselves. They take an intense pride in their new nation which has made such progress; in spite of the fact that for 12 years out of the last forty their country has been actively engaged in overseas war.

Limitations on Sovereignty

Canada has also learned that independence must now be qualified by inter-dependence; that there are limitations on sovereignty—especially for smaller countries—imposed by the facts of international life. The most vital of these facts is that if World War III should break out—with all its atomic horror, freedom, personal and national—would be the first casualty. To avoid this, by preventing war, collective action is essential and this means limitation on national sovereignty in the interest of national and international security. We accept this when war waged collectively makes its necessity obvious. We should realize that collective action, based on co-operation and consultation, is equally necessary to prevent war.

One reason why we in Canada are particularly conscious of these limitations on our freedom of action is that we live under the friendly, if at times overwhelming shadow of a mighty neighbour. Because of this—and because of our close relationship—Canadians watch with a very special interest everything that you do; often with admiration, at times with anxiety but always, I hope, with friendly understanding. This intense preoccupation with your policies and practices is perfectly natural because we know that there is no way we can escape their consequences, political or economic. If, at times, we may seem to be a little critical or worried, our reactions are the same as yours would be if the positions were reversed; if we were the world's mightiest power, with control over atomic weapons, and with control, also, over the decision where and when and how to use them.

If we may be at times a shade anxious about your policies and your power, I can assure you that we would worry far more if you didn't have this power, or if your policies were concerned solely with continental matters.

We are the junior member of a North American partnership which will not be dissolved by Communist blandishment or isolationist timidity. You will not be surprised, however, if the junior partner occasionally expresses its own point of view and in the North American idiom. We do this because freedom is the basis and the glory of our partnership; a partnership far removed from the kind of relationship between a Communist dictatorial power and its obedient satellites. Occasional disagreement only emphasizes its fundamental unity.

Let those who would divide the nations of the free world coalition remember that the things that hold us together are far stronger than those that would pull us apart. That is especially true of the friendship between Canada and the United States.

If in the stormy world of today that friendship shines as a steady beacon of hope and confidence, it is not because we have no prob-

lems to solve or difficulties to face. There are lots of these—economic and political—and they will doubtless increase as the relations between the two countries continue to grow in importance.

We are more conscious of these problems than you are because they loom larger on our more limited horizon. All of them, continental defence arrangements, trade problems, St. Lawrence Seaway delays, border-crossing and security difficulties, all these and many others make up what could be quite a budget of trouble.

While we do not need to get too excited over these increasingly complex problems, we should not try to conceal them by comforting platitudes about the 125 years of peace or the undefended border.

It is in our joint interest and it follows our joint tradition to work out solutions to our mutual problems which will be fair and just; will leave no bitterness and breed no strife. In the process Canadians—being North Americans—will protect their own rights and interests. But we will also realize, I hope, that these rights and interests—indeed, our whole future—is inseparable from yours.

No Automatic "Yes-Man"

You will find Canada no automatic "yes-man" but a staunch and loyal friend, especially in time of difficulty. From 1914 to 1918, and from 1939 to 1945 Canada, when she was not as strong or united or self-reliant as she is now, gave proof—for us tragic proof—that her men were willing to die in battle for a good cause. We are also giving evidence now of our will to participate in a collective effort to prevent a recurrence of such a tragedy. In this spirit many thousands of young Canadians went to Korea. Many thousands are also serving today under the banner of NATO in Europe, including the men who are flying 300 Canadian-built front line jet fighters. Since the end of the war we have also made available to our friends mutual aid which if expressed in terms of your national income, would amount to almost 57 billion dollars' worth. Nearly half of our budget is today devoted to defence.

Canada is a young country, crying out for development; a country of vast distances, expensive and difficult to govern and to administer. Here is not a determining voice when the big international decisions are to be made, nor will her contribution be decisive in the conference room or where the conflict rages. It might therefore be tempting to try to stand aside in any struggle between the giants and excuse that course by arguing that those who call the tune should pay the piper.

But that is not the way we feel about it. The conflict today is not between empires, or between one super-power and another, but between freedom and slavery, despotism and democracy, right and wrong. So we range ourselves on the side of freedom, under the leadership of the United States of America, and we will play, I hope, a good part in the long and unending fight for peace and a decent world.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. H. T. W. Blockley was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective January 29, 1954.
- Miss Elizabeth Weiss was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective February 5, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective February 7, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault was posted from home leave (Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York) to Ottawa, effective February 8, 1954.
- Mr. J. C. G. Brown was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Berne, to Ottawa, effective February 12, 1954.
- Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, proceeded on home leave from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, effective February 12, 1954.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, effective February 1, 1954, and proceeded to Moscow on February 19, 1954.
- Mr. G. B. Summers was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation in Prague, effective February 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. H. Coleman was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective March 1, 1954.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1953, No. 2:—Agreement on German External Debts. Signed at London, February 27, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 11:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the double taxation agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Taxes to British Guiana and St. Lucia. Signed at Ottawa, May 9 and 22, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 18:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Italy constituting an agreement regarding the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives, officials and non-immigrants. Signed at Rome October 10, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 25:—Agreement for the promotion of safety on the Great Lakes by means of radio. Signed at Ottawa February 21, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 8:—Additional Protocol to the Brussels Agreement of December 5th, 1947, relating to the resolution of conflicting claims to German enemy assets, signed in Brussels on February 3, 1949. Signed at Brussels, December 5, 1947. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 15:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa constituting an agreement regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa January 3 and 16, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 20:—Convention (No. 88) concerning the organization of the employment service. In force for Canada August 24, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 24:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela constituting an agreement to renew the terms of the commercial Modus Vivendi of October 11, 1950, for a further period of one year. Signed at Caracas October 10 and 11, 1951. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 12:—Protocol amending the convention signed at Brussels, on 5 July, 1890, concerning the creation of an international union for the publication of customs tariffs as well as the regulations for the execution of the convention instituting an international bureau for the publication of customs tariffs, and the memorandum of signature. Signed at Brussels, 16 December 1949. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 18.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the U.S.S.R. constituting an agreement respecting the payment by the U.S.S.R. for supplies delivered by Canada in 1945-1946. Signed at Moscow, September 29, 1950. English, Russian and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 20.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Costa Rica constituting a commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries. Signed at San Jose, November 17, 1950. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 21.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ecuador constituting a commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries. Signed at Quito, November 10, 1950. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1949, No. 1.—Exchange of Notes between the Governments of Canada and Belgium, constituting a reciprocal agreement relating to compensation for war damage to private property. Signed at Brussels, 17 August and 16 November 1949. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1949, No. 27.—Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Signed at Lake Success, December 9, 1948. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its Eighth Session during the period from 15 September to 9 December 1953. A/2630, New York, January 1954. Pp. 35. 60 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 17.

Administrative Tribunal — Statute and Rules. A/CN.5/2/Rev.1, New York, January 1954. Pp. 12. 15 cents. Sales No.: 1954.X.1.

An International Bibliography on Atomic Energy, Volume 2: Scientific Aspects, Supplement No. 2. AEC/INF.10/Rev.1/Add. 2. New York, 1953. Pp. 320. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.IX.2.

Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies 1953, No. 4. E/2393, 6 April 1953. Pp. 138. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.D.2.

A Study of trade between Asia and Europe. (Prepared by the Secretariats of ECAFE, ECE and FAO). E/CN.11/373. Geneva, November 1953. Pp. 146. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.3 (Department of Economic Affairs).

Development of Mineral Resources in Asia and the Far East (Report and documents of the ECAFE Regional Conference on Mineral Resources Development held in Tokyo, Japan, from 20 to 30 April 1953). E/CN.11/374, Bangkok, November 1953. Pp. 366x. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.5.

Public Utilities in Colombia (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. ST/TAA/K/Colombia/1, 28 December 1953. Pp. 65. 60 cents. Sales No.: 1954.II.H.2.

Social Services in Israel (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. Pp. 36. ST/TAA/K/Israel/2.

The Economic and Social Development of Libya (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. ST/TAA/K/Libya/3. Pp. 170. Sales No.: 1953.II.H.8.

I.L.O.

Constitution of the International Labour Organization and Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference. 1952 Edition (bilingual). Geneva. Pp. 77.

Indigenous Peoples — Living and Working Conditions of Aboriginal Populations in Independent Countries. (Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 35). Geneva, 1953. Pp. 628. \$4.00.

UNESCO

The Child Audience by Philippe Bauchard. A report on press, film and radio for children (Press, Film and Radio in the World Today). Paris 1953. Pp. 198. \$2.00.

Education and art — A symposium edited by Edwin Ziegfeld. Paris 1953. Pp. 129. \$5.00.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

The education of teachers in England, France and United States of America by C. A. Richardson, Helene Brule, Harold E. Snyder. (Problems in education - VI). Paris 1953. Pp. 340. \$2.00.

One Week's News by Jacques Kayser. (Photographs by Jean Lhuer). Comparative study of 17 major dailies for a seven-day period. Paris 1953. Pp. 102. \$2.50.

Race Mixture by Harry L. Shapiro (The Race Question in Modern Science). Paris 1953. Pp. 56. 25 cents.

Index Translationum, No. 5 - International Bibliography of translations. (bilingual). Paris 1953. Pp. 511. \$7.50.

World List of Social Science Periodicals (bilingual). Paris 1953. Pp. 161.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Freedom of Information - Encouragement and development of independent domestic information enterprises. (Report by the Secretary-General). Document E/2534, 14 January 1954. Pp. 48 and Annexes I to III.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/3 - *The Prime Minister's Round-the-World Tour*, a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made in the House of Commons on January 29, 1954, concerning his proposed trip to Europe and Asia.

No. 54/4 - *Federation of Agriculture Address*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at a Federation of Agriculture luncheon, at London, Ontario, January 27, 1954.

No. 54/5 - *Survey of World Affairs*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, January 29, 1954.

No. 54/6 - *Survey of World Affairs*, a statement by the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard, made in the

House of Commons, January 29, 1954.

No. 54/7 - *Arctic Weather Stations*, a statement by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, in the House of Commons, February 9, 1954.

No. 54/8 - An address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, at a dinner given by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, at Bonn, Germany, February 10, 1954.

No. 54/9 - An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 21, 1954.

No. 54/10 - *Hommage de la France*, allocution du Premier ministre du Canada, M. St-Laurent, diffusée sur le réseau métropolitain de la Radiodiffusion française, Paris, 9 février 1954.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
".....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
".....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 408 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22)
".....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
".....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)

Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaai Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador..... Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
"	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
"	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
"	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
"	Consul General.....	New York (820 Fifth Ave.)
"	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
"	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
"	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador.....	Montevideo (Victoria Plaza Hotel)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
"	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
"	Deputy Permanent Delegate	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Prime Minister Reports on Tour

THE Prime Minister reported in the House of Commons on March 18 and 25 on his visit to Europe and Asia. His statement on March 18 reviewed highlights of his tour. The statement on March 25 explained the views of the Government on the recognition of China. Following are excerpts from the statement of March 18:

I want to assure hon. members that everywhere I went as a representative of Canada I was received with enthusiasm and every evidence of friendliness and good will. But nowhere was that more touching to me than it was last evening at the airport and here this afternoon in the House of Commons.

Everywhere I went I heard "O Canada" sung, and I was always moved and touched at the feeling of pride it gave one to be there as a representative of that country for which the hymn was being sung or played. But when I heard it on opening the doors of the airplane last evening I do confess that a lump rose in my throat, because it was a great pleasure and a great satisfaction to be back in this land, and because the sight of my friends on the field made me prouder than ever that I could as a Canadian come back to my homeland . . .

London

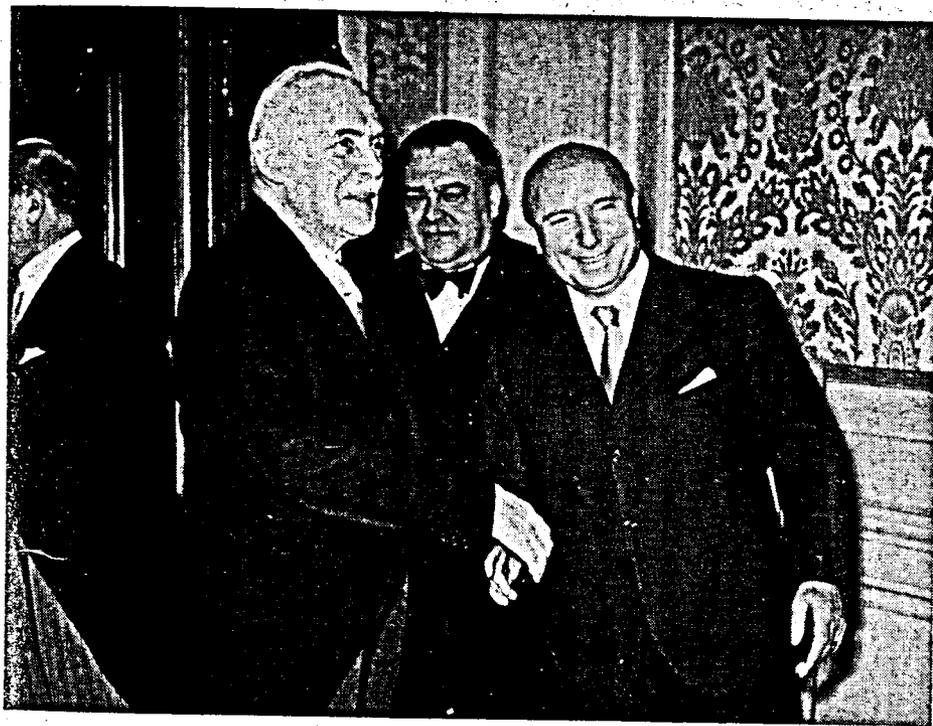
From London I bring you the greetings of Sir Winston Churchill, Lord Alexander, Lord Athlone, Lord Swinton, Minister of Commonwealth Relations, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Labour, and several others. I can assure hon. members that it gave me great satisfaction after leaving Canadian soil to make my first stop on the soil of the United Kingdom.

I might say, incidentally, that I received from Sir Winston Churchill a bit of advice which stood me in good stead during the whole of my trip. He told me he expected my trip would be a bit strenuous, but that he had always found it was wise never to stand too long when there was an opportunity to sit down, and not to be content to sit down when there was an opportunity to lie down.

France

In France I was most cordially welcomed by the new president of France, Mr. Rene Coty, and his charming lady, Normans like many of the Normans who were here in the early days, and some of whose descendants are here in this House at the present time; and also by the Prime Minister, the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Laniel, also a Norman. There was some suggestion in France at this time that the country was being run by the Normans. When I heard that suggestion I told them that from my experience with Normans, and perhaps from that of the people of the United Kingdom with Normans, we would not find that that was anything to worry about. I also had the privilege of meeting the President of the National Assembly who occupies a post similar to yours, Mr. Speaker, and the president of the Council of the Republic. Though that is its official name, it is still commonly called the Senate. To them and through them to the elected representatives of the Republic I conveyed our greetings and was charged by them to bring back to you and to all our colleagues their best wishes and most cordial regards. I also met several others, among whom was our friend Mr. Robert Schuman who, though he has reverted to the role of an ordinary member of the Assembly, is still taking a great interest in the international problems that are of such great concern to us all.

I had the privilege of dining with the members of the NATO Council and then, the next morning, of a visit to the headquarters of SHAPE where I heard



ITALY

—Publifoto

The Prime Minister, left, shaking hands with Signor Scelba, President of the Italian Council of Ministers.

a concise but very instructive report from General Gruenther. I was also shown some interesting old Canadian archives that are still in Paris, although I think we have photostats of them in our own archives here. But there is something in just feeling these things that have come down from two or three centuries, though perhaps after my visiting the Orient two or three centuries would not have appeared to me to be so impressive as they were when I was examining these old documents relating to Canada's early history.

Germany

From there we went to Germany and I was delighted when I met for the first time Dr. Heuss, the President of the German Republic. He is a man with a long university career, and with the appearance and the charm of a man of great culture. He confirmed the impression we had all formed of Chancellor Adenauer when he was here and which was also confirmed by the impression made upon me by the chancellor's colleagues in the ministry, namely that the leaders in these days in Germany are looking to a future where gains will not be dependent upon war but where they will be the result of good international relations between that country and all its neighbours. I think that the chancellor and his colleagues are most anxious to provide for a future where they will be allowed to live and where it will be their pleasure and satisfaction to let others live alongside of them.

I then had the privilege of visiting the troops at Soest under Brigadier Anderson. The barracks that are being provided there are magnificent. Everything has not yet been done but I should just like to give one little illustration that impressed me. When I asked the brigadier about the school facilities, he said they were coming along but that his own young son who is 7½ years old was attending the German public school. When I reported that fact to the

chancellor, who I found had already heard of it, he said that our men were all behaving in the manner best calculated to make them accepted as true and sincere friends and as people for whom his German population would always have respect and admiration.

The next day we flew to Gros Tenquin. There I found the morale of our men to be very high, in spite of the fact that all the difficulties have not yet been overcome for them. The commander of the squadrons there, with his wife and their three children, are still living in a trailer but for that I had admiration. The officers are giving the men the impression that whatever are the difficulties, they are no greater for the men than they are for the officers themselves. I think that is one of the explanations of this high morale I found everywhere among our troops. They all felt that they were human units in a joint endeavour being made by themselves and by those who were commanding them. It was at Gros Tenquin that we had our first disappointment. We had expected to go the same afternoon to Zweibruecken but the weather was still bad; we were experiencing the seasonal continental weather at that time. The plane that had gone from Gros Tenquin to Paris to bring the ambassador up to take part in our visit had not been able to put down at Paris and had come back without him and we were not able to get into Zweibruecken. I am sorry because I greatly appreciated the privilege of saying to these men, on your behalf, Mr. Speaker, and on behalf of my colleagues, that we realize that they are doing a large portion of our share in this general undertaking to maintain peace in the world. The time that we would have taken to visit Zweibruecken was taken up by visiting Guesslin one of these farming villages in Lorraine. I must confess that I was somewhat depressed at the feeling that there might be still quite a large number of these villages or farming communities in France—the like of which we have not in this country—which do not appear to have changed greatly through many of the past decades. But every person we saw seemed to be good humoured and seemed to feel that they were living quite comfortably but it was obviously under conditions with which our people in Canada would not be perfectly satisfied.

Rome

From there we flew to Rome. We got there late in the evening and came down from considerable heights to ground level rather quickly. I therefore found, when I stepped off the plane, that there was not much that I could hear. Then there was such an array of klieg lights that I found that within a few seconds there was not much that I could see. Hence for a moment or two I was, more than usual, in strange surroundings. But that condition disappeared and the warmth of the welcome that was accorded to us there was really quite moving.

We were invited to meet President Einaudi, another university man whose whole career until recently has been in the field of study and teaching, and who certainly has no other desire than to see the whole world at peace and to see all the people of the world have the opportunity to pursue the kind of careers of which his own is one of the examples of what an intelligent man would prefer to do rather than engage in the horrible business of destroying each other. I met the new Prime Minister, Mr. Scelba, and several of his colleagues who are quite firm in their resistance to communistic influence in their country and quite confident that that resistance is and will continue to be successful.

Personally I had another disappointment in Rome, one that was shared by several of those who were accompanying me. We had hoped to be received in audience by His Holiness the Pope but the condition of His Holiness' health was such that he was not able to receive anyone at all. I went and paid my respects to Monsignor Montini who, as hon. members know, was here a little over a year ago; I also wished to see Monsignor Tardini but was told I might not



INDIA

Mr. St. Laurent, left; his daughter, Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell; the Vice-President of India, Mr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan; Mrs. Escott Reid; and the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Reid, during the visit of the Prime Minister to India.

be able to see him because he was at that moment closeted with the Pope. We went around to his office just the same to leave cards and just as we got there Monsignor Tardini was coming out and was able at that time to give us very encouraging news of the state of health of the Holy Father. Unfortunately there have been relapses, and the state of his health is still giving grave concern . . .

Pakistan

. . . we went on to Karachi. There we were received by our old friend, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, with the cordiality those who know him can well imagine for themselves. We were put up at Government House with the Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed, who wanted to be especially remembered to our Minister of Finance (Mr. Abbott). It appears that for quite a long period he had some of the cares our Minister of Finance still has, and he always has retained an affectionate regard for a fellow sufferer as a result of their meetings at several international conferences.

I also had an interesting conversation with Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan and met for the first time there, although I did meet his opposite number in other countries as well, a Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. We do not call our Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Mr. Harris) a Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, but it was explained to me that his functions were very much like those of our good friend, although he combines them with being Minister of Law. Here we prefer to call our minister the Minister of Justice, but there they are content with the feeling that their law may mean the same thing as justice.

We went up to Peshawar and stayed there with the governor, Mr. Shahbuddin, a brother of the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Nazimuddin, so that evidently political changes do not always have all the repercussions that they might be expected to have. These governors are appointed by the central government, and the brother of the former Prime Minister is still the Governor

and is a very cordial and very likable gentleman. We went up the Khyber Pass right up to the Afghanistan border. A barbed wire fence marked the border and there was a guard just on the other side. We were warned we must not step over the line marked by the barbed wire, but I did go right up to the fence and extend my hand which was taken very cordially by the captain of the guard. I expressed feelings of good will and he said he was sorry that I was not going to visit his country. We warned the photographers that perhaps it would be just as well not to make any pictures of that incident because we did not want to get the captain of the guard into any embarrassing situation . . .

Then we went to Lahore, that great old city, not the largest but perhaps one of the most interesting we did visit. Unfortunately the Governor, His Excellency Mian Aminuddin was indisposed but his Begum and members of the Government met us at the airport and took us to Government House where we were magnificently entertained and made most comfortable. There was a large dinner party given that evening, perhaps not only on our account, but it was the next to the closing day of the annual horse fair and agricultural show at Lahore. There were many people who had come, not because there was going to be a visitor from Canada, but to see the very interesting show that was being provided. Among others at this dinner there was the Prince Ali Khan, His Highness, the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharani of Jaipur, Prime Minister Malik Khan Noon and other members of the Government. It was a very impressive oriental dinner party in magnificent surroundings. We have not the like of these palaces that are being used by the native governors and were formerly occupied by the representatives of the controlling powers . . .

Then, of course, we saw some of the beauties of that spot, the Shalimar Gardens. These gardens were laid out certainly more than a century before those of Louis XIV at Versailles, which might seem to have been the pattern. Then when we got to India we saw the gardens that had been laid out around the palace at New Delhi, which was built only a quarter of a century ago. They are perhaps more like the Versailles Gardens than the Versailles Gardens are like the Shalimar Gardens, so it would seem these things can move from East to West and back to the East. Everything that is done by man, not to mar the beauties of nature, but to make the beauties of nature more apparent and striking is much the same all over the world.

I also had an opportunity to see for the first times these great red forts that were erected in the sixteenth century and afterwards by the Moghul emperors. This country must have been extremely prosperous at one time because these red forts, the temples they contain, the palaces and different apartments that are provided are of a splendor that cannot be other than the reflection of a state of considerable prosperity at the time they were provided.

India

At New Delhi we were also received in the Governor General's palace, that is the one that was erected when New Delhi was being provided as the new capital. I got the impression, and told Prime Minister Nehru, that it was a good thing it had been done before the Minister of Public Works had to get an appropriation from Parliament to provide it, because it was done on a scale for which it might be difficult to get appropriations in a democratic assembly. Perhaps it is a good thing. There are already 360 million people in India and the population is increasing all the time. It may be a good thing the palace was provided on that scale, with seventy-odd acres of gardens around it, for that set the scale for all the establishments of this new capital.

There is a lot of land there that does not look very attractive for agricultural purposes, so they are going to have plenty of space to develop their new capital to meet the requirements of these hundreds of millions of population. There is



INDONESIA

The Prime Minister chatting with the children of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Ahmed Soekarno.

a possibility, perhaps even a probability, that they will get back to a state of prosperity which enabled the red forts to be built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, devoted a lot of time to me, for which I am very grateful. Our conversations, were, of course, very frank and very intimate. I am not going to be guilty of any breaches of confidence, but he was at great pains to explain to me his views of the historical development of the political regimes and economies and the cultural developments of the successive civilizations of these old countries, and the results of the ferments that are now taking hold among those hundreds of millions of people . . .

I had been honoured at Peshawar with an honorary degree, and again received a similar honorary degree at Delhi. I found there was a generosity in the East in respect of this function that I had not experienced in the West. I brought back with me two gorgeous red robes that were presented to me as the accompaniment of the degree of Doctor of Laws that was awarded to me by these ancient seats of learning.

At Bombay we stayed with Governor Sir Girja Bajpae who is well known to many of us who have attended meetings of the international assemblies, and was also greeted by the chief ministers and charged by them, as I had been on other occasions, with the best wishes and greetings to our Houses of Parliament.

(Continued on page 130)

NATO's Fifth Anniversary

(April 4, 1954, was the Fifth Anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty)

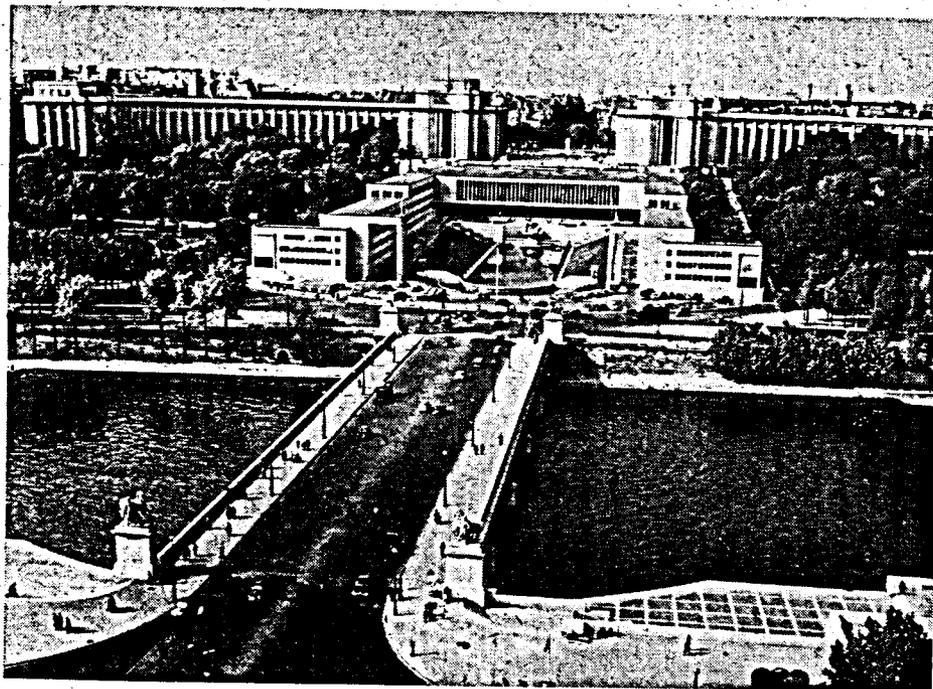
FIVE years ago, on April 4, 1949, Canada joined eleven other countries of the Atlantic community in signing a treaty of collective defence. They all pledged their united efforts to preserving their common heritage and freedom against the immediate threat of aggression. The long-term significance of this joint understanding, and the unprecedented developments which have resulted from it, mark this as an outstanding achievement in the search for international security.

On this fifth anniversary it might be useful to examine the progress of our efforts to meet the original challenge to our security and to assess what we have so far contributed to the NATO "security bank". If international tension and insecurity have been reduced in the past five years, this fact would tend to demonstrate the validity of the underlying principle of collective security upon which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is based.

Extent of Security

The first question to be asked, therefore, is: "What measure of security has NATO provided for its members?" The answer is evident if one but recalls the conditions existing in 1949. By that time growing anxiety and fear was replacing the high hopes for lasting peace which people the world over had had when the United Nations Charter was signed at San Francisco. The Security Council, created to implement a universal system of collective security, had become "frozen in futility and divided by dissension". Soviet obstructionism prevented the Council from dealing with even minor threats to the peace and blocked organization of the international enforcement contingents envisaged in Article 45 of the Charter. Outside the United Nations, the Soviet Union did its best to wreck the Marshall Plan, designed to aid the restoration of economic stability in Western Europe, and used subversion and external pressure to bring the Eastern European countries one by one under Soviet domination. Finally, in February 1948, the Iron Curtain closed suddenly upon Czechoslovakia. It then became evident that, although economic assistance had played an important part in the reconstruction of Europe, it was no longer sufficient by itself to provide adequate protection from the growing threat of Communism unless buttressed by the deterrent of military strength.

It was in response to this emergency that a defence treaty between the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands was signed at Brussels in 1948, establishing Western Union. It was just such an association of peace-loving states, willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security, that the present Prime Minister, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, had foreseen when he spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947. It was significant, therefore, that both the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the United States welcomed the creation of Western Union as the first concrete step towards an effective system for the defence of the West. Canada, the United States and the five nations of Western Union soon gave striking



NATO HEADQUARTERS

—NATO

The Palais de Chaillot, Paris, Headquarters of NATO.

evidence of their determination to set up as rapidly as possible an interlocking defence force. After several months of negotiations, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949. The next task was to organize the enormous potential strength of this coalition to the point at which it would act as an effective deterrent to any potential aggressor contemplating an armed attack upon any of its members. Previous attempts to establish a security system had been thwarted by the unwillingness of members to make the advance commitments necessary to provide the necessary pool of military strength. This time, however, the parties to the treaty bound themselves to specific obligations to provide for their collective defence and agreed to furnish the means necessary to provide and maintain the peace and security of the North Atlantic area. Later, when Greece and Turkey were admitted to NATO, the area was extended to include the Eastern Mediterranean.

Treaty Ratified

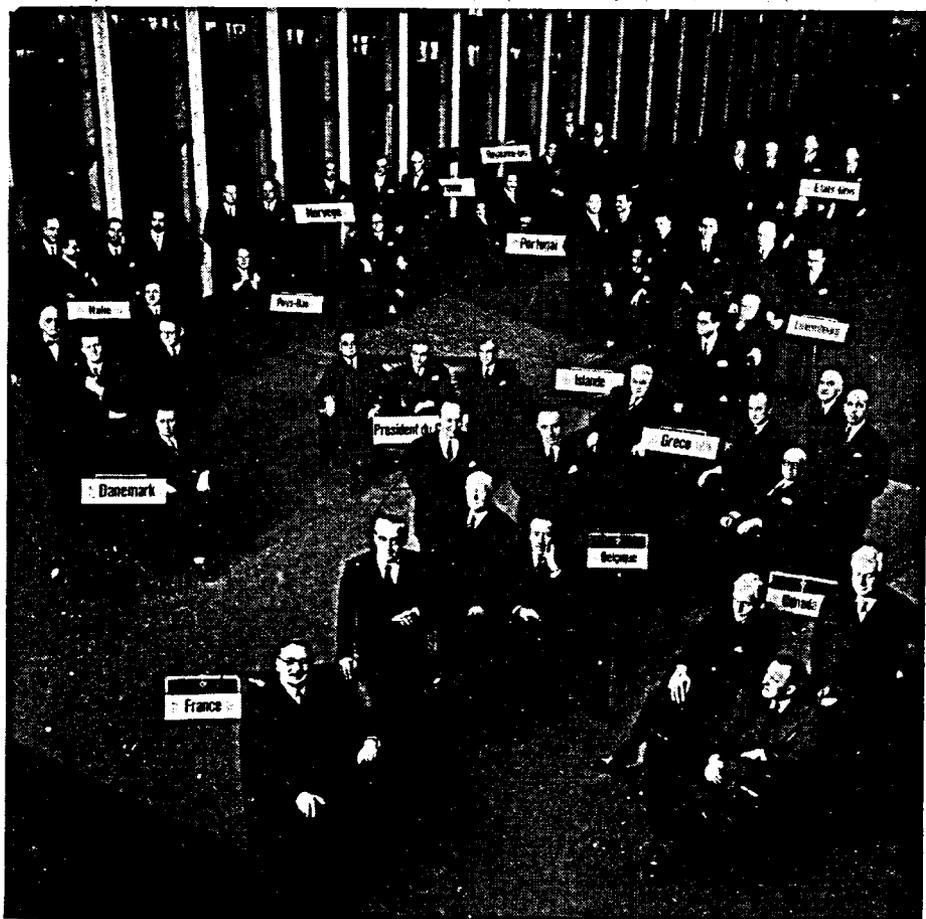
In Canada, all major groups of opinion accepted the Treaty and it was ratified in Parliament without a single dissenting vote. In no countries did adherence to the Treaty represent a more profound revision of policy than in Canada and the United States. This change reflected the growing public recognition that the strategic frontiers of the western world lay far beyond the shores of North America, and that the threat must be met as far away as possible to provide the greatest depth for defence. Furthermore, the indivisibility of peace had at last made an appreciable impact upon political thinking, later indeed but parallel to the recognition on the economic plane that the prosperity of any one nation depended in the long run on the prosperity of all.

The Treaty itself, a concise document of only fourteen Articles, outlined the essential framework for the association. The core of the collective security system thus established was the provision that an attack against any member would be considered "as an attack against all". Each member undertook to assist a party or parties so attacked, by such action as deemed necessary, "including the use of armed force". Another article stressed the point that collective capacity to resist armed attack was to be maintained by maximum individual contributions, strengthened by concerted mutual assistance. Article 2, which has been regarded as the distinctive Canadian contribution to the Treaty, contained the pledge that every effort would be made by member nations to co-operate in promoting the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples. This Article, in conjunction with the Preamble and Article 1, recognized the need to develop a permanent foundation of political, economic and cultural co-operation in the common interests of the Atlantic community. Without a sound economic foundation, it would be difficult to maintain for long the rapidly erected and costly defences. Only a programme geared to the economic capacities of the member nations would be able to provide security for any considerable period. Only an association based not simply on the negative concept of fear of a common enemy, but on the conservation and development of the common heritage of the western world, would be likely to retain popular support when the immediate threat had receded. The strength of NATO is to be found not only in its armed forces but also in the like-mindedness of the members of the Atlantic community and their common belief that democratic freedom allows the fullest development of the individual.

Planning Stage.

No matter how well drafted, a Treaty which has not been implemented remains nothing more than an expression of pious hopes. This paper pledge had to be translated into a concrete deterrent to aggression. First emphasis was naturally placed on military preparedness. Taking advantage of the valuable groundwork performed by Western Union, planning was expanded to encompass the whole Atlantic area. Five regional planning groups were set up; three for Europe, one for the North Atlantic Ocean and one for the Canada-United States area. Progress in setting up the actual military forces received an unexpected stimulus in June 1950, when the "cold war" suddenly changed to open hostilities in Korea. The Security Council, freed from its veto-bound stalemate by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative, called upon United Nations members for assistance, and aided by the military strength of the United States set about repelling the Communist aggressor. Korea afforded unmistakable evidence that Communist leaders would not hesitate to resort to armed aggression if it appeared to be the most effective way of extending Communist domination, and the organization of NATO defence arrangements consequently moved more rapidly.

In December 1950, General Eisenhower was appointed as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers Europe (SACEUR), and by the second anniversary of the signing of the Treaty his command was organized with headquarters near Paris. During the same year five subordinate commands in Europe were also created. Almost a year later the second high command, that of the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT), was established to plan operations in the Atlantic Ocean region, an area of vital importance to communications



FAMILY PORTRAIT

—NATO

A group picture of the supreme governing body of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Canadian representatives at the lower right are, left to right: the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. K. W. Taylor; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.

between Europe and North America. In both these commands staffs were drawn from the armed forces of the participating NATO members. The NATO Defence College, opened in Paris late in 1951, has played a significant role in preparing personnel from the member nations for the complicated task of civil and military co-operation.

At Lisbon, in February 1952, member countries for the first time committed themselves to the formation of specified forces, and detailed defence plans were developed for the employment of these forces. Since that time, joint service manoeuvres have demonstrated the capacity of various national units to operate as a combined force. Another of the important decisions taken at Lisbon was the establishment of a permanent Secretariat responsible for the organization of the work of the North Atlantic Council. Under the direction of Lord Ismay, the first Secretary-General, it was to deal with the involved budgetary problems of the Organization, the economic and financial aspects of defence and the co-ordination of defence production plans.

The weakened military position of the formerly powerful wartime coalition of western nations was the result of the gigantic scale upon which immediate post-war demobilization and disarmament had been carried out. Once peace had been established, the power reality which had brought it about was ignored, or it was perhaps felt that concerted action by the Big Three would take care of any future threats to the peace. What was lost sight of was the fact that two of the three major powers had voluntarily deprived themselves of that military strength which had brought victory. This power equation upon which collective security is based has been aptly described by a noted international jurist: "Peace will be assured", he states, "as long as the national forces which are willing to defend it are recognizably superior to those forces which are tempted to break it. It will cease to exist from the moment that the balance is tilted in the favour of the latter." It is because of the extent to which NATO has been able to effect a modified application of this basic principle that the outlook for peace has brightened. Today NATO forces are a deterrent to aggression because their growing strength reduces the possibility of a successful attack.

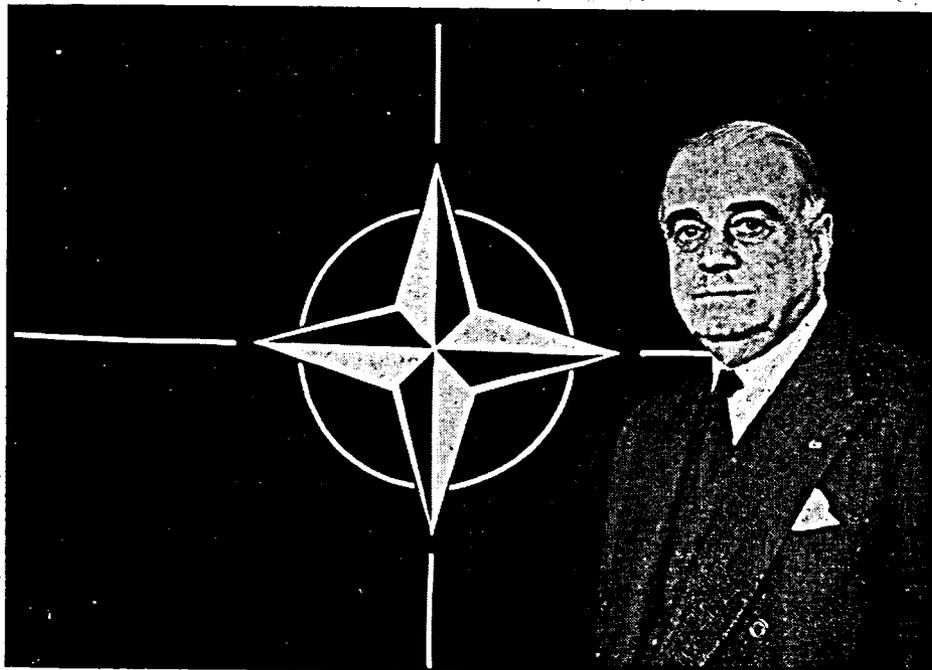
Although there is good reason for satisfaction with the progress which is being made by NATO and with the success of collective action in Korea, our security would be rapidly jeopardized if this feeling gave place to complacency. Continuing success depends on our maintaining the strong position which has been created by the contributions of each member of the Organization. It would be dangerous to assume that the need for further defence preparations no longer exists. As the Prime Minister of Canada said recently, a man does not give up his fire insurance just because his house has not burned down. Let us see then what premium we have been paying for our insurance policy and what the present state of our preparedness is.

Defence Expenditures Increase

It has taken time for these plans to materialize, but the total output of the economy devoted to defence is now reaching a peak in the majority of NATO countries. Collective defence, although it is the most economical method of preparation, is nevertheless an expensive proposition. The total defence expenditures of all NATO countries in 1953 were calculated to amount to about 65.5 billion dollars, an increase of nearly ten per cent over the corresponding figure for 1952 and three and a half times the figure for 1949. Canada was spending on defence in 1953-54 about five times as much as in the first year of NATO's existence.

General Gruenther, the present Supreme Commander in Europe, has reported that the forces under his command have approximately doubled since 1951, and the gain in their effectiveness is greater still. The Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic area recently stated that, from his position in charge of a defence "frontier" of some 4,000 miles, he had seen the Command, in three years, draw up defence plans and organize the assignment of forces in a manner calculated to deter any act of aggression.

The active part played in the preparatory work which led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty may be regarded as Canada's first contribution to Atlantic defence. An important service which was also rendered by Canada, especially significant since it came from a loyal supporter of the United Nations,



NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL

—NATO

The Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Vice-Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, Lord Ismay, with the official NATO flag.

was the Prime Minister's warning delivered before the General Assembly in 1947 that nations in their search for security might be forced to seek greater safety "in an association of democratic, peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security".

Canada's contributions to the NATO defence arrangements depend to a large extent on the degree of her own military preparations. The 1953-54 Canadian defence estimates came to a figure of just over 2 billion dollars. Our contributions to developing NATO's strength are made in three principal forms: armed forces, mutual aid and financial support. The first of these consists of a commitment of army and air force units to the army and air commands of SACEUR (Europe) and of naval forces which have been earmarked for service under the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT). In addition to the members of Canada's armed forces serving on the staffs of nine principal NATO headquarters, including SHAPE and the NATO Defence College, Canada has, since November 1951, maintained a Brigade Group in Germany in fulfilment of her commitments to the armies of NATO's integrated force in Europe. In the air, Canada made a noteworthy contribution by completing its commitments of twelve jet fighter squadrons ahead of schedule. Allied manoeuvres held during the past year, such as "Operation Mariner", have shown that there have been important improvements in the fighting efficiency of these forces.

In the field of mutual aid, the second principal category into which these contributions are divided, more than a billion dollars has been appropriated

in the last four years. Equipment has been furnished to NATO members both from reserve stocks and, in an increasing proportion, direct from current production. Transfers include such items as ammunition, military vehicles, radar and radio apparatus, mine-sweepers and jet aircraft. In addition to material aid, the training of airmen from the member nations is also included under the mutual aid programme. By the end of 1953, 925 pilots and 1,605 navigators from Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway and the United Kingdom had completed training in Canada. Another 965 trainees, including representatives from Turkey and Portugal, were undergoing training in early 1954, and Canada has offered training to 1,200 airmen over the next three-year period.

The third main form which contributions take is financial. This involves expenditure under three sub-divisions. The first is "NATO Common Infrastructure" (the cost of certain fixed military installations for the support of the NATO forces). The second consists of military budgets to maintain the military headquarters, and Canada's share in this section is some \$1,750,000.00. The third and last section concerns the contribution to the civilian budget and it is from this that the cost of maintaining the Secretariat of the Council is paid. Canada contributes ten per cent of the operational and 6.7 per cent of the capital costs of the total of these last two budgets. In the provision of men, money and material, Canada stands shoulder to shoulder with the members of the Atlantic community.

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, in a statement at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held in Paris in December 1953, paid tribute to the steady build-up of the Organization's forces and their ability to work as a team under unified command. Both because of this build-up and because of some decrease in international tension, he pointed out that the emphasis of future defence planning would be on "the long haul".

Unity the Key

While in 1949 the question of survival was paramount, today the key to the preservation of our security is *unity*. The continuing co-operation of all the Atlantic powers will be necessary to overcome the obstacles which may lie ahead. To ensure this, continued public interest and support for NATO is essential. The best evidence of the effectiveness of NATO in achieving its objectives has been the persistent Soviet efforts to disrupt the political solidarity upon which the Organization is based. Soviet tactics have changed recently to meet present conditions in recognition of the inadequacy of the coercive methods, which were so successful in expanding communist domination after the war. The naked act of aggression in Korea, instead of cowering opposition and adding a new era of the Far East to the communist world, had quite a different effect and led, in fact, to a tremendous strengthening of western defences and an increased recognition of the nature of the international Communist movement. In spite of the tactical change by the Kremlin since then there is no evidence that the objectives of Soviet policy do not remain basically hostile to the free world.

If we keep our defence strong, however, promote social and economic advancement, strengthen our political unity, and remain willing to negotiate from a position of strength, we have every reason to hope that we shall continue to be successful in maintaining peace and preserving our freedom.

Canada and the United Nations

THE FOLLOWING IS a summary of activities concerning the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since the end of the General Assembly in December 1953. Notes will appear next month on the discussions of the Security Council on the Palestine question and on the proceedings of the Commission on Human Rights and the Trusteeship Council which have both been meeting in New York.

Reconvening the General Assembly

Before the General Assembly adjourned it adopted a resolution on December 8, 1953, which provided for its recall. This would take place with the concurrence of the majority of member states, if: (a) in the opinion of the President of the General Assembly, developments in respect of the Korean question warranted its reconvening, or (b) one or more members requested the President to reconvene the Assembly because of developments in respect of the Korean question.

On January 10, 1954, the President notified the member states that, in conformity with the December resolution, India had asked that the Eighth Session of the General Assembly be reconvened. Madame Pandit suggested that this should take place on February 9, 1954. In view of India's special responsibility in respect of the prisoners-of-war issue, both as Chairman and executive agent of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, India thought that the General Assembly should consider the Korean question in reasonable time before the Repatriation Commission dissolved. India also felt that the lack of progress at Panmunjom in the discussions preliminary to the Korean political Conference, and the lack of any other step which would help towards settlement of the Korean question also rendered consideration of it by the Assembly necessary, appropriate, and urgent.

The Canadian view, submitted to the Secretary-General on January 29, was that it would not be advisable for the General Assembly to reconvene on February 9. There was a possibility that the Korean Conference talks might be resumed at Panmunjom, and at Berlin the conference of Big Four Foreign Ministers had agreed to inclusion on the agenda of Far Eastern questions. In addition, it appeared that it would not be possible, if the session reconvened on February 9, to restrict its deliberations to the handling by the NNRC of the prisoners-of-war problem. Since the majority of members had similar views, the session was not reconvened.

Prisoners-of-war in Korea

On September 23, 1953, prisoners-of-war in Korea who had declared that they would forcibly resist repatriation, were turned over by both sides to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, (NNRC) composed of Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. The custodial forces were provided exclusively by India whose representative, General Thimayya, was the Chairman and executive agent of the Commission. Explanations to those pris-

oners concerning their right to repatriation were to follow during the 90 days, which expired on December 23, 1953. By that time only a portion of the prisoners held by the Indian Custodial Force had received explanations. As the Korean Political Conference had not been convened by then, the question of those still non-repatriated could not be referred to such conference for settlement within the 30 days proposed in the terms of reference of the NNRC.

The NNRC presented its Interim Report, consisting of a majority and a minority report, to the two Commands on December 28, 1953. The report called attention to the Commission's inability to submit the prisoner disposition question to the Political Conference and referred the problem to the two Commands for consideration. On this issue, there was a difference of interpretation as to the correct procedure among India, the Communist and United Nations Commands.

Disposition of Prisoners

General Thimayya, on January 14, 1954, informed the United Nations Command of India's interpretation of the prisoner disposition question. It was to the effect that the competence of the NNRC to declare the release of prisoners from prisoner-of-war status depended upon the full implementation of the explanation procedures and upon the convening of the Political Conference. However, since the Commission would not be able to hold the prisoners beyond January 23, 1954, they would be restored to the former detaining side on January 20. For the same reasons, he argued, any unilateral action by the United Nations Command to free the prisoners thus restored would not be in conformity with the relevant provisions of the terms of reference of the NNRC.

The Communist Command said that prisoners should be held by the NNRC until the Political Conference found a solution and that in the meantime explanations should be resumed.

The United Nations Command's interpretation of the same provisions of the Commission's terms of reference was that if the Korean Political Conference had not met before the expiration of the 120 days during which the prisoners were held by the Commission, then the NNRC was obliged to declare the release of the prisoners in its custody from prisoner-of-war to civilian status. Canada interpreted these provisions in the same way.

Thus, on January 20, 1954, the NNRC transferred to territory under the control of the United Nations Command, more than 22,000 prisoners who refused to be repatriated to the Communist side. On January 22 the Custodial Force withdrew from the camp where 347 prisoners were held who refused repatriation to the United Nations side. These later moved into North Korea. As of January 23, 1954, General Hull of the United Nations Command, announced that the Chinese and North Koreans who had been released by the Indian Custodial Force to territory south of the Demilitarized Zone had become free men. In accordance with its previous declarations, the United Nations Command assisted the Chinese to Formosa, the destination of their choice.

The Indian Custodial Force withdrew to India early in February, taking with it 104 Chinese and North Koreans who, as non-repatriable prisoners, had elected to go to neutral countries.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma*

As the activities of the "foreign forces" in Burma were universally condemned in the United Nations General Assembly, the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa agreed to make an effort to persuade the Chinese forces in Burma to leave that country. Accordingly, desultory evacuation took place from November 7 to December 8, 1953, by which time approximately 2000 troops and dependents had left Burma for Formosa. After some further negotiations, a second series of evacuations commenced on February 14, 1954. Approximately 150 persons have been flown to Formosa every other day since February 14 and by the end of February over 1000 had already been evacuated. The Burmese complained that most of the firearms surrendered in November and December were obsolete, but a considerable number of modern weapons have been brought out in the second phase. The Burmese extended the cease-fire to March 15 and promised to extend if necessary. The target for the current programme is 3000 evacuees, including dependents. If this is achieved, over 5000 Chinese Nationalist guerrillas will have left Burma in the two operations and it is to be hoped that the back of the problem will have been broken.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners-of-War

At the eighth session of the Assembly a resolution was passed by 46 in favour (including Canada) to 5 against (Soviet Bloc) and 6 abstentions reiterating the Assembly's concern at evidence that large numbers of prisoners of the Second World War had not yet been repatriated or accounted for. It appealed to all governments which had not yet done so to make information about prisoners available and to give all prisoners the opportunity of repatriation. It praised the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners-of-War for the work it had done and asked it to continue its endeavours. Although the Commission has not been able to make much progress in a direct way, there is no doubt that its continued existence and the discussion of its work have served to focus public opinion on this continuing problem. Of special interest is the rapid repatriation of German prisoners that has taken place in recent months. In a communique following Soviet-East German negotiations last August, Tass News Agency announced that certain measures would be undertaken to release German prisoners-of-war. Since then some 10,000 German prisoners including approximately 1500 civilian internees have been repatriated. Some have remained in East Germany and others have gone on to West Germany according to where their homes have been. In addition the Soviet Government recently announced that 28 military and 6 civilian prisoners of Italian nationality would be released during the first two months of 1954. Working arrangements were completed some time ago between Chinese and Japanese Red Cross societies for the return of a number of Japanese prisoners. The Soviet Government has claimed in the past that only some 13,000 German prisoners were in their custody although the estimates of the German Government were many times more than this. Soviet press reports have indicated that the Italians now being released are the only ones detained in the Soviet Union "as far as the Russian authorities know".

* See "External Affairs", January 1954, pp. 23-24.

Canadian Comments on the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights

In accordance with a resolution of the Economic and Social Council passed at its sixteenth session in August 1953, the Secretary-General asked Member Governments to submit their comments on the articles of the two international covenants on human rights completed by then by the Commission on Human Rights and contained in the report of its ninth session. These two draft covenants are at present under consideration at the tenth session of the Human Rights Commission in New York. A statement of the Canadian Government's comments was submitted to the Secretary-General and published as a United Nations document on March 10, 1953.

The statement gives the Government's views on the draft covenant on economic, social and cultural rights and the articles added to the draft covenant on civil and political rights since March 1951, when the last Canadian statement was submitted. The new statement declares that the Government of Canada appreciates the motives underlying the Commission on Human Rights' endeavours to formulate the international covenants on human rights, but declares also that the Government of Canada believes that the articles of the draft covenants contain many "serious defects". It is pointed out in the statement that in Canada human rights and fundamental freedoms are enforced on a basis rather different from that in some countries, "because they are protected by judgments of the courts and by specific statutes rather than by general declarations, statements of principles or a bill of rights".

The Canadian statement repeats the position made clear in the 1951 statement and stated most recently by the Canadian Representative in the Third Committee of the General Assembly on November 11, 1953, that "in the absence of a satisfactory Federal State Clause, Canada could not become a party to the covenants, due to the nature of its constitution which divides legislative powers concerning human rights between the national parliament and the provincial legislatures". (A Federal State Clause is one designed to relieve federal states from obligations which lie outside the jurisdiction of their national parliaments). General comments are also included in the statement on the proposed Territorial Application Clause and on the principle of self-determination. Detailed comments on the articles in the draft covenant on civil and political rights are included in the annex to the statement.

The Question of Refugees

The first quarter of 1954 was noted for the fact that the Convention on the Status of Refugees which was drawn up at a conference in Geneva in 1951 finally came into force with the deposit of the sixth ratification by Australia on January 22. The Convention seeks to establish minimum rights for the refugees under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees including the right to asylum, to work, to education, to public relief and to freedom of religion. It also establishes a procedure for the issuance of travel documents to refugees. At the present time, Belgium, Denmark, the German Federal Republic, Luxembourg, Norway, Australia and the United Kingdom have ratified the Convention.

A matter of increasing concern to international organizations in the refugee field has been the problem of a small handful of European refugees, approxi-

mately 15,000, who are still in Communist China. Two organizations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration, are co-operating in a programme for the relief and resettlement of these refugees in other lands. The High Commissioner for Refugees is responsible for maintaining many of these persons who are in desperate straits in Shanghai and other parts of China. He provides relief from a Refugee Emergency Fund for this purpose. The Migration Committee, on the other hand, is responsible for moving these people from Shanghai and, at the present time, approximately 300 people are moved from China each month. It is estimated that at least three years will elapse before all the refugees who can be resettled will be moved from China to countries of reception. At the present time, both the Migration Committee and the High Commissioner for Refugees are appealing to governments for further funds to administer their programmes.

Annual Report of the Permanent Central Opium Board

During January, the Permanent Central Opium Board issued at Geneva its annual report for 1953. The eight-member Board, which is a key body in the field of international control of narcotics, noted with regard to the production of major narcotic drugs in international trade that an unsatisfactory situation still exists with respect to opium and coca leaves, that production of morphine and cocaine increased in 1953, and that production of codeine and heroin fell. The Board also reported that in the past year it had received more statistics from non-self-governing territories and that some countries which had ceased to do so have resumed the transmission of statistics. However, in view of the importance to the work of the Board of statistics submitted by national narcotic control agencies, the Board noted with regret that certain countries are still failing to supply statistics and to answer the Board's requests for information. The Board's report emphasized that the success of international control of narcotics depends upon the effectiveness of national control systems and noted that the last quarter of a century has been "remarkable both for the growth of the campaign against the use of narcotic drugs for non-medical purposes and for the results achieved thereby."

United Nations Children's Fund

The Executive Board and the Programme Committee of UNICEF held their spring meetings from March 1 to 9. The Board normally meets in the spring and the autumn to receive reports on the activities of the Fund and to make allocations for future programmes. This was the first meeting since the vote of the General Assembly of October 6, 1953, authorizing the continuation of UNICEF for an indefinite period. Encouraging reports were received on 1953 accomplishments. Allocations amounting to \$4,139,500 were approved for programmes in 47 countries or territories. These programmes provide assistance for child nutrition projects, mass health campaigns, maternal and child welfare work and certain emergency situations.

Slavery

In accordance with an Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) resolution on slavery of April 27, 1953 the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked member governments to submit their comments on a proposed Sup-

plementary International Convention on Slavery. This Convention might be based on the Secretary-General's recommendations and those of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Slavery which was appointed by ECOSOC in 1949. It is proposed that the Supplementary Convention extend the principles of the International Slavery Convention of 1926 to include various institutions and practices analogous to slavery.

The Canadian Government's comments were submitted to the Secretary-General in a note dated January 18, 1954. In these comments, it is stated that the Government "sees benefit in the proposal to conclude a Supplementary Convention on Slavery" but considers that these practices will not be eradicated without effective action by the governments concerned. The comments state that the Government believes, therefore, that the provisions of the Supplementary Convention requiring positive action (e.g. the submission of an annual report and the passing of criminal legislation) should not apply to Canada and other countries where slavery and other similar practices do not exist since action by their governments would accomplish nothing. The Supplementary Convention should thus contain a clause to that effect or the signatory states concerned should be permitted to make a reservation along those lines. After pointing to the constitutional difficulties which would face Canada with regard to some of the provisions of the proposed Convention, the comments conclude by stating that the Canadian Government "would find it difficult to participate" in the Supplementary Convention in the absence of both the above alternatives.

In accordance with the ECOSOC resolution of April 27, 1953, the Secretary-General was requested to prepare a draft Protocol to the International Slavery Convention of 1926 which would transfer to the United Nations functions undertaken by the League of Nations under this convention. On October 23, 1953, the General Assembly approved the Protocol based on the draft prepared by the Secretary-General and circulated to member governments. This Protocol is concerned merely with administrative arrangements and has no material effect on the substantive portion of the 1926 Convention, which Canada signed and ratified on October 6, 1926. The Canadian Delegation to the eighth session of the General Assembly supported the adoption of the Protocol and the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations signed it on behalf of the Canadian Government, without reservation as to acceptance, on December 17, 1953.

In accordance with Article 3 of the Protocol, the Instrument was to come into force on the date on which two states had become parties to it. This took place on December 7, 1953 when Liberia, Switzerland and the United Kingdom signed the Protocol. The Protocol now comes into force for each State on the date on which it becomes a party to the Instrument.

The Specialized Agencies

There were no general conferences of the Specialized Agencies during the first three months of 1954. Two meetings of the Executive Committees of Specialized Agencies were held however.

In January, in Geneva, the 13th session of the Executive Board of the World Health Organization met to consider the organization's budget and other administrative questions preparatory to the convening of the 7th World Health Assembly in May. Dr. P. E. Moore, Director of Indian Health Services,

Department of National Health and Welfare, was Canadian appointee to the Executive Board. Among other decisions the Executive Board made recommendations to the 7th World Health Assembly for approval of a budget of \$10,311,110 for 1955 (compared to \$8,527,700 for 1954) for the Director-General's programme of work for 1955-1957 and for holding the next annual conference in Mexico City.

On February 27-March 13, the 124th session of the ILO Governing Body met in Geneva. The Canadian delegation was composed of Mr. A. H. Brown, Deputy Minister of Labour, and Mr. Paul Goulet, Director of the ILO Branch, Department of Labour. The Governing Body devoted a great deal of its time to an examination of the Director-General's budget for 1955. As a result of its examination, the Governing Body recommended a 1955 budget of \$6,745,196 (compared to \$6,311,170 for 1954) to the 37th International Labour Conference which will meet in June in Geneva.

The 4th ICAO Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations in Paris also took place during this period.



—NFB

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED

An agreement on commerce was signed on March 31, to provide most-favoured-nation agreement treatment between Canada and Japan. This agreement was signed in Ottawa by (left to right) the Japanese Ambassador to Canada, Koto Matsudaira; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

THE Secretary of State for External Affairs reviewed some aspects of the policy of the Canadian Government on a number of international questions in an address in the House of Commons on March 25. He commented on the Berlin Conference, the forthcoming meeting in Geneva and on President Eisenhower's proposal for the international control of atomic energy. Mr. Pearson devoted the latter half of his address to problems of collective security and allied co-operation.

The Minister did not comment on China or developments in the Far East since this area was referred to in a speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, which followed immediately after the address of the Secretary of State for External Affairs (text of the Prime Minister's address is published on page 132 in this issue of *External Affairs*).

Berlin Conference

Discussions on two items of the agenda of the Berlin meeting, the questions of German unification and Austrian independence, the Minister stated, had resulted in deadlocks. Soviet insistence that a provisional all-German Government be set up on a basis of equal representation of the German Republic and the Communist régime in East Germany, and unwillingness to agree on free all German elections as a first step towards unification and the German peace settlement, made further progress towards a settlement impossible. Even the efforts of the Western foreign ministers to reach agreement on the peace treaty for Austria, by their acceptance of previous Soviet proposals, were frustrated by the introduction of new and irrelevant conditions by the Soviet delegation.

Discussion of the first item on the agenda at Berlin, which concerned the reduction of international tension and the calling of a five power conference, resulted in the decision to convene a meeting in Geneva on April 26, to discuss a peace treaty for Korea and the war in Indochina.

On January 29 this year, Mr. Pearson reminded the House, he had announced that despite some minor concessions and some reassuring words, nothing had happened to give cause to believe that the basic objectives of Soviet foreign policy had changed or that Soviet leaders were ready to accept a reasonable solution to major international problems. Now, after a careful study of the reports from Berlin, he reaffirmed his view that "there has been no evidence of change in the basic foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union." One of the principal aims of Soviet policy, the Minister said, was "to crack the solid structure of Western unity." On the contrary, what Soviet tactics had achieved, was the strengthening of Western unity and an increase in "the sense of common purpose in the people of the free world".

Mr. Pearson indicated that the Soviets opposed the establishment of a European Defence Community because they desired a weak and divided Europe. For this reason, the Minister stated, it was essential that the European Defence Community Treaty be ratified to strengthen the European and North Atlantic Communities. While Canada understood and sympathized with the historical reasons for hesitation and appreciated the need for caution and prudence, nevertheless, it was felt, the Minister continued,

That there comes a time when in certain situations failure to act may in the long run prove to have been the most dangerous of all possible courses, and that the greatest probability of safety may lie in decisive acts of faith.

In respect to the coming conference in Geneva, Mr. Pearson cited a reference a few weeks ago by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as "the opening of a new chapter in the Korean story"; where nations who had fought under the United Nations flag would return to the conference table to seek peace. "It is inherent in the United Nations approach", Mr. Hammarskjöld concluded, "that the Western world and the Communist world meet regularly around the conference table."

The Canadian objectives at this conference, Mr. Pearson declared, were those expressed in the United Nations resolution on this subject:

Achievement by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of Government and the restoration of international peace and security in the area.

The Minister then spoke of President Eisenhower's proposal for the international control of atomic energy. He said that because the proposal was a modest one, it might serve as a starting point for further progress. Soviet participation in such discussions was of obvious importance and negotiations had advanced to the point where on March 19, the United States had presented to the Soviet Government, a memorandum outlining its views on how the proposals could be implemented. After consideration, the Canadian Government was able to say that it was in general agreement with the proposal. Mr. Pearson expressed the opinion that "in the privacy of discussions at this stage, however, lies the best hope that the talks will be used for serious negotiation rather than for propaganda". He warned that support for this proposal should be accompanied by a clear understanding that "it does not of itself offer a solution for the terrible problem of the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes".

Collective Defence

Turning to the arrangements for collective defence, which became more important as the question of the use of atomic energy without control for destructive purposes was studied further, Mr. Pearson stated that

the basis of the security which we are seeking in this field is of course international action—international collective action on the broadest possible front.

To illustrate this important principle, he referred to the words of the United States Secretary of State in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*. In it, Mr. Dulles stated that since no nation was any longer able to develop adequate defence power for itself, "the cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defence". Mr. Dulles had written that "without the co-operation of allies, we would not even be in a position to retaliate massively

against the war industries of an attacking nation". He concluded this part of his article by saying: "Security for the free world depends, therefore, upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials".

While recognizing that the United Nations was the broadest base for collective community power, Mr. Pearson pointed out that its very universality had reduced its deterrent value. It had however, been shown to be effective in Korea and could become more so if the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" of the United Nations General Assembly were implemented. Since the United Nations was not at the present time very effective as an instrument of collective community power, we had fallen back, the Minister added, on the alternative of collective defence on a regional basis as exemplified in NATO. This form of security, he asserted, was based not on one but on two concepts:

The first of which is the importance of local defence and the second the importance of retaliation, especially from the air, on enemy nerve centres from bases which may be far removed from attack.

Thus, while local defence was important, it had to be supplemented by the other concept of retaliation. Continental security therefore, he added was a delusion because there could be no continental security without collective security. Nor could there be collective security without collective arrangements for collective action which in turn required close and continuous consultation.

Mr. Dulles' Speech

Mr. Pearson then referred to Mr. Dulles' speech of January 12, 1954, in which the United States Secretary of State, speaking on military planning policy, announced that the basic decision was to depend primarily upon "a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing". In an earlier address in Washington, Mr. Pearson recalled, he had selected the three words "instantly", "means" and "our choosing" as being of special importance. Mr. Dulles had agreed with this selection but was of the opinion that the word "capacity" was the most important one. Mr. Pearson accepted this, suggesting that "capacity" meant not only military capacity, but also political capacity, and expressed the opinion that the explanations which had followed Mr. Dulles' speech had cleared up earlier misapprehensions. "Instantly" referred to a direct attack on one's own territory; "means" was not confined to any single means, let alone atomic means; "our choosing" in that context referred to the choice of the free world coalition as opposed to that of the enemy. Mr. Dulles agreed with this interpretation and subsequent statements had clarified this new strategy and new planning for defence. On the same topic the Minister continued:

One thing this interpretation does make clear, is that diplomacy and consultation, which is part of diplomacy, is under this doctrine not less important but more important than ever before. Any decisions must surely be collective, whenever that can be done, before action has been taken.

He described this as a desire to be let in at the "take-off" so that we could do our part to help avoid a "crash landing". "Consultation and co-operation" he added, "are very essential not only in respect to security matters, but also in respect to economic matters and every other matter". He cited the first meeting of the Canada-United States Committee on Trade and Economic

Affairs as an illustration of one of the free world's valuable habits of consultation and co-operation.

Use North Atlantic Council

Mr. Pearson suggested that we should try to use the North Atlantic Council as a more effective vehicle for consultation in this field. The subjects which he was now discussing he said,

Should be discussed at the North Atlantic Council not only at occasional meetings of Ministers, but continually through the permanent representatives, so that in that agency of consultation we can clear our views on defence and foreign policy. We must also constantly seek not only to preserve but to widen and develop still further our attitudes and habits of confidence, frank discussion and consultation, restraint and tolerance. Notwithstanding the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which I have just emphasized, this must be done on a scale which is not limited to the north Atlantic alliance but which is as broad as the globe. Indeed our co-operation, our friendships must extend beyond our western civilization. Improving the economic and social conditions under which the major part of humanity lives will not ensure peace but it will make peace more likely.

It was because the opportunity for understanding and for genuine friendliness between the peoples of Asia in their hundreds of millions and those of the Western world, was possibly more important than even economic aid, Mr. Pearson continued, that we have been so happy over the magnificent results of the journey of Prime Minister St. Laurent into that part of the world.

The Minister concluded:

I would go even further and say that our sense of understanding must even extend to the very people whom we think threaten our peace. We cannot be soft-headed about this matter for power in the hands of irresponsible rulers could be dangerous to our peace. But while we need not be soft-headed we should certainly be clear-headed. I agree that we must be careful and alert, but also that we must not let fear freeze our diplomacy into immobility or fire it into panic action. The purpose of our Canadian policy—and I do not think there is any division of opinion in this country about this—is not merely to build up military collective strength, important as that is. The purpose is to work together with our friends in solving our own problems and also, if possible, to negotiate with those whom we fear, in solving those other problems which now divide the world. Canada is anxious to play its part also in this form of collective security, anxious to play its part in seeking by negotiation international solutions to differences, to seek them by negotiation from the strength which we are now collecting and with strength but also with wisdom, with a full realization of the calamitous result of failure, and in the hope that one day security will rest upon a stronger basis even than the certainty of massive retaliation, atomic retaliation if you like, against anyone who would break the peace; retaliation which would certainly annihilate the enemy but might also destroy ourselves.

Economic Conference in Washington

THE first meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held in Washington on March 16. The United States was represented by: Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; Mr. George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce.

Canada was represented by: Mr. C. D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Defence Production; Mr. James Garfield Gardiner, M.P., Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Douglas Charles Abbott, M.P., Minister of Finance; Mr. L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs.

In addition to the members of the Joint Committee, Governor Adams, the Assistant to the President; Mr. Douglas Stuart, the United States Ambassador to Canada; and Dr. Gabriel Hauge, Economic Assistant to the President, participated in the discussions.

Purpose of Meeting

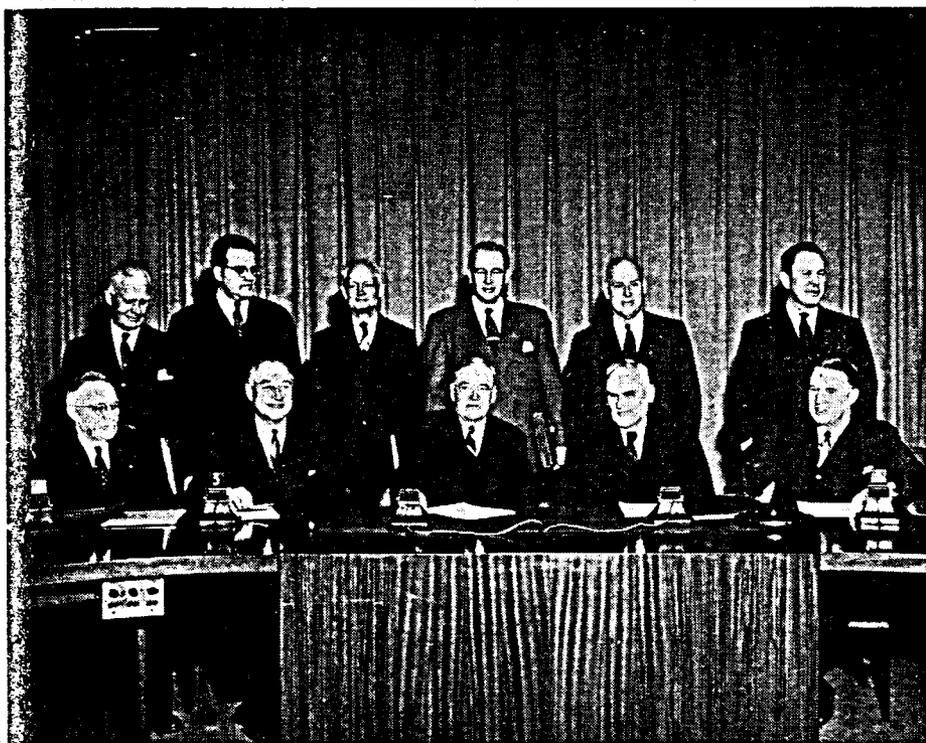
The purpose of the meeting was to provide an opportunity for United States and Canadian Ministers to examine the trade and economic problems that are common to both countries.

The Ministers noted that the flow of trade between Canada and the United States is greater than that between any other two countries. They discussed various aspects of present trade relations and agreed on the desirability of avoiding any action which would interfere with this trade from which the two countries derive such great benefits.

Since the common economic problems of Canada and the United States can be solved with greatest success in a world where the volume of trade is steady and increasing and where exchange arrangements are of a kind to facilitate such growth, consideration was given throughout the discussions to the need for action towards freer trade and payments on a broad front. It was agreed that few things would contribute more to the well-being and stability of the free nations of the world than a forward move in this direction. The need for such progress seemed all the greater at a time when many western countries are faced with the necessity of supporting effective defence programmes over a long period.

Reserves Rising

The United States and Canadian Ministers found encouragement in many of the economic developments that have taken place over the past year. They noted that the gold and dollar reserves of other countries generally have been rising; that there has been a marked improvement in the internal economic stability of many countries; and that these favourable developments have made possible some relaxation of import restrictions. Nevertheless, it was agreed that the recovery to economic health has not progressed equally for all countries. What is needed, it was concluded, is the creation of a more flexible system of



—Dept. of State

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

This photograph was taken at a meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs held at Washington in March. From left to right, seated, Minister of Agriculture, Mr. J. G. Gardner (Canada); Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George Humphrey (U.S.); Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles (U.S.); Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe (Canada); Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott (Canada). Standing, left to right, United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Douglas Stuart; Economic Assistant to President Eisenhower, Dr. Gabriel Hauge; Assistant to the President, Governor Sherman Adams; the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Ezra Taft Benson (U.S.); the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Sinclair Weeks (U.S.); and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson (Canada).

trade and payments throughout the world which would offer greater resilience to changing circumstances and which would contribute dynamically towards rising standards of living. It was agreed that much of the necessary preparation for such an advance has already been accomplished by the work of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy in the United States, by the proposals of the Commonwealth Economic Conference, and by discussions within the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

Agricultural Surpluses

In the meantime, it was agreed that it is essential that pressing, but possibly temporary, economic problems should not be solved by expedients which might make more difficult the advance on a broad front that was held to be necessary. One immediate problem which received close consideration was that raised by the accumulation of large agricultural surpluses. Special incentives and favorable weather conditions have operated in varying degrees to enlarge these surpluses. The Ministers of both countries recognized that if surpluses were to be disposed of without regard to the impact on normal trade,

great damage might be done not only to the commerce of Canada and the United States but also to the world economy. The Ministers reaffirmed that it is the continuing policy of their respective governments, in disposing of agricultural surpluses abroad, to consult with interested countries and not to interfere with normal commercial marketings. They stated that it is their settled intention that any extraordinary measures that might be adopted to reduce surpluses should result in greater consumption and should augment, and not displace, normal quantities of agricultural products entering into world trade.

Existing Organizations

In advancing toward a freer system of world trade and payments, it was agreed that existing international organizations would continue to play an important role. The valuable work already done by the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, and the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, was recognized. Ministers noted with satisfaction the arrangements which have recently been made within the Fund to enable its resources to be used more effectively. Acknowledgment was also made of the useful service that has been performed by GATT in developing a code of commercial conduct and in providing a forum where multilateral tariff agreements could be negotiated and where the problems of commercial policy could be discussed.

It was appreciated that it is for countries whose currencies are now inconvertible to decide when and under what circumstances they might wish to make them convertible. It was also realized that enlightened economic policies on the part of the United States and Canada will materially contribute to establishing and maintaining broader freedom of trade and payments throughout the world. Because of the importance of that objective, the United States and Canadian Ministers warmly welcomed the evidence of a desire in many countries to take decisive steps toward the restoration of a broad area of convertibility, and expressed a willingness to do their part to help in making such a movement successful.

The discussions at this meeting of the Joint Committee were marked by the friendliness and candour which are characteristic of relations between the two countries. At the invitation of the Canadian Ministers the second meeting of the Joint Committee will be held in Ottawa.

Canadian - United States Joint Defence

The following statement on joint defence was issued simultaneously by the Governments of Canada and the United States in Ottawa and Washington on April 8.

BECAUSE of the possibility of aggressive air attacks against North America, the Canadian and United States Governments after the Second World War continued the co-operative arrangements for the defence of North America which had been brought into effect during the war. Since that time, there have been established in both countries fully manned radar screens for the detection of a potential enemy, and installations for interceptor aircraft and anti-aircraft weapons. At all stages, planning has been carried on between the two countries on a joint basis. Consultations and co-operation at all levels have been constant and completely satisfactory.

For some time now, the Canadian and United States Governments have been appraising the air defence system to define the steps required to strengthen our defences in the light of recent advances in the destructive capabilities of atomic weapons against targets in our two countries.

For the past four years, work has been going on at high priority on the construction of a large and costly radar chain which is required not only to detect enemy bombers but also to control fighter aircraft engaged in the task of interception. This radar chain is known as the Pinetree Chain.

Long before the Pinetree project was approaching completion, the military planners of the two countries were engaged in an intensive study of what further steps might be desirable and practicable. In October 1953, a team of military and scientific advisers representing both countries recommended that additional early warning should be provided by the establishment of a further radar system generally to the north of the settled territory in Canada. The report of this team was considered by the Chiefs of Staff of each country later that month. At a meeting in Washington in November 1953, the Canadian representatives informed the United States authorities that the Canadian Government was prepared to proceed immediately with the necessary surveys and siting for the proposed new early warning radar system. This work is already well advanced.

There are many difficult problems to be solved in establishing this additional early warning system in the Canadian north. The system will extend over thousands of miles and its survey will involve the examination of a great number of possible sites. Much of the ground is inaccessible except by tractor train and helicopter. In many areas, extreme temperatures are confronted for several months of the year. Many technical problems, including the interference of the auroral belt with electronic devices, have had to be overcome. In overcoming the various technical problems involved the United States Air Force is working closely with the Royal Canadian Air Force.

It is obviously just as important to have early warning of aircraft approaching target areas in North America from over Northern Canada. For this reason,

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PRIME MINISTER REPORTS ON TOUR

(Continued from page 107)

I was privileged to attend a meeting of the Assembly of the People in the Parliament of New Delhi and to hear Mr. Nehru make a speech, of the tour d'horizon type, on external affairs. And it was quite impressive to me to find here in the East exactly the same atmosphere we have here in our House of Commons accompanying their introduction of the democratic processes which have been found so advantageous in the conduct of public affairs of free men and women.

Ceylon

From India we went to Ceylon, and were the guests of the Governor General, Lord Soulbury at Temple Trees in Colombo, and at the King's Pavilion in Kandy. We were also entertained by Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister and Sir Oliver Goomitelike the Minister of Finance, who, as happens in many countries has, apparently, the right of veto on any proposals that come from any of his other colleagues and who, I am told, is keeping the finances of his country on the kind of footing that had been agreed in London a year ago, and that was confirmed at the recent meeting in Sydney . . .

I went to the home of the late Prime Minister, D. S. Senanayake and deposited a wreath on his tomb there. We were received for tea in their home—and that is something that is not generally accorded to visitors. I think it was a tribute to the genuine and sincere friendship for and confidence in Canadian visitors. What struck me at Kandy was the tremendous progress that is being made under Sir Ivor Jennings, Vice Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, in transferring the campus from Colombo to Kandy. They have a beautiful setting there. Hon. members will know that Sir Ivor Jennings was for a year or two connected with the University of British Columbia; and I am not sure that in selecting this site for the new campus he had not remembered the physical situation of the University of British Columbia.

He is one who does not seem to be too fearful of the restrictions of the Minister of Finance because, just the day after we were there, I saw a report that the university council wanted some 20 million rupees more than had already been provided for the work that was going on. Many resident quarters have already been provided. Their main administration building is there. I was told that about one-third of the faculties had already moved up to Kandy from Colombo. They do not feel that it will be very long before they will have the whole university provided for up there. It will be a university to take care normally of some 2,000 students. Alongside of it is Trinity College, which is attended by five hundred or six hundred bright young men, teenagers, whom it was my privilege to see and to whom it was my privilege to say that we looked upon them and their generation for

the implementation of this universal desire for peace and good will throughout the world.

Indonesia

From Colombo we went to Indonesia and were greeted by President Soekarno and were received at his home. That is another of those magnificent palaces provided under the former regime and now being used under the independent government of the people themselves. Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo was also very kind to us. Hon. members will recall that he was the first ambassador of Indonesia accredited to Canada while he was still ambassador at Washington and was here not long ago in his capacity as accredited ambassador of his country to Canada. The president has never visited this hemisphere. I think he is looking forward to doing so, and from my conversations with him I know he is keenly interested in what goes on here. He has heard about the oil fields in Alberta; he had heard about the work of the Aluminum Company at Kitimat; he had heard about the iron ore in northeastern Quebec and Labrador and also of the St. Lawrence seaway project, and inquired about the details of those projects, as did others in several other countries. I was quite surprised at the fact that there was quite a lot of accurate information about the development that is going on here, and which they found so astounding and so encouraging. I got the impression that these people welcomed the development of this new Canadian nation as an element that was going to be of benefit to the whole world in its intercourse in the family of nations.

I got the impression that they felt that this is a new country that is developing and one that requires good relations with the whole world, and that its growth and strength will be an element of stability that will be helpful to us all. It was heart-warming to find these ancient civilizations of the East did feel that this country in its development was taking on increasing importance in world affairs, and that its influence was always apt to be helpful for stability and peace.

Philippines

In Manila the President, Magsaysay was also very cordial, as one would expect, and there one did get the feeling that the influence of North American ways had produced greater effects than it had in any of the countries we had previously visited. The president was most cordial. A couple of days before he had a bout of toothache and had two teeth removed. He seemed to be most cheerful and relaxed. Some of his friends told me they had hardly ever heard him make so delightful a speech in such a light and friendly tone. I was quite surprised next morning when they told me that he was rushed back to the hospital as soon as we left to have some more teeth extracted. He certainly had been able to conceal his physical suffering, if there had been phys-

ical suffering, and there must have been, because one does not go back to a dentist in the middle of the night to get some teeth extracted unless there is something pretty painful about it.

Korea

We went from there to Korea, and I shall have another opportunity of expressing views about the situation in that country. The morale of all our men is splendid. I was very happy to find that since the actual fighting had ceased they have been able to overcome by their own efforts many of the inconvenient features that interfered with their physical comfort in the surroundings in which they find themselves. But there again, one has the vivid impression that it is the human touch of the officers that contributes largely to this family spirit that you feel between the men and the officers, and this conviction of each and every one of them, that he is a Canadian doing a Canadian job for himself and for his fellow Canadians in this participation in the joint effort to prove aggression to be unprofitable . . .

We had dinner with President Rhee, who is not too firmly convinced that the State Department is always right; but I did not get the impression that he was going to do very much about it.

Japan

In Japan we got the same friendly greeting and the same friendly care. I was really touched. I have no doubt, of course, it had been organized, but there were thousands of youngsters from perhaps five to 15 years of age lining the streets with Canadian and Japanese paper flags, waving them and grinning all over their features, showing every demonstration that it was for them a joyful occasion. Perhaps that was because of the fact that it was during school hours. Nevertheless I had the impression that these thousands of youngsters were being made aware that there was a country called Canada, and that they were there to see the representative of that country. I believe it will help in their geography lessons, and it will probably keep them conscious of the fact that there is such a country and that that country wants to be their friend, and wants them to be our friends.

The same cordiality was manifested by his Majesty the Emperor and by the Empress. I had been brought up to believe that they were of another species than just ordinary mankind, but there could not have been a more intimate family atmosphere than that provided at this informal luncheon. I say the luncheon was informal, but the preparations were quite formal. I had the Emperor's carriage provided for me. It was the second time it had been used since the war. The first time was for the Vice-President of the United States, though probably it had been used on some other occasions. I understand the carriage is provided for an ambassador when he goes to present his credentials. But the imperial carriage and the whole cavalcade was

passed through the streets in weather conditions reminiscent of the coronation parade in London last June. But it was a very intimate, human reception we were given by Their Majesties in the palace. Prime Minister Yoshida and members of his cabinet, with whom I chatted, said in so many words that their military men had entered upon a terrible undertaking in 1941 with the expectation of making gains, but that the Japanese people had realized no gains had been made, and that it was not likely in this age, and with the present methods of warfare, that war could mean any gains for any one in the future. I got the impression that they were sincere in their views and that they did not want or expect to see their country at war again.

I had the privilege there of meeting the men on our destroyers *Haida*, *Cayuga* and *Crusader*, and there again I found the same high morale, and the same feeling among those to whom I spoke, that they were Canadians carrying out Canada's share and doing their part in a job which Canada and many other nations feel should be done in the interests of stability and peace in the world, and that they were proud of the fact that they were doing it well. This high morale of our men in Korea is due in large measure to the success which has attended the operations of our rotation scheme. They know they are there for a set period and so far there has been no breakdown in the rotating of these men, and they do not expect that there will be any breakdown. They know what they are up against, for what period they are up against it, and when they may expect to come home. When they do they can, if they so wish, reenlist for another tour of duty. The fact that there is this precision, and that it is not only paper precision, but actual working precision in the terms of their duty there, has much to do with the spirit in which they accept the discomforts. It is not all the pleasant feature which I witnessed in the sounding of the retreat by one of these battalions when they were going through their ceremonies of lowering the flag at eventide. They know what they have to do and they are satisfied they are doing a good job, and doing it well.

Honolulu

At Honolulu we were also very graciously received and I was taken around by Admiral Stump on his boat to tour Pearl Harbor and have pointed out to me what happened on the morning of December 7, 1941, how it happened, and why it is that there are still the remains of no less than 1,000 American seamen in the *Arizona* on whose deck we were and where it was my privilege on behalf of all of us to deposit a wreath.

We then visited the aircraft carrier *Boxer* and were shown what a modern aircraft is and what it can do if ever it requires to be done. I believe all those men are prepared, and feel as we do that that state of preparedness and readiness may be sufficient to avoid the necessity of ever having to bring these planes into action.

It was with perhaps some increased confidence, that that state of preparedness and the high morale of our friends all over the world will bring about that happy condition, that I come back to my duties in this House

and invite you, Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues not to complacency, but to a feeling that what is being done at the present time is of sufficient value to make it worth while to continue doing it.

The Prime Minister's statement of March 25 follows:

Mr. Speaker, I find myself at this moment in a position where I have to ask your indulgence and that of the House for a few minutes to speak of at least one of the unfortunate results of my trip around the world that has been referred to in so generous terms by my colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson). International affairs are of such importance that any imprecision or ambiguity in language used about any of their aspects is apt to have very unfortunate consequences, and I have to appear at this time before my colleagues in the position of a repentant offender asking the indulgence of his colleagues for his regrettable transgression on the basis of a humble confession of his error or mistake or lapse and on the basis of his genuine desire to clarify the situation and to dispel any of the anxieties or undesirable consequences resulting from the interpretation of too loose language he was unfortunate enough to use.

Statements About China

I am sorry that any of the things I am reported to have said in the East about China have given concern and caused controversy in this country. I am not going to attempt to say that I have been misquoted. I know that the gentlemen of the press who were there were honestly doing their best to report accurately and objectively the many questions in many forms that were put to me, sometimes with almost machine-gun rapidity, at press conferences or at the airfields as I alighted from the plane or was walking towards the plane to re-enter it. I am sure that they did attempt to reproduce what they understood me to have given as my answers and what they understood those answers to mean. I must and I do take the responsibility for any misinterpretation or misconstruction that could be put upon them because of their imprecision or their ambiguity.

There is one thing, however, about which I do feel quite sure that there was an inaccuracy. There was one report that I had said that I was sure we would have to recognize the present government of China as the government the people of China wanted. I feel quite sure I never would use those words intentionally because I never had that feeling about the present government of China. But I must have used some almost like them since so many of these reporters have come out with that as their version of what they heard and understood, that I felt we would have to be realistic and recognize the government of China "as the government the people wanted".

I should not have said "the government the people wanted". What I had in mind was that, in spite of our dislike of any form of Communist or totalitarian government, we could not expect to have to deal with the kind of government, representing the people on the other side, we would like them to have, the kind of government we would want them to have, but that we would have to deal with the government they had as a matter of fact, the government that was in control of the forces that were participating in the happenings that were causing such tension and such anxiety in the international field. That is what I meant. That is what I should have said in words that could not be mistaken or interpreted in any other way because I think that with such a statement there would have been little or no concern and little, if any, controversy about it in this country or anywhere else.

Editorial Comment

I am not going to read to the house the many editorials that have been published, but I take one that appeared in the *Ottawa Journal* of March 12, 1954, which, in part at least, I think would be fairly representative of what was and would be the feeling of the public generally in that regard. The editorial is entitled "About Recognizing China". It reads in part as follows:

"A Tokyo dispatch now quotes Prime Minister St. Laurent as saying with respect to recognition of Communist China that "it is only the common sense, realistic approach that allied countries eventually deal with Communist China as the government in effective control of the China mainland.

"This is better, more sensible, than what Mr. St. Laurent was reported to have said earlier at Seoul, namely:

"I do feel that some day we are going to have to be realistic. We are going to have to admit the present government of China as the government the people want."

I feel quite sure, in spite of my respect for the journalists who were there and who were doing their best to report what they heard and what they understood, that I did not put it that way because I never had it in my mind in that form. It was the contrary form I had in my mind, that in spite of our dislike of Communist or totalitarian governments we could not expect to have the kind of government we wanted. It would be the kind of government — and I must have said this — that they wanted. I should not have said "they wanted". I should have said the kind of government they had actually in control of the

forces we are opposing. The article goes on to say — and I think everyone would agree with this:

“No country can ever know with certainty whether the government possessed by some other country is the government its people want. And the fact is that Canada now recognizes any number of countries without being at all sure that their government is what their people want. There is Russia, and Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and Spain; possibly others.

“What Canada does, and must be compelled to do, and what all other countries must be compelled to do sooner or later, just because it is the only sensible practicable way, is to recognize the government of a country which is in effective control — which exists in fact.”

Broadest Sense

I would not go quite that far because I would now be very chary about using the word “recognition”. It has for so many different people so many different connotations. There is what is sometimes called the concept of legal recognition. Others refer to it as diplomatic recognition. I think perhaps it is better to use some other word that cannot have so many significations. When I was using it I was using it in its broadest sense, that we just had to avoid closing our eyes and had to see, to recognize that the government that was in control, and with whom we had to deal if we expected to make any kind of arrangement that would be implemented, was the government that was in fact in control of the forces that we were opposing. But the article goes on to say:

“We must and should recognize the present government of China; not because we approve of it, not because we do not detest and condemn some of the crimes it has committed, but simply because of the inescapable fact that it is the only government there—the only government exercising authority. Such recognition need not come at this moment.”

With that, I fully agree. I would even go so far as to say, instead of “need”, we might well say “should” not some at this time. The editorial continues:

“—perhaps should not come while Red China remains an aggressor, nor until we see what emerges from Geneva. We must respect—certainly not flout—the opinion of our allies. But for Heaven’s sake let us not take the impossible position that recognition of China cannot come while China has a Communist government—”

Then, the article goes on:

“It is a pity—”

I think it is a pity.

—that the question of Canada’s “recognition” of China should have come up in the uncertain way of press conference statements. Mr. St. Laurent doubtless was asked the question in a dozen ways, and it is understandable that, in the east, he desired to indicate Canada’s open-mindedness on

this vexed subject. But upon his return to Canada, Parliament should be given a clearer explanation, though the shadow of the Geneva conference will compel restraint.”

Geneva Conference

Of course the shadow of the Geneva conference not only compels restraint but I think is going to be something more than a shadow. It is going to be something that will, to a certain degree, project light into the future. At the present time I was not expressing government policy, but I was expressing frankly my own feelings about it. I was really happy at having heard that there was going to be a Geneva conference at which the government which in fact controls the forces whose conduct have had such a disturbing effect on world peace would be represented and would be talking over the possibility of removing the uncertain conditions of this cease fire with two impregnable lines of soldiers opposite each other in Korea. Perhaps the conference would be able to do something about the situation which is of grave concern to the whole world, that is the fighting that is going on in Indo-China.

I had the distinct impression that most of the embarrassment felt by French leaders with respect to the European army was a consequence of the drain upon their human and material resources as a result of the fighting going on in Indo-China. I felt that these questions that were being thrown at me arose out of this invitation that had been extended by the four great powers to the representatives of the only government that exists on the mainland of China to come to this conference. The invitation was couched, of course, with a rider that it is understood that neither the invitation to nor the holding of the above-mentioned conference shall be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case in which it has not already been accorded. But it does constitute an admission that that is the government that is controlling the forces that we have been resisting; that is the government that can agree to and admit that we have demonstrated that aggression is not going to be allowed to be profitable and that they cannot impose their will upon the free world through aggression.

It may be that something more permanent than this cessation of firing across the no-man’s-land between the two forces that are still there will come out of the Geneva conference. If that comes out of the Geneva conference, it may indicate that by negotiating with the same people other causes of world unrest and of uncertainty about the future can be eliminated. So long as that is the only government on the mainland of China, it is only through discussions with that government that any results can be achieved.

Now, when will there be sufficient results achieved to make it desirable to consider whether there should be what amounts to diplomatic recognition? That is something this government is not considering at this

time. When I say "at this time", I am not using evasive language. I am not trying to have my language just comply with the facts. I do not mean just at this moment. Under present conditions I do not see any reason why we should consider diplomatic recognition of China. But those conditions may change and I think it would be most unfortunate, just as the editor of the *Journal* feels it would be most unfortunate, to tie ourselves down by declarations and commitments that would make it impossible for us at any time to come to the conclusion that even the diplomatic recognition of China would not be helpful to peace and security in the world. We are not in that position at the present time, and when I said there was no consideration being given by the government to that kind of recognition at this time I did not mean, as I saw suggested in at least one newspaper, that it was just something that had not yet come officially before the cabinet as a cabinet. I meant that I was not thinking of it and I did not know of any of my colleagues who were thinking in terms of diplomatic recognition of China under present conditions.

Canadian Position

But I felt that none of us was thinking in terms that would make it impossible for us to make the right kind of a decision when, under changed circumstances, a decision had to be made. Of course, that decision would have to be made in such a manner as would not involve flouting the opinion of our allies. We have many allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and we have others whom we can, I think, regard as allies, on the United Nations. It would be something of world concern. I would hope the position taken by Canada would be a position that would be of benefit to the peace and stability of the whole world. We should not attempt to make decisions that do not have to be made. The position at this time is that we are not, under present conditions, contemplating diplomatic recognition of China. We have not, and I do not think we should say at this time or at any other time, that there may not be a situation in the future when a government we do not like, a government the complexion of which is quite contrary to all our democratic ideals, and a government which according to the information we have obtained by hearsay — of course we have to rely for our information on what we get by hearsay—seems to have been guilty of many

things that we would not condone, may nevertheless have to be recognized. There are other governments with whom we have at the present time diplomatic relations who, we think, have done things we could not condone. But they are the government of those lands and the only governments with whom any dealings in respect of their populations can be had.

I think we all hope that there will be, even between these apparently incompatible worlds, the free world and the world made up of countries with Communist regimes, some kind of a *modus vivendi* which will in fact allow us to live, and allow them to live. That would take place, without our interference, without our approval, without our responsibility, in any way in the lands we regard as unfortunate, because they are under such regimes. If we do not look upon that as possible, we then have to look upon this state of cold war as something of very long duration, with always the possibilities of its flaring up into something worse than a cold war.

Open Mind

Once again I am sorry that I was not more careful in the language I used, and that it was the kind of language that could give rise to this concern and to this controversy; but as far as policy is concerned, I was not speaking about policy. And now I do venture to say that the policy of the Canadian Government at the present time is to keep an open mind as to whether or not at any time, under any conditions which may develop in the future, there should be recognition of the government which at that time will exist as a matter of fact in China. That again is something that I should not have put in exactly that language. We should keep an open mind as to when if ever conditions may be such that it will be in the interest of peace and stability in the world to recognize diplomatically whatever government happens to be in control of the forces of China.

That I think is the forever position; but in the meantime whenever there does appear to be an opportunity to remove some of the tension from the international situation by discussions, by meetings and by discussions like that which are called for April 26 in Geneva, I think it is only realistic to feel that the government which is in fact in control of affairs in China has to be there if there is going to be anything accomplished that will produce beneficial results.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 54/11 — *The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., February 15, 1954.
- No. 54/12 — *Prime Minister's Radio Broadcast from Karachi*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, to the people of Pakistan, delivered by radio, on February 19, 1954.
- No. 54/13 — *The North American Pattern for Peaceful Progress*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Economic Club of New York, March 9, 1954.
- No. 54/14 — *Mr. St. Laurent's Address to the Parliament of India*, an address by the Prime Minister of Canada to Members of the Parliament of India, February 23, 1954.
- No. 54/15 — An address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at a Convocation of Delhi University, India, February 24, 1954.
- No. 54/16 — *A Look at the New Look*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., March 15, 1954.

CANADIAN-UNITED STATES JOINT DEFENCE

(Continued from page 129)

the United States Government is extending the early warning barrier across the north-eastern and north-western seaward approaches to North America. The Alaska radar system is co-ordinated with those in Canada and the continental United States, and the development of airborne radar is well advanced.

In addition to these measures of common concern, both countries are working continuously to improve the air defence installations in the vicinity of the major target areas. Here too, co-operation between the United States and Canadian air defence commanders is close, and unidentified aircraft are investigated by the most immediately available interceptor force, whether Canadian or American.

The defence of North America is part of the defence of the North Atlantic region to which both Canada and the United States are pledged as signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty. Thus, the co-operative arrangements for the defence of this continent and for the participation of Canadian and United States forces in the defence of Europe are simply two sides of the same coin, two parts of a world-wide objective, to preserve peace and to defend freedom.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

UNESCO

Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, New York, 1953. Document A/2505 and A/2505/Add.1. Pp. 166. \$2.00. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 16.

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Progress in Land Reform—Analysis of replies by governments to a United Nations Questionnaire. New York, 1954. Document E/2526, ST/ECA/21. Pp. 322. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1954.II.B.3. 12 January.

The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952. New York, 18 January 1954. Document E/2531, ST/ECA/22. Pp. 61. 40 cents. Sales No.: 1954.II.D.1.

Economic Survey of Europe in 1953, including a Study of Economic Development in Southern Europe. Geneva, 1954. Pp. 314. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1954.II.E.2.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1953. Bangkok, February 1954. Pp. 161. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.8.

Statistical Yearbook 1953 (bilingual). New York, 1953. Pp. 578. \$6.00. Sales No.: 1953.XVII.9.

Yearbook on Human Rights for 1951. New York 1953. Pp. 652. Sales No.: 1953.XIV.2.

Study Abroad 1953-1954 (Vol. VI) — International Handbook, Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange. (English-French-Spanish), Paris 1954. Pp. 710. \$2.00.

The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem by W. A. Visser 'T Hooft. (The Race Question and Modern Thought). Paris 1954. Pp. 70. 40 cents.

Proceedings of the Ankara Symposium on Arid Zone Hydrology (Arid Zone Programme—II). Paris 1953. Pp. 268. \$5.50.

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Third Report on the Regime of the Territorial Sea by J. P. A. Francois, Special Rapporteur. 4 February 1954. Document A/CN.4/77. Pp. 17.

International Institute for the Unification of Private Law:

Compilation of laws on the legal status of Aliens, South Africa. (Bibliographical Notes). Rome, December 1952. Pp. 113.

Compilation of laws on the legal status of Aliens — New Zealand. (Bibliographical Notes). Rome, November 1952, Pp. 50.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Berlin in Retrospect

The Background of the Conference

Many hopes were raised when the Soviet Union announced last November 26, in its note to the three Western Powers, that it was ready to meet them at Berlin to examine "measures for the reduction of tension in international affairs . . . as well as . . . questions concerning security in Europe and the consequent resolution of the German problem." Since the death of Stalin and the end of the fighting in Korea there had been various indications that the new Soviet Government wished to establish more normal relations with the Western world. The question which had begun to excite Western curiosity was whether the Soviet Government was ready, not merely to mend its manners, but at last to consent to a reasonable settlement of some of the great issues which divided the world.

The issue which most preoccupied the Western Powers last summer was the future of Germany. The extraordinary economic revival of the German Federal Republic in recent years, and the proposal worked out in 1952 that it should be rearmed within a European Defence Community, showed Germany as preparing to take its place once again among the foremost nations of Europe. The wretchedness and discontent in the Soviet Zone, dramatically exposed by the riots last June, showed the continued division of Germany as a latent threat to peace. A German settlement was obviously overdue.

GENEVA CONFERENCE

Before leaving for Geneva to attend the conference on Korea and Indo-China, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, was interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on his views of the conference. The text of the interview, which was conducted by Robert Reford, is published on page 162.

Soviet obduracy having made a general settlement impossible, the Western Powers had at least tried to achieve a partial settlement, by the gradual integration of the two-thirds of Germany under their control into the Western European community. The steady revival of German strength, however, had not proceeded without awakening familiar anxieties in various quarters, in Western as well as in Eastern Europe. In France, from which so much of the impetus towards Western European integration had come originally, an important resistance developed to the next step in that integration, the ratification of the EDC Treaty, which would have given the signal for German rearmament. To the anti-EDC forces in France and elsewhere the apparently conciliatory attitude of the new Soviet régime gave great encouragement, because of course the classical response in Western Europe to a threat from Germany, whether real or imaginary, has always been a rapprochement with Russia. It became essential for the Western Powers, therefore, if they were to renew their drive towards EDC ratification, to find the answer to this question: did the changed Soviet attitude indicate a real desire to reach a German settlement, as the anti-EDC forces pretended, or had it been adopted merely to cause confusion in the West and delay the EDC?

Another issue which caused the Western Powers concern last summer was the long-blocked Austrian state treaty. Austria, occupied by the Nazis in 1938, had been Hitler's first victim. The Allies, by their Moscow Declaration in 1943, had promised to re-establish it as a free and independent state. Yet ten years later Allied occupation forces remained in Austria, while the Soviet Government seemed ready to obstruct the drafting of a state treaty indefinitely. Or, did the new Soviet attitude mean that an Austrian settlement, too, was at last within reach?

The Exchange of Notes in 1953

Such were the questions which had prompted the Western Powers, in their note of July 15, 1953, to suggest to the Soviet Union that a four-Power meeting might usefully be held. The hopes then raised, however, and raised still higher by the Soviet acceptance of the invitation late in November, could not really sustain anyone who read with any care the whole series of notes exchanged between July and December.

In the first place, ignoring the priority which the Western Powers wished to accord to these specific issues, the Soviet notes repeatedly demanded an examination of measures to lessen tension the world over. Some of the measures it had in mind were listed in its note of September 28: recognition of Communist China, settlements in Korea and Indo-China, reduction of armaments, and an examination of what was described as "a rise in the influence of revenge-seeking elements in Germany," the establishment of military bases "by certain powers" near the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and "war propaganda by responsible official circles of certain states." The Soviet Union was evidently prepared to discuss a German settlement only after these points had been thoroughly exploited, in an effort to divide the United Kingdom from the United States over China, and France from the United States over Germany.

Secondly, although the Soviet notes eventually, and rather grudgingly conceded that a German settlement could be discussed at Berlin, they attacked as vigorously as ever the Western view that such a settlement could only be worked out with an all-German Government issuing from free, internationally-supervised all-German elections. Evidence that the Soviet Government had not really altered its German policy since Stalin's death was given by its note of August 15, which was closely modelled on its note of March 10, 1952. According to these notes, the first step would be to form an all-German Government out of the existing East and West German Governments. This Government would then supervise all-German elections and represent Germany at the peace negotiations.

Finally, as far as an Austrian settlement was concerned, various Soviet notes implied that this was dependent upon a satisfactory German settlement being reached beforehand.

Concessions Made

It is important to remember that, faced with these difficulties raised by the Soviet Union, the Western Powers demonstrated the sincerity of their wish to hold a four-Power conference by making important concessions where there were possible. Thus they agreed, in their note of October 18, to discuss the security problem insofar as Europe was concerned, and, in their note of December 8, to explore the possibility of a five-Power meeting including Communist China.

No concessions could be made, however, over free elections in Germany, or on Austria's right to an independent settlement. There were principles at stake here which the Western Powers felt they could not abandon, if democratic principles were ever to be held in proper respect, and in that decision they had the whole-hearted approval of all non-Communist parties in the Federal Republic and in Austria. Consequently, by the time the Berlin Conference opened it was almost certain that hopes for the long-delayed German and Austrian settlements would be dashed once more.

The Conference Opens

When Mr. John Foster Dulles for the United States, Mr. Anthony Eden for the United Kingdom and Mr. Georges Bidault for France met Mr. Vyacheslav Molotov for the Soviet Union in Berlin on Monday, January 25, 1954, it was the first time that the Foreign Ministers of these four Great Powers had met since 1949. This in itself made their meeting a notable one. Their opening speeches, and discussion on their agenda, revealed that it would be notable for two other features: courtesy, and business-like procedure. Mr. Molotov, speaking with the moderation typical of the new Soviet diplomacy, proposed the following agenda:

- I. Methods of reducing international tension and convening a five-Power conference;
- II. Germany, and the problems of ensuring European security;
- III. The Austrian state treaty.

The Western Ministers decided that, in order to get the conference down to business as soon as possible, they could afford yet another concession. They therefore accepted Mr. Molotov's agenda, perhaps rather to his surprise, on the second day.

Item I: Five-Power Conference

Mr. Dulles led off for the West when this item was first taken up on January 27. In doing so he went far to reconcile United States views with those shared by the United Kingdom and France. His Government, he said, would never accept Communist China as a member of any sort of five-Power directorate with competence to discuss world problems of every kind. Nevertheless he let it be understood that he would be prepared, under certain conditions, to agree to a five-Power conference dealing with specific questions in which China had a direct interest: Korea, for example, and perhaps Indo-China. By taking this line Mr. Dulles made an important contribution to the maintenance of Western unity throughout the rest of the time at Berlin.

Mr. Molotov at first held out for a five-Power conference with a wide agenda, yet intimated that he might eventually settle for one even with a restricted agenda. At the same time he captured the headlines for a day with a proposal on January 28 that a world disarmament conference be held in 1954, to deal also with the question of atomic weapons. On the following day Mr. Bidault tabled a counter-proposal that disarmament be referred to the United Nations, and suggested that the questions both of disarmament and a five-Power conference might well be pursued in restricted sessions. This suggestion was accepted. During six restricted sessions between February 8 and 18 agreements were reached to hold a meeting on Korea and Indo-China at Geneva on



WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AT CONFERENCE

The three Western foreign ministers, Mr. Georges Bidault (France); Mr. John Foster Dulles, (the United States); and Mr. Anthony Eden, (the United Kingdom), at the residence of the United States High Commissioner to Germany, Mr. James B. Conant, for the preliminary meeting between the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

April 26, to which Communist China and other interested states would be invited, and to exchange views on disarmament.

Item II: Germany, and European Security

Mr. Eden and Mr. Bidault between them handled most of the Western case after this item was reached on January 29: Mr. Eden took the lead in expounding the Western views on the German settlement, Mr. Bidault in defending the role of the EDC and NATO in the European security system.

As soon as the debate on Item II began Mr. Molotov, in line with Soviet policy, called for the participation of the East and West German Governments. This suggestion was promptly vetoed by his Western colleagues for obvious reasons. Had the totally unrepresentative Soviet Zone Government, whose political bankruptcy had been clearly established by the June riots, been given the right to participate in the discussion of the German settlement at this stage, it would have been difficult later on to resist its claim to participate in an all-German Government.

The Eden Plan

Mr. Eden then tabled what became known as the Eden plan for German reunification, although in fact it had been carefully worked out in advance by

the three Western Powers, and then agreed upon after consultation with the Federal Republic. The plan was in five parts:

- I. Free and secret elections throughout Germany under international supervision;
- II. The convocation of a National Assembly;
- III. The drafting of a constitution, and preparation of peace treaty negotiations;
- IV. The adoption of the constitution, and formation of an all-German Government responsible for peace treaty negotiations;
- V. The signature and entry into force of the peace treaty.

Mr. Molotov on the following day, January 30, began by conceding that the East and West German Governments need not participate in their discussions. He then criticized the Eden plan on two grounds: it showed distrust of the Germans by calling for foreign supervision of their elections; and the German Government which emerged from the elections would not be free, because it would be bound by the engagements taken by the West German Government under the EDC Treaty.

Mr. Molotov's second criticism of the Eden plan became one of the crucial points of the whole discussion on Germany. The Western Ministers took considerable pains to convince him that an all-German Government, issuing from all-German elections, would be free to accept or reject any EDC engagement previously undertaken by the West German Government. Juridically this was fairly obvious. From the political point of view, however, it was a most courageous line for the Western Ministers to take. All three of them desired to see France ratify the EDC, yet here they gave the anti-EDC forces in France the chance to say that while the French were being asked to commit themselves to a treaty for fifty years, the Germans would be able to back out of it if they wished whenever their country was reunified. Their gesture was vain, nevertheless, because Mr. Molotov refused to understand what they meant. Knowing that his case against the Eden plan was weak he used any reasoning, however specious, to link it up with the EDC, where he felt himself on surer grounds because he could appeal to anti-EDC sentiment both in Germany and in France.

The discussions on both parts of Item II, Germany and European security, became intertwined as soon as it was seen that Mr. Molotov was going to persist in linking the two problems in this way. For easier understanding it would seem better to deal first with the part of the discussion more directly affecting Germany, and then turn to the part which related more to the whole problem of security.

The Molotov Plan

Mr. Molotov, having criticized the Eden plan for Germany, produced one of his own, in three sections. First of all he sketched out his idea of a peace treaty. Pursuing his theme that the Western Powers were trying to draw Germany into a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union, on February 1 he re-submitted the Soviet draft peace treaty of March 10, 1952. The main provisions of this proposal had been that the occupation of Germany should end within a year, all foreign military bases should be liquidated, Germany

should pledge itself not to join any military alliances, but it should have its own armed forces. Mr. Molotov now added three minor amendments: it was specifically stated that no obligations of West or East Germany should be imposed on reunited Germany, its postwar debts to the four Powers should be waived, and its armed forces should be limited to meet tasks of internal order and local defence.

Secondly, Mr. Molotov dealt with the preparation of such a peace treaty. He tabled a proposal, also on February 1, that the Foreign Ministers' Deputies should be instructed to draft a peace treaty within three months along the lines he had suggested. All the Allies could present their views. The Germans would participate at all stages, first of all through the existing East and West German Governments, then through the all-German Government when formed. A peace conference to consider the draft treaty should meet within six months.

The third section of Mr. Molotov's plan for Germany, concerning the formation of an all-German Government, was the last to appear. On February 4 he tabled a proposal that a provisional all-German Government should be formed out of the East and West German Governments "with a wide participation of democratic organizations". This provisional Government would draft an electoral law "with the participation of all the democratic organizations", supervise the ensuing elections "without any interference on the part of foreign countries," and represent Germany in the peace treaty negotiations. The most revealing passage of all was one setting the provisional Government the task of "ensuring the free activities of democratic parties . . . and banning the existence of fascist, militarist and other organizations hostile to democracy". The Soviet Government has always described the one party it permits to function in the Soviet Zone as "democratic", and characterized all the leading parties in the Federal Republic as "fascist, militarist, etc."!

Soviet Objectives

Behind these elaborate Soviet proposals could be seen two principal objectives, one unavowed and the other openly admitted. The unavowed objective was to retain Soviet control, or at least a large measure of Soviet influence over the all-German Government, initially through the participation of the Communist Government in the Soviet Zone, later by pressure from Communist-front organizations throughout Germany. The openly avowed objective was to forbid Germany to contract any alliance with the West, to keep it neutral even although it would have to be allowed to rearm in its own defence. The Western Ministers were not slow to unmask the first, and to attack both of these objectives. With the simple, democratic Eden plan at their disposal they made short work of the complicated flummery of the Soviet proposals regarding all-German elections and formation of an all-German provisional Government.

The proposal to neutralize Germany, however, has a certain factitious appeal which made it more difficult to refute. For years many people have been attracted by the idea of a broad neutral belt running down the heart of Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from Sweden to Yugoslavia, keeping the Western Powers and the Soviet Union at a safe distance from each other in Europe at least. Yet a neutral Germany would obviously have to be allowed armed forces for its defence, and if these forces were to be adequate they would have to be large. The eventual result would undoubtedly be a German national army larger than the contingent it is expected to supply to the EDC. There

might be restrictive provisions in the peace treaty, but as Germany's armed strength pressed against the treaty limits its relations with the Great Powers would deteriorate. The situation would revert to that of the 1930's, with Germany once more protesting the iniquity of the new Versailles, and playing East off against West in search of support strong enough to free it of treaty restrictions. The Western Ministers based their attack on Mr. Molotov's proposal of a neutral Germany on these considerations. Mr. Bidault, particularly, referred again and again to the unhappy precedent of Versailles. If a similar treaty were now to be imposed on Germany, he declared on February 2, "life in Europe would be poisoned and peace would not be assured."

Just as Mr. Molotov had criticized the Eden plan because he linked it with the EDC, so he defended his own plan for Germany on the grounds that it offered an alternative to the EDC. On February 3 he went so far as to suggest that an all-German referendum be held to determine whether the Germans would prefer the EDC or a peace treaty. Mr. Bidault at once replied that such a question was misleading and the conditions under which it would be put in the Soviet Zone were open to grave doubts. The correct course would be freely to elect an all-German Government, which then could resort to a referendum if it so desired.

Sensing that he was losing ground with his proposals on Germany—the West German Government and press strongly supported the Eden plan—Mr. Molotov tried to dress them up with a few economic concessions. His draft treaty had already released Germany from payment of its postwar debts. To this he added, in a proposal tabled on February 6, a release from payment of reparations in any form, and a limitation on future occupation costs to five per cent of the national budget. The Western Ministers found it comparatively easy to parry this proposal for future benefits by a factual account of the Western help already given to the Federal Republic, and by contrasting the Republic's present prosperity with the scarcity and misery so obvious in the Soviet Zone.

Soviet Draft Treaty on Security

By February 9 discussion on Item II of the agenda was becoming repetitive. That the Soviet Government was not prepared to reach a reasonable settlement on Germany was entirely clear, not only to the Western delegations at Berlin, who had suspected all along that it would be so, but to all the peoples of Western Europe. But when the Western Ministers attempted to end the discussion on Item II, Mr. Molotov merely switched his attention from German reunification to European security. On the following day, February 10, he tabled a draft treaty on collective security in Europe. This treaty was to be open to all European states, who were to undertake not to attack each other, and to help each other in case of attack. The United States and Communist China, "as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council", were to be invited to send observers to the consultative bodies set up under the treaty.

This Soviet security proposal was not impressive, and the Western Ministers quickly demolished it on February 10 and 15. Mr. Dulles commented that it was evidently intended to replace NATO. Mr. Eden described it as a kind of Monroe Doctrine for Europe, which would break up NATO while allowing the Soviet Union to retain its own satellite system intact. Both he and Mr. Bidault declared that their countries attached great importance to the presence



BERLIN CONFERENCE

Foreign Minister Molotov, followed by his deputy, Mr. Gromyko, enters the Allied Control Authority building for the first session of the conference.

of United States troops in Western Europe. When repeatedly challenged by Mr. Bidault, Mr. Molotov refused to say whether or not his draft security treaty was compatible with the North Atlantic Treaty, from which his Western Colleagues naturally concluded that it was not compatible. So few are the people in Western Europe who would prefer the Soviet Union rather than the United States to guarantee their security that Mr. Molotov can hardly have expected much support for his proposal.

EDC the Target

Summing up the discussion on Item II at Berlin, it can be seen that the Soviet delegation's main target was the EDC. By accusing the Eden plan of binding Germany to it, by proposing German neutrality as an alternative, and by offering a Soviet security treaty as a complete substitute, Mr. Molotov did almost everything he could to wreck it. Almost, but not quite. Significantly enough there was one thing he did not do: he did not offer to accept the Eden plan in return for German neutrality. Had he done so, the Western Powers would have found it difficult to refuse. Germany would have been reunified, and in circumstances that would have disposed it well towards the West, but the EDC would have been shattered before coming into being. That Mr. Molotov never made this offer at Berlin seems to prove one fact: the Soviet determination to retain control of their territorial gains in Eastern Europe at this time is even stronger than their detestation of the EDC.

On the day before the conference ended, on February 17, there was another discussion on Item II. To a certain extent Mr. Molotov regained the initiative by two proposals for a limited settlement: that agreement be sought on the size of the West and East German police forces, and that two all-German committees be formed, one to improve economic relations between the two areas, the other to develop cultural relations. Mr. Eden admitted that the Western Powers had themselves been thinking of some kind of limited settlement, and he and Mr. Dulles agreed that the Soviet proposals called for serious study. The day following, the last day of the conference, they suggested that the four High Commissioners in Germany should undertake this further study, and that is where the discussion of Item II ended.

Item III: The Austrian State Treaty

The leading advocate of the Western case for an Austrian settlement was Dr. Leopold Figl, the Austrian Foreign Minister, who attended the sessions devoted to this question from February 12 to 18. He opened his case with an eloquent plea for the completion of the Austrian state treaty, which had been under negotiation since 1946, and of which all but a few articles had already been agreed. The Western Ministers expressed their full approval. Mr. Molotov then declared that the treaty must establish Austria's neutrality, especially against the possibility of a new *anschluss* with Germany. Only a German treaty on the lines he had proposed could preserve Austria's independence. Although an Austrian treaty could be signed, and occupation troops withdrawn from Vienna, they must remain in Austria until the German treaty had been concluded.

Mr. Molotov's speech at the first session on Austria set out the Soviet position for the rest of the conference. At the session the following day, February 13, Dr. Figl reminded Mr. Molotov in vain that Article 4 of the draft treaty specifically precluded political or economic union with Germany. Mr. Dulles pointed out that as the Soviet Union was blocking an acceptable German settlement, the Soviet proposals would mean the indefinite occupation of Austria. He suggested that the Soviet Union feared to withdraw from Austria because this would require it to withdraw its armies from Hungary and Roumania. Mr. Bidault remarked that the new Soviet proposal for Austria's neutrality was unsuitable for inclusion in a treaty intended to re-establish an independent state. Mr. Eden concurred. Dr. Figl intervened with a brief assurance that Austria would not enter into any military alliance and the Western Ministers then attempted in vain to persuade Mr. Molotov to discuss the unagreed articles of the draft treaty. Even when they expressed their readiness to accept the Soviet version of all these articles, Mr. Molotov remained quite unmoved.

The discussion was continued on February 14 without any progress being made. On February 16, after listening to renewed pleas from Dr. Figl and Mr. Eden for an Austrian treaty Mr. Molotov narrowed down his conditions to two amendments of the draft: he proposed a new Article 4 *bis*, neutralizing Austria, and an amendment to Article 33, to permit the occupation of Austria to continue until a German peace treaty had been signed. The Western Ministers repeated their reasons for rejecting these amendments. Mr. Bidault warned that the linking of the Austrian and German problems as Mr. Molotov proposed would in fact increase the danger of another *anschluss*. Dr. Figl joined the Western Ministers in rejecting the amendment to Article 33 emphatically.

At the final session of the conference, on the afternoon of Thursday, February 18, Dr. Figl made a last attempt to secure an Austrian settlement by offering to extend the period of occupation under Article 33 up to June 30, 1955 at the latest. Mr. Molotov replied that this did not go far enough. An Austrian treaty was not an immediate possibility, he concluded, but negotiations should continue. In view of this situation the three Western Foreign Ministers then made it clear that any concessions on Austria they had offered to make at the conference to achieve a settlement must be considered as withdrawn.

From the remorseless way in which Mr. Molotov posed new conditions for an Austrian settlement as soon as all his previous conditions had been met on February 13, it was quite obvious that the Soviet Union was as determined to hold on to its advanced positions in Austria as in Germany.

Conclusion

The agreements to hold a meeting on Korea and Indo-China at Geneva on April 26, and to exchange views on disarmament, were the only achievements which the final communiqué was able to announce. The Foreign Ministers were obliged to admit their failure to agree on the German and Austrian questions, to which the three Western Ministers had attached such importance, and on the problems of European security, which had so greatly concerned their Soviet colleague. While the Berlin Conference, therefore, made some progress on procedure, it made none on substance.

Nevertheless, the participants could disperse in a mood of qualified satisfaction. For Mr. Molotov it was something that agreement to meet Communist China at Geneva had been secured. Also, with East-West talks continuing at Geneva he undoubtedly could look forward to further opportunities to divide the West and delay a final decision on the EDC.

Two good reasons why the Western Ministers, for their part, could be satisfied with their work at Berlin were given recently by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 25 he declared:

One of the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union has been to split the European allies, and indeed other allies, from the United States of America; to crack the solid structure of western unity. Mr. Molotov at Berlin made it abundantly clear that this was certainly one of his principal aims. But we can all take satisfaction out of the fact that he failed in achieving his aim. Indeed, the Russian tactics served to strengthen, I think, the unified approach of the Western delegation to international problems. The teamwork and the tactics of the Western foreign ministers at Berlin, which were I think admirable in all respects, had quite possibly increased the sense of common purpose in the peoples of the free world. A stronger Atlantic community spirit might, I think, be listed as a positive achievement of that conference.

The attitude adopted by the Soviet delegation, their refusal to agree to the unification of Germany with free elections or the peace treaty with Austria, has also served to remove—if we still had them—any lingering illusions about Soviet policy. I suppose this also can be listed as a positive achievement of the conference. It is a melancholy fact, but a fact nonetheless, that in the world in which we live we must count as a step forward the removal or reduction of false hopes, because false hopes can be dangerous. Clearing the ground of illusions and facing the situation as it is makes, I think, more likely the formulation, and eventually the realization, of sound hopes and attainable visions of secure peace.

A Canadian Abroad

By KATHLEEN BROWN

Clerks, stenographers and other administrative assistants form an integral part of Canada's foreign service. Their assignments abroad involve long hours of duty, often under difficult conditions. But "extra curricular" compensations for those who enjoy travel and sight-seeing in distant and exotic lands are plentiful. The following article reports off-duty observations in the U.S.S.R. and India of an External Affairs secretarial assistant. Illustrations are reproduced from snapshots by the author.

"Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I. When I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content". Stay-at-home friends often envy us "such an interesting life", as they usually put it, but most of us in our distant Ardens have at times echoed Touchstone's cry with heartfelt sympathy. On balance, however, the urge for travel grows rather than diminishes, whether it stem from an interest in politics or people, a desire to study at first hand older civilizations than our own, or simply a yearning to tread the far places of the earth; probably few would deliberately abandon a life so full of opportunity.

Seven years as a secretarial assistant in the Canadian foreign service have taken me to two posts of absorbing interest—Moscow and New Delhi. Looking back, it is difficult to say which holds pride of place in my memories.

Moscow Bound

In the spring of 1947 I set out for Moscow. The decision once made, I was gripped with a sense of adventure but also with a feeling of inadequate mental preparedness. There drifted through my mind memories of *Anna Karenina* and *War and Peace*, read and loved years ago; *The Three Sisters* at the Royal Alexander theatre in Toronto; Pavlova on the English stage; the Don Cossacks in Ottawa, and the voice of Chaliapin. These formed the slightest acquaintance with Imperial Russia, and none at all with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The eight-day voyage from London to Leningrad on board the Russian ship "Sestoret'sk" was my first actual contact with the Soviet Union. The ports of call clearly defined our progress from west to east; from the carefree gaiety and colour of Stockholm, to the austerity and soberly dressed crowds of post-war Helsinki; finally, the Gulf of Leningrad and, still far off, the low-lying shores of Russia.

At the outset, I should make clear that I am *not* concerned here with politics, and am writing only about the people and things we came in contact with in every-day life. It will be obvious too that I am presenting only one side of the picture. That there is another side goes without saying, but it is this one—warm and vibrant—that remains uppermost long after Moscow is but a memory.

An old Russian proverb says that "Petersburg is the head: Moscow is the heart", and it is in Moscow that you are at the heart of Russia old and new, able to glance back into the Tsarist past and at the same time to feel the pulse of the Soviet present. The modern hotels, stores, and apartment blocks, the splendidly wide streets and vast squares seemed to me symbolic of the immensity of Russia itself—the endless *steppe*, the great forests, the wide, slow-flowing majestic rivers. The Muscovites are proud of their modern city, but the Kremlin



—K. Brown

STAFF LIVING QUARTERS, MOSCOW

remains the pivot, as it has been for eight hundred years. Above its crenellated walls, sharply etched in the cold winter sunshine, softened and glowing in the snow, shine the dull gold domes of the Uspensky and Blagovechensky cathedrals. Across the immense distance of the Red Square, past Lenin's black and red marble mausoleum, stands the cathedral of St. Basil, its many onion-shaped domes giving it the appearance of an illustration of a fairy tale rather than reality.

Immediate Impressions

The physical aspects of the Moscow scene have been described too often for repetition here, but certain other features struck me almost immediately. First, perhaps, a refreshing absence of advertising, although large official posters exhorted people to save, buy State bonds, or drink Caucasian wines. Bookstores abounded and were always crowded. Books of all kinds—Russian classics and modern Soviet novels, histories, technical books—were fairly cheap, and new editions, particularly of such favourite authors as Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Pushkin, were often snapped up over-night. The thirst for knowledge is a striking characteristic of the post-revolutionary generation. On the Metro, on buses, in parks, people old and young, peasant women in head-shawls, padded jackets and felt boots, were reading avidly with an air of complete

absorption. There were no pulp magazine, comic strips, or sensational news digests to distract their attention; neither did the newspapers report crime, accidents, incidence of disease, or run a social column. I was also impressed by the love and care universally lavished on children. Youngsters played contentedly outdoors in the severest weather, tenderly watched by a serene old "babushka" who would sit by the hour apparently impervious to the cold. Only once did I see a child in tears, and never heard one spoken to in irritation or anger.

In 1947 life was hard, particularly for the women: long hours at work, home and children to tend, and endless queuing for food, perhaps from before daylight until a store opened its doors at eleven. But the tremendous surge of vitality, pride in achievement and progress, and zest for life could not fail to communicate itself to the least sensitive observer. It was impossible not to sense the vast potentialities of the common Russian people—inexhaustible reserves of kindness, humour, patience, the indestructible courage of the Cockney and the Chinese; and above all, the virility expressed in folk dance and song, in their voices, and in the swelling harmonies of their sacred music.

One of the chief advantages of a posting to Moscow is the opportunity to study Russian and Soviet culture at first hand, and this in itself is an inducement to learn the language. The struggle with grammar and laborious plodding through a play were rewarded ten-fold by a visit to the theatre. The perfect diction and acoustics invariably gave me the gratifying illusion of having understood every word, instead of perhaps the odd sentence here and there! The realism of the drama has to be seen to be believed, and the impact of Tolstoy's *Resurrection* or Gorki's *Lower Depths*, to mention only two productions at the Moscow Art Theatre, leaves an indelible impression. Needless to say, the Russian ballet exceeded all expectations, and to have seen prima ballerina Ulanova's fragile grace and dedicated art is to have glimpsed a peak of human perfection.

The Canadian Embassy

The Canadian Embassy, once the home of a wealthy merchant, is hidden away on a cobbled side-street mentioned in Tolstoy's novels. In a smaller house behind the main building a self-contained apartment, tastefully furnished by the Canadian Government, was set aside for the three junior staff members. Despite frustrations which at times made us feel that home was indeed a better place than this particular Arden, our apartment with its Canadian atmosphere was the envy of our friends, particularly the kitchen, which was equipped with everything from potato peelers to waffle iron and Mixmaster. Such a home was well worth the time devoted to household chores, inventories, the ordering, stock-taking and self-imposed rationing of imported food supplies. (At that time severe rationing in the Soviet Union necessitated importing most of our needs from Canada. Our annual order included not only all kinds of canned food, by the case, but also soap, cleaning materials, flashlight batteries, spare parts for coffee percolators, and even matches. In addition, each of us came equipped with a two-year supply of clothing and miscellaneous items ranging from cosmetics to shoe-leather.)

Nervous wear and tear, as well as time, was also spent in settling kitchen crises which were apt to loom up unexpectedly. One morning shortly after taking over from my predecessor as "housekeeper", our two servants appeared at the office and, through the translattress, intimated that they needed more food to cook with (imported supplies were running low), more money for local



COUNTRY MARKET AT DMITRI, NEAR MOSCOW

—K. Brown

shopping, and would be happier if at least one of us could speak some Russian! The first two complaints were more easily remedied than the third, but promises pacified them for the time being. It was weeks, however, before Zina's dramatic "Mees Brown!" ceased to fill me with premonition; such an ominous prelude could portend anything from a threat of resignation to an innocuous request for soap. But what pride they took in "their kitchen", and how eager they were to learn. And how gently Antonina corrected our halting Russian, speaking to us as if to her children, carefully choosing simple words. Nor was our general education to be neglected. We soon found, for instance, that "Kultur" had various connotations, and our partiality for jacket potatoes was for some reason considered in the kitchen as *ochen nye kulturni* (very uncultured).

Social Contacts Limited

Although social contacts were limited and language a barrier, we found people eager to be friendly and desirous that as foreigners we should be given the best—whether hotel accommodation, train reservations or seats in the theatre. Sometimes, however, this proved costly! A visit to the director of the "ice cream parlour" on Gorki Street with a written request for plain ice cream, produced a veritable raft of *plombir* (the very best) heavily laden with ornate decoration and safely anchored on dry ice. The cost—one hundred roubles (approximately \$12.50 at the then rate of exchange)—rather startled us, but we had neither the courage nor the Russian to amend or cancel our request, so retreated with our precious package resolved to manufacture our own henceforth. Later on, delicious ice cream was sold freely on the streets, and even in the depth of winter it was difficult to resist the cries of the well-padded white-coated vendors—*Komy moroshny—tri rubli?* ("Who wants ice cream—three roubles?")

Opportunities for sport were few, but there were more than enough other activities to fill our leisure hours, and no lack of social life within the foreign community. In fact, invitations to cocktails, dinner or theatre parties tended to become a vicious circle from which there was no escape. On the other hand, the extreme sociability was probably a necessary and even stimulating antidote to a too ruthless pursuit of "Kultur".

Despite restrictions on travel, we were able to wander freely about the city and visit in the environs the monasteries and old country houses of the former aristocracy, now largely preserved as museums depicting the way of life of the feudal land-owners. Further afield were places of historical interest, such as the monastery town of Zagorsk and the country homes of Tolstoy, Lenin, and Tschaikowsky, which might be visited after first notifying the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After a long city-bound winter, it was unalloyed pleasure to drive through the undulating countryside with its unfenced fields and wide horizons, which had a special appeal for us as Canadians. Here and there the bulbous gold or blue dome of a church, surmounted by a delicately-wrought iron cross, broke the even line of the horizon, or its white-washed walls stood out against a backdrop of dark pine and silver birch.

Holidays in Georgia

A short holiday to Georgia with three members of the British Embassy gave a fleeting picture of the country to the south and impressed us once more with the immensity of the Soviet Union, of which we were seeing only a corner. On the three-day journey by train we travelled "soft" (intermediate) class, and prepared and ate our meals in the four-berth compartment under the interested gaze of the two women conductors, who were intrigued by the assortment of strange labels and the contents of the cans. They kindly volunteered to wash our dishes, a chore which we had been attempting rather unsuccessfully (and certainly unhygienically) in the small and much-frequented general washroom. The escape from the greyness of snow-bound Moscow into the warm sun and balmy air, and the first sight of cherry and almond blossom in the sheltered southern valleys filled us with a wonderful sense of lightness and release. The return journey by air from Tbilisi afforded a magnificent view of the Caucasian mountains; like the Himalayas, they have a grandeur and untamed beauty which is missing in the European Alps and even in our own Rockies.

My first impression of the Soviet Union in 1947 was of bullet-marked buildings in Leningrad; the last—as the train drew slowly across the Soviet-Polish border in 1949—of sturdy women toiling under a hot sun among the steel girders of a new bridge. As people will everywhere, they looked up for a moment to gaze after the passing train. Who could guess their thoughts? Mine were sad, for the door had closed on two unforgettable years.

Before returning to Canada, however, I was to spend a month in Geneva where, with a member of the staff from our Embassy in Belgrade, I worked for the Canadian delegation to ILO. Although on duty, it was impossible not to succumb to the overpowering sense of luxury and light-hearted air of Switzerland in perfect June weather, an atmosphere to which we who had become accustomed to plainer living were more than normally susceptible.

There is a special joy about homecoming after a long absence. Sailing up the St. Lawrence, its shores seemed to draw even closer as if in welcome. On the way out west on home leave a line of Edna St. Vincent Millay kept echoing through my mind—"Oh world, I cannot get thee close enough!" . . . At this juncture, we whose homes are on the Pacific Coast may be the envy of those living within a street-car ride of the East Block, but the tables are turned when the Westerner reports back to Ottawa and is faced with the recurring problem of finding shelter—one of the drawbacks of a nomadic life.

(The second instalment of Miss Brown's article will be published in the June issue of "External Affairs".)

Canada and the United Nations

Disarmament Commission

On April 3, 1954, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States requested that the Disarmament Commission be reconvened at an early date in order to pursue its work in accordance with the General Assembly resolution on disarmament of November 28, 1953. In this resolution the Assembly had suggested that the Disarmament Commission "study the desirability of establishing a sub-committee consisting of representatives of the Powers principally involved, which should seek in private an acceptable solution and report to the Disarmament Commission as soon as possible, in order that the Commission may study and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954". At its third meeting, held on April 19, the Commission approved a proposal put forward by the United Kingdom to establish a sub-committee composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Canada, which would hold private talks and report to the Disarmament Commission not later than July 15 next. The vote was 9 in favour, 1 against (U.S.S.R.) and 2 abstentions (China and Lebanon). The Soviet Union had proposed that Communist China, Czechoslovakia and India should also be members of the sub-committee but this counter-proposal was rejected by a vote of 1 in favour (U.S.S.R.) 10 against and 1 abstention (Lebanon).

The Commission on Human Rights

The tenth session of the Commission on Human Rights, a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York from February 23 to April 16. The chairman of the session was M. Mahmoud Azmi of Egypt and M. René Cassin of France was vice-chairman. During the course of the session the Commission passed an important milestone in its work by completing the two international draft covenants on human rights which have been under consideration for five years. One of the draft covenants is on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights.

The completed draft covenants will next be considered by the Economic and Social Council and then, if the Council agrees, by the General Assembly. Among the substantive articles, measures of implementation and final clauses added to the covenants during this session was an important draft article concerning the position of federal states in relation to the draft covenants. This was adopted by the Commission after a lengthy debate on three proposed draft articles on the subject. A draft article sponsored by Australia and India was designed to enable federal states to sign the covenants without assuming any obligation outside the jurisdiction of their national parliaments, but the Commission eventually adopted on March 26, by a vote of 8 to 7 with 3 abstentions (China, Pakistan and the United States), a Soviet draft article that would extend the provisions of the human rights covenants to all parts of federal states "without any limitations or exceptions." (In a recent statement on the draft covenants, published as United Nations document No. E/CN.4/694/Add.6, the Canadian Government stated that "in the absence of a satisfactory Federal



—United Nations

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, Mr. Leslie Knox Munro (New Zealand); Mr. David M. Johnson (Canada); and Mr. Oscar Thorsing (Sweden), outside the Security Council chamber, before the meeting of the Disarmament Commission held in April, 1954.

State clause, Canada could not become a party to the covenants due to the nature of its constitution which divides legislative power concerning human rights between the national parliament and the provincial legislatures"). Before the final vote on the Federal State article the Commission decided to leave to the General Assembly the decision as to whether to include a reservations clause in the covenants.

The Commission passed a number of resolutions arising out of the report of the sixth session of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and voted to defer until its next session consideration of three United States proposals for a human rights action programme. In addition the Commission held a full debate on measures concerning international respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination and recommended that the General Assembly establish two commissions, one to conduct a full survey of the status of the right of self-determination and to make recommendations for strengthening it, and the other to examine any situation resulting from alleged denial or inadequate realization of the right of self-determination. The Commission decided to recommend to the Economic and Social Council that the Commission's next (eleventh) session in 1955 be held in Geneva.

The Commission on the Status of Women

The eighteen-member Commission on the Status of Women, which is a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, held its eighth session

from March 22 to April 9 at United Nations Headquarters. Miss Bernardino of the Dominican Republic was unanimously elected chairman for the session. Among other items on its 13 point agenda, the Commission discussed and passed resolutions concerning the nationality and rights of married women, women's political rights and educational and economic opportunities, the participation of women in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and technical assistance to help to promote the rights of women.

On March 29 the Commission adopted two resolutions urging wider implementation and public acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women workers. The Commission also recommended that a provision in the international draft covenant on civil and political rights should be re-drafted to read as follows: "Men and women should have equal rights and responsibilities as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution". Before concluding the session the Commission adopted a proposal recommending that its next (ninth) session in 1955 be held in Geneva.

The Trusteeship Council

The thirteenth regular session of the Trusteeship Council was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from January 28 to March 26. Ambassador Leslie Knox Munro of New Zealand, President of the Council, was in the chair. The present members of the Trusteeship Council are: Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, (members administering Trust Territories); China, U.S.S.R., (permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories); El Salvador, Haiti, India, Syria, (elective members).

During the course of the session, the Council examined the conditions of the following six African territories under trusteeship: British-administered Tanganyika, Cameroons and Togoland, the French-administered Cameroons and Togoland and Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. This examination took the form of a discussion with a special representative of the Administering Authority of each territory and a general debate during which members of the Council made known their government's views on the conditions in the territory as described both by the Administering Authority and by the United Nations Visiting Mission. After a full debate on the question of unification of the two Togolands, the Council voted to postpone a decision on the question until its fourteenth session which will begin on June 2 of this year.

The Committee on South-West Africa

The General Assembly's Committee on South-West Africa, which is composed of Brazil, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand and Uruguay, held two closed meetings on April 1 to consider a reply from the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Committee's letter of January 21. The Committee's letter had called on the Union Government to resume negotiations and to send to the Committee on May 20 of each year an annual report on its administration of the territory. In its reply the South African Government stated that it was "doubtful whether there is any hope that new negotiations within the scope of your Committee's terms of reference will lead to any positive results" and also that the South African Government had "never recognized any obligation to submit reports and petitions to any international body since the demise of the League of Nations." The Committee decided to address another letter to the South African Government, which was sent on April 1. In it, the Committee

stated that it could only interpret the South African letter, and South Africa's "failure to appoint a representative to confer with the Committee, as a refusal on the part of the Government of the Union of South Africa to co-operate, for the present, with the Committee in regard to the resumption of negotiations". The Committee declared that, nevertheless, "it remains ready" to continue negotiations, should the South African Government be willing.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners-of-War

The fifth session of the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners-of-War ended in Geneva on April 2. The meetings were held in private but a public declaration was made by the Commission. In this declaration the following points were made. Recent actions involving the return of thousands of Second World War prisoners since the General Assembly resolution on December 7, 1953 have appreciably reduced the problem. The problem of Second World War prisoners should be treated from a humanitarian and non-political standpoint. Further co-operation of governments had clarified the fate of thousands of former prisoners-of-war.

The Commission went on to consider what was implied by "a full accounting" of prisoners of war and recognized that, because of the chaos of war, it was not to be expected that the process of accounting for prisoners would ever be complete.



"ARE CANADIANS REALLY?"

—Harris & Evans

A new informative booklet on Canada, "Are Canadians Really", published by the United States Chamber of Commerce for business men throughout the United States, was presented for the first time at a press reception in Washington last month arranged by the national office of the United States Chamber. Much of the basic information in the booklet was supplied by the Department of External Affairs. Shown examining the first of many thousands of copies to come off the press are, left to right: Mr. Thorsten Kaligarvi, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; Dr. John A. Hannah, United States Assistant Secretary of Defence; the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heoney, and the National Chamber President, Richard L. Bowditch.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

IN concluding the debate on External Affairs in the House of Commons on March 31, which Mr. Pearson observed had ranged far and wide over the world, the Minister said:

I do not believe any of us should complain about that because we have learned from events of the last forty or fifty years that when international relations break down, our men have to range far and wide over the world from Germany to Korea, in the defence of peace.

Referring to the role of the Commonwealth in the world today, he added:

I feel that the Honourable Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Philpott) dealt with that matter very effectively yesterday when he said that the Prime Minister has given evidence by deed and not only by word of his feeling for the Commonwealth of Nations, which in its new form is very different from the old British Empire and has demonstrated once again the genius of the people composing it for political improvisation, if I may put it that way, and for service to the world.

Closer Integration Required

In reply to a question on the problem of "integration" in connection with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) he referred to a statement made by the Prime Minister on February 10 at Bonn, as follows:

It has become increasingly clear, I think, to all members of NATO and to many countries who are associated with us throughout the free world that our very survival and our continued development in freedom and in peace depends upon our ability to look beyond national barriers and to make them somewhat less artificial and more satisfactory.

We believe the proper solution to the economic, cultural and spiritual betterment of all free peoples is to be found in an even closer integration of their activities and in a greater sharing of their endeavours. More particularly, many of us believe the peoples living about the Great Basin of the Atlantic Ocean might well seek the solution to their problem of economic betterment, political stability and self-defence in this closer integration of their national resources and of their machinery of Government.

Mr. Pearson continued:

The Prime Minister of course had in mind when he made that statement—and I think it is one to which none of us would want to take exception—that the hope of the world today, especially the hope of the Atlantic world, and especially under the circumstances of today, must lie mainly in closer and closer co-operation and closer and closer relationship between governments and the agencies of Government.

Position in the Far East

In his final address before the House on April 1, discussing the position in the Far East, he said:

Insofar as the recognition of Communist China was concerned, I tried to re-state the government's policy, which is, to use the words used by the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Drew) in describing the policy of his own party, "non-recognition under present conditions and in the circumstances of today".

At the end of the session yesterday . . . I was trying to emphasize that in the situation which confronts us today a continuing effort to negotiate outstanding problems is I think essential; otherwise we must admit the permanence, and unbridgeable nature, of the division of the world. One way by which such an admission would become apparent would be the exclusion of all Cominfo states from the United Nations, and by converting that organization into an agency for the prosecution of our side of the cold war. I think myself that course would be profoundly wrong.

If this negotiation is to go on, from strength, with strength, with wisdom, which includes a full realization of the conspiratorial forces we are up against, and an even more complete understanding of the price of failure—then I suggest that our diplomacy should be characterized by flexibility as well as by strength. We should not mistake flexibility for weakness, or rigidity for strength.

Mr. Pearson quoted the Leader of the Opposition as saying "We should have a faith that always contemplates the possibility of a change in conduct—forgiveness—and of the return of fellowship and decency, to those who have offended against the laws of God and the laws of men" and then went on to say:

I think we can also all agree with him on that, and I suggest that we should keep that idea in mind as we talk about retaliation as a deterrent and about liberation of the enslaved as a means of keeping their spirits alive. To counsel patience and persistence in negotiation is often termed appeasement, a word which is often thrown out to slur and frighten without any particular effort to understand its meaning. If appeasement means betrayal of our friends and our principles for some selfish but illusory advantage, then I suppose the worst kind of appeasement is to promise something for this purpose that you cannot fulfil, to bluff when you would not be likely or able to act if your bluff were called.

Consultation Assured

Turning to the question of instant retaliation and that of consultation among the members of the Atlantic community, Mr. Pearson said:

There is also, I think, the same kind of danger in emphasizing the policy of retaliation as a deterrent to aggression in a way which would give the impression—and Mr. Dulles himself has pointed this out—that every kind of aggressive Communist action will be met by instant and overwhelming retaliation by all means at our disposal when in the event we may have to limit the nature of such reaction in certain circumstances because otherwise it would precipitate World War III. This difficulty and dilemma, and it is a dilemma, explains why we have to increase and strengthen consultation among friends, especially using the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council for that purpose.

Indeed, the Hon. Member for Prince Albert (Mr. Diefenbaker) expressed the same doubts when he asked the question whether we did not have a right to more assurances than answers given by the Secretary of State in Washington at a press conference. Well Mr. Speaker, we have more assurances than that. We have them in the statement made by the Secretary of State before Congress, and in answers to questions there, where he did say frankly—and I confess that it was from these statements that I took some reassurance—that on every possible occasion there would be consultation among friends before action of the kind

he was indicating would be taken. We know that he will do his best to carry that out.

It may be that we have not complete reassurance: it may be we will never be able to get complete reassurance in this matter. My own view is well expressed by a paragraph from an editorial in a Regina paper which I read yesterday and which reads:

"The clouds of concern may not be entirely cleared away by this reassurance. But what Mr. Dulles told the Senate Committee should help considerably to allay the uneasiness within the western coalition."

The machinery of consultation can never work perfectly in a coalition of free states, but we can hope that it will be made to work effectively as possible, and I believe that the events of the last two or three weeks have given us some additional hope in that regard.

The Hon. Member for Eglinton (Mr. Fleming) in his statement made a remark with which, in the sense in which he made it, I am sure no one in the House will disagree when he said, when speaking about consultation and decisions made outside this country, that 'Canada's foreign policy will be made right here under this roof'. In one sense of course he is completely right, but in another sense I suggest that that statement is unrealistic, if I may use that word, unless we wish to withdraw from the coalition and go it alone, which I am sure none of us do. Even if we did withdraw from this coalition our decisions made under this roof would certainly be influenced by the decisions of others, especially in Washington. Indeed, in this year of grace I suggest that no government and no parliament can make its own foreign policy decisions exclusively under its own roof, not even the Government in Washington. That is why it is so important that members of the coalition consult and work together.

We can decide our own policy at times as much by convincing our friends about the rightness or wrongness of a course of action as by convincing ourselves. That is one reason why the remarks and arguments of any Canadian minister with any responsibility in the field of external relations will often have to be directed outside of his own country. It is also one reason, I think, why any foreign minister in the Commonwealth or in the NATO coalition has to spend so much of his time outside his own country.

Proposal for European Security

In reply to a question on the Soviet proposal for European security, the Minister pointed out that this proposal had been directed to the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France. "No one," Mr. Pearson added, "desires to reject any proposal out of hand which has any chance of bringing about good results." He continued:

In my view nothing could be more serious or more dangerous than a more or less final acceptance of the failure of man's ability to communicate with man, across whatever barriers—be they social or political—or whatever curtains, be they of metal or propaganda or tradition—which may exist today. In a world of hydrogen weapons, genuine misunderstandings, if they become hardened into a despondent belief on either side that sincere negotiations were impossible, could have nothing but tragic consequences for everybody.

Having said that . . . I should add this, while the West cannot afford to reject out of hand and without consideration *any* serious proposals for a settlement that the Soviet Union may propose, it is equally obvious that we cannot afford to fall into propaganda traps. Both the timing and the substance of the new Soviet proposals suggest that they may be designed chiefly to cause

a delay in the ratification and implementation of the treaty to establish the European Defence Community. As has already been made abundantly clear, the Canadian Government supports that project and hopes that it will be implemented without delay. The West cannot afford to put off decisive acts which are necessary for our own self-defence, merely in exchange for Soviet words or promises.

Falling into such an obvious trap would, of course, be dangerous. We must be prepared to examine Soviet proposals and to negotiate whenever there seems any prospect that negotiations may prove fruitful, but we must do this while maintaining, until they are shown to be unnecessary, policies which we have adopted with our friends as being needed for our collective defence.

Certainly at first sight the Soviet suggestion that they join NATO seems to be somewhat surprising and indeed an almost disingenuous one. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is based on mutual trust between governments and peoples who share many fundamental aspects of a common civilization, and who have demonstrated their desire and ability to work together. Moreover, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is more than a military alliance. It is more than a collective security organization.

It is worth remembering, also, that we and the Soviet Union and all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization belong to a *universal* collective security organization in the United Nations, and if the Soviet Union is now prepared to make this organization effective we should certainly welcome that and the possibilities for co-operation in this field. The universal basis is there, and has been there since the United Nations was founded.

Real Objective of NATO

Mr. Pearson went on to say that the Canadian Government had never concealed its view that the military aspects of NATO were a regrettable necessity and the real objective remained the establishment of a safe and peaceful world. He continued:

Certainly that objective is far from being achieved or even approached at the present time. Therefore, surely it would be folly for us to lower our guard so long as the present danger exists.

I am not asserting that the professed Soviet desire in this proposal to join the West in affecting arrangements for collective security is completely insincere. I do not know. I may perhaps be giving Hon. Members a somewhat pessimistic first interpretation, though this seems to be justified by the proposal itself and the experiences we have had. But I think one can be pretty sure of this—that it would be fatuous to suppose, after the events of the last ten years, and while millions of people in Europe are held in subjection, that the fears and suspicions which Soviet actions have engendered in the minds of most of us west of the iron curtain will be easily or quickly removed by a few diplomatic notes. These fears were engendered not by words but by deeds.

But it would be equally wrong and dangerous to think that the suspicions and fears which at present divide the world can never be overcome. If the Soviet rulers are sincere in their desire for collective security, then I am confident that they will not find the governments of the Western democracies unwilling to listen to any serious overtures they may make. We will persist in our determination to meet any genuine overture for peace halfway, and indeed more than halfway.

I read these words the other day . . . and I would like to conclude my statement with them. I quote:

Those who are prone by temperament and character to seek sharp and clear-cut solutions of difficult and obscure problems, who are ready to fight whenever some challenge comes from a foreign power, have not always been right. On the other hand, those whose inclination is to bow their heads, to seek patiently and faithfully for peaceful compromise, are not always wrong. On the contrary, in the majority of instances they may be right not only morally but from a practical standpoint. How many wars have been averted by patience and persisting good will?! Religion and virtue alike lend their actions to meekness and humility, not only between men but between nations. How many wars have been precipitated by firebrands?! How many misunderstandings which led to wars could have been removed by temporizing?! How often have countries fought cruel wars and then after a few years of peace found themselves not only friends but allies?!

Those words . . . were written by one who has never been considered naive, soft, or indeed especially meek. Those words by Sir Winston Churchill provide a good and wise guide for the conduct of the foreign policy of Canada, both at the forthcoming Geneva conference and in the critical times ahead.

This debate . . . which now ends, will also be of real assistance to the Government in this regard. It has provided both spurs to and brakes against action, and has also indicated, I believe, that the broad objectives and underlying principles of our foreign policy are generally approved both in this House and by the country.



—National Foto Persbureau

QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS VISITS CANADIAN EXHIBITION

Her Majesty Queen Juliana, with the Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. T. A. Stone, at the exhibition of the Seagram collection of paintings of the cities of Canada, held in The Hague, examining Franklin Arbuckle's painting "Parliament Hill", with the East Block, headquarters of the Department of External Affairs, in the right foreground.

IEWS ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Transcript of an interview with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, by Robert Reford, of CBC, recorded for broadcast on the weekly programme "Men Behind the News", CBO, April 23, 1954.

Mr. Reford:

What's at stake at the Geneva Conference?

Mr. Pearson:

The Conference has been called to deal with Korea, and with Indo-China. Discussions on these two items will be distinct, just as the invitations to take part in the discussions on Indo-China are separate from those for a Korean settlement.

So far as the Korean part is concerned, the Geneva Conference is, as it were, a second step which we are trying to take to bring peace to that country. The first step was, of course, to bring about an armistice. That, as you will remember, took about two years of arduous negotiations with the Chinese and Korean Communist leaders. But they did eventually result in agreement on a cease-fire. That was an important step forward. Now we are trying to advance from that point. If—and I emphasize if—we could achieve a real political settlement for Korea, this would obviously make an important contribution toward easing the cold war.

Mr. Reford:

Will there be any specific points that Canada will try to press for at the conference?

Mr. Pearson:

Our whole approach to the Korean problem is a United Nations one. We see the problem in a United Nations framework. It is because of our United Nations obligations that Canada has participated in the efforts to check aggression in Korea. The objectives that we will press for at Geneva are, therefore, as you would expect, United Nations objectives. These were reaffirmed by the United Nations General Assembly as recently as August 28 last, as "re-unification by peaceful means". What the United Nations seeks is a unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of Government. This is our ultimate objective, and our Delegation will, of course, press for it. If we can't make much progress now toward its achievement at Geneva, then we will at least do everything we can to maintain the present armistice agreement, and to leave the opportunity open for further negotiations later on. We must prevent, if we can, any retreat to renewed fighting.

Mr. Reford:

That would be true for the discussions on Korea. We'll be taking a full part in them. But what about Indo-China? We aren't directly concerned there—not in the same sense as Korea, where we had troops fighting under the United Nations Command. What role will we play when the conference turns to Indo-China?

Mr. Pearson:

As a Pacific as well as an Atlantic country, we are naturally extremely interested in anything which can be done to pacify and stabilize the situation in Indo-China, and to strengthen the security of South-East Asia. Our Delegation will certainly therefore follow the discussions on Indo-China with great care and interest. Whether we will do more than that, I do not know. We have not yet been invited to take part in the Indo-Chinese part of the conference. And this I think is understandable enough. Though we are, as I said, interested and concerned about Indo-China, we have no direct responsibility there. The situation is in many ways different from the Korean problem, where we are directly involved. Korea has for years been a United Nations problem: but Indo-China is not at least in that sense. The fighting in Indo-China has not been referred, by any of the countries concerned, to the United Nations. The United Nations has therefore not taken any decision on Indo-China, and Canada has no obligations specifically directed toward that area. All I can say therefore is that our Delegation will be at Geneva, and if it should turn out that there is anything we could usefully do, we will of course be glad to do it.

Mr. Reford:

It's impossible to tell how a conference will go before it starts. But what hopes have you that it will achieve some success?

Mr. Pearson:

Personally I don't feel too optimistic about the prospects of dramatic or quick successes in Geneva at this time. But it would be foolish, and wrong, to have no hope for this conference, at which the leaders of the main governments participate, and at which important issues which now divide the world are up for consideration. Certainly we intend to do what we can to make progress possible, and we hope there will be progress.

Another point—the Geneva Conference will be the first one concerned with Asian problems at which the Chinese Communists will be present. Thus it should provide a good opportunity for us to observe their approach to the conference table and to appraise their views and intentions and tactics on general Far Eastern questions.

Mr. Reford:

I think it would be true to say, Mr. Pearson, that you have at least as much if not more experience as any Western statesman with the Chinese Communists. I am referring to your work at the United Nations both as President of the General Assembly and the year before on the three-man United Nations cease fire committee. Do you feel that the presence of Communist China at Geneva will increase its

chance of success? Or do you think the presence of two major Communist powers—Russia and China—will simply mean more propaganda speeches and less chance of concrete achievement?

Mr. Pearson:

Well, my experience in the past, such as it has been, has not led me to be unrealistically optimistic on that score. But when you ask whether the presence of Communist China will increase its chance of success, I can only reply that no one, except the Communist rulers can answer that. But we can be sure of this, that without the presence of Communist China the Geneva Conference for a settlement of these two issues would have no chance of success. After all, the Chinese Communists are exercising power at least at the present time over a very large territory, and over hundreds of millions of men and women. If, therefore, we want to come to any agreement, to which this new power in Asia will be committed, we have to negotiate with them on that matter. This is just as true about the Korean Political Conference at Geneva as it was about the negotiations which the United Nations Command carried on on behalf of Canada and the United States and the other allies at Panmunjom and which eventually led to an armistice.

Your second question is whether the presence of two major communist powers—China and Russia—may simply mean more propaganda speeches and less chance of concrete achievement. In reply I would say that it cannot mean less chance of achievement with the Chinese Communists there, as without them there would be no chance of achievement. It seems to me that any agreement reached at Geneva should be underwritten by both these countries—it must be underwritten by both of them, if we expect it to stick.

As for propaganda speeches, I suppose that we shall have to listen to a good many. Whether we will hear anything but propaganda speeches from the other side, I do not know. I earnestly hope so.

Mr. Reford:

Well, it will certainly be interesting to see how China and Russia behave towards each other at a major international conference as well as how they behave towards the Western powers. By the way, do you expect Mr. Molotov and Mr. Chou En-lai to be in Geneva in person?

Mr. Pearson:

Well, I am informed that they will both be there with very large delegations. They will certainly outnumber us as well as possibly out-talk us.

Mr. Reford:

I understand you'll be attending a Ministerial meeting of the NATO Council on your way to Geneva. I suppose we can expect the NATO Ministers both to look back on the Berlin Conference and to look forward to Geneva?

Mr. Pearson:

There will certainly be a stock-taking at this meeting. One of the most important points on such occasions is to assess Soviet policy and intentions: and in this connection, the evidence of their behaviour at the Berlin Conference is naturally important. The Soviet note of 1st April, regarding the European Defence Community and NATO will also of course be considered. But we can also expect the Ministerial Meeting of the Council to look forward to the prospects for Geneva, where many of us will be proceeding from Paris. Both the Korean and Indo-Chinese situations will no doubt be considered, as part of the background situation against which NATO has to operate. But you must remember that NATO itself is directly concerned only with what is called the North Atlantic Treaty area, which embraces North America, Europe and the Mediterranean.

This general stock-taking or exchange of views on the international situation, is the only item of a non-routine nature on the agenda for this ministerial meeting. As you know, such exchanges of view between governments are of great importance. We in the North Atlantic community know that each of us is vitally concerned with the policies, the strength, and the welfare of each of the others. In the situation of great, and I think, increasing interdependence in which we find ourselves, continuous consultation is essential to hold our coalition together, and keep tensions to a minimum. And that is what we will be doing at the NATO meeting in Paris—consulting.

Mr. Reford:

Well, thank you very much, Mr. Pearson. I wish you good luck at Geneva. And I certainly hope we'll see some constructive results in that meeting.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, High Commissioner, proceeded on Home Leave from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective March 17, 1954.

Mr. T. C. Davis, Ambassador, proceeded to Home Leave from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective April 4, 1954.

Mr. G. L. Magann, Ambassador, proceeded from the Canadian Embassy, Athens, to the Canadian Embassy, Berne, effective April 10, 1954.

- Mr. C. A. Ronning, Canadian Minister to Norway arrived at his post on April 19, 1954. He presented his credentials on April 24, 1954.
- Mr. R. A. D. Ford was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow to Ottawa effective April 12, 1954.
- Miss J. A. Horwood was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective March 8, 1954.
- Mr. C. Hardy was transferred from the Canadian Consulate General Chicago, to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective March 27, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles was posted from the Canadian Legation, Prague to Home Leave effective March 31, 1954.
- Mr. D. W. Munro was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, effective April 2, 1954.
- Mr. T. H.-W. Read was posted from Home Leave (Wellington) to Ottawa effective April 5, 1954.
- Mr. A. S. McGill was posted from Home Leave (Pretoria) to Ottawa effective April 5, 1954.
- Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre left the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, on April 9, 1954 to take up his new assignment with the Department of Finance in Ottawa.
- Mr. K. C. Brown was posted from Home Leave (Havana) to Ottawa effective April 12, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. Morin was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro to Home Leave, effective April 14, 1954.
- Mr. J. F. R. Mitchell was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective April 15, 1954.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Home Leave effective April 19, 1954.
- Mr. P. L. Trottier was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Home Leave effective April 22, 1954.
- Mr. J. J. M. Cote was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective April 24, 1954.
- Mr. K. J. Burbridge was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective April 26, 1954.
- Mr. O. G. Stoner was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa effective April 27, 1954.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 54/17 — *Prime Minister's Report to Parliament on Return from Trip Abroad*, the statement made in the House of Commons on March 18, 1954, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.
- No. 54/18 — *A Survey of International Affairs*, a statement made in the House of Commons on March 25, 1954, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.
- No. 54/19 — *Recognition of China*, a statement made in the House of Commons on March 25, 1954, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.
- No. 54/20 — *Canadian Relations with Japan*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, to the Japan-Canada Society, Tokyo, March 12, 1954.
- No. 54/21 — *Your Northern Neighbour*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Executives Club Luncheon, Chicago, March 19, 1954.
- No. 54/22 — *The Fifth Anniversary of NATO*, statements made on April 4, 1954, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; and the Canadian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Geneva Conference

THE principle achievement of the meeting at Berlin in January and February of the Foreign Ministers of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States was an agreement to hold a conference on April 26, 1954, for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This conference was to be attended by representatives of the Big Four, the Chinese People's Republic, North and South Korea and the other countries the armed forces of which participated in the hostilities in Korea and which desired to attend. It was also agreed that the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China would be discussed at the conference, and that representatives of the Big Four, the Chinese People's Republic and other interested states would participate in these discussions.

The Armistice Agreement signed at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953, contained a recommendation to the governments of the countries concerned in the Korean hostilities that within three months after the Armistice Agreement was signed, a political conference should be held of representatives of both sides to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc. Although the Geneva Conference was not held within the time limit prescribed in the Armistice Agreement, it has been otherwise regarded as fulfilling the terms of the Armistice Agreement insofar as the calling of a political conference is concerned.

Mr. Pearson's Statement

The conference opened with a plenary debate on Korea, in which the North Korean delegate advanced some proposals for the establishment of an all-Korean Commission to organize elections. All the Communist delegations attacked United States policy in Asia in vigorous terms. On Tuesday, May 4, Mr. Pearson addressed the conference as follows:

If I venture to take part in this debate, it is because I do not wish my silence to be interpreted as indicating any weakening or slackening of the strong support that my country has steadily given to United Nations policy on Korea; or as indicating, even by omission, approval of the distortions in some previous speeches on Korean and Asian developments; or indifference to the false charges that have been levelled, particularly at the United States of America, in respect of these developments.

Canada is represented at this Korean Peace Conference because she is a member of the United Nations and, as such, has participated, on land, water and in the air, in United Nations operations against aggression in Korea. Similarly, our responsibilities here derive solely from the decisions taken by the United Nations on the Korean question.

These decisions were concerned with, first, the determination of the fact of aggression in Korea; second, the repulse of this aggression, something that has been accomplished by the United Nations forces under the resolute and unselfish leadership of the United States, and by the heavy and gallant sacrifices of the Korean people themselves; and, third, with the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a free, united and democratic Korea, rising from the tragedy and devastation of that unhappy land.

Every one of these United Nations decisions was accepted by the vast majority of the members of that organization, including—we should not forget this—many who have often declared their intention of remaining outside what has been called the “cold war”, and whose foreign policies could not be remotely considered as aimed against the communist powers.

The Canadian Government has supported and remains bound by these United Nations decisions. Therefore, we cannot support any proposal which denies their validity, or which would equate at this conference the moral and political status of the United Nations in respect of the Korean question, with those governments which have broken the United Nations Charter by taking aggressive military action against the Republic of Korea.

National Freedom in Asia

The leader of the Soviet delegation in his one-sided and unconvincing analysis of recent Asian history stated that the Western countries, and the United States in particular, were “incapable of understanding the historic changes that have taken place in the countries of Asia”. He added that, instead of trying to understand these changes, we were prepared to find “communist intrigues” and “agents of the Kremlin” everywhere.

Leaving aside the fact that fear of “communist intrigues” and of “agents of the Kremlin” is, for many free states, something that has grown out of hard and unhappy experience, Mr. Molotov is completely wrong in his charge that we do not recognize the significance of what has taken place in Asia in recent years, in the march of the peoples of that great continent to national freedom and greater human welfare. On the contrary, we do understand and fully accept the significance of these developments, and the fact that this march cannot and should not be reversed.

Mr. Molotov also said in his speech, “We cannot conceal our warm sympathy with the movements of the peoples, including the peoples of Asia, for national freedom”. We can all echo that expression of sympathy while insisting, at the same time, that this freedom should be more real than that, to mention a few examples, of Lithuania or Bulgaria or the Mongolian People’s Republic; or, indeed, of those members of the United Nations who belong to a bloc so tightly controlled that no member in all the years of its existence has ever publicly disagreed with or voted against a proposal of the leader of that bloc.

We, therefore, hope that *all* the Asian peoples in their forward march will secure for themselves, as India, Pakistan and Ceylon, for instance, have already done, a better kind of national freedom than that which is a mere facade to conceal imperialist and aggressive domination by any power, whether Asian or European.

The right to be free does not include the obligation to be communist; and “Asia for the Asians” is not the same as—indeed is the opposite of—“Asia for the Cominform”. It would be no contribution either to Asian peace or prosperity, independence or dignity, if the Japanese East Asian co-prosperity sphere were exchanged for the Chinese East Asian co-communist empire.

In their speeches to this conference the leaders of the delegations of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China have attacked the United States for a policy of aggressive imperialism in Asia, which, they allege, stands in the way of freedom for the Asian peoples. As the leader of the delegation of a country which is a neighbour of the most powerful state in the world, I can say with a conviction based on our national experience that the people of the United States are neither aggressive nor imperialist; and it is the people of the United States that freely elect their governments.

If, indeed, the United States did not respect the rights and interests of others, Canada would not today be an independent power, but merely a satellite of her great neighbour. Her representatives would not be able, as they certainly *are* able, to speak their own minds and stand up for their own views in conferences of the nations, even if this means, as it has more than once meant, disagreeing with some aspect of the policy of the United States of America.

I hope that the fact that we have on occasion so disagreed (indeed, we differed on the composition of the United Nations Korean Political Conference) will be taken as convincing evidence, not only of our own independence, but also of the respect which the United Nations has for smaller countries, and of the value which it attaches to co-operation and support based on free will, and not imposed from above. Our own experience of free partnership and co-operation shows the rest of the world how little it has to fear from this so-called "aggressive imperialism" of the United States.

What kind of "aggressive imperialism" was it that brought about, after World War II, the quick and virtually complete dismantling by the United States, and the other Western allies, of the greatest military machine in history in the hope that arms would now no longer be necessary for security?

What kind of "aggressive imperialism" was it that caused the United States, at a time when it alone possessed atomic weapons, to agree that those weapons and the materials from which they are manufactured should be put under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of an international authority?

It is also strange to the point of phantasy that, if the United States was following in Korea "colonial policies of imperialism", as Mr. Chou En-lai described them, she should, in 1949, have withdrawn all of her armed forces from that country. And when United States troops returned to Korea, they did so under United Nations auspices to repel the aggression launched on the ROK from across the 38th parallel.

Aggression in Korea

Ignoring all this, and in support of his charges of imperialist aggression, the head of the Chinese Communist delegation brought up once again the old accusation that "in June 1950 the United States launched its war of intervention against Korea".

This false charge has long since been disproved; not merely on the evidence produced by one government, but by the unanimous verdict of a United Nations Commission which, as has already been pointed out by the delegate of Australia, was on the spot in Korea, and which included among its seven members the representative of India.

These unfounded accusations and arguments about American aggression against Korea are strikingly similar to those which came out of Moscow and Berlin in September 1939, to prove that peace-loving Nazi Germany had been the innocent victim of aggression by Poland.

No amount of distorted or false or manufactured evidence, however, can alter the truth. This is as true of June 1950, in Korea, as it was of September 1939, in Berlin. Facts are facts, and they can be left to history to record and confirm.

There was another observation of the leader of the Chinese Communist delegation which invites comment. He stated that all foreign military bases in Asia should be removed and foreign armed forces stationed in Asian countries withdrawn. It would be interesting to know whether he includes in this sweeping generalization the Russians in Port Arthur.



GENEVA CONFERENCE

In front of the Palais des Nations, Geneva, are, left to right, the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bidault; the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. R. G. Casey.

In his second statement, made yesterday, Mr. Chou En-lai brought up the question of prisoners-of-war. It is difficult to understand why, if he is sincere in his desire to press forward with a peaceful solution of the Korean problems.

We all know of the efforts made last winter at Panmunjom, under the skillful and impartial administration of Indian representatives, and the direction of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, to give all prisoners the opportunity of making up their own minds whether to return to communism or not. We know also that this question has now been settled—and to reopen it at this Conference would serve no useful purpose.

If the Geneva Convention is cited by the leader of the Chinese delegation, I would remind him of the thousands of South Korean prisoners who disappeared without a trace shortly after capture; of the failure to account for many United Nations prisoners, of the refusal to allow the Red Cross to visit them, or to give information concerning them, of the cruel treatment and torturing interrogations to which many of them were subjected.

Certainly, if this question were raised for discussion at this Conference, there would be much to talk about. But the net result would be merely to delay, and possibly to prevent the work we have come here to accomplish, namely to bring peace and freedom to a united Korea. Any delegation which introduces proposals for such a purpose, or which would have such a result, would bear a heavy responsibility indeed.

While, Mr. Chairman, the questions I have been raising are all important, our primary concern at this conference is a peace settlement for Korea. On that

subject the leader of the North Korean delegation has presented a number of proposals which have been endorsed by the delegations of the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. Those proposals have not, however, been adequately defined or explained. My delegation is not alone in its suspicion that they include words or phrases designed to camouflage a scheme which would bring to Korea the reverse of freedom and independence.

North Korean Proposals

The first point concerns the method of selection and operation of the proposed All-Korean Commission. The question on this point which I had intended to ask was answered yesterday by the leader of the delegation from North Korea. He said that his proposed All-Korean Commission must be simple in its organization and function in all matters, procedural and otherwise, by agreement on "both sides". This resolves any ambiguity arising out of the scope of representation of North and South Korea, and over how decisions should be reached. It is now clear that even if North Korea had only ten representatives in a Commission of 100, they would have a veto over the activities and decisions of that Commission which is to be given such far-reaching responsibilities. We know from long and bitter experience what this means. It means that the All-Korean Commission would operate as the Communist members wished, or not at all. This device of "agreement on both sides", irrespective of the number of members or the number of people represented, would make, if nothing else made, the All-Korean Commission completely unworkable, unfair and unacceptable; and that Commission seems to be a central and vital part of the North Korean proposals.

There are one or two other questions about these proposals that occur to one.

What is meant by "the largest democratic social organizations in South and North Korea"? Does the word "democratic" exclude anti-communist or non-communist organizations?

How would the representatives of these "democratic social organizations" be chosen for the All-Korean Commission, and would there be an equal number from North and South Korea?

Does the phrase "terror groups" mean anti-communist political parties?

Furthermore, if no United Nations or other impartial international supervision of Korean elections to ensure that they will be free is permissible, as Mr. Nam Il states, how can this freedom be guaranteed in districts where bitter animosities and fears and local tyrannies would make impartial Korean supervision quite impossible?

If the Government of the Republic of Korea is really guilty, as charged yesterday by the Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, of tyrannical and savage repression of freedom in elections, how can he expect us to take seriously his proposal for elections which he says will be free because they will be conducted under arrangements which must be agreed to by the representatives of this government which he so viciously attacks? Does Mr. Nam Il really wish us to believe that representatives of North Korea feel that they can work amicably and constructively on the All-Korean Commission with the representatives of what he contemptuously calls the "Syngman Rhee clique"?

It is clear, Mr. Chairman, that the most superficial examination of the North Korean proposals, with its veto provisions for the All-Korean Commission, with its rejection of free elections, guaranteed by impartial and effective outside international supervision, with the voters in North Korea, for instance, left to the tender mercies of the communist governmental machinery in expressing their

views it is clear that such an examination of these proposals shows that they provide no hope for bringing about a free, united and democratic Korea.

Such hope lies in the acceptance by this conference of the principles laid down by United Nations resolutions for the solution of this problem; principles accepted by the vast majority of the nations of the world. These provide for a union of all the Korean people, under a government chosen by those people.

This united Korea will need some international guarantee against aggression. It will also require, and be entitled to, economic assistance from other countries to repair the cruel devastation and destruction of war.

Along these lines, a solution can be found for the problem with which we are faced.

The other day Mr. Molotov said, "Here we can listen to different points of view". We must do more than listen to them. We must try to reconcile them, so that the armistice which now exists in Korea can be converted into an enduring and honourable peace.

My delegation pledges its best endeavours to that high purpose.

Asian Prime Ministers' Conference

Before concluding, Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer briefly to the interesting and significant communication which we have received from the conference of Asian Prime Ministers which has just met in Colombo. This represents an important and constructive effort by a group of free Asian states to assist in, and I hope take some responsibility for, the peaceful settlement of Asian problems in their part of the world.

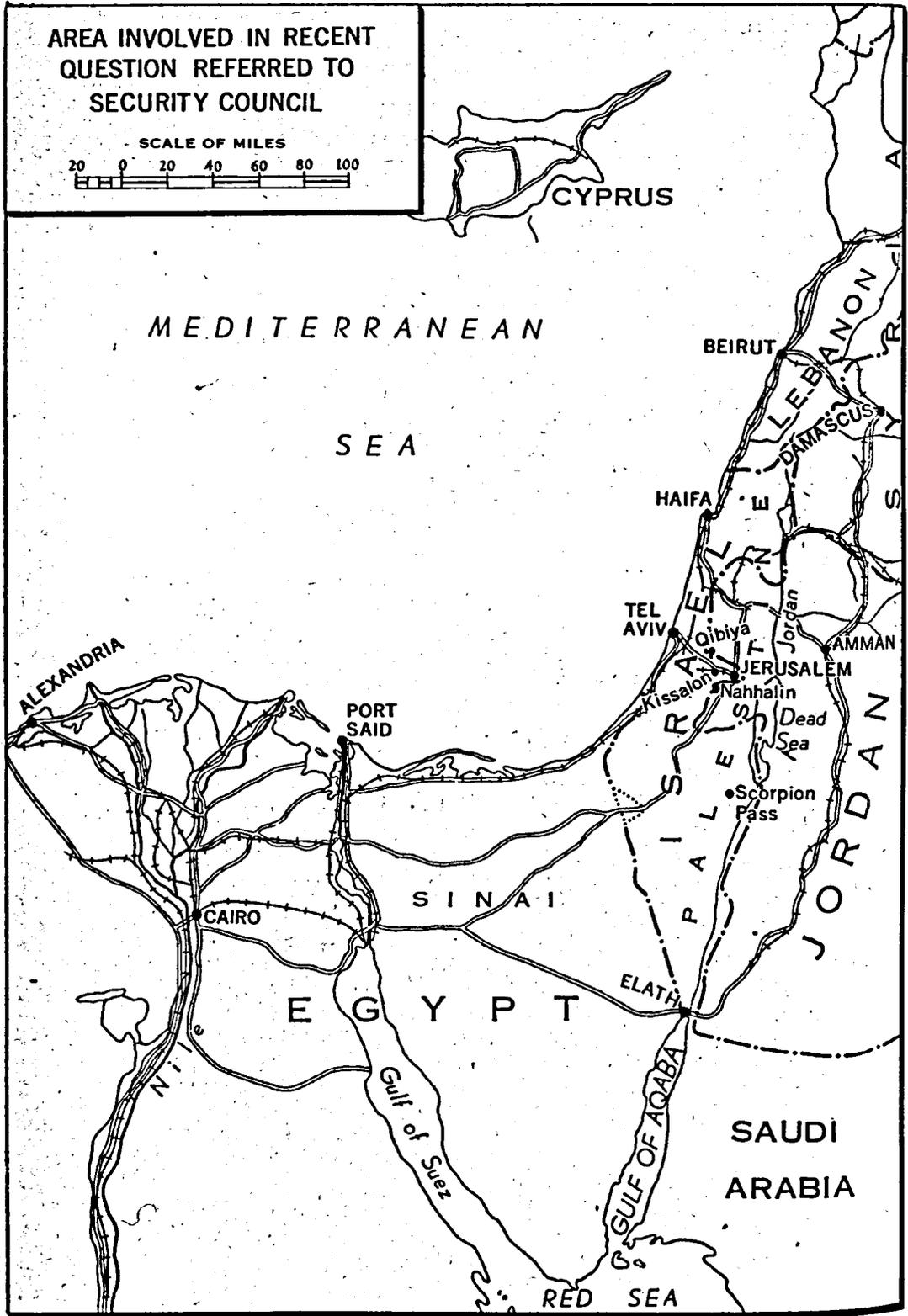
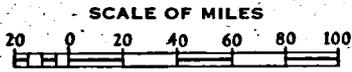
As the communication deals primarily with the question of Indo-China, I do not wish to make any detailed appraisal of the recommendations it contains. I would, however, like to call attention to the importance attached by these Asian leaders to the role of the United Nations in furthering the peaceful purposes of this conference, particularly in respect of Indo-China.

If these peaceful purposes are not achieved by a just, honourable and negotiated settlement, the consequences will be bad, and probably far-reaching. Failure here may well necessitate further collective consideration by those who, as a result of such failure, will feel increasingly threatened, of further ways and means to meet that threat. This, in its turn, may harden and make more dangerous the great and tragic division in the world which now exists.

The reward for success at Geneva will be great in terms of peaceful progress; but the penalty of failure may be even greater in terms of increasing tensions and the risk of a war which would engulf and destroy us all.

On his return to Canada, Mr. Pearson made a statement in the House of Commons on May 28 on the Geneva Conference, the text of which is available from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, as Statements and Speeches No. 54/30.

AREA INVOLVED IN RECENT
QUESTION REFERRED TO
SECURITY COUNCIL



The Palestine Question at the United Nations

(October 1953 to April 1954)

THE Security Council and the General Assembly continue to share between them responsibility for trying to help bring about more stable relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours. The General Assembly maintains two bodies which reflect the interest of the United Nations in the welfare of the area, and the Security Council maintains another. The bodies which report to the General Assembly are the Conciliation Commission for Palestine and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, while the body maintained by the Security Council is the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

Distinct Functions

Each of these three bodies has its distinct functions. The Conciliation Commission has been trying to encourage Israel and the Arab states to compose all of their outstanding differences. It has concentrated in the past two years, however, on the question of a just settlement of the compensation claims of Arab refugees displaced during the hostilities of 1948. The Relief and Works Agency, meanwhile, has been administering United Nations relief for the refugees and helping to promote economic development projects which should enable them to become self-supporting in Arab lands without prejudicing their right to repatriation should the peace settlement ultimately make this possible. The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General Vagn Bennike, reports to the Security Council on the observance of armistice agreements between Israel and its four neighbours (Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) which were concluded in 1949 and are to remain in effect until the final peace settlement, but are not to prejudice the rights and claims of the parties when the final peace settlement is negotiated. Officers of the Truce Supervision Organization watch conditions in demilitarized zones and along the armistice lines, investigate incidents and serve as chairmen of the four Mixed Armistice Commissions, on each of which the parties concerned have two representatives apiece, so that the chairman's vote is usually a decisive factor in determining the action taken by each of the four separate commissions.

It should thus be borne in mind that the nature of the Security Council's efforts to stabilize the situation in the area differs in many respects from the nature of the work done by the General Assembly. The Assembly, while dealing through the Relief and Works Agency with immediate problems created by Arab displacement, has watched the Conciliation Commission try to get the parties to agree to a reasonable compromise between the Assembly resolutions of 1947 and 1948 on the one hand, with their provisions for the territorial division of Palestine, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the repatriation and compensation of refugees, and on the other hand the arrangements made under the armistice agreements of 1949, which make no mention of repatriation of Arab refugees or the internationalization of Jerusalem and have permitted Israel to control roughly three quarters of Palestine instead of approximately half as foreshadowed in the Assembly's partition resolution of November 1947.

Both Israel and the Arab states have rejected the Conciliation Commission's compromise peace proposals. Israel has been pressing to have the armistice agreements used as the point of departure for a settlement. The Arab states, on the contrary, have insisted in the past two years that General Assembly resolutions, which are more advantageous to themselves, should be implemented by Israel before negotiations for a peace settlement begin. While the argument between the two sides over this basic issue has been carried on in the General Assembly and in the public press, it has been the function of the Security Council to try to prevent a breakdown of existing security arrangements while awaiting a peace settlement, whatever its nature may be.

The Security Council has found that respect for the armistice lines has been relatively easy to maintain where these have followed former international boundaries. Difficulty has been experienced, however, in securing recognition by local Arab inhabitants and refugee communities of the inviolability of armistice lines where these cut through the heart of what was formerly the mandated territory of Palestine, in more or less heavily populated areas, depriving villages of their orchards and fields or separating Arab communities which have formerly depended on the closest intercourse. There was from the outset a certain amount of infiltration by armed Jordanians hostile to Israel. But the main problem of infiltration grew out of crossing of the line by Arabs for the purpose of trade, plowing and sowing of abandoned fields, harvesting crops, picking olives and fruit from orchards they have always tended in the past and for which they have received no compensation, grazing livestock, visiting relatives and friends, or stealing water-pipes, livestock and other items from Israeli settlements. These led to encounters with Israeli security forces and to casualties. Although the great majority of Arab infiltrators have been unarmed, the number of armed individuals and gangs crossing the armistice lines for purposes of theft and to commit sabotage or acts of hostility against individual Israelis increased sharply in 1952. In 1953 retaliatory attacks by Israeli armed forces across the armistice lines began to attract the attention of foreign governments, particularly those of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, which had jointly declared on May 25, 1950 that they would "immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations" to prevent violation of frontiers or armistice lines in the Middle East if they found any of the states in the area preparing to violate them. Israel's retaliatory attacks did not have the effect of putting an end to infiltration, but gave rise instead to fresh blood feuds and renewed reprisals, particularly from Arabs based on Jordan. Tension consequently increased.

Intervention Requested

When fifty-three Jordanians were killed on the night of October 14-15, 1953 by what appeared to United Nations investigators to have been approximately half a battalion of regular Israeli troops, the three powers (France, the United Kingdom and the United States) decided the time had come to ask for Security Council intervention to forestall the possibility of even graver occurrences. They took this action on October 17. On the preceding day Syria had asked the Security Council to consider the proposed diversion by Israel of the water of the Upper Jordan in a demilitarized frontier zone without Syria's agreement. There then began a series of Security Council meetings on various aspects of the Palestine question which continued throughout the winter and are not yet concluded. As one item was disposed of fresh complaints were submitted, until



—United Nations

At first Palestine Arab refugee children living in crowded areas had to be turned away from schools to which they applied. Through a joint UNESCO-UNRWA programme and with the aid of private schools, two Canadian educators helped to organize elementary and secondary education for 150,000 refugee children.

the list included requests for consideration of the following subjects:

- (a) Syria's complaint relating to the proposed diversion by Israel of the waters of the Upper Jordan;
- (b) Compliance with the armistice agreements generally, to be considered in connection with recent acts of violence, particularly at Qibiya;
- (c) Israel's complaint concerning Egyptian interference with shipping in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba;
- (d) Egypt's complaint concerning conditions in the El-Auja demilitarized zone;
- (e) Lebanon's complaint, on Jordan's behalf, concerning an attack by militarily trained Israelis on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin;
- (f) Israel's complaints against Jordan in relation to an attack on a bus at Scorpion Pass, raids and attacks by regular and irregular Jordanian forces, and Jordan's refusal to participate in meetings under Articles VIII and XII of the armistice agreement.

For convenience items (b), (e) and (f) will be discussed together, while items (a), (c) and (d) will be reserved for the second part of this article, to be published in the July issue of *External Affairs*.

Compliance with Armistice Agreements: The Qibiya Incident

When the Security Council agreed to discuss the question of compliance with the armistice agreements referred to it after the Qibiya incident by the three powers, it began by asking for a report of the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, which was presented on October 27. General Bennike described the situation on each of Israel's frontiers. He associated the deterioration of security on the Jordan-Israel armistice line with Israel's abrogation in January 1953 of a local commanders' agreement and an agreement on measures to curb infiltration. Many of the worst incidents, apart from the Qibiya affair, had occurred during the period before a new local commanders' agreement was reached in June 1953. Although the new agreement did not eliminate infiltration he believed it had diminished the scope of the problem. The Jordanian authorities were taking measures against infiltrators while Israel had agreed in the summer of 1953 to try to introduce methods of transmitting information about infiltrators promptly enough so that Jordan could make effective use of it. This approach was preferable to reliance on punitive military raids across the armistice line in full knowledge of the possibility of a clash with military forces of the other party.

General Bennike found both in Israel and among the Arab states a certain impatience with the armistice agreements—in Israel because they had not yet been replaced by final settlements, and on the Arab side because the agreements had not given security against Israeli attacks. Despite the impatience of both sides and a deterioration in the observance of the armistice agreements, they still constituted, he said, a barrier to breaches of the peace.

Replying to one of the many questions put to him in the Security Council, General Bennike gave statistical information about the total number of complaints from Israel and Jordan from 1949 to October 15, 1953. This information emphasized the large amount of infiltration from Jordan into Israel by unarmed individuals or groups, the almost complete absence of such infiltration by Israelis into Jordanian territory and the reliance of Israel upon retaliatory action by military units.

<i>Type of Complaints</i>	<i>Complaints from Israel</i>	<i>Complaints from Jordan</i>
Crossing of the demarcation line by military units	58	212
Crossing of the demarcation line by by armed individuals or groups	170	17
Crossing of the demarcation line by by unarmed individuals or groups	422	15
Firing across the demarcation line	101	173
Overflights	23	65
Expulsions	—	44 (5,415 persons)
All others	42	16
TOTALS	816	542

The high infiltration rate from Jordan into Israel has been paid for by a usually higher casualty rate among Jordanians than among Israelis, although agreed statistics are not available on total casualties. There have been many instances of brutality on both sides.

In the Security Council debate, the Jordanian representative attributed the explosive situation along the armistice line to the fact that Israel had overrun the better half of the territory which the General Assembly had intended for the Arabs, while the peace it was trying to force upon the Arabs was not in accordance with United Nations recommendations. The situation was one in which Israel was employing its armed forces for attacks on Jordanian civilians while Jordan had been trying, without sufficient co-operation from Israel, to prevent attacks on Israeli civilians by individual Jordanian infiltrators. Israel was taking an unusual line in arguing that Jordan should bear full responsibility for preventing infiltration into Israel. The operation was one which required more effective co-operation by Israeli police with the Jordanian police. Israel's reliance on military rather than police action seemed to betoken aggressive intentions against Jordan.

The representative of Israel dwelt on the conditions of strain under which Israeli settlers were attempting to carry on their constructive activities from day to day. He reviewed a long series of attacks to which they had been subjected. While deploring unreservedly the loss of life at Qibiya, he asserted that it was not accurate to say that the attack had been carried out by armed forces of Israel. He explained the incident as an explosion of pent-up feelings of settlers subjected to a whole series of acts of violence by Arab infiltrators. An intolerable situation had grown out of the failure of the Arab states to make peace with Israel, despite frequent invitations, or to co-operate more actively in the integration of Arab refugees on their side of the frontiers. He asked the Security Council to call on the states concerned to enter into direct negotiations with Israel to replace the armistice agreements by final peace settlements. When it seemed likely in the closing hours of the debate that the Security Council would not embody a clause of this nature in its resolution he announced that his Government, invoking Article XII of the armistice agreement with Jordan, was asking the Secretary-General to call a conference to review the agreement. Attendance at such a conference was compulsory under the clause invoked.

Resolution on Qibiya

On November 24 the Security Council adopted a resolution expressing the "strongest censure" of the "retaliatory action taken at Qibiya by armed forces of Israel", commenting that this attack could only prejudice chances of peaceful settlement. It called on Israel to prevent such actions in the future. On the subject of infiltration it asked Jordan to "continue and strengthen" the measures it was already taking to prevent crossing of the armistice line, and it called on both governments to ensure the effective co-operation of local security forces, reminding them of their obligation to prevent all acts of violence on either side of the line. The parties were asked to abide by their obligations and to co-operate fully with General Bennike. The Secretary-General was requested to consider with General Bennike the best ways of strengthening the Truce Supervision Organization and to give the Chief of Staff any additional personnel and assistance he might require. The Chief of staff was asked to report to the Security Council after three months, making any recommendations he thought appropriate and taking into account any agreement which might be reached in pursuance of Israel's request for the convocation of a conference under Article XII of the armistice agreement. The Soviet Union and Lebanon abstained on this resolution. The nine remaining members of the Security Council supported

it. Two Canadian, three Danish and two Swedish officers were added to the Truce Supervision Organization, whose other members have been Belgian, French and United States officers under the command of the Danish chief of Staff.

Proposed Conference between Israel and Jordan

On November 23, the day before the Security Council's resolution was adopted, the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed Jordan's Minister of Foreign Affairs that Israel had invoked Article XII of the Jordan-Israel armistice agreement and asked urgently for a conference in which that agreement might be reviewed. Mr. Hammarskjöld invited a representative of Jordan to discuss the matter with him. Receiving no substantive reply, he cabled again on December 22 to the Foreign Minister of Jordan, who was aware that participation in conferences called under Article XII of the agreement was compulsory. The Secretary-General pointed out that the matter was urgent and asked for an early answer. Since Jordan's non-co-operation seemed to be due to fear that Israel might succeed during the proposed conference in initiating negotiations for a separate peace settlement, which Jordan as a member of the Arab League felt it could not accept, Mr. Hammarskjöld suggested that the conference agenda "should be limited to concrete issues of limited scope arising out of implementation of the armistice agreement". If so desired, the Secretary-General or his personal representative would assist in conducting the conference. Jordan eventually replied on January 4, 1954 that if Israel wished to complain about the way in which the armistice agreement was being carried out or if it wished to clarify or amend any of the provisions of the armistice agreement, Jordan would always be ready to discuss matters of this nature in the Mixed Armistice Commission under the provisions of Article XI of the agreement. In reply to a further approach from the Secretary-General Jordan restated its position in similar terms on February 6.

The Secretary-General then turned to Israel, suggesting that it might be to the interests of all concerned to "explore to the full the most practical means of dealing with basic questions of tension and of improving the operation and the status of the Mixed Armistice Commission . . . before resorting to Article XII". Israel replied that it believed itself fully entitled to seek a review of an armistice agreement in the implementation of which many difficulties had appeared during the last five years. The Secretary-General consequently cabled the Government of Jordan once more on February 18, inviting it to participate in a conference at Jerusalem on a date which he himself would determine in the light of the wishes of the two governments. A similar invitation was extended to Israel. The latter replied on February 24 agreeing that the conference should be held at the earliest date compatible with the Secretary-General's convenience. Israel hoped that in the discussions of procedure and agenda under Mr. Hammarskjöld's chairmanship the parties would agree "to assume direct responsibility for the conduct of the conference", thus making clear its preference for direct negotiations on matters of substance without the United Nations aid which the Secretary-General was willing to provide.

Jordan did not reply to Mr. Hammarskjöld's invitation until another month had passed. On March 24 it reiterated its offer to use the Mixed Armistice Commission at any time for discussion of the problems under reference in accordance with Article XI of the armistice agreement. By this time an exceed-



—State of Israel

Agricultural experience begins early for Israeli children living in rural areas.

ingly tense situation had developed in the relations between Jordan and Israel, for reasons which are described below, and the Secretary-General consequently decided that pursuance any further of the question of convoking a special conference was not warranted "for the present". Israel considered Jordan's third declaration of reliance on Article XI of the armistice agreement to be "a flat refusal" to fulfil its obligations under Article XII. On April 5 it therefore asked the Security Council to place the matter on its agenda for urgent consideration, along with three other items relating to violation of the armistice agreement by Jordan.

Deterioration of Relations between Israel and Jordan

Meanwhile the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization had submitted to the Security Council on February 24 the report for which that body had asked in its resolution of November 24, 1953. In describing conditions along all Israel's frontiers he reported that there had been no important change on the armistice lines with Lebanon and Syria. The number of complaints made to the Egypt-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission, however, had greatly increased. The majority of these complaints were concerned with incidents which would formerly have been handled in informal talks as routine matters. It was a symptom of higher tension, he said, when such matters were given importance by official circles and public opinion. In addition, however, there had also been some serious incidents in recent weeks on the armistice line between Israel and Egypt. General Bennike recommended that further complaints should be handled by a sub-committee of the Israel-

Egypt Mixed Armistice Commission, to be attended by officers responsible for security on each side of the line in the locality where each incident occurred, since co-operation between local representatives of the two parties might be expected to reduce the number of incidents.

The longest section of General Bennike's report was devoted to relations between Israel and Jordan. Since November 1953 Jordan had increased the number of police and of patrols assigned to border areas, had replaced local authorities where laxity was suspected, had removed from the border zone suspected infiltrators, had imposed heavy sentences on known infiltrators and had taken both preventive and punitive measures to put a stop to cultivation of land by Jordanians across the armistice line in territory under Israel's control. Israel too had improved and increased its border police, and in consequence both infiltration and thefts had decreased, although in an intensification of psychological warfare the total number of complaints of various kinds registered by both parties with the Mixed Armistice Commission had substantially increased. There had, however, been several serious incidents on which General Bennike reported separately. Tension had mounted along the whole Israel-Jordan border except in the far south. Although Jordan had taken measures to prevent illegal crossing of armistice lines and Israel had reinforced its border patrols, no joint effort to control the situation had yet been attempted. More frequent meetings between local commanders, endowed with greater police authority, and better communications between them would assist in relieving tension, General Bennike believed. Meanwhile, he said, the difficulties which had arisen in connection with the convoking of the special conference requested by Israel had not helped to create a better atmosphere between the two countries. General Bennike still thought the situation needed careful watching, particularly in connection with the Israel-Jordan and Israel-Egypt armistice agreements, "to prevent a possible threat to the security of the area" of the sort which had led to three-power intervention on October 17.

Scorpion Pass

Tension between Jordan and Israel reached breaking point on March 17 when a bus carrying civilian passengers in Israel was ambushed and attacked by an armed band near Scorpion Pass, south of the Dead Sea in the general vicinity of the Jordanian border. Eleven persons were killed and two wounded. An immediate and intensive investigation, in which Jordanian authorities assisted, failed to identify the attackers. In an emergency meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission the Israeli representatives pressed to the vote a draft decision holding Jordan accountable for the outrage, before the Chairman had been able to investigate all suggestions as to the origin of the attackers. The Chairman, holding that the evidence available did not constitute proof of Jordanian responsibility for the ambush, abstained from voting, while the Jordanian representatives voted against the draft decision. The charge against Jordan therefore failed of adoption. The Israeli representatives walked out of the Mixed Armistice Commission and by the end of April Israel was still refusing to have anything to do with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in matters affecting conditions along the armistice line with Jordan. It was in these circumstances that the Secretary-General decided not to press for the time being the plan for holding a special Israel-Jordan conference under Article XII of the armistice agreement for which Israel had asked.

Nahhalin

On the night of March 28-29 there occurred a raid by militarily-trained Israelis on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin, near Bethlehem, in which nine persons were killed and a larger number wounded. On April 1 the representative of Lebanon on the Security Council asked on Jordan's behalf for urgent consideration of this incident. Israel responded with a request that four additional items be placed on the Security Council agenda: Jordan's refusal to attend a special conference under Article XII of the General Armistice Agreement; the Scorpion Pass bus ambush; a number of attacks and raids by Jordanian regular and irregular forces against the lives and property of Israeli citizens, especially in an area close to Jerusalem, and Jordan's refusal hitherto to participate in a special committee under Article VIII of the armistice agreement to formulate arrangements supplementing the armistice agreement and improving its application.

The Security Council met on April 8, 12, 22 and 27 to decide how to deal with these requests, but failed in these four meetings to adopt an agreed agenda. The representatives of France, the United Kingdom and the United States made a joint effort to proceed to a thorough discussion of the whole question of Israel's relations with Jordan rather than having the Security Council address itself any longer to the piecemeal consideration of individual incidents and complaints, which might be regarded as scattered symptoms of a fundamental disorder which should be the main object of study. Lebanon, with the support of the Soviet Union, argued in favour of a specific consideration of the Nahhalin incident, either before or in association with a debate on the general situation. At the time of writing the Security Council has proceeded no further.

(The second instalment of this article will be published in the July issue of "External Affairs".)

A Canadian Abroad

BY KATHLEEN BROWN

The first instalment of Miss Brown's article appeared in the May issue of "External Affairs" and dealt with her experiences in the U.S.S.R.

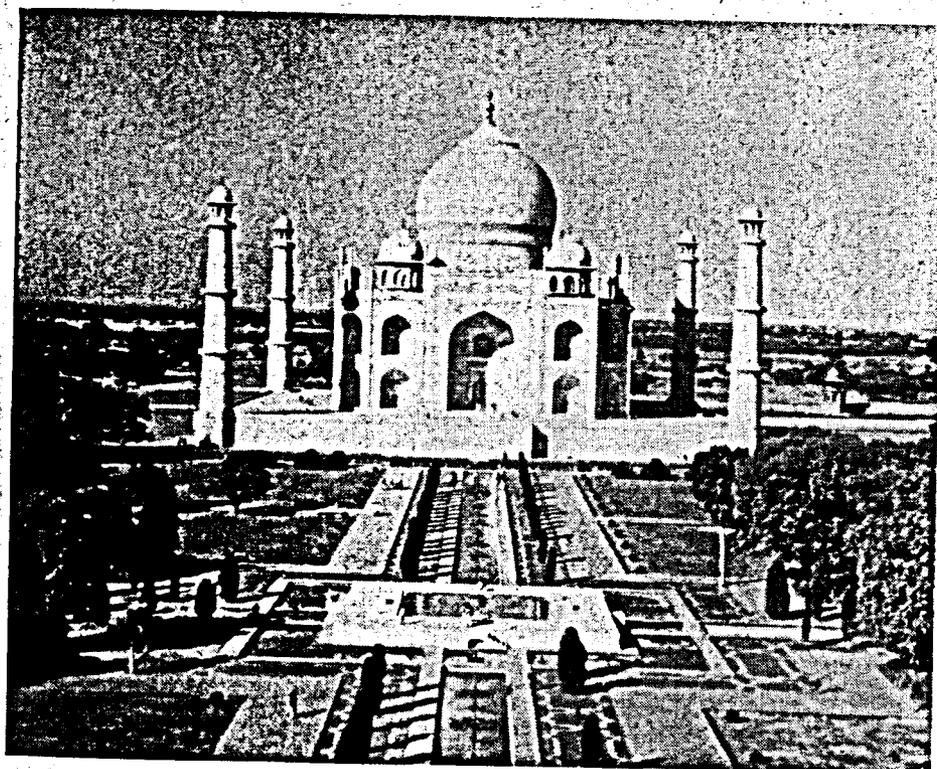
After a spell of duty at headquarters my next assignment was India. Again inadequate knowledge made me ruefully recall the Spanish proverb which says that "he who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him"—an excellent maxim for foreign service employees. The long voyage provided a welcome breathing-space, though it was not easy to rivet attention on "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies" while the Red Sea provided a foretaste of the heat at journey's end. But even heat could not dull the keen edge of anticipation.

Most Westerners arrive in India with preconceived notions: for some it is a country of untold wealth, marble palaces, mosques and temples, while for others there is nothing but heat, poverty, dirt and disease. Either picture alone is misleading; but taken together both are true. As the ship lay at anchor off Bombay there came floating out across the muddy waters the peculiar smell of the East—an all-pervading odor of spices, frying oil, curry and perspiring humanity. The exciting and tantalizing part of a strange country is the feeling that it is at once so familiar to its inhabitants, and yet so alien and impenetrable to the stranger. The two years ahead suddenly seemed far too short a time.

Delhi, New and Old

From the air, New Delhi appears as a green oasis in the desert, a spacious planned city carved out of the jungle. The modern government buildings of indigenous red sandstone harmonize pleasingly with the architecture of the Mughul forts and mosques. Behind the low brick walls and neat white gates on the shady streets of the residential area lie the cream stucco bungalows of well-to-do Indians and Europeans, whose artificial and westernized mode of life presents the newcomer with a distorted view. To see the real India, you must go down to Old Delhi seven miles away, down past the warm sandstone walls of the Red Fort, through the crowded bazaars of Old Silver Street where fabulous wealth exists side by side with dire poverty; where sleek automobiles thread a noisy way through a confusion on bicycles, bullock carts, tongas and ancient street-cars, and sacred cows repose placidly on the sidewalk; where flies cluster black on yellow piles of juicy sugar cane and succulent melon, mango and papaya; where lepers, beggars, maimed and old live on the street because they have nowhere else to call home.

In 1950 Delhi's population was still swollen with many thousands of refugees who had streamed into India from Pakistan after partition. The squalor, putrefaction and nauseating stench emanating from the closely-packed dwellings contrived from rusty gasoline tins and tattered gunny sacking evoked cries of horror. Here adults of uniformly poor physique and incredibly thin children went about the business of daily living. It sounds callous to say that later on we were less shocked by such sights, but a hard "outer case" is necessary in the East. At the same time I could not help feeling that there was nothing here



TAJ MAHAL

—K. Brown

quite so dreadful and so utterly without hope as in the slums of great European cities. Even amid this squalor were vivid flashes of color and beauty and grace, glaring sunshine and dark shadow. One seemed to sense also a warmth of human relations, a serene and uncomplaining acceptance of this life which, however degraded physically, was but one of a series, a prelude to the next. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if any amount of reading or documentary films can convey an adequate picture, because the purely physical sensations are absent. One must see at first hand the sub-human conditions under which millions in Asia are condemned to live in order to appreciate the full significance of the Colombo Plan and other technical assistance programmes.

Land of Contrasts

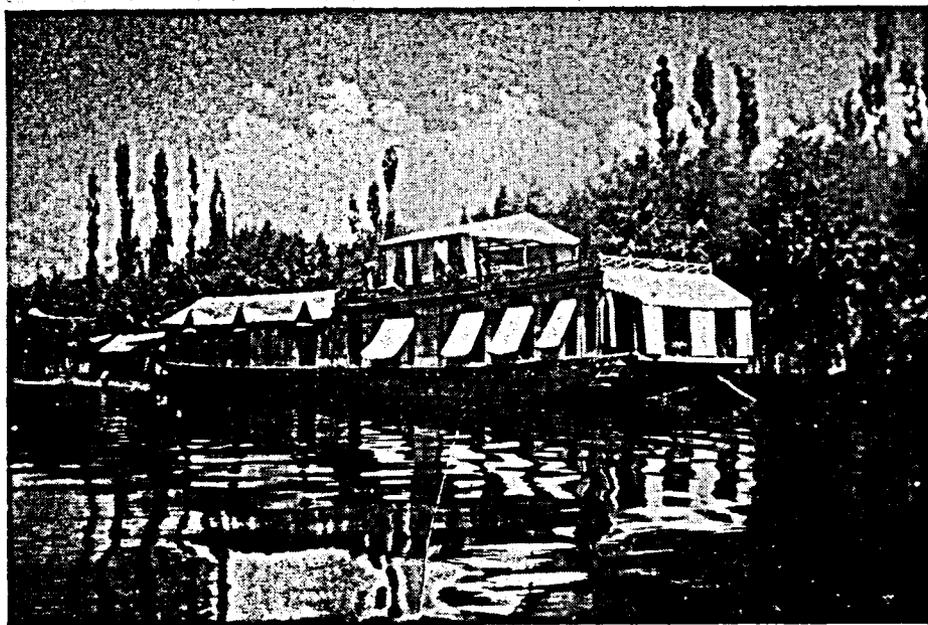
But there is the other side of the picture in this land of violent contrasts: the Taj Mahal by moonlight, a silvery-white fantasy seemingly suspended in the air against a velvet star-studded sky, even more ethereal than in its pure white beauty by day; the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri, its red sandstone palaces and marble mosques piled on a hilltop overlooking the burning plain; the fabulous Golden Temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar; the many ancient Hindu and Moghul ruins near Delhi which never ceased to attract us. Colour is everywhere—in crudely-dyed cotton garments, shining brass and gleaming copper pots, in the riot of a wedding or a religious festival, and in the splendor of a Republic Day Parade in New Delhi; colour too in lurid monsoon sunsets, the delicate lavender mist of jacaranda and the brilliant orange-red flowers of the Flame-of-the-Forest blazing across the grey jungle in the spring.

In Western minds, India and heat are synonymous, and in fact for about nine months in the year it is an almost tangible adversary. To reassure future members of the High Commissioner's staff, however, some of us do complete a tour of duty without so much as a day's sick leave! Tennis, riding, golf and swimming can be indulged in, in moderation, most of the year, and an extremely active social life helps to banish thoughts of heat. The Canadian offices are air-conditioned, and refrigerators and air-conditioners have recently been installed in staff living quarters. Hitherto, in common with the rest of India, rich and poor, in town and country, we would sleep outdoors for most of the year. Silvery moonlight nights, bright enough to read by, and still air drenched with subtle fragrance, gave an illusion of tranquillity which promised relaxation in mind and body. But Indian nights are never silent, and moonlight nights least of all. There is always someone awake and talkative in the servants' compound, dogs howling incessantly, the blood-curdling chorus of a pack of jackals gliding like ghostly grey shadows from cover to cover, and not least, the hysterical crescendo of the brain-fever bird that goes on all night.

Kashmir Holiday

As the thermometer continued to intrigue us by reaching new heights and the heat finally culminated in dust storms and the monsoon, we made plans for the customary month's break in the hills. Ranikhet, Simla and Mussoorie were visited in turn, but Kashmir lured us in 1950. Like all prudent travellers in India, we set off on the 600-mile drive with a car piled high with bedding, food, drinking water, ice-box, spare tires and cans of gasoline—in fact, supplies for every conceivable emergency. What we were not prepared for; however, was to spend eight days on the road instead of only three—due to floods on the plains and a landslide in the mountains—before reaching the haven of our luxurious houseboat on a mountain-girt lake in the lovely Vale of Kashmir. An unsuccessful attempt to make a detour through Lahore ended in abandoning the stalled car (which our resourceful Indian driver subsequently had towed to safety), wading waist-deep through the muddy, swiftly rising water, and presenting ourselves—wet, bedraggled, shoes in hand—at the leading hotel. Hot baths, a good dinner and comfortable beds soon restored us physically, but it was not so easy to banish mental pictures of an angry sunset reflected in the turgid Ravi river, inundated crops, crumbling mud walls, people climbing up to the flat roofs of their houses or clinging to stunted trees, and water everywhere as far as the eye could see.

The highlight of a short holiday at Simla—sad and haunting with so many relics of the past—was a trip by local bus (upper class) up the Hindustan-Tibet highway to the hamlet of Narkanda. From there an ascent of the 10,500 foot Hatu Peak (which the tourist pamphlet assured us could “readily be undertaken even by those not in the first bloom of youth”) spread before us a breathtaking panorama of the eternal snows—including solitary Nanda Revi, which had remained obstinately hidden from view at Ranikhet. We seemed to stand on the roof of the world, rejoicing in new-found physical wellbeing and the deliciously cool sharp air; revelling too in the unaccustomed solitude—for solitude, like silence, is a rare gift in India. Up here were no demands for “baksheesh” and no audience to stand and stare while we ate our lunch. Only the musical jingle of bells occasionally broke the silence as a train of mules climbed up from the deep valleys, laden with sacks of potatoes which their owners were taking out to the highway. The hill people, more Tibetan than



The house boat "Rover", Srinagar, Kashmir.

—K. Brown

Indian in appearance, merely gave us a friendly glance and passed on. Such a tantalizingly brief taste of the rugged untamed beauty of northern India could only whet the appetite for more, but such treks, alas, were necessarily elaborate and time-taking, and far beyond our means.

Indian Winter

Return to the plains in October was tempered by the approach of the short exhilarating northern winter, which brought its own special joys—not least a fire to sit by and blankets to lie under at night. How quickly the heat was forgotten as we shivered on stone floors on a chilly morning and crouched over small electric fires in the office. The social round gathered fresh momentum as people returned from the hills or emerged from their hot-weather hibernation, and sports were taken up with renewed enthusiasm. For a while we could enjoy Sunday picnics under brilliant azure skies in the grateful warmth of a kindlier sun, and the clean-washed landscape after the rains was colourful with emerald green stands of sugar cane and young winter wheat and bright yellow mustard. To leave the city for the country is to step out of the twentieth century into Biblical times: mud-walled, flat-roofed houses; women in harsh bright colors filling at the well the shapely vessels which they balance with enviable ease and grace; neat cakes of dung plastered on a wall to dry for use as fuel; a lurching camel caravan or a string of wooden-wheeled bullock carts grinding along a country road in a cloud of dust; and at dusk the acrid smoke from countless cooking fires, which lies like a pall over the parched land. Such vivid impressions linger and tend to obliterate the gradual introduction of modern agricultural methods, facilities for health and education, not to mention the mobile movie van, radio, and ubiquitous Coca-Cola stands which are inexorably transforming the rural scene.

(Continued on page 198)

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session - Paris, April 1954

ON April 4 of this year, the fourteen member countries of NATO celebrated the fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. Special publications, radio broadcasts and ceremonial events marked the occasion. In Canada the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of National Defence broadcast messages outlining the achievements of NATO in the past five years and drawing attention to its importance in defending Canada and preserving international peace and security; the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council broadcast a talk from Paris; the NATO flag was unfurled at a ceremony on Parliament Hill in Ottawa; and numerous editorials and articles, including one by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, appeared in newspapers across the country. Mr. Pearson also sent a message of good wishes to the Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, M. Bidault, and to the Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General, Lord Ismay.

Recent Developments

The anniversary was also marked by a Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, which was held in Paris on April 23. This meeting, which was attended by the Foreign Ministers of the NATO countries, was concerned chiefly with the most recent developments in the international political situation and their implications for NATO. The meeting, which lasted only one day, was not expected to and did not produce any striking achievements. It did, however, provide member governments with a most useful opportunity to exchange views on some of the important issues facing the alliance at this time and to confirm their basic harmony of outlook and unity of purpose. There was also a worthwhile examination of the role the Organization could play in promoting closer co-ordination of diplomatic policies between member governments and a resolution sponsored by Canada was adopted, designed to develop further the habit of political consultation in the Council. The text of the final communiqué is annexed below.

Canada was represented at this meeting by Mr. L. B. Pearson, who went on afterwards to attend the conference on Far Eastern questions at Geneva, and by Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the Council. They were accompanied by officials of the Department of External Affairs.

The meeting began with a short public session at which Lord Ismay and M. Bidault made opening statements reviewing the progress of NATO in the last five years. This was followed by a normal closed session at which the Ministers first heard a report by Lord Ismay on the work of the Organization since the last Ministerial meeting in December, and then went on to discuss the present international situation.

Lord Ismay's report outlined both the accomplishments and the problems in such fields of NATO's activities as consultation on political matters of com-



NATO MEETING IN PARIS

—USIS

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, left, and the Permanent Canadian Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held in Paris, April 23-24, 1954.

mon concern, planning for emergency measures required in wartime, completing the infrastructure programme of airfields and other installations, and increasing public knowledge of NATO.

The discussion of the international situation was naturally concerned in large part with Soviet policy as it had been demonstrated at the Berlin Conference and in the Soviet Note of March 31 to the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and as it might be expected to develop at the Geneva Conference. This examination of Soviet policy led to the conclusion that, although the Soviet Government might try to give the impression of being more reasonable, they were not yet prepared to make a serious effort to relax international tension. The Soviet armed forces maintained a preponderance of military strength in Europe, rearmament continued to be pushed in the Soviet satellites and in the Soviet Zone of Germany (in contrast to the situation in the Federal Republic), while the Soviet Government blocked every effort to reunite Germany on a democratic basis. The Soviet Government still maintained sizable occupation forces in Austria and refused to sign a peace treaty. And the Communist Parties in Western Europe continued to be used as an instrument of Soviet policy to sabotage efforts at economic recovery and political co-operation.

In these circumstances it had to be assumed, until there was concrete evidence in deeds (as opposed to words) of Soviet good intentions, that the threat still existed and NATO continued to be essential for the legitimate

defence of the free world against possible Soviet aggression. It was therefore out of the question to accept the Soviet proposal (as contained in the Soviet Note of March 31) to join NATO, which in any case is based on far-reaching obligations involving the members in close and continuing co-operation and requiring a high degree of mutual confidence. The Council considered that it was also essential in these circumstances to associate Germany with the defence of the West and to give Germany a proper place in the European community at the earliest possible moment through establishment of the European Defence Community. The Council warmly welcomed the announcements that had been made earlier in April by the United Kingdom and the United States Governments regarding their association with the European Defence Community when it is established. The Council also noted with approval that member governments had no intention of recognizing the so-called German Democratic Republic in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

A number of ministers expressed their satisfaction that the habit of exchanging views frankly and freely in the NATO Council was growing and was an important factor in creating a feeling of political unity. In this connection a distinction was drawn between consultation in the Council on problems which might involve obligations under Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty and exchanges of information under Article 4, involving no commitments. It was particularly with a view to developing further the use of the North Atlantic Council for this latter purpose that the Canadian Delegation introduced a resolution recommending that both member governments and the Council in permanent session should bring forward for discussion and consultation political matters of concern to NATO as a whole. The resolution was approved and published as a separate press release. The text is given below, immediately following the final communiqué.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. At a Ministerial Meeting held in Paris today, five years after the Treaty was signed, the North Atlantic Council reviewed the progress made by the Organization, examined the present international situation, and exchanged views on problems of common interest. The meeting was attended by the Foreign Ministers of the member governments under the chairmanship of M. Bidault.

2. The Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General, Lord Ismay, reported on the work of the Organization. His survey emphasized the effective working relationship developing within the Alliance, a relationship which goes beyond the formal obligations assumed by its members. The Foreign Ministers took this opportunity to reaffirm their association in the Atlantic Alliance as fundamental to the policies of their respective governments. Recalling the defensive and peaceful aims of the Treaty, they expressed their resolve to maintain and develop the Alliance not only as the firm basis for the collective defence of their peoples, but also as an enduring association for common action and co-operation between the member states in every field.

3. After discussing international developments since its last meeting, the Council found no evidence that the ultimate aims of the Soviet Union had altered, and noted that the military strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites continues to increase. The Council therefore once more agreed upon the need for continuing efforts, vigilance and unity.

4. The Council—reaffirming its long-established position that the institution of the European Defence Community is in the essential interest of the Alliance—welcomed the ratification of the EDC Treaty by a number of the signatories since the last Ministerial Meeting, which brings closer the entry into force of the Treaty. The Council also expressed its gratification at the far-reaching steps taken by the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States towards co-operation with the European Defence Community, thus ensuring their lasting and close association with the defence of the continent of Europe.

5. With regard to the recent declaration by the Soviet Government on the status of their zone of occupation in Germany, the Council noted with approval that member governments of the Organization had no intention of recognizing the sovereignty of the so-called German Democratic Republic or of treating the German authorities there as a government. It decided that the Permanent Representatives should draw up a resolution on this subject.

6. The Council, with a view to developing further the habit of political consultation in the Council, adopted a resolution on that subject, the text of which has been published separately.

7. The Council paid tribute to the gallantry of the French Union forces fighting in Indo-China. It expressed the hope that the Geneva Conference will have positive results.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL CONSULTATION

The North Atlantic Council

Having regard to the obligations assumed by the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty

Recognizing

(A) that the security and unity of the Atlantic community depend not only on collective defence measures but also on co-ordinated diplomatic policies; and

(B) that developments in the international situation affect each of the Parties;

Reaffirms the views of the Committee on the North Atlantic community endorsed by the Eighth Session of the Council at Rome;

Agrees that the Council should be used when appropriate for exchanges of views on political questions of common concern;

Recommends

(A) that all member governments should bear constantly in mind the desirability of bringing to the attention of the Council information on international political developments whenever they are of concern to other members of the Council or to the Organization as a whole; and

(B) that the Council in permanent session should from time to time consider what specific subject might be suitable for political consultation at one of its subsequent meetings when its members should be in a position to express the views of their governments on this subject.

Canada and the United Nations

Seventeenth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The seventeenth session of the Economic and Social Council was held in New York March 30 - April 30. Mr. Juan I. Cooke of Argentina was elected President; Sir Douglas Copland, High Commissioner for Australia in Canada, First Vice-President; and Mr. Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia, Second Vice-President. The Council passed nineteen resolutions of which the most important dealt with international price relations, the international flow of private capital, slavery, statelessness, forced labour, and freedom of information.

The resolution on freedom of information, which contained twelve parts, dealt mostly with matters which arose from consideration of the report of Mr. Salvador P. Lopez of the Philippines, who was appointed rapporteur on the subject at the fourteenth session of the Council in 1952. In this field, the Council has long been discussing various means of assuring that international news coverage is impartial and accurate; that the independence of news-gathering agents and agencies is safeguarded; and that the opportunity to develop independent domestic news enterprises and to secure full and impartial international coverage of domestic events is not denied to any interested groups by lack of training facilities, lack of control of radio facilities or inadequate supplies of newsprint and paper. The twelve sub-resolutions on freedom of information made various recommendations to governments and initiated various studies all directed to the achievement of these objectives.

Resolutions on International Trade and Slavery

The Council adopted by a vote of 12-5 (Belgium, France, Norway, United Kingdom and United States) - 1 (Australia) a resolution which approved the establishment of a Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade which would have as its main tasks an examination of measures and submission of recommendations designed to avoid excess fluctuations in the prices and volume of international trade in primary commodities, including measures for the maintenance of a just and equitable relationship between the price of primary commodities and the price of manufactured goods entering into international trade. The actual establishment and organization of the Commission are to be postponed to the eighteenth session of the Council. This project, which received the warm support of the so-called under-developed countries on the Council, had its origins in a resolution on international commodity prices introduced by Argentina at the seventh session of the General Assembly in 1952. The General Assembly established a group of experts to study the subject, and it was as a result of the consideration of their report that the Council adopted the above resolution.

The resolution on the international flow of private capital recommended to countries seeking to attract foreign private capital a re-examination of certain enumerated policies and practices with a view to improving the investment climate. Capital exporting countries were recommended to do the same in order to encourage the flow of private capital and were urged to impress upon investors the importance of endeavouring to secure local capital participation in their

foreign enterprises wherever appropriate and feasible, and to adopt, within the framework of their institutions, taxation measures that would progressively reduce international double taxation with a view to its final elimination.

The Council adopted two resolutions on slavery urging governments to hasten their replies to the questionnaire already circulated (regarding the desirability of having a supplementary convention to the Convention of 1926); appointing Mr. Hans Engen of Norway as rapporteur to prepare an analytical study of the answers received; recommending to governments that they accede to the 1926 Convention in respect to their territories including non-self-governing territories and trust territories administered by them; and requesting all states which have not already done so to accede to the protocol transferring to the United Nations the functions formerly exercised by the League of Nations in respect of this Convention. The Specialized Agencies were invited to arrange for their commissions and regional meetings to study measures to remedy slavery and conditions similar to slavery and servitude in all its forms. The draft supplementary convention on slavery prepared by the United Kingdom, as well as any others which may be submitted, are to be transmitted to the International Labour Organization. Both resolutions originated with proposals put forward by the United Kingdom and both were adopted by a vote of 14 in favour, none against and 4 abstentions.

Statelessness and Forced Labour

The Council has for some time been studying the problem of statelessness and the means to remedy it. There has already been a conference of plenipotentiaries to discuss the matter and there is in existence a draft protocol on the status of stateless persons. At this session the Council decided to summon a second conference of plenipotentiaries, inviting all states which attended the first conference. The agenda is to include, first, the review of the draft protocol in the light both of the provisions of the Convention of July 28, 1951 on the status of refugees and of observations from the governments concerned; second, the opening of the protocol for signature by all states members of the United Nations and by non-member states invited to attend the first conference in Geneva in 1951. The Council also adopted another resolution on statelessness endorsing the principles underlying the work of the International Law Commission, which has endeavoured to determine the cause of statelessness and the changes to be made in the national legislation of various countries to remove those causes. The resolution also requests the Commission to continue its work with a view to the adoption of effective international instruments for the reduction and elimination of statelessness.

In 1951, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the International Labour Organization, an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour was set up to study the existence of forced labour. It reported in June 1953 that its inquiry had revealed ". . . facts relating to the existence of forced labour of so grave a nature that they seriously threatened fundamental human rights and jeopardized the freedom and status of workers in contravention of the obligations and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations". The Council was unable to consider the report at its sixteenth session, but on the initiative of the United States the subject was put on the agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly in 1953. After a somewhat heated debate dealing in part with the substance of the report (which had stated that forced labour for political purposes existed in four countries and for economic purposes in seven)

the General Assembly adopted a resolution inviting the International Labour Organization and the Economic and Social Council to expedite their consideration of the report and requesting the Secretary-General to consult with governments which had not yet found it possible to provide information in response to the *Ad Hoc* Committee's request to the effect that they submit such information before the seventeenth session of ECOSOC. The Council adopted by a vote of 13-2-3 (Egypt, India, Yugoslavia) a resolution which condemned systems of forced labour employed as a means of political coercion or on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country. The resolution also requested the International Labour Organization and the Secretary-General to report to the nineteenth session of the Council (in the spring of 1955) regarding any new replies by governments to the questionnaire already circulated and any new information about systems of forced labour submitted by governments, Specialized Agencies or non-governmental organizations. The Council rejected by 13 against to 2 in favour with 2 abstentions a Cuban amendment to appoint a rapporteur on the subject and by 13-1-3 (including Cuba and India) a Yugoslav amendment condemning any law or administrative practice prescribing or tolerating forced labour as contrary to the United Nations Charter.

Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission

The Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, the establishment of which was described in last month's issue of *External Affairs*, held its first meeting in New York on April 23. It was decided that discussions of substantive matters would be held in London. These discussions began on May 13. The Canadian Representative on the Sub-Committee is the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, assisted by Mr. N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom. As suggested by the General Assembly, the Sub-Committee is meeting in private. The Disarmament Commission has recommended that its report should be made not later than next July 15.



DISARMAMENT COMMISSION MEETS

—United Nations

Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, left, of the U.S.S.R.; Sir Pierson Dixon, of the United Kingdom; and Henry Cabot Lodge, of the United States, at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs concluded on May 14 a four-week review of the international control of narcotics throughout the world, including discussion of the production, trade in and consumption of addiction-producing drugs and the implementation of conventions governing their international regulation. At its ninth session the Commission, on which fifteen member states are represented, recommended that the manufacture, import, and export of diacetylmorphine (heroin), one of the most dangerous narcotic drugs, be prohibited except for small quantities necessary for scientific purposes. The Commission also favoured the prohibition of those synthetic drugs which have no therapeutic advantages over natural drugs while possessing strong addiction-producing properties. In the struggle against addiction, the Commission stressed the humanitarian aspect of the problem and expressed itself in favour of the cure, treatment, and rehabilitation of addicts in authorized institutions. Concerning the habit of coca leaf chewing, a form of drug addiction, the Commission shared the view of the countries concerned that the best way to abolish this habit is through gradual measures and with the possible assistance of the technical services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. In its consideration of illicit drug traffic, the Commission endorsed the procedure of direct co-operation between enforcement authorities of individual countries. Canada, a member of the Commission for an indefinite term, was appointed to a seven-member special committee known as the Committee on Seizures to examine reports submitted by governments regarding illicit traffic and seizures.

Canada Ratifies the Opium Protocol

Canada's instrument of ratification of the United Nations "Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium" was deposited at United Nations Headquarters May 7 by the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations. The opium protocol is an interim agreement anticipating the conclusion of a single convention to deal with the over-all international control of narcotic drugs. By December 31, 1953, the deadline for signatures, it had been signed by 36 countries. To date, Canada, Egypt and Panama have deposited their instruments of ratification. Twenty-five instruments are needed before the protocol becomes effective.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, addressed the House of Commons in Committee of Supply on May 20, 1954, on the defence white paper "Canada's Defence Programme 1954-55". He explained that it was his intention to bring up-to-date the examination of the international position from the defence point of view which he had presented to the House on November 26, 1953. Mr. Claxton spoke as follows:

NATO

We should remember that it is only six years ago that Czechoslovakia, that gallant country, was brought behind the iron curtain, and it was only five years ago that the free nations decided that rather than fall separately they would stand together and they entered into the North Atlantic Treaty. During that period they have built up their strength and the progress made is indeed remarkable, whether it be viewed from the point of view of political organization, military planning, military command, or actual physical forces in the field.

The history of the world shows nothing to match it. Today we have in NATO a team of fourteen nations with effective forces trained and working together to improve their quality as well as their quantity. That this effort has succeeded is indicated by the fact that during that period we have had no general war, and one of the major contributing factors to that result has unquestionably been the steady progressive build-up of strength, actual and potential, by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This policy of playing it from strength, which was agreed to five years ago on April 4, 1949, has paid dividends in terms of peace and security. The cost has been heavy but not heavy compared with even a fraction of the cost of a general war.

Now, sir, while this policy has worked, it cannot be said with any confidence that there has been any change in the fundamental objectives of the Soviet Union and those allied with her, the satellite powers.

Effective Deterrent

Against that background the Secretary of State of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Dulles, made a very important speech at New York on January 12, this year. In that speech he said:

Local defence will always be important. But there is no local defence which alone will contain the mighty land power of the communist world. Local defences must be re-inforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power.

... I think there can be no doubt that the possession of this power of mass destruction is a powerful deterrent to war. There can be no doubt of that fact. Whether that will be the result remains to be seen. The consequences of the employment of an H-bomb or a number of A-bombs, with their destruction of the means of fighting, of cities and communications and the possibility that this rain of destruction may be launched on one's country, would certainly lead one to think a good many times before starting out on the course which would

lead to that employment. I therefore believe—and I think this is generally recognized—that the possession by the United States of both the new weapons and the power to deliver them is a powerful deterrent to aggression. That having been said, it becomes evident at once that the ability to deliver the bombs is something which is fundamental and essential to their deterrent character. Unless the United States can deliver the bombs they might just as well not exist. Hence the ability of the United States to deliver the bombs becomes a matter of the most urgent and primary importance in the preservation of peace. That ability must be protected. This consideration brings into focus and gives new emphasis to the whole question of continental defence . . .

Conventional Weapons

As I shall point out later, far from putting an end to the need for weapons of a conventional nature, I believe that the A-bomb and the H-bomb have if anything probably emphasized that need. We have just had a meeting of the chiefs of staff of all the North Atlantic Treaty nations at Paris. Their purpose there was to consider the effect of the new weapons on all-over strategy and tactics. I know that I am breaking no confidence when I say that it was not suggested there that the existence of these new weapons would lead to any sudden reduction in quantity, quality or cost of conventional weapons. The fact is that we hardly have today in NATO the minimum quantity of weapons, planes, equipment, trained officers and men and communications to do the job of even enabling the employment of the new weapons through bold planning, and causing concentrations so that the new weapons would have a useful target, also of preventing the only potential enemy from overrunning Europe irrespective of where bombs were dropped.

I think I am right in saying that no nation, no national leader, no minister of defence, no chief of staff has so far suggested that the existence of and the ability to employ the new weapons should decrease what we have of conventional weapons because what we have is the minimum required to enable us to do the job. That job is to permit the employment of the new weapons strategically and tactically and also to protect the ability to use them.

Continental Defence

As part of that protection we have built up in North America a very important system of defences against air attack. This now goes under the name of continental defence, and you can see that with the Americans having bases in North America as well as elsewhere throughout the world they—or any other country that has atomic weapons and the capacity to deliver them—must be protected from air attack. This is becoming an increasingly important part of the joint activities of Canada and the United States in planning and carrying out our air defences. I dealt with this at some length on November 26 and I do not want to go over the same ground again, but I would remind hon. members that the components of any system of air defence consist, from the air force point of view, of radar to pick up and lead to the identification and interception of enemy raiders, a system of communications which instantly gives the intelligence received from the radarscope to fighter command, to enable the quick scrambling of the squadrons, and finally squadrons of fighter aircraft able instantly to get into the air and carry out an interception . . .

The New Look

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have dealt with the question of massive retaliation, what is involved in it, what we are doing by way of continental defence, as well as what more is planned. May I now have a look at another of the phrases, "the

new look". What is meant here, of course, is that over the last year in all of the NATO countries there has been a re-examination of the defence programme in the light of our experience over the last three years, and also in the light of what is involved by the new weapons. I should like to go back and remind you that the first time that the North Atlantic Treaty Defence Ministers arrived at a plan was in October 1950 when we met at Washington . . .

It is no secret that at one stage reference was made publicly to a force of something like 98 divisions and 10,000 aircraft. Gradually it was found that to have a force of anything like that character would be beyond the peacetime capacity of the allied nations, unless they were prepared to run grave risks of seriously injuring their economies and making their economic strength weaker than was necessary to support the military effort. At Paris, in 1953, this situation was examined in detail and the council members further adapted their thinking and their plans from the sort of "crash" thinking with which we had begun, to what would be involved in "the long pull" . . .

In conclusion may I say, first, that I do not believe we are going to have a war in the near future, but equally I do not see any sign of a change in the long-term objectives of the Soviet Union.

Secondly, the planned build-up of strength of the free nations has been a major factor in preserving peace, and consequently it is only common sense that we should continue that effort for precisely the same reasons that five years ago led us to agree in common on this policy and plan.

Thirdly, we are nearing the end of the development of large classes of weapons. It is very hard today to build a gun better than the 25 pounder, or the 155 millimeter. The cost of any improvement in range or operational qualities is out of all proportion to the advantage gained in performance, and that is true of a very large range of weapons. We are entering into the era at last where there are already in operation guided missiles from ground to air and air to air, and their accuracy and efficiency will be increased. We may also be coming close to the time when the pilot of a fighter aircraft will not have much more to do than get the aircraft off and back on to the ground, so that by the time we have our supersonic fighters to replace the F-86E and the CF-100 it is at least possible that these will be the last aircraft to depend extensively on human beings, and we will then be in or very close to the age of the pushbutton. It has been a long time coming and it is still some distance off.

But we will never eliminate the human factor that brings me to this point, that while the allies have made great advances, everything we know points to the fact that the Russians also have made great advances and we have no reason to believe that we can continue to be superior in science, research, engineering and production unless we continue to make even larger efforts in the field of research, development and production.

As we get into—to use a curious term—the very sophisticated types of weapons and aircraft, the cost increase is out of all proportion so that we must, while maintaining this effort, strive steadily for simplification, economy, efficiency, and standardization. When you get into the field of bombers, fighters, guided missiles, radar, anti-aircraft devices and the like your equipment is no good if the enemy has something which is even slightly better. Consequently, as I say, we must keep up the effort in research, development, engineering, and production, and strive steadily for economy.

Fourth, we will certainly see a build-up in continental defence as the importance of this increases with the necessity of protecting the ability of the strategic air command of the United States to deliver the A and H bombs, that ability being an essential ingredient in the capacity for massive retaliation.

Fifth, the economic and financial considerations involved in defence planning today are going to become steadily more important. Not that they have not been important throughout, but a steady drive must be kept up and maintained to achieve the greatest possible economy in terms of men and money. This means that in our planning we cannot afford to make mistakes, because if you start out to develop a new aircraft you may be in for an expenditure of \$125 million before you have a second aircraft off the line. Consequently, everything must be done having regard to the long term effort, and it must be done in the closest possible co-operation with our allies, particularly Britain and the United States. There I am happy to say that we have the closest working co-operation, not only with those two countries but with every country in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

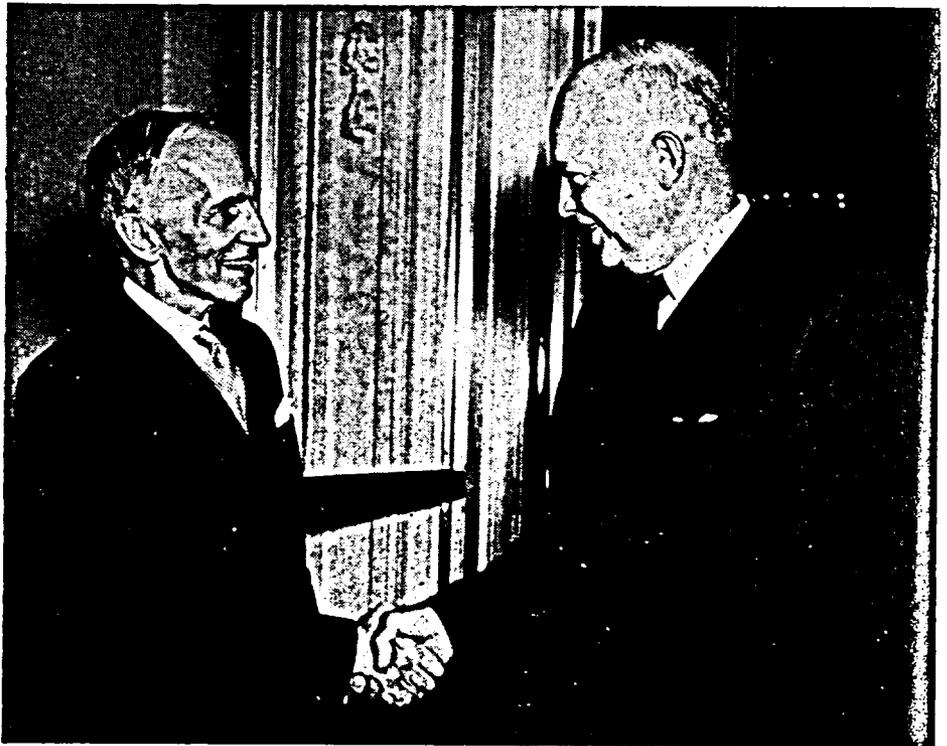
Sixth, and this is perhaps the most important of all, in defence operation, possibly more than in any other operation mankind has to undertake, that operation must depend on the quality of the personnel, the quality of the leadership, and the quality of the men. We have been fortunate in having officers and men of good quality, but with the increasing complexity of weapons, the necessity for insisting on a high standard and getting it becomes even more urgent and important than ever before. So as we face the challenges of "the long pull," not the least important of these challenges is to find ways and means of maintaining the alertness, the professional skills, ambitions, and physical and mental abilities of the officers and men in our armed forces.

This becomes, as has been found in the United States where special studies have been made of it, a matter of their continuing to have the confidence and respect of the civilian population. This is a matter of the utmost importance if we are to maintain the strength of our armed forces; and that is something to which I believe they are entitled, by their records of service and by their records as civilians, judged by any standard you like. Their crime records are considerably lower than those for corresponding groups in civilian life; and that is as it should be.

Seventh and finally, this whole operation of facing the "long pull" under the threat of a war of total destruction requires stout hearts and a really great degree of understanding on the part of the civilian people. The *Canadian Unionist* published by the Canadian Congress of Labour in April, 1954 had this to say apropos of the H-bomb:

The task of the individual, in spite of the threat of world destruction is, in Carlyle's words, "to do the task which lies nearest to hand," and, in the present circumstances, this means that we must simply do our work as well as we can, and let it go at that. We must try to be guided by the lessons of experience and the dictates of reason.

If we apply that statement to the national and defence fields, it is obvious that there is no ground for despair or discouragement or for doing nothing. It is obvious that we must continue to follow what we and the other nations have agreed is the right course in order to preserve peace and to maintain our security. But the A-bomb and the H-bomb force the nations of the world to try to find means of ensuring that they will never be used. It has been said that war is a failure in foreign policy; and foreign policy—understanding between nations—has become of greater importance and greater urgency than ever before in the history of mankind. From time to time specific problems occupy the international stage, as we have seen at Geneva over Indo-China. This crisis or that fills the headlines and the newscasts but no particular crisis should outweigh the preservation of the great alliance of the free world which is the fundamental bulwark of our own security.



—U.S. Department of State

GOVERNOR GENERAL VISITS WASHINGTON

The Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, left, on the occasion of his visit to Washington early in May, is greeted by the President, Mr. Eisenhower.

A CANADIAN ABROAD

(Continued from page 185)

In two or three years it is possible barely to scratch the surface of a strange country, and this is particularly true of India despite the apparent advantages of free social intercourse and the widespread use of English and many English customs. In Moscow the atmosphere is still European, whereas the westerner in India seeks to understand a way of life and thought on an alien and infinitely more complex plane. Politics and economics aside, however, the common people of the Soviet Union and India share a refreshing and engaging simplicity; goodwill and friendliness towards strangers; keen enjoyment of the smallest pleasures; love of colour and pageantry, and delight in cherished folk music, song and dance; an innate tenderness towards children, often amounting to indulgence; stoicism in the face of privation and suffering, and endless capacity to endure.

Looking back on these two postings I have no regrets, and, if given the opportunity to repeat either one, would find it difficult to resist. But to attempt to re-live past experience is not always wise, and meanwhile new paths beckon! The advantages of a life in the foreign service are many. But perhaps one cherishes most the wider horizons, an ever-growing circle of friends, and the bond that inevitably springs up between those who have lived and worked together in far places.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

An address by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, to a joint meeting of the United States Congress, in Washington, May 4, 1954.

First may I thank you for the high compliment you have paid my country this morning, and for the warmth of your welcome which has touched me more than I can say. I feel deeply honoured that I should be asked to meet, on this occasion, the members of the two great legislative bodies assembled in this Chamber. I am conscious at this moment — and who would not be — of the relation between the course of world events and the decisions which are arrived at here. You have given me a rare privilege today, and I am grateful to you for it.

I feel no stranger in this city. I spent several very pleasant years here long ago, when my task was to set up the first diplomatic Mission from Canada to your country, and my privilege to serve as envoy. This was when the nations of our Commonwealth commenced to send their own representatives abroad — first to this Capital — each concerned with his country's business but all looking on the same Sovereign as the head of the Commonwealth.

A New Role

As Canadian Minister I bore credentials from our Sovereign. I now come to you again as a representative of the Crown — this time not in a post abroad but in one at home. "Governor General" is perhaps, a misleading term. A person holding that office does not "govern". His functions, indeed, can easily be confused with those of governors in some other countries who, unlike him, are administrators. We, no less than yourselves, are of course a completely free and independent nation. Canada alone among the countries of the Americas is a constitutional monarchy. Under our system the Governor General represents the Sovereign, who is the Head of our Canadian state and with us, all actions in the field of Government, from the passing of legislation to the delivering of mail are performed, to quote the ancient phrase we use, "On Her Majesty's Service".

In June of last year, an event took place of high significance to us in Canada. In none of Her Majesty's realms was her Coronation celebrated, with greater fervour. May I say that as your neighbours, we Canadians were greatly touched by the deep and widespread interest displayed by the American people in this event. May I be permitted to convey to you the sincere appreciation of The Queen's subjects in Canada, for your sensitive understanding of a ceremony which meant so much to us and, we believe, much to the world.

On an occasion such as this, made possible by our graceful hospitality, one is reminded of all that our Commonwealth owes to you, and, indeed, has owed ever since you established your free republic here on this Continent. The principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence and in your Con-

stitution were a challenge to the British peoples in the 18th Century, and since, to seek out the sources of their ancient freedom — sources from which we all have fed. Thus, you helped us to cultivate our own institutions under the Crown, which to us is a symbol of freedom and duty. We are grateful to you for aiding us in the Commonwealth to preserve and enrich our own way of life.

Emotions Understood

Even at the very beginning, the noble emotions inspired by the Declaration of the fathers of this Republic, and the solid framework of the Constitution which they built, were comprehended and welcomed by many in Great Britain. I belong to a Club in London — a stronghold of the Whigs in the 18th Century — many of whose members used to receive the news of General Washington's victories with undisguised satisfaction. One of them, indeed, boasted that he had drunk the General's health every night during the course of the war in America.

To say that you in the United States and we in Canada have much in common, is a venerable platitude. Living as we do side by side on the same Continent, our resemblances are many. We have, too, similar views on fundamental things. Among our common characteristics, one of the greatest, I believe, is our dislike of regimentation — our respect for the differences which lend colour to everyday existence. We believe that each man should preserve its own customs. It is not surprising, therefore, that for all that we have in common, you and we should each preserve certain habits and traditions which we cherish because they belong to us. We know it is not your wish to have on your borders a mere replica of your own country, but rather a self-respecting community faithful to its own ways. We are thus better neighbours, because self-respect is the key to respect for others. On our side of the border you will find a country in which parliamentary government has been, we believe, successfully married to a federal system; a country whose people cherish two languages and two cultures — English and French; a land which has inherited from its mother countries in the old world many forms and customs which have been happily fitted into life in the new. These ways of ours you respect because they are ours, just as we respect your ways because they are yours. Thus, in the words of the "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation", which laid the foundation of our present concord as long ago as 1794, we "promote a disposition favourable to friendship and good neighbourhood".

In Canada we are indeed fortunate in our neighbourhood. We have a warm-hearted neighbour. This your people have shown us over the years. There are countless bodies in

this country in which, through your invitations, Canadians share membership with their American friends. We are not unmindful of what we owe to your great universities and foundations. Let me say, too, that we are ever conscious of the warmth of the hospitality we receive when we are your guests.

We have a powerful neighbour. Your massive strength, economic and military, excites a sense of wonder at its magnitude. The dedication of this power to the cause of freedom evokes the gratitude of all who love freedom everywhere. Your Canadian neighbours know that when you assumed the grave responsibilities you bear today, it was not of your choosing. And for what you have done, we honour you.

We have a friendly neighbour. There is no need to enlarge on the traditions of neighbourly good sense which for so long have marked our relations. We can only hope that they may be reflected elsewhere in this troubled world.

We are happy to think that we know you well. Countless Canadians have personal friends on this side of the border. Many of us have relatives here. It is, of course, natural that a small community should know more of a larger neighbour than that neighbour knows of it. We are getting to know each other better as the years pass. We welcome your visits to us. Often your objective may be the river or the forest, and we are happy to offer you a playground. But perhaps you will let me say that we could not have our visitors show too strong a preference for those parts of Canada which are not yet inhabited by Canadians! We should like you to know our people — what they do and how they do it. I would not, of course, suggest that you are unaware of what is going on in Canada in the field of engineering and industry. Much of our development in these spheres, I need not say, is a result of your confidence in our future. Nowhere has our recent growth met with warmer acclaim than in this country. It is true that quite extraordinary things have happened of late in Canada, but we prefer sober adjectives with which to describe them. Our expansion has been rapid, but it is steady and it is built on sound realities. It is based on the character of our people and on the

quality of our national life. It is based on a hardihood and spirit of adventure as remarkable at that shown by our first explorers; on the disciplined intellect of our men of science seeking out new horizons of knowledge and usefulness; on the devotion of our legislators working to fulfil the conscious vision of the Fathers of our Confederation who almost a hundred years ago came together to found a new nation. We believe that the Canada of today is not unworthy of inspection. I invite you to come and see us.

I have talked about ourselves as your neighbours. I have said little about ourselves as your partners. You and we work together in the international community. Along with kinsmen and friends across the seas, we are allies in defence of the things we value. And, if I may say so, I think that we in Canada, like you, have given proof that those values must be actively and zealously defended. In the far north we are working with you to strengthen the defences of this continent on our territory and on yours. In Korea there has been, from an early stage, a Brigade Group of Canadian troops. They are now standing guard against the possibility of renewed attack. Twelve Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force and a further Canadian Brigade Group are stationed in Europe. Such formations, I need hardly say, should naturally be related in our minds to the size of the population which provides them.

We are also supplying our European friends with mutual aid on a considerable scale. Canada, too, is giving help under the Colombo Plan to the countries of southern Asia. We believe — as you do — that the problems of our time cannot be solved by military strength alone. The line can be held only by the deployment of force, but the objective — peace — can be won only by the quality of infinite patience. In our collaboration, we may not always agree on every detail of the plans we must discuss together, but there is no difference between us on the fundamental aims which we pursue; we may differ now and then on the "hows" but never on the "whys". You may depend upon us as faithful friends and comrades.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, Canadian Ambassador to Germany, took over his new post on May 10, 1954.
- Mr. B. A. S. Crane was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, Pakistan, effective April 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde was posted from the Canadian Embassy in Brussels to the Canadian Embassy in Athens, Greece, effective May 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Taylor was posted on loan to the Privy Council Office, effective May 3, 1954.
- Mr. G. A. Rau was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the Canadian Legation, Oslo, Norway, effective May 14, 1954.

- Mr. W. St. L. Durdin was posted from home leave to Ottawa, effective May 17, 1954.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the Union of South Africa, effective May 18, 1954.
- Mr. P. C. Dobel was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, Czechoslovakia, effective May 19, 1954.
- Mr. P. A. Bissonnette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective May 21, 1954.
- Mr. J. C. J. Cousineau joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade I, on May 20, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

- Report of the Special Committee on the question of defining Aggression 24 August - 21 September 1953.* New York, 1954. A/2638. Pp. 15. General Assembly Official Records: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 11.
- The Korean Question—Report of the United Nations Command on the Operation of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.* New York, 1954. A/2642. Pp. 41. Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 19.
- Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 15 February 1953 - 18 February 1954.* New York, March 1954. E/2553, E/CN.11/378. Pp. 39. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 3.
- Economic Commission for Latin America, Sixth Annual Report, 26 April 1953 - 10 February 1954.* New York, March 1954. E/2536, E/CN.12/AC.24/9/Rev.1. Pp. 24. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 2.
- Economic Survey of Latin America 1951-52.* New York, 1954. E/CN.12/291/Rev.2. Pp. 217. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.G.3.
- Study of the Prospects of Inter-Latin-America Trade (Southern Zone of the Region).* New York, 1954. E/CN.12/304/Rev.2. Pp. 134. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.G.4.
- GATT—Basic Instruments and Selected Documents, Second Supplement.* Geneva, January 1954. Pp. 121. \$1.50. Sales No.: GATT/1954-2.
- Inter-Agency Agreements and Agreements between Specialized Agencies and Other*
- Inter-Governmental Organizations.* New York, 6 November 1953. ST/SG/3. Pp. 75. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1953.X.2 (Bilingual).
- International Review of Criminal Policy:*
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CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
".....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
".....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 408 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zitelmann Strasse, 22)
".....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 avenue Vassilissis Sofias)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
".....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)

Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kepa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaai Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
" "	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
" "	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
" "	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
" "	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
" "	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador (Absent).....	Montevideo (Victoria Plaza Hotel)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proleterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
" "	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
	Deputy Permanent Delegate	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

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Sir Winston Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden, and a small group of United Kingdom officials, visited Ottawa on June 29 and 30, following the talks held in Washington with President Eisenhower. During his stay, Sir Winston had consultations with Government officials, and gave a press conference. The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, right, is shown above with Sir Winston on his arrival at Rockcliffe Airport.

Canadian Eulogy

"WHEN I first came here fifty-four years ago, for the first time, your population was just over five million; now it's just under fifteen million. All that has happened in my lifetime,—Extraordinary!—Wonderful!— . . . I daresay, by the end of the century, it may be thirty or forty million, or more. What a wonderful thing, what a marvellous thing, what a work you are all engaged in, building up rapidly the life of this vast community,—so free and so buoyant—in this wonderful country with its hitherto unmeasured possibilities. Far beyond what you've already discovered, a wonderful range lies before you in the future . . . I shall not indulge in a major engagement today as to when I shall return, but I should be very sorry if I never saw Canada again.

" . . . It must be very inspiring to all of you, and especially to those who have the responsibility of the Canadian Government upon their shoulders, to feel that you are the architects and builders of a mighty structure whose future cannot be measured, but which will certainly take its place in the first rank of Sovereign communities.

"When all these hopes are fulfilled and all these glories come to you, do not forget the Old Land. Do not forget that little island lost among the northern mists which played so great a part in your early days and now regards you with so much admiration and pride.

"There is also France to which a strong and ancient element in the Canadian people looks with the respect which children should show to their parents. It must be a pleasure for French Canadians to feel that the bitter quarrels between France and Britain have passed into history and that we have shared our other perils and sufferings as friends and allies in this fearful twentieth century of strife.

"I hope that those buoyant, modern pilgrims—I believe that there are nearly a million of them—who have gone forth from the British Isles since the end of the last War to find a new home among you have brought you some knowledge of the place among us which Canada holds in British hearts.

" . . . Let us move forward bound together by those enduring ties of language, literature, and law, and by those principles of Parliamentary Government that stand for the rights of the individual which are the characteristics of our civilization in every part of the world where it has been established."

Sir Winston Churchill

in Ottawa,

June 1954

Tenth Anniversary Celebration of Normandy Invasion

THE celebrations of the landings on the Normandy beachheads this year followed the pattern of earlier occasions and included visits to the principal cemeteries and to the beaches where forces of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada made their first landings in the early morning hours of June 6, 1944. This year, however, to mark the 10th anniversary, the celebrations were on a rather more elaborate scale, attended by the President of the Republic, the Premier of France, members of the French Cabinet, and many of the most important figures of the French military services and of the administration. Canada was represented, as was arranged, by the Canadian Ambassador in Paris and by Major-General J. D. B. Smith, attended by Mr. Day and Colonel Perron of the Paris Embassy. Canada was also represented by a contingent of some one hundred and seventy all ranks from the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade (the Royal 22nd Regiment, P.P.C.L.I. and the R.C.R.) together with the band of the Brigade.

The population of Calvados and of La Manche have come to regard the 5th and 6th of June as one of the great national holidays and the enthusiasm this year, to mark the 10th anniversary, was greater than ever. The ceremonies, as has been true in the past, were simple and moving and included the pomp which surrounds the President of the Republic and the even more moving tributes of the youngsters from the schools in the surrounding countryside, who came to the cemeteries carefully guarding bunches of simple flowers from their own gardens. The towns which had suffered most grievously from the war (St. Lo, Caen) had done their best to conceal their wounds with flags and bunting and flowers, and in little villages throughout Normandy there were many homely banners welcoming the President and the visiting dignitaries in sentiments that made up in sincerity for what they may have lacked in art.

Service at Bayeux

The ceremonies began by a magnificent service in the ancient cathedral of Bayeux which, for this occasion, was probably more crowded than it has been on any occasion since the Middle Ages. By great good fortune, Bayeux was very largely spared and the cathedral suffered only a damaged window or two which, not yet being replaced, admitted the light of a fine June afternoon into this ancient shrine. It is unlikely that those who were present will ever forget the great beauty of the service and the magnificent music of the *Te Deum* amid the splendour of the cathedral itself and of the vast concourse of dignitaries and of citizens who were present.

Following a brief visit to the British cemetery in Bayeux, the Presidential cavalcade, together with his Cabinet, his generals, his administrative chiefs, the Ambassadors and the visiting dignitaries, departed through the pleasant Norman countryside to Arromanches, where the first of the ceremonies was held in the British cemetery. Here the President reviewed the assembled contingents of the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Holland, Luxembourg,



PRESIDENT OF FRANCE REVIEWS CANADIAN TROOPS

The President of France, M. René Coty, reviews the Canadian troops at Arromanches, France, during ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the landings of the allied forces on the Normandy beach-heads.

Norway and France. Thereafter the museum, commemorating Mulberry Harbour and the landings ten years ago, was inaugurated by the President of the Republic. A further visit was paid to Colleville-Montgomery, where again there was a review of the allied troops, the laying of a wreath and the playing of the appropriate national anthems.

In the early evening of Saturday, June 5, the President and his suite moved on to Hermanville, where speeches were made by the President of the Committee responsible for this celebration, by Mr. Spaak of Belgium, by the Canadian Ambassador Mr. Désy, and Sir Gladwyn Jebb. The first day's celebrations ended with a reception and a dinner at Lyon-sur-Mer, where Norman hospitality was again almost extravagantly demonstrated, followed by a moving speech by the Mayor of the community and by a particularly fine speech by the President of the Republic.

Early in the morning of Sunday, June 6, the Canadian party and the Canadian contingent, attended by the representatives of the French Government and army, held a special service in the quiet Canadian cemetery at Beny-sur-Mer. The cemetery is wonderfully kept—in part, through the devotion of the people of the countryside who in a quiet way have done much to add to its great beauty. There was a large gathering of people from the neighbouring villages to attend a simple but moving ceremony which included the laying of

a splendid wreath from the President of the French Republic and of modest garlands of flowers from youngsters of the nearby towns and villages. The Canadian party thereafter rejoined the Presidential group at the vast American cemetery at St. Laurent, just past Omaha Beach, where the United States forces suffered so grievously on the first day of the assault. This cemetery, which was under construction last year, has now reached imposing proportions and here the President of the Republic, surrounded by members of his Government and of his armed forces, joined in mourning with the United States Ambassador and with representatives of the allied countries for the many thousands of the United States dead. In the peaceful grey sea off the coast there lay at anchor nine great warships of the French and United States navies, recalling grimly the part that the allied naval forces played in the landings ten years ago.

The Presidential party, followed by the various Ambassadors, then proceeded back to Bayeux and on to St. Lo, where a ceremony was held for the twelve hundred citizens of this community who were killed by allied bombardments in the early days of the attack. Here in St. Lo has been erected one of the most moving monuments of the allied landings, commemorating very properly the part which the civilians of France, whether of the Resistance or not, played in making successful the allied assault. The entire party then returned again to the sea to Carentan where, following the dedication of a monument to mark the liberation of the town, the entire visiting company was entertained at what must have been one of the most sumptuous and lengthy banquets in the history of Normandy. Thereafter, the entire party of some five or six hundred proceeded to Utah Beach, where the most elaborate of the ceremonies had been organized. A torch of liberty was dedicated to the special brigade of the 1st American Engineering Division, which suffered the earliest and the most grievous casualties, and again the national hymns of the allied powers were played by the bands of the assembled contingents. Mr. Cabot Lodge, representing President Eisenhower, the Dutch Ambassador, and the President of the Republic, spoke simply but movingly of the alliance which had made the liberation of France and Europe possible, and of the need for the maintenance of this alliance for the not less perilous days of peace. This ceremony concluded the participation of the Canadian party and contingent, although further ceremonies were held by the United States group at Cherbourg.

A Visit from the Emperor of Ethiopia

CANADA was greatly honoured during the early part of June to receive a brief visit from His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, who was accompanied by his third son, Prince Sahle Selassie, and a granddaughter, Princess Sebla Desta. In the Emperor's suite of fourteen persons were the Minister of War, His Excellency General Abeye Abbebe; the Minister of Justice and of the Pen, His Excellency Tsahafi Tazaz Wolde Guiorguis Wolde Yohannes; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Akilou Abte Wold; the Emperor's private secretary, His Excellency Tafarra Worq Kidane Wold; the Chief of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is the son of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia; the Emperor's Aide-de-Camp; two United States citizens who serve the Government of Ethiopia as advisers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Director of the National Library of Ethiopia, and the Director-General of the Ministry of Finance.

An invitation had been extended to His Imperial Majesty to visit Canada as soon as it was learned in Ottawa some weeks earlier that the Emperor would welcome an opportunity to see for himself industrial developments and the life of the people in general in the United States, Canada and Mexico, as well as to forge fresh bonds of friendship between his own land and the three countries of the North American continent. It was a source of special pleasure to the Canadian Government that the invitation was accepted, in view of the high regard in which the name of Emperor Haile Selassie I has been held in this country over the years. After the Emperor had paid a state visit to Washington from May 26 to 28 and had enjoyed the hospitality of the City of New York, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the City of Boston, he was met at the Boston airport on the afternoon of June 3 by a group of Canadian officials led by Mr. Howard Measures of the Department of the Secretary of State and was conducted to Ottawa in a North Star aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Arrival at Rockcliffe

At Rockcliffe Airport His Imperial Majesty was welcomed by His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, the leaders of all Opposition parties, the Mayor of Ottawa and the Chiefs of Staff. An Ethiopian member of the graduating class of Carleton College was also present. After listening to the dignified strains of the psalm used as the national anthem of Ethiopia, the Emperor received a 21-gun salute and inspected a tri-service guard of honour. He was then conducted to Government House, where he and the principal members of the party remained as guests of the Governor General. A state dinner was given at Government House on the evening of June 3, followed by a reception which members of the Cabinet and heads of diplomatic missions attended.

The next day began for the Emperor with a discussion of aerial surveys with Canadian technical experts. His Imperial Majesty chose to spend the greater part of the morning on Parliament Hill, where he was received by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Government in the Senate and the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons shortly after citizens of Ottawa had



The Ethiopian Empire, with which the former Italian colony of Eritrea was federated in September 1952, now has direct access to Red Sea trade routes leading to Asia, the Middle East, Europe and the western hemisphere (see inset).

heard the Ethiopian national anthem played on the Peace Tower carillon. His Imperial Majesty was conducted to points of interest throughout the building and then attended brief receptions in the Chambers of the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons respectively, where a number of Senators and Members of Parliament had the honour of being presented to him. Later the Emperor and his Ministers listened from the diplomatic gallery to a considerable part of the morning's debate on estimates of the Department of National Revenue, asking questions of their hosts about Canadian parliamentary procedure and showing the liveliest interest in the proceedings.

These began with a warmly applauded tribute to Canada's distinguished visitor by the Hon. René Beaudoin, Speaker of the House of Commons, who drew attention to the Emperor's presence in the gallery, welcomed him in the name of the Members of Parliament and went on to say, "If ever a man possessed the virtues of courage, perseverance and love of country, it is the Emperor of the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia." The Speaker then described how, in the face of the acceptance by members of the League of Nations of

the conquest of Ethiopia almost two decades ago, the Emperor had promised that whatever the rest of the world might do his people would fight on until they forced the invader from the country or were themselves exterminated. The Emperor had worked hard himself to prepare for the day of liberation. On January 15, 1941 he had returned to Ethiopia, rallied around him some of his faithful warriors in a secret rendezvous and inspired his subjects to rise in arms and join his gradually expanding army. In May he had recovered his throne. In less than a year, with the help of his allies, his whole country was once again freed. Though Canada and Ethiopia were geographically far apart, the Speaker observed, they were close to each other in fraternity and understanding, as evidenced by the number of Canadians now living in Ethiopia and helping to make that great country greater still.

Press Conference and TV Interview

After leaving the diplomatic gallery the Emperor consented to reply to questions put to him by members of the Press Gallery on a number of points in which the Canadian public is interested. Some of these were matters of historical, others of contemporary importance. Asked whether he thought the United Nations could have prevented the invasion of Ethiopia where the League of Nations had proved unable to do so, His Imperial Majesty suggested in a brief but quiet reply which was translated from Amharic that what mattered was not so much the form of international organization as the spirit in which the objective of collective security is pursued. If the same degree of solidarity and willingness to take action had existed in 1935 and 1936 as exists now, he said, the invasion of Ethiopia could have been prevented and possibly a world war would have been avoided.

Asked whether there were any signs of Communist infiltration in Ethiopia at the present time, the Emperor said there were none, nor did he anticipate infiltration in the future. In reply to questions about what Canadians have done or might do in the future that would be of value of Ethiopia, the Emperor said that "great satisfaction" had been derived from the work of Canadian educators, agricultural advisers and many others who have served in Ethiopia in the past or are serving there now. He mentioned particularly the service in planning the expansion of the school system rendered by Mr. Frank Patten, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute Board, who was Deputy Director-General of Education in Ethiopia from 1949 to 1951 and accompanied the Emperor throughout his Canadian trip, and Dr. E. S. Archibald, former Director of the Experimental Farms Service of Canada, who went to Addis Ababa in 1951 as adviser to the Ethiopian Government and served as head of the technical assistance mission of the Food and Agriculture Organization in Ethiopia, which prepared a six-year agricultural development programme presented to the FAO in November 1953. (On other occasions during the Emperor's Canadian visit appreciative references were made by him to the work of Mr. Stuart Graham, who has been chief of the technical assistance mission sent to Ethiopia in 1951 by the International Civil Aviation Organization, and Dr. Lucien Matte, who went to Addis Ababa in 1945 to help organize secondary education and is now principal of University College with half a dozen Canadian teachers on his staff. Another Canadian is in charge of the teachers' training school at Harrar, and it is understood that a Canadian will be principal of the Haile Selassie University to be opened in October 1954. There are now

over fifty Canadian teachers in primary and secondary schools throughout the country and a few Canadian technical experts in other fields.)

So far as Canadian aid in the economic development of Ethiopia was concerned, His Imperial Majesty remarked during his Press Gallery visit that what would be most appreciated would be the investment of private capital in the exploitation of natural resources and particularly in agriculture, stock-raising and mining. He also hoped for an increase in trade between Canada and Ethiopia. In this respect the Emperor's statement bore out the impression given in the United States that he was not seeking government aid but normal investment by business concerns and private enterprise in Ethiopian railroads, mineral resources and agriculture and specially in the production of grain, lumber, coffee and textile fibres.

In the prepared statement with which his press conference began the Emperor spoke appreciatively of the help Canada had given through the United Nations to secure the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which he cited as one evidence of the increasingly important part Canada is playing in world affairs. At the close of the conference he was admitted to honorary membership in the Press Gallery, an honour conferred on no one since Sir Winston Churchill (then Mr. Churchill) visited Ottawa in January 1953.

There followed television interviews in English and French in which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation gave to its audiences for English and French-language programmes an opportunity to see Canada's distinguished visitor and to hear a brief discussion of the ties existing between Ethiopia and Canada. His Imperial Majesty said in answer to one of the questions put to him that he was hopeful a Canadian firm might carry out an aerial survey of his country, while in replying to other questions he re-emphasized points already made in the Press Gallery interview.



EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I VISITS OTTAWA

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, visited Ottawa during June and was met at Rockcliffe Airport at Ottawa by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, right, and the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent.



The picking of high grade wild coffee has yielded a living in the past to many Ethiopians. The Emperor plans to use FAO studies as the basis for encouraging the production of cultivated coffee in the immediate future.

After lunch at Rideau Hall the Emperor planted a tree on the grounds to commemorate his visit and then left for Montreal accompanied by the Hon. Alcide Côté, Postmaster General of Canada, and other government officials. From Dorval airport the party was conducted directly to the University of Montreal, where diplomas and certificates were in process of being conferred upon 705 members of the graduating class. Here the Emperor was presented by the Rector, Msgr. Olivier Maurault, for the honorary degree of Doctor of the University of Montreal, which was conferred by His Eminence Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger, Chancellor of the University. The citation described His Imperial Majesty as a man of peace and a law-abiding Emperor, one who had endured calamity with patience, whose triumph was a tribute to his integrity. In his reply the Emperor, speaking in French, said that he regarded it as only natural that his sojourn in Montreal should begin with a visit to the university, since in troubled times such as prevail today strength and conviction are to be regained in the atmosphere of sincerity, truth and culture which prevail in a traditional centre of learning. As a memento of his visit the Emperor gave the Chancellor a manuscript copy of the New Testament transcribed on parchment by Coptic monks and bound in Ethiopian leather, which will be preserved with other treasures in the library of the university.

After a reception at the Chalet on Mount Royal the Emperor and his party were entertained at a dinner for two hundred guests at the Windsor Hotel which was presided over by the President of the Montreal Metropolitan Com-

mission and Mrs. J. O. Asselin. Remarking that Maisonneuve's first settlement on the present site of Montreal was established about the time when the Ethiopian Royal Court ceased to move about from one province to another and founded its first settled capital at Gondar, Mr. Asselin, in the name of the metropolis of a relatively young country, welcomed the ruler of a much older land where Christian faith and principles have been honoured since the days of Frumentius sixteen centuries ago. "Our gratification in welcoming you here today," he said, "derives most of all from what we know of the valiant leadership and wise statesmanship your reign has exemplified, your high devotion to the task of furthering the organization and education of an ancient and proud nation in the ways of democracy, and the constancy with which Your Majesty continues to support through the United Nations the principle of international co-operation in the defence of freedom."

On the morning of June 5 a special Convocation was held at McGill University to confer upon the Emperor the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*. He was received at Tyndale Hall by Principal Cyril James, who said in presenting him to Chancellor Gardner for the degree that His Imperial Majesty stood forth



Fiber flax seed imported from Canada has given exceptionally good yields in the plateau regions of Ethiopia. Here a bundle of flax is rescued from the stream into which it had been blown by the wind.

before the Western world as a symbol of courage and of that vision without which the nations perish. In replying the Emperor referred to the memorable nature of the university's symbolic act in conferring upon the representative of another people and another tradition the highest honour in its gift. He paid tribute to the special contribution McGill University has made in the field of medicine and particularly neurology and spoke of the extent to which he expected to rely upon Canadian educators when the new national university is opened in Ethiopia in the near future. He inspected with interest an exhibit of Amharic books in Tyndale Hall and presented to McGill University a copy of the New Testament similar to the one given to the Chancellor of the University of Montreal.

A river trip to Quebec City followed, the Emperor being accompanied at this stage by the Hon. Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, at the head of the party of Canadian officials. The ice-breaker "d'Iberville" brought the party to Queen's Wharf late on the evening of June 5. Here His Imperial Majesty was welcomed by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec and the Mayor of the city. The Emperor had signified that it was his wish to spend Sunday quietly according to his usual custom. Thus there were few functions on the day following. After a luncheon at Government House visits were paid to the Citadel and Laval University. Late in the afternoon at the Quebec airport the Emperor received a royal salute, inspected a guard of honour and bade farewell to the Lieutenant Governor, the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources and the Mayor of Quebec before boarding his North Star aircraft for Windsor. The flight was made via Niagara Falls, which was circled while the Emperor watched from the pilot's cockpit. Another artillery salute and inspection of a guard of honour on the morning of June 7 preceded the departure of His Imperial Majesty from Canada. The Mayor of Windsor, and Canadian officials who had accompanied the party since its arrival at the Boston airport, bade the Emperor goodbye as he prepared to cross the international bridge to resume his tour of the United States.

In fulfilling his purpose of widening the circle of friendship for his people the Canadian tour of Emperor Haile Selassie could hardly have been more effective, for all who came in contact with His Imperial Majesty were impressed and touched by his great dignity and simplicity, his friendliness, humour and gentleness and his never-failing interest in whatever came to his notice. Those who were closest to him were aware, moreover, of the extent to which the Emperor carried in mind constantly the needs and capabilities of his own people, considering how their welfare might be advanced by a process of adaptation of the conditions of life developed on this continent. For Canadians it became during His Imperial Majesty's visit a matter of fresh interest to reflect upon the process of rapid development which Ethiopia is now undergoing and a source of no small satisfaction that one of the greatest of Ethiopia's long line of rulers should have honoured Canada with a visit.

NATO's Atlantic Command

By far the best known of the chief NATO commanders—better known probably than any other position in the NATO structure—is SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) whose headquarters is SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe). This is not too surprising. SHAPE is the largest NATO headquarters and was the first organized. General Eisenhower, the first to hold the appointment of SACEUR, naturally attracted to the position wide public attention and high prestige. Moreover, the territory covered by SACEUR's subordinate commands extends from the North Cape in Norway through Germany to Mt. Ararat in Turkey, along the front line of the Atlantic community. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are two other NATO commands of equal status, the Allied Command Atlantic and the Allied Command Channel and Southern North Sea. It is with the first of these that this article will deal.

The Allied Command Atlantic differs from NATO's European Command in that the former has no forces permanently attached in peacetime, while the latter directs forces that are actually assigned to it and stationed in Europe in peacetime. The Atlantic Command draws up plans for operations in the event of an emergency and carries out exercises from time to time to train the forces that the participating countries have earmarked for assignment in the event of war. These forces are predominately naval but there are also some land-based air forces and some ground forces. Canada has earmarked for assignment to this Command forty-two ships of the Royal Canadian Navy and maritime reconnaissance aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Primary Task

The primary task of the Atlantic Command is to protect the life-lines of the Atlantic community in case of war by guarding the sea lanes and denying use of the Atlantic Ocean to the enemy. The area covered by the Command extends from the Tropic of Cancer to the North Pole, and from the coastal waters of North America to the coastal waters of Europe and North Africa, excluding the English Channel and the waters around the British Isles. The defence of the islands in this area, such as Iceland and the Azores, would fall to the Atlantic Command, as would the support of operations in adjacent NATO commands.

The Atlantic Command was established in 1952. In January 30 of that year, Admiral Lynde D. McCormick, USN, was appointed SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic) by the North Atlantic Council Deputies on the nomination of the President of the United States. He assumed command the following April 10 at his headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. There, an international staff has been organized of some 350 military personnel and additional civilians. The staff officers have been drawn from eight NATO countries (Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States). Canada's contribution consists of ten officers of the Royal Canadian Navy and one officer of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The other ranks in the headquarters are personnel from the United States Navy and



FLAG AREA AT SACLANT HEADQUARTERS

—SACLANT

The flags of the 14 member nations of NATO fly daily at the headquarters of Admiral McCormick at Norfolk, Va., U.S.A. In the centre is the headquarters flag with the SACLANT seal.

the necessary guard duties in the headquarters area are performed by a United States Marine Corps detachment.

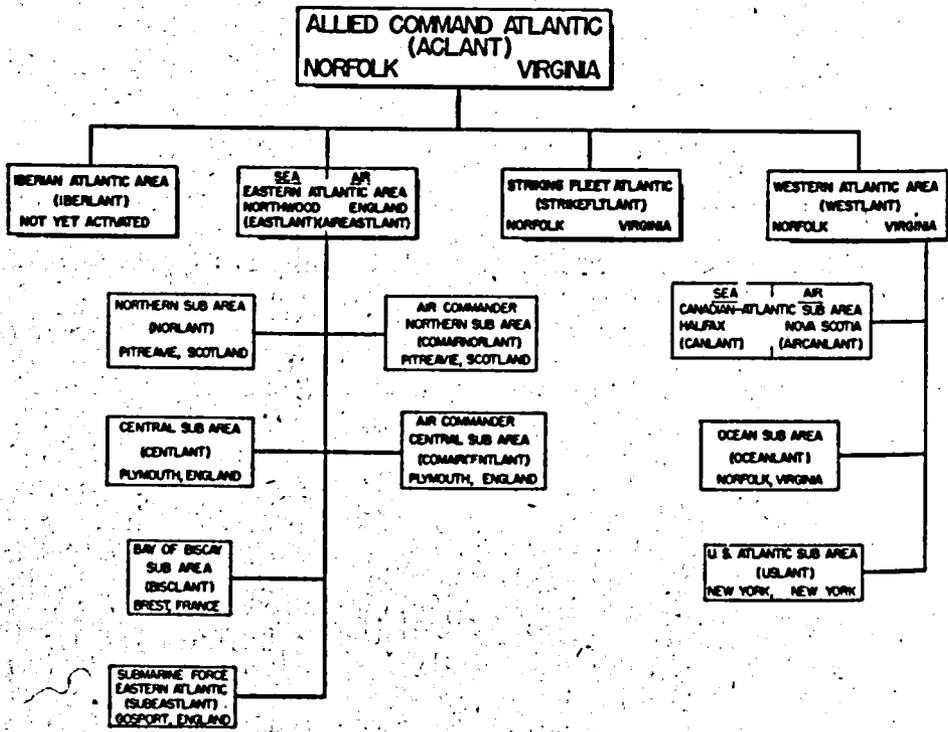
On April 12, 1954, Admiral McCormick was succeeded by Admiral Jerauld Wright, USN. He holds at the same time the national appointment of Commander-in-chief Atlantic and United States Atlantic Fleet. Admiral Wright's Deputy is Vice-Admiral John F. Stevens, RN., and his Chief of Staff is Rear Admiral Leon J. Huffman, USN. Vice-Admiral Stevens is at the same time the British Commander-in-Chief American and West Indies Station.

SACLANT's staff is divided into seven divisions. (See the chart on page 221). The Personnel and Administrative Division co-ordinates and executes headquarters housekeeping and secretarial activities and is responsible also for personnel and administrative policies for the Command as a whole. The Intelligence Division keeps SACLANT and his subordinate commands appraised of the capabilities of any potential enemy. The Plans, Policy and Operations Division, which is the largest division, develops defence policy and plans in accordance with approved NATO strategy under the supervision of the Deputy Chief of Staff. The latter co-ordinates the training of earmarked forces and plans combined operations and exercises for these forces. The Logistics Division is responsible for working out efficient means for the logistic support of the earmarked forces. This task involves special problems in standardizing equipment and procedures and developing the infrastructure programme required to provide the earmarked forces with the necessary fixed installations. The Communications Division develops communications and electronics plans

and requirements, including the establishing of common practices, the provision of signals facilities and the training of forces in these techniques. The Budget and Finance Division is responsible for the accounting, budgetary, financial and procurement arrangements. The Command Headquarters are financed out of a common budget supported by all the NATO countries and the control of these expenditures is supervised by the Military Budget Committee of the North Atlantic Council. The task of the Public Information Division is to keep the public as well informed as possible of the work of the Command consistent with security restrictions.

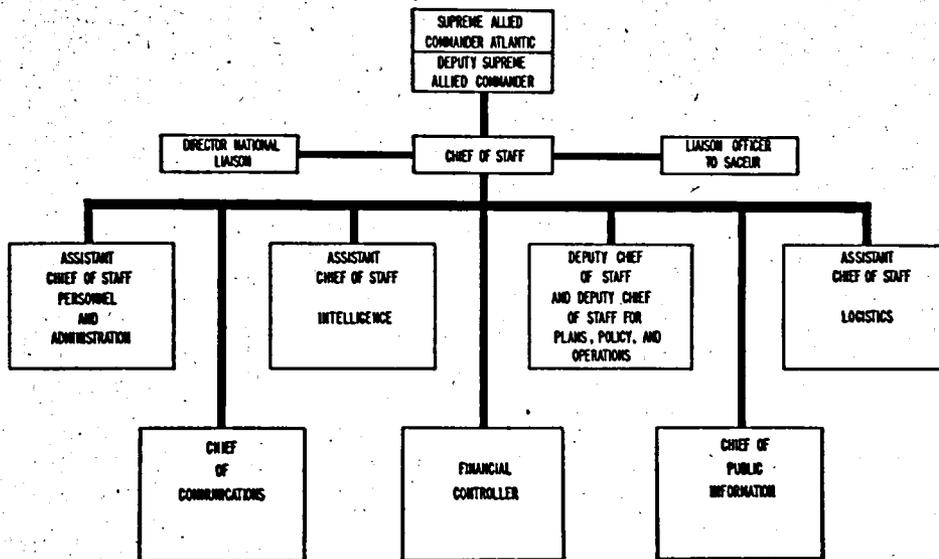
In addition there are two special liaison officers: There is a Liaison Officer to SACEUR in Paris who ensures continuing contact with the European Command. There is also a Director of National Liaison at Headquarters who coordinates the day-to-day relations of the Command with the National Liaison Representatives. There are ten such representatives accredited to SACLANT by the NATO countries with Atlantic Ocean frontiers (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States) who are regularly briefed on the work of the Command by the various divisions of SACLANT's staff. Canada's representative is Rear Admiral H. G. de Wolfe.

The areas and sub-areas into which SACLANT's Command is divided are shown in the chart below. There are at present three main subordinate commands (those for the Eastern Atlantic Area, with headquarters at Northwood, England; for the Striking Fleet Atlantic, with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia; and for the Western Atlantic Area with headquarters also at Norfolk). The fourth command (for the Iberian-Atlantic Area) has not yet been estab-



SACLANT ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS STAFF ALLIED COMMAND ATLANTIC



lished. Under the Western Atlantic Area Commander there is a joint sea-air sub-area command for the Canadian Atlantic, with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Sea Commander for this sub-area is Rear Admiral R. E. S. Bidwell, RCN and the Air Commander is Air Commodore A. D. Ross, RCAF.

The most important of the numerous exercises that SACLANT has so far held have been those known as MAINBRACE and MARINER. Both these were large-scale manoeuvres which climaxed yearly training schedules. MAINBRACE, which was held in the fall of 1952, and lasted for thirteen days, involved land, sea and air forces of eight NATO countries. The operations covered a vast part of the North Atlantic, ranging from northern Norway to the Danish coastal waters. Air strikes were conducted against a striking fleet and fast carrier task force and an amphibious landing was made in the Jutland area to assist forces already there engaged with a mythical enemy. Both the light fleet carrier H.M.C.S. Magnificent and the cruiser H.M.C.S. Quebec participated and played important roles in the amphibious operations in Denmark. Returning from this operation units of the Canadian and United States navies carried out exercise EMIGRANT concerned specifically with trade route protection.

Exercise MARINER lasted for nineteen days in the fall of 1953 and at this time nine NATO countries took part in operations designed to keep open the sea lanes of the North Atlantic. These operations included manoeuvres by the combined striking fleet in northern waters, the defence of convoys, naval control of shipping and the testing of present communications systems. Hunter-killer tactics, designed to protect shipping from submarine attack, and air strikes against land and sea objectives, also received prominent attention. Lessons learned in Exercise MAINBRACE were applied in Exercise MARINER and the improved results were gratifying. H.M.C.S. Magnificent again took part. In addition, the cruiser H.M.C.S. Ontario, the destroyer escort H.M.C.S. Algonquin and the frigates H.M.C.S. La Hullose and Swansea, as well as three maritime reconnaissance squadrons of the R.C.A.F., engaged in the exercise.

The Palestine Question at the United Nations, October 1953 to April 1954

(The first portion of this article, which dealt chiefly with relations between Israel and Jordan, was published in the June issue of *External Affairs*.)

Diversion of the Water of the Upper Jordan

The Security Council still has on its agenda unfinished business in connection with the first item referred to it last October under the heading "Palestine Question"—Syria's complaint against Israel concerning work on the west bank of the river Jordan in the demilitarized zone. Although technically this issue was presented to the Security Council as a violation of particular provisions of the Israel-Syria armistice agreement relating to demilitarized zones, it was recognized from the outset that a wider question was also involved, namely the rational utilization of the water resources of the area, which is of interest not only to Israel and Syria but to Jordan and Lebanon as well.

On September 2, 1953 Israel began canal-digging operations in one of the frontier demilitarized zones, sovereignty over which has been disputed by Syria. Israel's intention was to shift the main stream of the Upper Jordan to permit it to flow over a steep declivity, some distance outside the demilitarized zone, where a hydro-electric plant would be constructed; the water would then flow into Lake Tiberias as formerly. The greater part of the canal was to be outside the demilitarized zone, but a short stretch was to be within the zone and had to be cut through a few Arab properties. On September 23 General Bennike, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, asked the Government of Israel to instruct the Palestine Land Development Company to cease working in the demilitarized zone so long as an agreement concerning the operations was not arranged. He was of the opinion that when the canal was completed Israel would be in a position to control the flow of the Jordan River in the demilitarized zone to the detriment of normal civilian life and to alter at will the value to Syria of the zone, which had been designed to separate the armed forces of the two parties in such a way as to minimize the possibility of friction and incident. The Government of Israel, however, questioned General Bennike's judgment that the use of Arab-owned land in the demilitarized zone would be affected by the canal-digging operations. It guaranteed that the same volume of Jordan water now used by Arab landowners or cultivators for irrigation purposes would remain available in future. Arguing that peaceful work of an eminently constructive and beneficial character in the demilitarized zone should not be interrupted, it ignored General Bennike's request and permitted the operations to continue.

Referred to Security Council

The Government of Syria referred the matter to the Security Council on October 16. It charged that Israel was violating the armistice agreement by infringing the rights of inhabitants of the demilitarized zone, by preventing the Syrian riparian public from irrigating their lands with water from the Jordan, and by arranging military operations in the central sector of the de-



The Jordan River at the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, near which canal-digging operations began in September 1953.

militarized zone to accompany the canal-digging operations. On October 20 General Bennike wrote a second time to the Government of Israel explaining why he had asked that canal-digging operations in the demilitarized zone should be stopped and reminding the Foreign Minister of the authority conferred upon the United Nations Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission by the armistice agreement with the consent of both parties. Once this authority had been conferred, he said, it could not be assumed that either party could decide whether the United Nations representative was or was not acting in conformity with his terms of reference. "That would mean anarchy in the demilitarized zone." It had been the understanding, indeed, that in cases where there was a difference of opinion about the interpretation of the armistice agreement in relation to the demilitarized zone, the interpretation of the Mixed Armistice Commission would prevail.

General Bennike went on to point out that Article V of the armistice agreement provided for protection of the rights of Arab landowners, whose lands must not be worked upon, flooded or deprived of water without the landowners' consent. After investigation he had found not only that there had already been some interference with normal civilian life in the demilitarized zone but also that the completion of the hydro-electric project was likely to bring about greater disturbances. The construction of the projected canal would alter the flow of the Jordan River permanently. It would affect a number of individual farmers and the irrigation of fertile lands outside the demilitarized zone in Syria. In the Franco-British agreement of March 7, 1923 it had been provided that any existing rights over the use of the water of the Jordan by the inhabitants of Syria should be maintained unimpaired. This implied that there were water rights outside the demilitarized zone which could not be made to depend on *ex gratia* guarantees offered by the Government of Israel.

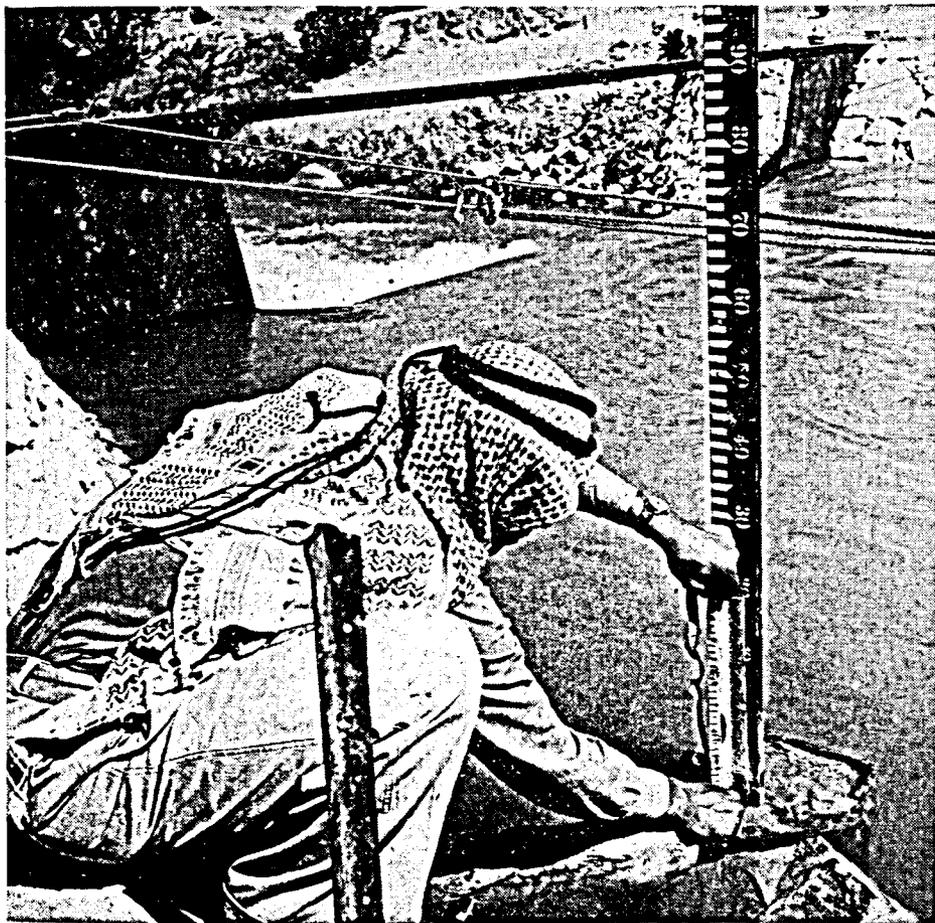
When the Security Council first met to debate the substance of the issue on October 27 considerable progress had already been made in the construction of the canal in the demilitarized zone, but Israel now undertook to suspend operations in that zone pending consideration of the matter by the Security Council and concentrated its efforts on construction of the canal outside the demilitarized zone while weather conditions permitted. The representative of Israel maintained that his government had not inherited the international treaties signed by the United Kingdom as mandatory power in Palestine. He argued that the Security Council had already decided that Syria should have no veto power over drainage operations by Israel in the demilitarized zone. He dismissed the argument that the proposed shifting of the main stream of the Upper Jordan would have any military significance in the demilitarized zone. He denied that Arab landowners would be affected by the hydro-electric project and asked the Security Council to uphold Israel's plans for irrigation and electrification of the area through the beneficial use of available water resources, regardless of objections which might be raised by a neighbour desiring to ensure Israel's economic strangulation.

Syrian Objections

Syria's main objections to the canal-digging operations were as follows. The demilitarized zone had been placed under a special regime because the question of sovereignty had not been settled. After the completion of the canal Israel would be able to control the civilian life of the whole area, which would mean its virtual annexation. The introduction of Israeli police into the zone to protect workers on the canal was a clear violation of the armistice agreement. Israel was hastening to complete its own irrigation and electrification projects so as to present the world with a *fait accompli* before any international plans for the rational utilization of the water resources of the area could be put into effect. Syria questioned Israel's right to dispose by unilateral action of what it considered to be an international river without first seeking the consent of other interested parties.

The debate in the Security Council continued at intervals until January 20, when a vote was taken on a joint resolution proposed by France, the United Kingdom and the United States. This endorsed General Bennike's action in asking for suspension of canal-digging operations, called on the parties to comply with all his decisions and requests in exercise of the authority given him in the armistice agreements and reminded the parties of the function of the Mixed Armistice Commission in interpreting provisions of the agreement relating to demilitarized zones. In order to promote the return of permanent peace to Palestine it was essential that the armistice agreement should be strictly and faithfully observed. The Chief of Staff was asked to explore the possibility of reconciling Israeli and Syrian interests—including full satisfaction of existing irrigation rights at all seasons—while safeguarding the rights of individuals in the demilitarized zone. He was also asked to take such steps as he might deem appropriate, in accordance with the armistice agreement, to effect a reconciliation. The draft resolution called upon the Governments of Israel and Syria to co-operate with General Bennike to this end and to refrain from any prejudicial unilateral action.

This draft resolution, although supported by seven members of the Security Council, failed of adoption by reason of a Soviet veto. The U.S.S.R. and



An Arab refugee is employed to take daily readings of the flow of water in the Yarmuk River, which empties into the Jordan below Lake Tiberias.

Lebanon voted against it because General Bennike was not asked to reconcile the interests of the Governments concerned; it was argued that the phrase used—"reconciling Israeli and Syrian interests"—might be taken to mean merely interests of local Syrian farmers. Lebanon therefore submitted an alternative draft resolution suggesting reconciliation between "the parties" to the dispute. This has not yet been debated.

On February 24 the Secretary-General of the United Nations announced the appointment of a committee of the Secretariat under the chairmanship of Dr. Ralph Bunche to make a study of various plans now under consideration for the proper utilization of the water resources of the Jordan valley.

Relations between Israel and Egypt

On January 28, a week after the Security Council voted on the foregoing resolution, Israel asked the Security Council to consider the question of Egyptian restrictions on the passage of ships trading with Israel through the Suez Canal and interference with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba. Egypt responded on February 3 by asking the Security Council to consider violations

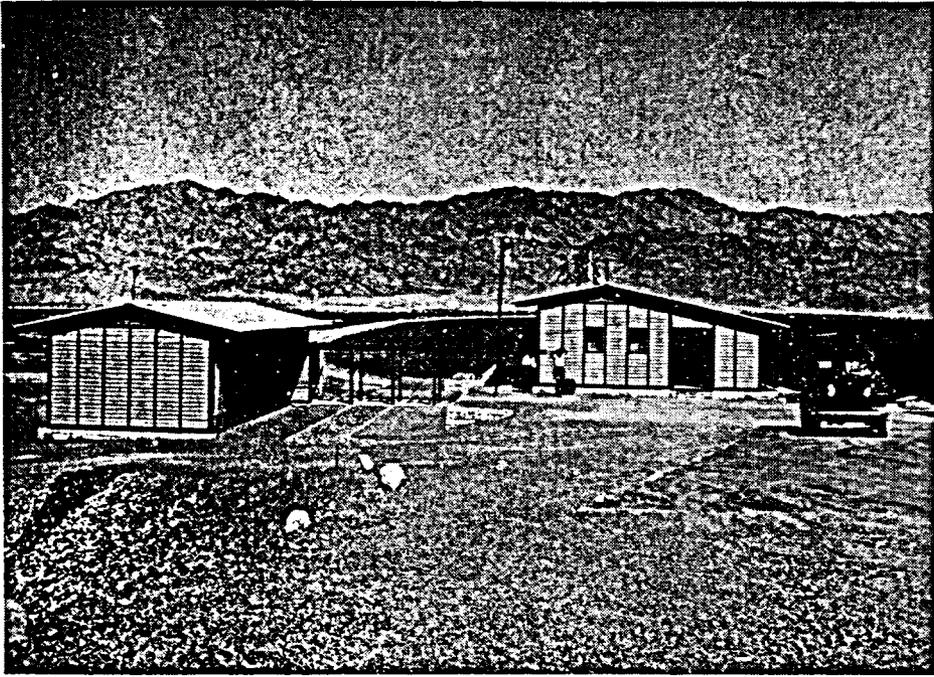
of the armistice agreement in the El-Auja demilitarized zone. The Security Council decided to discuss the two items separately. The consideration of Egyptian interference with shipping began on February 5 and continued until March 29. The second item has not yet been discussed since Egypt has not pressed for it, while Israel has objected to its consideration on the ground that a decision in the El-Auja case has been appealed to a special committee, which has not yet acted. Israel argues that the El-Auja situation is therefore *sub judice* and cannot be discussed in the Security Council. On March 12, while Israel's complaint about interference with Suez Canal shipping was still under consideration, Egypt circulated to the members of the Security Council documented complaints of Israeli aggression in the Gaza district which were intended to supplement its earlier complaint regarding conditions in the El-Auja demilitarized zone, but in this instance too it refrained from pressing for Security Council action.

The Israeli representative drew the attention of the Security Council to the fact that in defiance of a resolution of September 1, 1951 Egypt had persisted in interfering with shipping and cargoes passing through the Suez Canal that were destined for Israel and had extended its blockade to shipping passing to and from an Israeli port on the Gulf of Aqaba. What Egypt had been asked by the Security Council to do was to terminate restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal "wherever bound". Not only had it continued these restrictions but recently it had expanded the list of goods described as contraband to include food and all other commodities considered likely to strengthen Israel's war potential "in any way". This policy was contrary to the Charter; it was a clear violation of the provisions of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 which had guaranteed freedom of trade through the Suez Canal, and it was contrary to provisions of the Israel-Egypt armistice agreement whereby the parties had renounced acts of mutual hostility. The Security Council had already passed judgment on Egyptian policies. What Israel now asked it to do was to devise measures to ensure Egyptian compliance with the resolution of September 1, 1951 and the fulfilment of Egyptian obligations under the armistice agreement.

Egypt's position was defended by Arab spokesmen on the ground that the resolution of September 1, 1951 had not taken into account sufficiently the right of self-defence accorded to Egypt under the 1888 Convention. The armistice agreement itself had not extinguished the right of a belligerent to prevent supplies from reaching the armed forces of an adversary who might be planning military action.

Security Council Resolution Vetoed

On March 29 there was put to the vote a resolution sponsored by New Zealand which recalled the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, noted with "grave concern" that Egypt had not complied with that resolution, called upon Egypt to comply "in accordance with its obligations under the Charter" and ruled that interference with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba should be dealt with in the first instance by the Mixed Armistice Commission. China abstained from voting, eight members of the Security Council supported the resolution and only Lebanon and the Soviet Union voted against it. The resolution was defeated by the negative vote of the U.S.S.R., which was explained by the Soviet representative on the ground that, although the Constantinople



First buildings erected at the Israeli port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba.

Convention of 1888 had admittedly been designed to safeguard the principle of freedom of trade through the Suez Canal, the initiative for taking the first steps to protect this principle had not been laid upon the states which now happened to be members of the Security Council but on the representatives in Egypt of the nine signatories of the Convention itself. It was on these states and their successors that responsibility lay for discussing policies relating to freedom of trade through the Canal.

This second veto of a resolution on the Palestine question came during the period of violent agitation which followed the attack on an Israeli bus at Scorpion Pass, Israel's withdrawal from one of the four Mixed Armistice Commissions and the Israeli attack on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin. During the four succeeding weeks, while conditions on the Israel-Jordan armistice line and along the confines of the refugee-crowded Gaza strip near the Egyptian border continued to be highly explosive, members of the Security Council gave almost continuous attention, both at meetings of the Council and elsewhere, to the question of how to approach most effectively what seemed to be a new phase in the efforts of the United Nations to facilitate the achievement of peace in the area affected by the post-war disposition of the former mandated territory of Palestine.

Canada and the United Nations

Disarmament Talks in London

The private discussions of the Sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission which lasted during twenty meetings beginning on May 13 ended in London on June 22. The Sub-committee had been set up by the Disarmament Commission on April 19, in accordance with the suggestion of the General Assembly contained in its resolution on disarmament adopted during the eighth session. The member countries were France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Canada.

The Sub-committee considered various proposals and memoranda on various aspects of the disarmament problem. The following were the main proposals submitted:

Memorandum—submitted by France and the United Kingdom—11 June 1954.

Working paper on methods of implementing and enforcing disarmament programmes: The establishment of international control organs with appropriate rights, powers and functions—submitted by the United States—25 May 1954.

Proposal—submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—11 June 1954.

The Disarmament Commission had recommended that the Sub-committee present a report not later than July 15, 1954. The Sub-committee accordingly submitted its report on June 22, 1954. This report, which has not yet been made public, will be examined by the Disarmament Commission, which is scheduled to meet in New York during the third week of July.

37th International Labour Organization Conference

The 37th Annual Conference of the International Labour Organization was held in Geneva from June 2 to June 24, 1954. In accordance with the "tripartite" system of representation in the ILO each of the 66 member countries sends a delegation composed of Government, Employer and Worker representatives. Canada was represented at the 37th Conference by seven Government representatives led by Mr. A. H. Brown, Deputy Minister of Labour, five Employer representatives led by Mr. Harry Taylor of Union Carbide Canada Ltd. and five worker representatives led by Mr. Claude Jodoin of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

One of the most important events at this Conference was the renewal of participation in the ILO by countries of the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union, which was a member in the 1930's, rejoined the ILO shortly before the 37th Conference. It has been allocated one of the ten seats on the Governing Body of the Organization reserved for the states of chief industrial importance. (Canada is also one of the ten.) The Ukraine and Byelorussia also joined shortly before the 37th Conference. Hungary and Bulgaria, which have been inactive

members in recent years, sent delegations to this Conference. Roumania applied for membership but, as it is not a member of the United Nations and did not previously belong to the ILO, its application required the approval of two-thirds of the Conference. The application was withdrawn before it came to be voted upon. Poland and Czechoslovakia are continuing members of the ILO.

The credentials of the Soviet bloc Employer and Worker delegates to the 37th Conference were challenged by Employers and Workers from other countries. On the grounds that the Employer representatives from the U.S.S.R. and its satellites were in fact Government officials and that the Worker representatives did not come from free labour organizations it was proposed that these delegates should not be seated. The proposal was defeated. In essence, the majority view of the Conference was that there was nothing in the ILO Constitution to prevent acceptance of the Soviet bloc delegates.

The Conference carried out its usual function of reviewing the work of the ILO. A subject to which special attention was given was technical assistance, on which there was a general discussion. Other matters in which consideration was given to action by the ILO were housing, reduction of working hours, vocational rehabilitation of the disabled and holidays with pay.

Seventh World Health Assembly

The Seventh World Health Assembly met in Geneva from May 4 to May 22, 1954. The Assembly, which is the supreme authority of the World Health Organization, meets annually to enable the 81 members of the Organization to review its work and determine future policy. Canada was represented at this meeting by a delegation of six members led by Dr. F. G. Robertson, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. Dr. J. L. Togba, Director-General of the National Health Service of Liberia, was elected President of the session.

The report of the Director-General of the World Health Organization on the work of WHO in 1953, which was presented to the Assembly, described the progress of international programmes on a wide variety of health problems, the assistance given by WHO to national governments in improving their health services and eradicating disease, the work of the regional committees of WHO and the activities of the Organization in such fields as international sanitary regulations, health statistics and the standardization of various substances used in therapy and diagnosis. The Assembly agreed upon a budget ceiling of \$9,500,000 for WHO in 1955, compared with \$8,500,000 in 1954. Among other decisions taken were approval of the admission of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as an Associate Member of WHO and rejection of a proposal to increase the size of the Executive Board of WHO. There were technical discussions on public health problems in rural areas.

The Assembly decided to accept the invitation of the Mexican Government to hold the Eighth World Health Assembly in Mexico City in 1955.

The Food and Agriculture Organization

Before the end of the last war President Roosevelt, concerned about the probability of a world-wide food shortage, invited all the United and Associated Nations to attend a conference at Hot Springs, Virginia in May, 1943, to discuss the possibilities of increasing world food supplies and improving the level of living for the people of the world. He thought that since food is vital to all nations it could provide the basis for effective international co-operation and endeavour. Forty-two nations responded to his appeal, and one outcome of the Hot Springs Conference was that in 1945, at Quebec City, the Food and Agriculture Organization was established, the first of the United Nations Specialized Agencies.

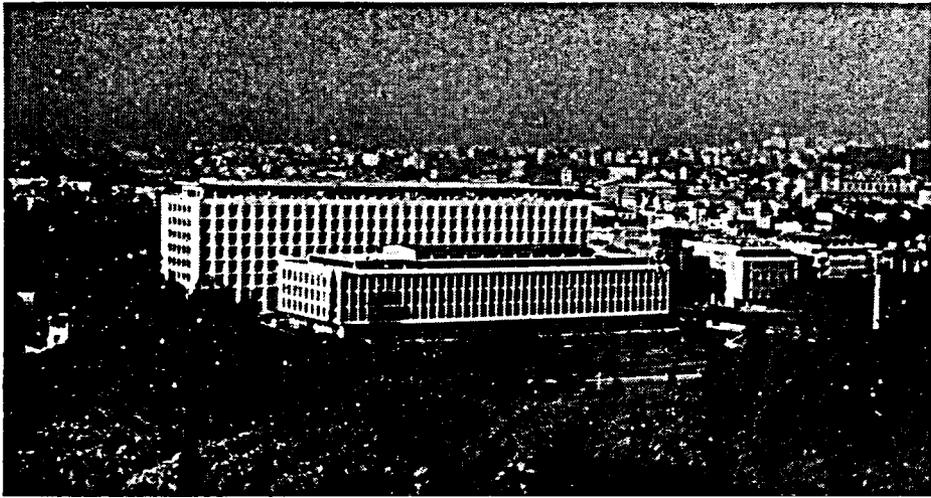
The idea of international co-operation to solve the problem of the increasing food requirements of the world was a new one, but the Organization nevertheless set about its task with optimism and determination. Today FAO has a membership of 71 nations and is yearly demonstrating how much can be done by international co-operation towards solving many of the nutritional problems of the world.

Technical Assistance

During the early years of its existence, FAO was confronted with the problem of determining the food requirements of under-developed regions, hence one of its first tasks was to conduct a world food survey. As a result of this survey it became apparent that the level of nutrition in under-developed countries was far below the required minimum and must be raised, at least partly, through increased food production in these countries themselves. To make the best use of their present resources and to achieve increased production, FAO realized that more modern techniques and improved practices were necessary. Experts from all over the world were therefore called upon to help both in the adoption of better methods of production and in the training of local people who could carry on these new projects. This was one beginning of what has since come to be known as international technical assistance.

Progress was slow at first since a great deal of preliminary exploratory work was needed. Supplies and money were limited, and innumerable details of organization and procedure had to be worked out. An added impetus was given to the work when, in 1950, the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was launched and with the additional funds received FAO was able greatly to expand its plans for calling upon the skills and knowledge of many countries to supply experts for all phases of the work. Moreover, by now, there are many technical assistance plans such as those of the other Specialized Agencies and the United States Foreign Operations Administration, the Colombo Plan, and Ford Foundation, with which FAO of course co-operates.

The extent of FAO's contribution to technical assistance can be illustrated by the fact that in 1953 there were 624 technical experts, recruited from 54 different countries, who were engaged on projects in 52 countries or regions. Member nations are assisted not only by the presence of foreign technicians



FAO HEADQUARTERS

—FAO

The headquarters of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome.

but also through the granting of fellowships. These are awarded to the nationals of a recipient country who are sent to advanced regions for training and experience directly in line with the duties which they will be undertaking upon their return to their own country. During 1953, 469 fellowships were awarded to citizens of 40 countries for training in 44 different nations. In providing assistance to member nations FAO does not act on its own initiative but on the request of and in accordance with the wishes of countries requiring aid. It assists in the formulation of plans and in their implementation by supplying skilled technicians and advice.

What FAO Does

The problems which concern FAO and to solve which it organizes international co-operation of all kinds, including direct technical assistance, are in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry and nutrition. There are roughly two categories into which the projects fall; one where the benefits are immediately apparent such as in combating animal diseases, and the other, that of future or long-term developments, for example, land reclamation, forest conservation and fisheries development.

The type of projects concerning agriculture to which FAO has given assistance include irrigation and land reclamation, disease control and plant improvement. An example of this last is a co-operative rice breeding project in which scientists from most of the Far Eastern countries are participating.

One of the phases of the work which is of particular interest to Canada is research to develop an effective vaccine against the cattle disease commonly known as shipping fever. This disease is claimed to be the world's biggest stock killer; destroying about half a million head of cattle in Southern Asia yearly, and in North America causing losses to the livestock industry of some \$18,000,000 each year. The results of this research, if it is successful, would save enough money to more than pay for the complete technical assistance programme of the United Nations.



—United Nations

FAO AIDS YUGOSLAVIA

Certain areas in Yugoslavia are suitable for cotton growing, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization sent Mr. F. S. Parsons, a Canadian cotton expert to advise on the extension of this crop to other parts of the country. Mr. Parsons is shown at the Yugoslavia Agricultural Institute with a laboratory worker checking samples of a cotton crop.

In forestry the demand for timber throughout the world is steadily increasing. More uses are being discovered for wood products and for the materials which were formerly waste. In spite of technological advances greater production and more efficient management of forests are required. A great deal of preparation has gone into the attempt to establish a world forest policy. Forest protection, reforestation, soil and water erosion, pulp and paper plants and housing experiments are being initiated and directed towards the improvement of under-developed areas. In Burma for instance, non-durable hardwoods have been synthesized into building materials and pre-fabricated houses have been erected and are undergoing tests in Rangoon.

In fisheries attention is given not only to increasing the production of fish and improving the methods of catching but to improving marketing practices and preservation. In the Far East especially, fish pond culture is being devel-

oped, allowing the natives to have a source of fresh food supply near their homes. In two years a single pond in Thailand has yielded a thousand pounds of fish of a variety known as Tilapia. Hatcheries are producing young fish at the rate of 100,000 a month. In deep sea fishing, improved methods of catching and storing as well as improvement in the design of fishing boats have been tried with great success.

Allied with developments in agriculture and fisheries is the nutrition programme, which includes home economics. Efforts have been made to stimulate improved food habits and to take full advantage of food materials that may be available regionally to bolster the nutritive value of diets. FAO also co-operates in work on nutritional problems with other agencies such as the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Children's Fund.

The economic and statistical services of FAO benefit developed and underdeveloped countries alike, since it is possible to obtain a fairly reasonable economic picture for most regions of the world, supplying what amounts to a world intelligence service in food and agricultural developments. Annual production and trade statistics are issued to integrate the data issued in the monthly bulletins, and also an annual review of world conditions. A second world food survey was completed a short time ago.

Another important activity of FAO is the administration of the International Plant Protection Convention. Now ratified by 30 nations including Canada, the Convention has done much to check the spread of plant pests and diseases which were seriously affecting trade. Signatory countries have undertaken various measures of effective control; the simplification and consolidation of plant health certificates has helped to eliminate previous confusion and administrative difficulties; and direct contact between national inspection authorities has facilitated progress toward eliminating unnecessarily restrictive or prohibitive legislation.

Canada's Contribution to FAO Technical Assistance Projects

Canada has supplied technicians to help in several of the phases of technical aid which have been the concern of FAO. These experts have been recruited from both government and private industry and in the years 1952-53 a total of 27 Canadians were serving in the field for FAO. For the most part their work has been in agriculture, although several have been active also in forestry, fisheries and nutrition.

For example a Canadian was the head of an FAO mission to Ethiopia. This country is an area of potential agricultural riches yet unable to realize these owing to a lack of trained personnel or training facilities. Working with the Ministry of Agriculture the FAO mission of seven members drew up short term plans and a six year programme of development. In the export trade coffee assumes the most importance so attention was given to improving the methods of producing and processing the coffee bean. On the other hand cotton totals at least half of the total imports of Ethiopia creating a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources of the country. Here again increased and improved methods of production were studied with the result that improvements are on the way.

The example of Ethiopia can be duplicated in almost all fields. Iraq had a Canadian home economist to organize a Department of Home Economics



FAO ASSISTS THAILAND

—FAO

The best way to overcome the general lack of protein in the diets of the Far Eastern population is by increasing the production and consumption of fish. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations sent an expert in fish culture to Thailand to train and assist Thai technicians in improving and developing the inland fisheries resources of their country. Above, a catch of fish is being separated according to kinds and size of fish; the woman in the centre is a fish buyer.

and serve on a committee to improve nutrition. In Yugoslavia a Canadian has been assisting in the development of a cotton improvement programme. Canadians have formed a part of FAO teams in South American countries in helping to establish statistical training. Others have served in various fields in such countries as Ceylon, Greece, Finland, Korea, Afghanistan, Iran, India and Pakistan.

Several scholarships have been awarded to citizens of FAO member countries for training in Canada in work directly related to their present or proposed duties in their own country.

An interesting feature is the fact that Canada too has been a recipient of technical assistance from FAO when a naval architect who specialized in fishing boat designs and techniques served as consultant to the province of Newfoundland with regard to their fishing industry.

Many of the projects undertaken by FAO to improve the result of production by improving its methods will require some years to come to their fruition. But in the meantime, they lead to important positive gains in training and experience for the countries which have requested aid and which can be helped only with their own active participation. This new training and experience will enable them to carry out and complete the programmes which can contribute successfully towards giving the peoples of the world a better diet and an improved level of life.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Greece, effective June 1, 1954.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill was appointed High Commissioner for Canada to the Union of South Africa, effective June 1, 1954. Mr. Gill left Ottawa for Pretoria on June 14, 1954.
- Mr. G. E. Hardy was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective June 4, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. G. Dery was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective June 11, 1954.
- Mr. R. E. Reynolds was posted from the Canadian Legation in Prague to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective June 13, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles was posted from Home Leave (Prague) to Ottawa, effective June 15, 1954.
- Messrs Jean Jacques Dupuis, Peter Rowney Jennings, Gerald Sanford Levey, Allan Barclay Roger and Vernon George Turner joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1 on June 15, 1954.
- Mr. G. C. Langille was posted from Canadian Embassy, (Caracas) to Ottawa, effective June 16, 1954.
- Mr. N. E. Currie was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective June 16, 1954.
- Mr. P. A. Beaulieu was posted from Ottawa to the Office of The High Commissioner for Canada, London, England, effective June 18, 1954.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, Venezuela, effective June 26, 1954.
- Mr. D. R. Taylor posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C. effective June 29, 1954.
- Mr. H. B. Stewart posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, Germany, effective June 30, 1954.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting posted from Bogota to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, Peru, effective end of June, 1954.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 54/23—*Canada and the United Nations*, by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin. (Reprinted from the *Dalhousie Review*, Winter Edition, Vol. 33, No. 4.)
- No. 54/25—*Mr. Pearson's Radio Review of April 23*, a transcript of an interview with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in which the Geneva Conference on Korea and Indo-China, and the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, is discussed. The interview was conducted by Robert Redford of the CBC, and recorded for broadcast on the programme "Men Behind the News", the CBC station CBO, Ottawa, April 23, 1954.
- No. 54/26—*Impressions of Europe and Asia*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, on his trip to Europe and Asia, delivered to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Press, in Toronto, April 28, 1954.
- No. 54/27—*Address to Congress*, and address to a joint session of the Congress of the United States, by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, May 4, 1954.
- No. 54/28—*Canadian Statement at Geneva Conference*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Geneva on May 4, 1954, at the conference on Korea and Indo-China.
- No. 54/30—*Report to Parliament*—Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons in Committee of Supply, May 28, 1954, on the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Committee of the United Nations, and the Geneva Conference on Far Eastern Affairs.
- No. 54/31—*Some Thoughts on Canadian External Relations*, an address by the Sec-

retary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearsons, made before the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 4, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/29 — *Conservation of National Resources in Canada*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr.

No. 54/32—*Statement at Geneva*, statement by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. C. A. Ronning, made at Geneva, June 11, 1954 at the Conference on Korea and Indo-China.

C. D. Howe, made at the Conservation Conference of the Canadian Forestry Association, at Ottawa, April 23, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

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Technical Assistance Committee, Sixth report of the Technical Assistance Board. E/2566, E/TAC/REP.3. Pp. 267. \$2.50. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 4. New York, April 1954.

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Commission on the Status of Women, Report of the Eighth Session (22 March - 9 April 1954). E/2571, E/CN.6/253. New York, April 1954. Pp. 24. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

United Nations Children's Fund, Report of the Executive Board. E/2572, E/ICEF/260/Rev.1. New York, April 1954. Pp. 39. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 2 A.

Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Tenth Session. E/2573, E/CN.4/705. New York, April 1954. Pp. 84. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session Supplement No. 7.

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Summary of Recent Economic Developments in the Middle East 1952-53. (Supplement to World Economic Report). E/2581, ST/ECA/25. New York, 1954. Pp. 128. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1954.II.C.2.

Summary of Recent Economic Developments in Africa 1952-53. (Supplement to World Economic Report). E/2582, ST/ECA/26. Pp. 83. 80 cents. Sales No.: 1954.II.C.3.

Resolutions of the Thirteenth Session of the Trusteeship Council (28 January - 25 March 1954). T/1106 (bilingual). New York, April 1954. Pp. 57. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

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The Artist in Modern Society (International Conference of Artists, Venice 22-28 September 1952). Paris 1954. Pp. 128. \$1.00.

The Teaching of the Social Science in the United States (Teaching in the Social Science Series). Paris 1954. Pp. 150. \$1.00.

Directory of Institutions Engaged in Arid Zone Research (Arid Zone Programme) Paris 1953. Pp. 110. \$1.50.

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Syria—Problems of preservation and presentation of sites and monuments (Museums and Monuments—VII). Paris, April 1954. \$1.50.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization for 1953. E/2594. 5 May 1954. Pp. 107.

Information and documentation in respect of the territory of South West Africa. A/AC.73/L.3. 11 May 1954. Pp. 483, and addenda.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

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—Capital Press

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH VISITS OTTAWA

H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh is greeted, upon his arrival at Uplands Airport, by Major General H. A. Sparling, Vice Chief of the General Staff, representing the Chief of the General Staff. On the Duke's left are His Excellency the Governor General and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

The Korean Phase of the Geneva Conference

As announced in the June issue of *External Affairs*, the decision to hold a conference on the Korean question at Geneva from April 26, where all countries with troops in the conflict and the Soviet Union should be represented, emanated in February from the meeting in Berlin of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

In many respects the choice of Geneva as a meeting place was ideal. The city was on neutral territory and had all the facilities any international conference might need — accommodation in the Palais des Nations which the United Nations had inherited from the League of Nations, the simultaneous interpretation system, with which the assembly halls of that building were equipped, first-class food and hotel accommodation for visiting diplomats, and adequate telegraphic communications with the capitals of the world. Moreover, Geneva's relative smallness made for easy informal meetings between various delegates, and its spring, second only to that of Paris, could not but help the conduct of international relations.

Chairmanship and Seating Arrangements

Although many of the housekeeping and procedural arrangements had been made beforehand, it was not until the morning of the day the conference was scheduled to begin that the convening powers agreed on the vital procedural questions of chairmanship and seating arrangements. Prince Wan, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, was to act as chairman of the first meeting, with Mr. Molotov and Mr. Eden following in rotation on subsequent days. As for seating, each delegation was to be placed according to the English alphabet, in two horseshoes and part of a third, one behind the other. Thus, the Australians were assigned to the left flank of the inner semi-circle, the Belgians to their immediate right, the Canadians next and so on. The chairman sat above and between the heels of the horseshoes. With these arrangements the conference got under way at a brief meeting for organizational purposes on the afternoon of April 26 at which Prince Wan announced that the meetings would be closed to the press and the public but that each delegation might conduct its own relations with the press. From the first, there was very little about conference proceedings which was secret.

The Communists lost no time in tabling a blueprint for the establishment of what they claimed would be a free, unified and democratic Korea. At the plenary session of April 27, Foreign Minister Nam II of North Korea, after recounting the familiar Communist interpretation of Korean developments since 1945 and assessing the United States with blame for the aggression of 1950, proposed a conference decision by which both Korean legislatures would elect a joint Korean commission including representatives from "Democratic social organizations" to take the necessary action to ensure free elections throughout the peninsula for a National Assembly from which would stem a unified Korean Government. In the interim, the commission would work for

improved economic and cultural relations between the two Koreas. All foreign forces would be withdrawn from Korea within six months and the countries primarily concerned with peace in the Far East would guarantee the peaceful development of Korea and recognize the necessity of creating conditions helpful in bringing about its rapid unification. The North Korean emphasized that his proposal would enable the Koreans to work out their destiny without being subjected to foreign interference.

In subsequent meetings, Mr. Nam II received full support of his proposals from his Communist colleagues, Messrs. Chou En-lai and Molotov. The former was particularly virulent in his comments about the United States, which he described as the source of tension and trouble in Asia and which he accused of occupying Korea to establish a base for the invasion of mainland China. Mr. Molotov was also intemperate in his comments on United States policy and in his perversion of the history of the Korean conflict.

The first speaker on our side was Foreign Minister Pyun of the Republic of Korea, who pointed out on April 27 that before North Korea's aggression all that remained to achieve the unification of Korea under United Nations auspices were elections in the North. It would, therefore, reflect adversely on the United Nations if elections were now called for in both South and North Korea. He attacked Communist China for interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and said that the Chinese Communists, like all Communists, owed allegiance to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Dulles' Statement

Secretary of State Dulles spoke the next day and set the record straight concerning United Nations involvement in Korea and the aggression committed there. He said that after the United Nations forces had broken out of the Pusan beach-head and destroyed the invaders as an effective force, it seemed that United Nations objectives in Korea might be attained. Accordingly, the General Assembly on October 7, 1950, set up the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) to complete the unification of Korea by observing elections above the parallel. Although a new Communist aggression — that of the Chinese — had frustrated the purpose of UNCURK, the Commission now stood ready to accomplish its United Nations mandate. He therefore proposed that the Chinese Communists withdraw from North Korea and UNCURK proceed with its interrupted work.

Mr. Dulles also rejected the North Korean proposals because they did not meet the requirements of a free, unified and independent Korea. Other delegates on the United Nations side agreed with his appraisal. The joint Korean commission of the Communist plan would be, in effect, a super-government in which North and South Korea would have equal representation. This would equate in power the North Korean regime and the Government of the Republic of Korea, even though the former was not chosen by free elections, was guilty of aggression, and had control over a small minority of the Korean population. Moreover, the position of the North Korean regime would always be such that it could veto any commission action which it did not approve. As for the inclusion on the commission of representatives from "democratic" organizations, experience had shown that in Communist parlance, this meant Communist organizations. Finally, the elections which the commission was to hold without outside interference could only be elections without international



THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

—United Nations

Representatives of some of the delegations attending a plenary meeting of the conference, with the Canadian delegation, in the left foreground, headed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

supervision. The proposed withdrawal of foreign forces would involve the United Nations forces going a long way while the Chinese Communist forces would only have to move across the Yalu River, from where they could return quickly. Generally, then, the North Korean proposals looked on their face like a recipe for a Korea unified under Communism.

Nevertheless, certain delegates on the United Nations side, including Mr. Pearson (statement carried in June of *External Affairs*) decided to probe to make sure. They also undertook the job of answering, and of clearing if possible from the way of the conference's deliberations, some of the more iniquitous of the Communist misrepresentations of history and of the intentions of the countries which had provided troops for the defence of collective security in Korea under the United Nations. The Communist delegates, insofar as they designed to reply to questions on their proposals, provided any further evidence which might have been needed to prove that the doubts expressed

concerning them were well founded. They held fast both to proposals and to propaganda charges; indeed, they stepped up the latter.

During the session of May 3, Mr. Chou En-lai accused the United Nations of having been manoeuvred by the United States into an *ex post facto* approval of the latter's Korean intervention and of having slandered Communist China as an aggressor. All this, he asserted, had impaired the prestige of the United Nations and had deprived it of the moral authority to deal with the Korean and other Asian questions. Moreover, the Geneva conference had nothing to do with the United Nations. Subsequently, Mr. Molotov made a similar attack on the United States and the United Nations, saying that the latter was thoroughly compromised by the role it had played in Korea. It was becoming quite clear that the Communists were asking from our side acceptance of their position that the United Nations mission in Korea was illegitimate.

Although the conference seemed to be getting nowhere, such delegates as Mr. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, and Mr. Eden tried to swing it from polemics to the basic issues involved. Thus, the former pointed out that all were agreed as to the objective in Korea. The only feasible way to achieve this was to have internationally supervised elections. The form of such supervision could be a matter for discussion. Mr. Eden criticized the North Korean proposals because in practice they would inevitably result in deadlock. As basic principles necessary for any Korean solution, he listed free elections for an all-Korean government which would reflect the popular will, taking into account the distribution of the population between North and South, and which would be internationally supervised under United Nations auspices. The countries selected need not necessarily be those which had taken part in the Korean conflict; a panel of countries acceptable to the conference could be drawn up.

Supervisory Commission Proposed

The session of May 22 was an important one for both sides. The Communists held to their line. In defending their proposals, they said that Korea could only be unified by mutual agreement between the two governments there. Opposition to this principle was nothing but an attempt to impose the will of the South upon the North. Although representation on the joint Korean commission would not be proportional as between the two Koreas, the Assembly set up as a result of the elections it would conduct would properly be representative of the whole Korean people. Mr. Chou En-lai admitted that the state of hostility existing between the North and South would make it difficult for them to approach each other. Therefore, he proposed, without benefit of further explanation, that to assist the joint commission, a neutral nations supervisory commission be formed to supervise the elections. It could not be a United Nations agency.

On the same day, Mr. Pyun dismissed without discussion Mr. Chou's suggestion and presented on behalf of his Government a 14-point proposal for the unification of Korea. Basically, it called for free elections within six months in North Korea and in South Korea in accordance with the constitutional processes of the Republic of Korea. The elections would be held under United Nations supervision as laid down in previous relevant General Assembly resolutions, and representation in the all-Korea legislature would be proportionate to the population of the whole of Korea as determined by a census

also to be taken under United Nations supervision. The new legislature would be left to decide questions such as the disbandment of military units, the amendment of the existing South Korean constitution and whether the President of unified Korea should be "newly elected". Chinese Communist troops would complete their withdrawal from Korea a month before the elections, while United Nations forces, which might begin to leave before the elections, would not complete such action until the unified government controlled all Korea. The territorial integrity and independence of the unified state would be guaranteed by the United Nations.

At the following session, General Bedell Smith, who headed the United States delegation after the departure of Mr. Dulles for Washington, declared his support for this proposal and recommended its acceptance. He devoted most of his statement to a vigorous defence of the United Nations record and authority in Korea. He was supported in this by a number of other delegates on the United Nations side who reaffirmed their belief that any settlement in Korea must be in accord with established United Nations principles, and felt that the South Korean proposal might suitably serve as a basis for discussion.

The Communists made their next move at the session of June 5 when every delegate on the team spoke. They rejected the South Korean proposal as designed to enable that government to unify Korea with foreign support. However, Mr. Chou En-lai said that "common ground" could be found for settling the problem peacefully and Mr. Molotov followed through by proposing that if the conference were to take a preliminary decision on the fundamental principles relating to a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem which Foreign Minister Nam Il of North Korea had already stated, it would be better able to wind up the work begun.

Reaction to Communist Proposal

However, an earlier item of business proposed by the Communists remained to be dealt with — their neutral nations supervisory commission. At this session, General Smith termed the proposal fraudulent because it pretended to establish an international body with some authority while, in fact, such a body could do nothing so long as the control of the entire election procedure was in the control of the joint Korean commission in which the Communists had a veto. He then told how the Communist representatives who made up half the membership of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission set up by the Korean Armistice Agreement had consistently prevented the Commission from carrying out its assigned duties. This sort of supervisory commission would mean, at best, no supervision at all. The United Nations had the competence, authority, impartiality and facilities to guarantee free elections.

At the June 11 session, the Acting Canadian Delegates was the first speaker on the United Nations side. After upholding the legality and moral right of the United Nations intervention in Korea, he proceeded to consider the proposal of Mr. Molotov, point by point. His conclusion was that it would be dishonest to declare agreement on principles when the so-called details to be worked out later were not extraneous to the principles but essential to them. Better to acknowledge the facts of our disagreement than to lead the people of the world to believe that there was agreement when there was no agreement. Other delegates made statements in a similar vein. The sides were divided by two fundamental issues — the authority of the United

Nations and the question of free elections. As Mr. Eden said, if a way could not be found to resolve the differences on these issues, then it would have to be admitted that the conference had not been able to complete its task. By the time the session adjourned, there was little doubt that a crisis had been reached.

The Communist reaction came at the session of June 15. Mr. Nam Il declared that since it was now clear that the conference could not agree on a way to unify Korea, the participants should take steps to ensure peaceful conditions there. They should agree to the proportionate withdrawal of foreign troops as soon as possible, the reduction within a year of North and South Korean troop strengths to 100,000 men each, the formation of a joint Korean commission to recommend to both governments proposals for the gradual liquidation of the state of war and the formation of a further joint Korean body to work for improved economic and cultural relations between the two Koreas. Moreover, they should recognize that treaties between either Korea and other states which involved military obligations were incompatible with the peaceful unification of the peninsula. Mr. Molotov backed this programme and added to it. He wanted the participants to announce their agreement that pending the final settlement of the Korean problem, no action should be taken which might threaten the peace in Korea and to express their confidence that both Koreas would act in accordance with such agreement.

Conference Recesses

After Mr. Molotov's speech, the conference recessed and the delegates on the United Nations side held a caucus. This was not an unusual development. It had long been established practice for representatives of what had become known as the Group of Sixteen—i.e., those countries which had contributed armed forces to the United Nations Command in Korea—to meet frequently in Washington for the exchange of views, and this practice had been carried over to Geneva.

When the session resumed, General Smith addressed himself to Mr. Molotov's proposed declaration and pointed out that the Armistice Agreement contained specific provisions for its continuance as long as the Communists observed it, and these were supported by a General Assembly resolution. Consequently, the maintenance of peace was now provided for in more formal and exact terms than in the phrases of Mr. Molotov's proposal. Mr. Casey of Australia criticized Mr. Nam Il's proposals. These, he said, sought to put the Government of the Republic of Korea on a par with the Communist aggressor regime in the North. Moreover, the conference should not agree to strip South Korea of its defences in the face of aggression nor to reduce it to the same defensive level as the country to the north with its relatively small population.

Mr. Garcia, Vice-President of the Philippines, reiterated that the United Nations side could not compromise on the two issues of United Nations authority and free elections. Prince Wan read into the record a declaration on behalf of the Group of Sixteen which stated that they had been compelled reluctantly and regretfully to conclude that so long as the Communist delegations rejected the two fundamental principles, further consideration of the Korean question by the conference would serve no useful purpose. The state-

(Continued on page 249)

The Ukraine and Russia

This year the U.S.S.R. is celebrating with a great deal of fanfare the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav by which the Ukraine was united to Imperial Russia. It is one of the most important events not only in Russian but in European history. By this act one of the richest lands of Europe, occupying a strategic area, and inhabited by a numerous and talented people, was added to the domains of Russia which from then on was able to extend its influence further and further into Europe. It also meant the beginning of the tragic eclipse of Poland which had previously maintained its leading role by playing off the Ukraine and Russia but was no longer able to stand up to the combined pressure of the two countries.

Even the most objective historians have found it difficult to present a really



satisfactory account of the complicated events leading to the decision of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Ukraine, to accept Russian suzerainty. Certainly very few Ukrainians expected the complete Tsarist domination which followed. They had hoped, at the least, for a very large measure of cultural and political autonomy. This was not, however, in the nature of the Russian state to give, and the history of the Ukraine in the next 250 years is one of increasing Russification and economic exploitation. The result of nationalist discontent and economic pressure was the immigration of vast numbers of Ukrainians, particularly to Canada and to the United States.

Ukraine Soviet Republic Established

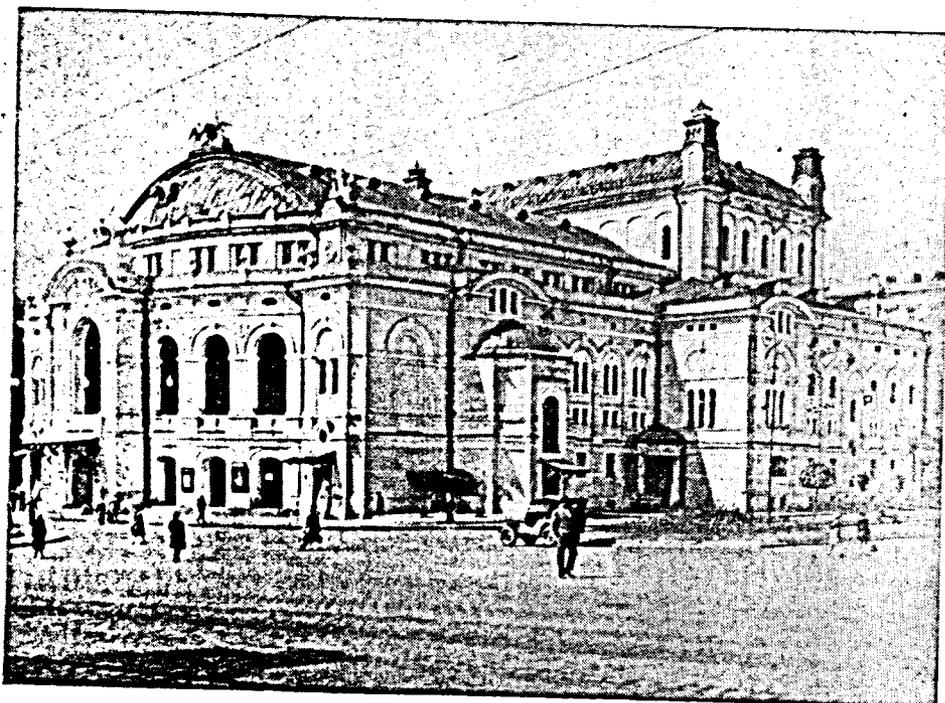
The Ukrainian nationalist leaders took advantage of the overthrow of the Tsarist régime in 1917 to set up an independent government in Kiev. The incipient state became at once a pawn in the war and its existence was soon dependent on German support. Near anarchy reigned with German, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian white and Bolshevik forces fighting for control of the territory. The Skoropadsky government rapidly disintegrated, and for a while a semi-anarchic government headed by Petlyura also claimed to represent the true nationalism of the Ukrainians. The almost complete chaos in the Ukraine helped the Russian Communists to drive out the contending forces and establish firmly the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which had been proclaimed on December 18, 1918, and its federation with the Russian Soviet Republic.

The following 36 years have not been easy ones for the Ukraine. The horrors of the civil war bore hardest on this part of the Russian Empire and it lost heavily in material and human destruction. This was followed by the collectivization of agriculture which again struck most severely at the Ukrainian peasant who resisted fanatically, and the best of whom were either deported or lost their lives from the famine following on collectivization. Then came the Second World War in which again the Ukraine was the worst hit, and after that the re-introduction of Soviet control which meant further repressions and deportations.

The desertions of Ukrainians in mass to the Germans at the beginning of the Nazi invasion in 1941 was ample proof of dissatisfaction with Soviet rule. In fact the Ukrainian division that the Germans recruited to fight the Russians, even in spite of Nazi persecutions in the Ukraine, was the only major force either side succeeded in forming to fight against their own countrymen.

The only tangible gain made by the Ukraine from Soviet rule has been the union under one nominal frontier of all its historical ethnic lands. As a result of Soviet predominance in Eastern Europe after the war, the Soviet leaders forced Poland and Czechoslovakia to cede to the Ukraine the Lvov area and the sub-Carpathian Ukraine. In honour of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty, the administration of the Crimea has been transferred to Kiev.

The Ukraine is today, therefore, one of the biggest and most populous states in Europe. But the term "state" must be used with reserve since the direction of all important Ukrainian affairs rests in the hands of the Soviet Government in Moscow. The Ukraine, according to the constitution of the U.S.S.R., has in theory the right to maintain its own foreign policy and even to secede. But this is pure fiction and every measure of any economic or political importance affecting the Ukraine emanates from Moscow. For example, on September 29, 1953, three pages of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were devoted to a



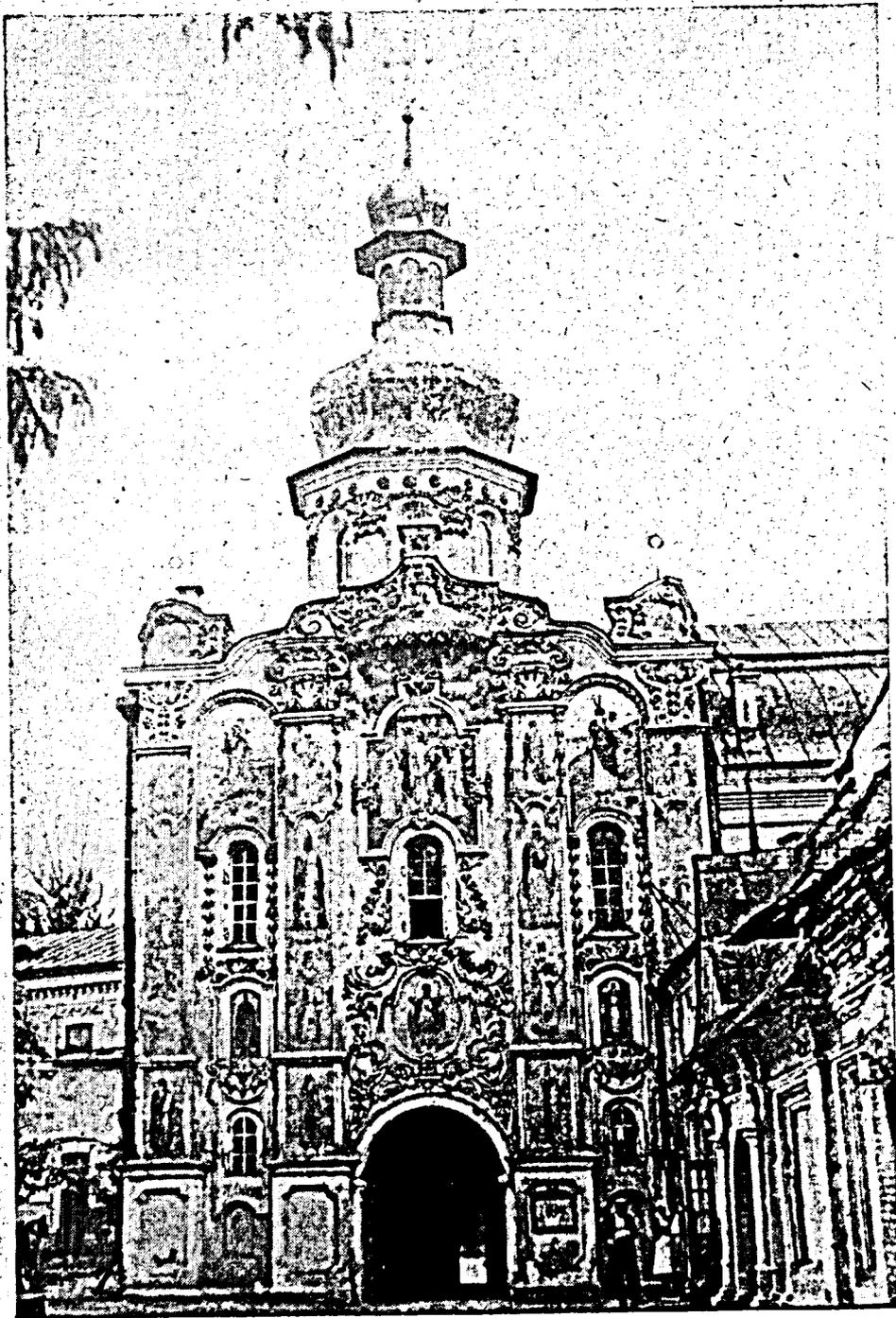
The Kiev Opera House.

decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party giving the most detailed instructions to the entire country, including specifically by name the Ukrainian Republic and other theoretically autonomous republics of the U.S.S.R., about ways and means of increasing the production and deliveries of potatoes and vegetables for the coming year. This is a fair indication of the amount of independent action accorded to Ukrainians.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government recognizes the continuing force of Ukrainian nationalism and does play up to it when this is not entirely inconsistent with the primary interests of the U.S.S.R. Newspapers and magazines are published in the Ukrainian language, though the content differs in no way from their Russian counterparts; street signs in Kiev are in both languages; and there is a Ukrainian dramatic theatre. Much is made of Taras Shevchenko, the nineteenth century Ukrainian poet and painter, who was exiled by the Tsar to Central Asia for reviving the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism against Russian domination. But Shevchenko is no longer presented as a Ukrainian nationalist hero; rather as a fore-runner of the proletarian movement against the Tsarist régime.

This fits in with the "theses" published by *Pravda* on January 12 on the subject of the Ukraine and Russia. They stress the common origin of the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Great Russians, who were separated forcibly by the Mongol invasion, and therefore developed along different lines. Since the "reunion" of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia with Moscow, the theses continue, the Great Russians have been the leaders of all the peoples of the Slavonic world.

The theses greet the Pereyaslav Treaty as a great step forward for the Ukraine, bringing it cultural and economic advantages of union with a more



The gateway of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery.

"advanced" state. Yet in 1934, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia claimed it was an alliance of the Ukrainian and Russian feudal lords which "laid the legal foundations for colonial Russian domination of the Ukraine".

The Ukraine today is a curious contrast. Cities such as Kiev and Kharkov have a standard of living which is not very different from that of Moscow. They are, in fact, becoming rapidly Russified, and it seems to be a deliberate policy of the Soviet leaders to minimize Ukrainian nationalism by confining it more and more to the countryside.

But in the steppe, which is the backbone of the country, in the rich and fertile black earth area, the Ukrainian farmer has not forgotten his inheritance, or his language; or his faith. The collective farm system which, on the admission of the Soviet leaders themselves, has not succeeded in either improving the lot of the peasant or even keeping up with the food requirements of a growing population, is one of the means by which communist control is enforced. But in terms of the satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs, it has left the Ukrainian farmer in no better position than he was in 1917.

In 1944 one of the best modern Ukrainian poets, V. Sosyura, wrote a beautiful and touching poem entitled, *Love the Ukraine*:

"Love the Ukraine like sun, like light,
Like wind and grass and water . . .
Love the wide open spaces of the ancient Ukraine,
Be proud of your Ukraine,
Of her new and eternally living beauty,
And of her nightingale voice . . ."

This poem, which helped to rally Ukrainian feeling against the invader during the war, and continued to be very popular afterwards, was castigated by *Pravda* in July 1951, for being a nationalist survival, for not mentioning the U.S.S.R. and of being, in fact, the kind of work "which any enemy of the Ukrainian people from the nationalist camp" would endorse. Yet "love of the Ukraine" continues to exist in that beautiful but long-suffering land, and it is a sentiment which has survived many tribulations.

KOREAN PHASE OF GENEVA CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 244)

ment re-affirmed continued support for the objectives of the United Nations in Korea.

Mr. Molotov said it was clear that the United Nations side had frustrated efforts to reach agreement because they wanted to use the conference to force the South Korean regime on North Korea. Mr. Chou En-lai suggested that the conference should resolve to try again to solve the Korean problem at a time and place to be determined later, but General Smith pointed out that such a resolution seemed to place responsibility for the settlement of the Korean question on the conference which was not a permanent body set up outside and beyond the control of the United Nations. Mr. Eden, as Chairman, explained that in the absence of common agreement, the conference had no procedure for voting. Therefore, he ruled that the statements which had been made would now form part of the record of the conference. He concluded by expressing hope that the day would soon come when the joint task of the conference participants could be carried through to a successful conclusion. On this note he declared the meeting closed.

Canadian Tour of NATO Journalists

DURING the present summer, various newspapers in European countries stretching from Norway to Turkey are presenting first-hand accounts of Canada and Canada's share in NATO. Leading newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations have carried to the public of all other member nations of the North Atlantic Alliance reports in a dozen tongues about Canada's way of life, as a result of a month-long tour of Canada undertaken during June by a group of international journalists.

In an attempt to further the objectives of Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, which urges closer fraternal bonds between the countries of the Atlantic community, information officials at NATO headquarters in Paris have initiated during the past year tours of journalists to all countries which are members of the organization. Various Canadian journalists have already benefited from twenty different tours of European NATO countries and the United States.

Canadian Tour Organized

In pursuit of this aim the Canadian Department of National Defence and the Department of External Affairs, in conjunction with the NATO Information Division, recently organized and sponsored a unit tour across Canada by twenty journalists representing all other NATO countries. With the blessing of their various governments, one or two prominent journalists from each of the twelve European NATO countries foregathered in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot on Thursday, June 3, to receive preliminary briefings on NATO and SHAPE from the Deputy Secretary-General of NATO, from General Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and from other NATO officials. The Canadian Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, played host to the Canada-bound group in Paris before their departure for Canada on Saturday, June 5, aboard a North Star aircraft supplied by the Department of National Defence.

Flying from the Azores direct to Rockcliffe Airport, Ottawa, the journalists were met by officials of the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence and representatives of the NATO embassies in Ottawa before beginning a three-day stay in the capital. During this period, briefings were given to the journalists by Cabinet Ministers and other government officials and, at a government reception in the Parliament Buildings, the Prime Minister greeted the group before a representative Ottawa gathering sponsored by the three Canadian Ministers of External Affairs, National Defence and Finance and attended by various Senators and Members of Parliament, the Ottawa diplomatic corps, and the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Minister of National Defence and the President of the Press Gallery, with replies being made on behalf of the group by Mr. Henning Sinding-Larsen of *Aftenposten*, Oslo, and M. Raoul Crabbé of *La Libre Belgique* of Brussels.

During the following three weeks, the twenty journalists, accompanied by Paul Lieven, a Canadian member of the NATO Information Service, and Robert Dunn of the Department of External Affairs, travelled over 8,000 miles



by air across Canada and back, busily inspecting defence installations, industrial projects, and civic institutions, while sampling the delights of Canadian scenery and acquiring some insight into the Canadian way of life. The flight progressed from Ottawa through Winnipeg to Vancouver and Victoria. After flying over the length of the Rockies in British Columbia, the group were given a look at the Northwest Highway and frontier life in Whitehorse in the Yukon. Flying south to Calgary, visits to Banff and Lake Louise preceded a visit to the Canadian Joint Air Training Centre at Rivers, Manitoba, where the journalists met compatriots receiving their flying training as a part of Canada's NATO contribution. After inspection of defence installations at Churchill, the tour returned to the eastern part of the country and spent varying periods of time in Toronto, Niagara Falls, Montreal, Quebec, Arvida, Sept Isles and Halifax before saying farewell to Canada at Gander on June 27, and recrossing the Atlantic to Paris.

A Twenty-Man Atlantic Community

Representing in themselves a journalistic NATO assembly, the group quickly acquired a keen interest in what they saw and learnt of the Canadian scene and of Canada's accomplishments in fulfilment of her NATO obligations. As the trip progressed, the early inhibitions of an international group of strangers speaking various tongues thawed under the effect of proximity and Canadian hospitality. By the time Whitehorse was reached, such incidents as a nocturnal competition to throw each other and Canadian air force officers into a northern swimming pool illustrated the feeling of fraternity which had developed among this twenty-man Atlantic community. As one journalist said in speaking of the officers accompanying the tour: "By their own example of harmonious and efficient co-operation they managed to deliver the whole pack in Paris again not only on speaking terms, but on terms of warm friendship as well."

Through the co-operation of municipal and industrial organizations, the group was enabled to make a quick survey of the major civic and industrial developments of present-day Canada, and carry away with them impressions which have since been given enthusiastic publication in some of the major journals of Europe and the United States. Interviews with the individual journalists were recorded by the International Service of the CBC in the native language of each correspondent for subsequent broadcast in NATO countries.

American representation on the tour was achieved by inclusion of the Ottawa correspondents of the *New York Times* and of *Time* magazine. Both have subsequently published reports of the trip, with the *New York Times* series being carried in about nineteen affiliated United States papers. The editor of *Vatan* in Istanbul has just published his eleventh front page article on Canada for Turkish readers, and other series of articles on Canada are beginning to be featured in the continental press.

Participating Group

The group participating in the tour was as follows:

Belgium	M. Walter Hautekiet M. R. Crabbé	— <i>Het Laatste Nieuws</i> — <i>La Libre Belgique</i>
Denmark	Mr. Paul de Wolff	— <i>Den Konservative General-</i> <i>korrespondance</i>
France	M. Pierre Cressard M. Claude Julien	— <i>Ouest-France</i> , Rennes — <i>Le Monde</i>
Greece	M. Vasilis Kazantzis M. Anastasios Skouras	— <i>Ethnos</i> — <i>Vradyni</i>
Iceland	Mr. Kaukur Snorrason	— <i>Dagur</i>
Italy	M. Antonio Lovato M. Alberto Ronchey	— <i>Il Momento</i> and others — <i>ANSA</i>
Luxembourg	M. Mathias Guillaume	— <i>Luzemburger Wort</i>
Netherlands	Mr. Anthonius Brouwers Mr. Joannes Ersebeek	— <i>De Zuid-Oost-Pers</i> — <i>Netherlands News Agency</i>
Norway	Mr. Henning-Sinding-Larsen	— <i>Aftenposten</i> , Oslo
Portugal	M. Morais Cabral	— <i>Diario de Noticias</i> , Lisbon
United Kingdom.....	Mr. John C. Giddings Mr. Thomas Pocock	— <i>The Western Mail</i> , Cardiff — <i>The Times</i>
Turkey	Mr. Ahmet Emin Yalman	— <i>Vatan</i>

At the time of writing, many clippings from European newspapers are still to be received but, from a Canadian standpoint, the all-round success of this 16,000 mile tour spanning an ocean and a continent cannot be contested. In addition to fulfilling a NATO obligation and furthering the objectives of friendly association within the NATO partnership, a group representative of some of the best traditions of world journalism have returned to their homes as continuing emissaries of goodwill towards Canada. One Canadian post in Europe has commented on the homecoming of the local participant in the tour:

"(He) has gone completely 'overboard' as regards the organization of the tour which in his opinion was the best of its type that he has ever been



—Editorial Associates

TOUR OF NATO JOURNALISTS

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, with NATO journalists from thirteen NATO countries after their press conference in Montreal.

on. He was most impressed with the fact that although one should expect some slight and even major hitches in such a tour, the Canadian tour was conducted without the least hitch. Apart from the enthusiasm for Canada reflected in (his) articles, his general impressions of Canada are so favourable that he tends perhaps to exaggerate in conversation. He has even now decided to send his two sons to a Canadian university in the hope that they will decide to settle in Canada."

Impressions of Tour

Perhaps the general impression gained by the journalists after spanning Canada can best be illustrated by the words of the representative of the Kemsley newspapers of the United Kingdom when he stated:

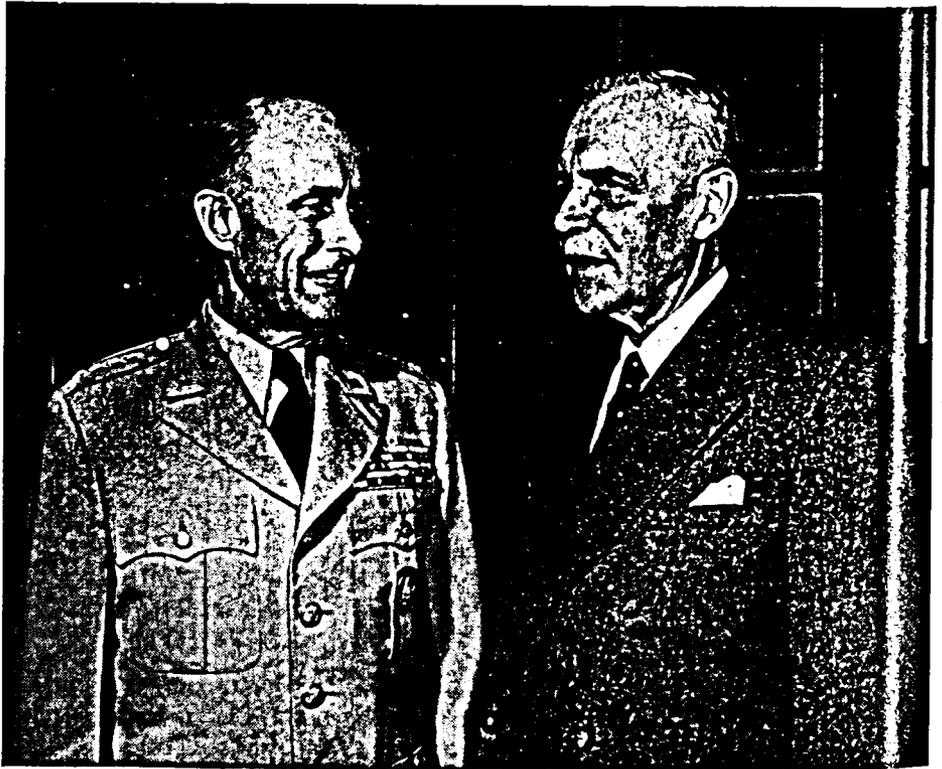
"In itself (the tour) provided a striking example of the success being achieved in promoting a closer understanding within the NATO family. During the month we spent together travelling from and to Europe and through Canada there was not one 'international' incident.

"The final, formal function of the tour was a reception at Admiralty House, Halifax, Nova Scotia. There I had the honour of saying to the assembled guests these words on behalf of my colleagues:

"We have been given a bird's eye view of Canada's present strength in all things, and of her potentialities. So far as we can see there is nothing

beyond her capabilities. The future is hers, with a greater measure of prosperity in store than is likely to be enjoyed by any other country in the world . . . Yet you are not keeping all these good things to yourselves.

'We as the representatives of the rest of NATO have seen how you are sharing them through the medium of mutual aid within the Organization. We appreciate the sacrifice you are making in this very solid contribution to the defence and well-being of the free world. We can only say a very inadequate "Thank you".'



—Capital Press

GENERAL GRUENTHER VISITS OTTAWA

General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander Allied Powers in Europe, visited Ottawa on June 10 and 11 at the invitation of the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton. On the first day of his visit, General Gruenther placed a wreath at the National War Memorial, and visited the House of Commons where he met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet Defence Committee. On the following day he spoke to Senators and Members of Parliament in the Railway Committee Room and held a press conference in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Above, General Gruenther, left, and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

Observance of Canada Day Abroad

ON July 1, Californians, who tuned in to a popular radio broadcast by Virgil Pinkley, publisher of the *Los Angeles Mirror*, heard a glowing ten minute tribute to Canada on its 87th birthday. "Nowhere in the world", he declared, "do two such powerful neighbours live in such harmony. More than three thousand miles of frontier between us, with no troops facing across it in either direction—only a few customs inspectors to keep an eye on the border!" In far away Colombo on the same day, *Radio Ceylon* broadcast a friendly message from the High Commissioner for Canada, as part of a half-hour programme on Canada's national day, to which the programme narrator replied: "We in Ceylon warmly reciprocate those sentiments. Canada has a varied past, and she has a great future too—a future in which she will seek to help solve the world's problems through international understanding and co-operation, and as members of one great and unique family—the Commonwealth of Free Nations". *Belgrade Radio* devoted half an hour to a special programme of Canadian music distributed by the CBC International Service, ten minutes of which was given up to a background commentary based on material sent from Ottawa. Between June 26 and July 2, the press of Montevideo, Uruguay, carried three articles on Canada's birthday, and on July 1, three local radio stations broadcast Canadian music.

Widely Observed

Such illustrations of the recognition of Canada's national day drawn from four continents were typical of the far-flung observance of the occasion in many parts of the world. Press releases, pictorial features, radio recordings and TV materials had been forwarded to Canadian posts abroad and their generous use by local media of communication bore witness of the friendly attitude of widely separated countries toward Canada.

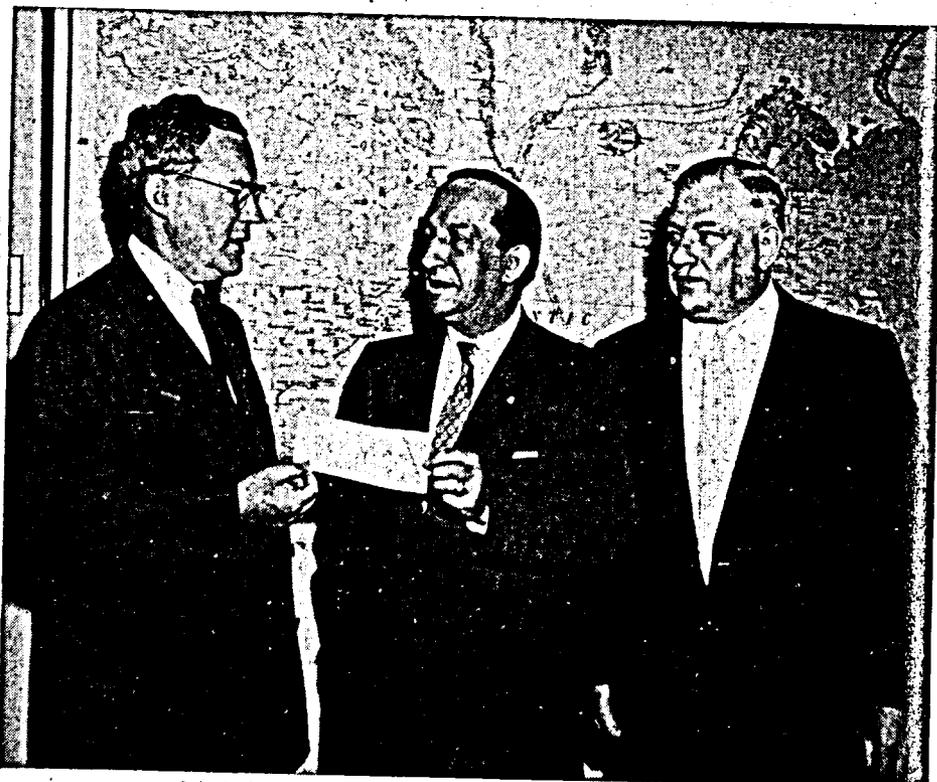
The British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio France devoted a liberal amount of time to Canadian music either on July 1 or during the surrounding week and in general the publication of press material and the broadcasting of Canadian music throughout the countries in western Europe were more generous than ever before. The radio and press facilities of Pakistan, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia devoted much time to the observance of Canada Day, and all Latin American capitals having Canadian diplomatic representation broadcast the special CBC (IS) musical programme over national systems.

As usual, observance in the United States far exceeded that of other countries. A specially prepared film clip for TV purposes by the National Film Board was used by many of the 268 stations to which it was supplied. Broadcast Music Incorporated of New York provided some three hundred U.S. stations with a specially prepared musical tribute to Canada featuring Frank Sinatra and entitled "Happy Birthday Canada". Healy Willan's "Coronation Suite" was carried over the NBC network, as well as over many independent stations. WNYC, New York, is reported to have devoted no less than six hours of its time to Canadian music on July 1, and many sponsored programmes all across the country donated time to pay their respects.

Receptions and talks given by Canadian diplomatic representatives necessarily marked the day in many of the world's capitals. At Djakarta, Indonesia, the first Canadian reception of this type ever to be held was attended by about seven hundred guests who listened to music and witnessed the screening of Canadian films. And at other Canadian missions scattered over six continents, thousands of guests of Canada and Canadians abroad attended gay functions in honour of the day.

In Korea, in France and in Germany, the armed services of Canada staged special sports programmes and entertainments for their own benefit and that of the host country. At Tokyo, which HMCS *Haida* visited, the senior officer commanding Canadian destroyers in Far Eastern waters, Captain John A. Charles, planted a Canadian blue spruce in Hibiya Park.

Space permits little more than a hasty gleaning from reports on the July 1 celebrations, but the abundance of detail provided from more than 50 missions abroad bears impressive witness to the widespread display of goodwill towards Canada on her 87th birthday.



TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONTRIBUTION

—United Nations

Mr. David M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, left, presents a cheque for \$1,356,267.85 to Acting Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen, representing the balance of \$1,500,000 which the Canadian Government had undertaken to contribute to the 1954 Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. At the right is Mr. Andrew W. Cordier, Executive Assistant to the United Nations Secretary-General.

Indochina - Membership on International Commissions

Invitation from the Geneva Conference

Text of message from co-chairmen of Geneva Conference on Indochina to Secretary of State for External Affairs, July 21.

We have the honour to address you as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina which concluded its work on July 20th 1954. The Conference took note of agreements ending hostilities in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and organizing international control, and the supervision of the execution of the provisions of these agreements. In particular it was agreed that an international commission should be set up in each of the three countries for control and supervision of the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Indochina. It was further proposed that these commissions should be composed of an equal number of representatives of Canada, India and Poland, presided over by the representative of India.

2. On behalf of the Conference, we accordingly have the honour to invite the Canadian-Indian Government in consultation with the Governments of Canada-India-Poland to designate representatives to form the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as envisaged in the agreements on the cessation of hostilities, and on supervision in those three countries.

3. It is hoped that the three International Supervisory Commissions can be established on the spot as soon as possible from the date on which the cease-fire comes into force.

4. The text of the final declaration adopted by the Conference, and of all other agreements and declarations concerning the cessation of hostilities, and the organization of supervision in the three countries of Indochina will be transmitted to you as soon as possible.

5. We have the honour to request an early reply which we shall at once transmit to the members of the Conference.

Signed: Anthony Eden
V. Molotov

Statement on Canadian Membership in the International Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia

Text of Press Release issued on July 27 by the Department of External Affairs.

The Canadian Government has today (July 27) transmitted to Mr. Anthony Eden, co-chairman, with Mr. Molotov, of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, its acceptance* of the invitation forwarded by him on July 21 to designate representatives to form, with India and Poland, the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Officials are being sent to New Delhi

* See page 260.

this week to take part in preliminary organizational discussions, prior to the actual establishment of the Commissions in Indochina. The Canadian representatives on the Commissions will be named shortly.†

The Government has decided to accept this invitation only after detailed study of the cease-fire and armistice agreements which are to be supervised by the International Commissions, and with full knowledge and appreciation of the responsibilities and difficulties that will go with membership. There are no illusions about the magnitude and complexity of the task.

Canada is geographically remote from Indochina and her collective security responsibilities in Southeast Asia are limited to those that arise from membership in the United Nations. We know from experience, however, that just as local conflicts can become general war, so conditions of security and stability in any part of the world serve the cause of peace everywhere. If, therefore, by participating in the work of these Indochinese Commissions, Canada can assist in establishing such security and stability in Southeast Asia, we will be serving our own country, as well as the cause of peace.

While it is a matter of regret to us that the settlement in Indochina and the supervision of that settlement are not directly under the aegis of the United Nations, the Government is satisfied that Canadian participation will be fully in harmony with our responsibilities as a member of the world organization.

It should be emphasized that acceptance of membership on these Commissions does not mean that we have been called upon to guarantee or enforce the Indochina cease-fire. Nor does it involve any new military or collective security commitments for Canada.

The actual execution of the cease-fire agreements is the responsibility of the two sides directly concerned, functioning through Joint Commissions established by the Armistice Agreements. The International Commissions themselves have no enforcement obligation or responsibility. Their function will be solely supervisory, judicial and mediatory. Under Indian chairmanship, the Commissions will be responsible for supervising the proper execution of the provisions of the agreements by the parties directly concerned; will assist these parties with the interpretation of those provisions; will be available to settle disputes; and, in cases where disputes cannot be settled, will report the matter to the members of the Geneva Conference. India, Poland and Canada are also expected to assume responsibility at a later stage for supervising elections.

In carrying out their tasks the International Supervisory Commissions should be able to function more effectively than the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea which, because of equal Communist and non-Communist representation, very often had effective action blocked, and which could report only to the two military commands.

The Indochina Commissions will each consist of three members—Indian, Polish and Canadian—and in most cases will be able to take decisions by majority vote. In those special and designated cases where unanimity is required by the cease-fire agreements but cannot be obtained, the commissions will submit majority and minority reports to the Geneva Conference powers. It will then be the responsibility of those powers to deal with the matter.

In addition to providing representatives for each of the three Supervisory

† See page 262.



—Chitrakar

INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY COMMISSION FOR INDOCHINA

Canadian members of a preliminary conference held at New Delhi to establish the Indochina Supervisory Commission were, left to right: the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott Reid; Air Commodore H. H. C. Rutledge; Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Mr. R. M. Macdonnell; Brigadier R. E. A. Morton; and Mr. Bruce Williams, Department of External Affairs.

Commissions, India, Poland and Canada will supply a number of military officers for the fixed and mobile inspection teams which will supervise the execution of the cease-fire agreements in the field, under the direction of the Supervisory Commissioners.

A study of the information available has led us to the conclusion that the Commissions have a reasonable chance of operating effectively and of making a constructive contribution to the successful implementation of the cease-fire agreements, and hence to peace in Southeast Asia. If our expectations unfortunately prove ill-founded, and the Commissions are frustrated by obstruction, then, of course, no useful purpose would be served by continuing their existence.

The exchange of views which we have had with those powers with whom we are especially closely associated in efforts to maintain peace and strengthen security, has confirmed our conviction that we ought to accept this onerous but honourable assignment.

Finally, we have been conscious of the serious consequences which might follow if we were to decline the invitation, since this could delay and complicate the implementation of the cease-fire agreements with unhappy, and possibly even serious results. We have no illusions that the task we are undertaking will be either easy or of short duration, but we take satisfaction from the fact that in performing it Canada will be playing a worthy and responsible part in an effort to strengthen peace.

Reply to Invitation

Text of message, July 27, 1954, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Right Honourable Anthony Eden, Co-Chairman, Geneva Conference, conveying Canada's decision to accept membership on International Supervisory Commissions for Indochina.

I have the honour to acknowledge your message of July which you and Mr. Molotov sent in your capacity as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, containing the invitation to the Canadian Government to designate, in consultation with the Governments of India and Poland, representatives to form the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as envisaged in the agreements on the cessation of hostilities, and on supervision in those three countries.

Conscious of the grave responsibilities which the task will impose, but in the hope that it can contribute to the establishment of peace and security in Indochina, the Canadian Government accepts this invitation. The Canadian Government has been in touch with the Government of India concerning preliminary arrangements and intends to send representatives to New Delhi in the immediate future to consult with Indian and Polish officials on the setting up of the International Supervisory Commissions provided for in the agreements drawn up by the Geneva Conference.

The Canadian Government would be grateful if you would transmit the text of this reply to the members of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, whose continuing interest and support will be required if the Commissions are effectively to carry out their functions and if the agreements on the cessation of hostilities are to be successfully implemented.

Communiqué

Following is the text of the final communiqué issued on conclusion of preliminary talks on the work of the Indochina Supervisory Commissions, New Delhi, August 6, 1954.

The Governments of Canada, Poland and India having acceded to the request of the Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina to accept for their respective countries membership of the International Commissions on supervision and control of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as provided in the respective agreements on the cessation of hostilities done at Geneva on July 20, 1954, met in conference at New Delhi on the invitation of the Government of India from August 1-6.

The Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurated the Conference and welcomed the visiting delegations.

The status of this Conference is that of a meeting of duly appointed representatives of the three governments concerned to study the terms and provisions in the agreement relating to the International Commissions, the functions and duties arising therefrom and to initiate the necessary steps to establish the Commissions in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia on the due date.

Conference reached the following decisions unanimously:

(I) *Advance mission.*

That an advance mission composed of representatives of the three

governments should leave New Delhi on Saturday, the 7 August, for Phnom Penh (Cambodia), Vien Tiane (Laos) and Hanoi (Vietnam). The advance mission will assist the International Commissions to establish themselves in the three territories on the due date in terms of the provisions of the respective agreements. The advance mission will also study and explore the organizational and other problems relating to the three Commissions and report back to the three governments within approximately two weeks.

(II) *Establishment of the Commissions*

(a) Date

The International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos will be established on the 11 August, the last date of cessation of hostilities in Indochina, in terms of Articles 44, 23 and 37 of the three respective Agreements.

(b) Locations

(i) In accordance with Articles 11 and 25 of the Laos and Cambodia Agreements respectively, the Commissions will be set up on Phnom Penh (in Cambodia) and Vien Tiane (in Laos);

(ii) In respect of Vietnam, the Commission will be installed and begin its work at Hanoi. Future locations of the Commission and its subordinate organs, other than the inspection points designated in the agreement, will be decided upon by the Commission taking into account the circumstances and requirements and after consultation with the Trung Gia Commission.

(III) *Personnel*

(a) The personnel of the International Secretariat and all elements for the common pool in each of the three Commissions will normally be provided and arranged for by India. Canada and Poland will also provide part of this personnel;

(b) Each government will provide the confidential and personal staff for its national delegation;

(c) The Polish Government, having regard to the special circumstances of the use of the Polish language by the personnel of their delegation, will arrange to provide interpreters and translators in Polish as required;

(d) A committee composed of representatives of the Government of India, the High Commission of Canada and the Embassy of Poland in New Delhi will establish the rules and conditions of service, the necessary qualifications, rates of pay, etc., for the personnel of the International Secretariat and staff and arrange for their recruitment. This committee will also make appropriate arrangements for similar recruitment of local personnel in Indo-China;

(e) India will have responsibility for the administration of the International Secretariat.

(IV) Secretaries General

Appropriate arrangements will be made for the appointment of Secretaries General and Deputy Secretaries General for the three Commissions Secretariat.

(V) Supervision and control

Fixed and mobile inspection teams composed of an equal number of officers from each of the three countries, in accordance with the provisions of the three Agreements, will be established as soon as practicable at the points prescribed and in terms of the relevant provisions of the three Agreements. Each country may provide technical personnel as required for each team and India will provide the additional technical personnel for the common services.

(VI) Finance

The pay and allowances of personnel included in the national quota of each delegation will be paid by their respective governments. Pay and allowances of the International Staff and all other expenses will be a charge on the general expenditure of the Commission as provided for in the Agreements.

India, as Chairman of the three Commissions, will communicate with the Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in regard to the financial arrangements.

On the morning of 4 August the Conference welcomed the delegates of Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, France, Laos and the Associated State of Vietnam who promised their support and co-operation and wished the Commissions success in their work.

Members of the Conference are happy to place on record that the entire work of the Conference was carried out in a spirit of harmony and cordiality and with expedition. All problems were fully and frankly discussed and all decisions were unanimous.

The representatives of Canada and Poland expressed their warm appreciation of the hospitality extended by the Government of India and the admirable arrangements made by the Government of India for the successful work of the Conference.

Canadian Representatives on Supervisory Commissions

The Canadian Government on August 17 designated the three Canadian representatives for the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia which are to supervise the cease-fire and armistice agreements in Indochina. The final cessation of hostilities took place August 11, 1954.

Mr. Sherwood Lett has been appointed the Canadian representative on the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam; Mr. Leon Mayrand on the Commission for Laos and Mr. R. M. Macdonnell on that for Cambodia. The Commissioners will have the rank of Ambassador.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, Pakistan, to home leave, effective June 7, 1954.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, to home leave, effective June 18, 1954.
- Mr. P. L. Trotter was posted from home leave (Moscow) to Ottawa, effective June 21, 1954.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin was posted from home leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1954.
- Mr. J. L. E. Couillard was posted from home leave (London) to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective July 7, 1954.
- Miss G. Bearman was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco to Ottawa, effective July 19, 1954.
- Mr. M. Meech was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1954.
- Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris to home leave, effective July 20, 1954.
- Mr. D. C. Reece was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, India, effective July 23, 1954.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, Austria, effective July 24, 1954.
- Mr. W. M. Wood was posted from home leave (Athens) to Ottawa, effective July 28, 1954.
- The following were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers Grade I: James Gordon Harris (June 28), Ian William Robertson (June 30), Leonard Houzer (July 12), William Andrew MacKay (July 19).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. Annual Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board. A/2659. New York, 1954. General Assembly Official Records: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 8. Pp. 13.

Resolutions of the Seventeenth Session of the Economic and Social Council (30 March-30 April 1954). E/2596. New York, May 1954. Pp. 19. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Economic Survey of Latin America 1953. E/CN.12/358. New York, 1954. Pp. 246. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1954.II.G.1.

United Nations Tin Conference 1950 and 1953—Summary of Proceedings. E/CONF.12/12. New York, 1954. Pp. 26. Sales No.: 1954.II.D.4.

Special Study on Educational Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories ST/TRI/SER.A-8/Add.1. New York, 1954. Pp. 133. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1954.VI.B.1.

UNESCO

International Catalogue of recorded Folk Music. Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 201 (bilingual).

International Yearbook of Education 1953. Paris (UNESCO). Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 153. Pp. 399. \$2.00.

A Bibliographical Guide to the English Educational System by George Baron, Organizing Tutor, University of London, Institute of Education. University of London, The Athlone Press, 1951. Pp. 70.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Utilization of Saline Water—Reviews of Research on Problems of Utilization of Saline Water (Arid Zone Programme IV). Paris 1954. Pp. 96.

Proposed Programme and Budget for 1955 and 1956 (presented to the General Conference at its Eighth Session, Montevideo, November–December 1954). 8 C/5. Paris 1954. Pp. 259.

Arts and Letters (UNESCO and its Programme—X). Paris, June 1954. Pp. 27.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Information and documentation in respect of the territory of South West Africa. A/AC.73/L.3. Pp. 483, and addenda.

Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization for 1953. E/2594. 5 May 1954. Pp. 107.

Customs Convention on the temporary importation of private road vehicles. E/CONF.16/22. 7 June 1954. Pp. 19 and Annexes 1-5.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/32—*Statement on Geneva*, statement by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. C. A. Ronning, made at Geneva, June 11, 1954, at the conference on Korea and Indo-China.

No. 54/33—*University of Maine Commencement Address*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the University of Maine, June 20, 1954.

No. 54/34—*The World We Live In*, an address by the Secretary of State for Ex-

ternal Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Seventh International Conference of Social Work, Toronto, June 27, 1954.

No. 54/35—*Statement of the Canadian Representative on the Disarmament Commission*, the statement made in the United Nations Disarmament Commission on July 21, 1954, by Mr. David M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, and Canadian Representative on the Disarmament Commission.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

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CANADA

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

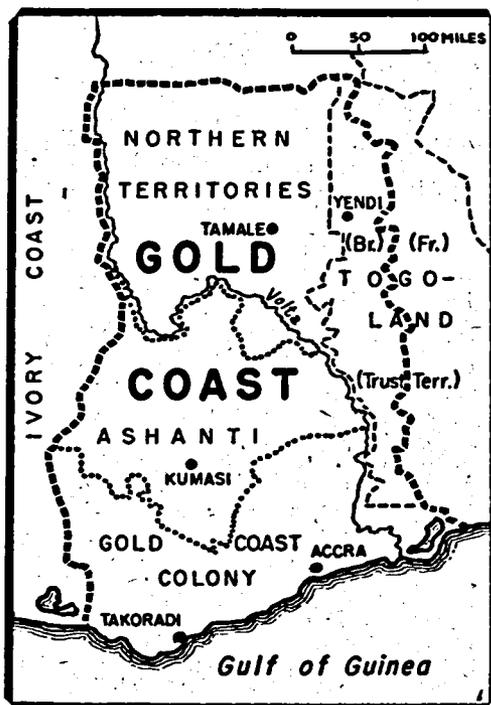
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The Gold Coast

RECENT developments in this British African colony have attracted widespread attention, particularly in the light of developments elsewhere in that continent, and in other colonial areas. The impact of these developments has provided material for much speculation on the future of non self-governing territories. In this article, an attempt is made to provide some of the factual background information about the conditions in the Gold Coast which have made rapid progress towards complete self-government possible.

Historical Development

The Gold Coast has passed through several stages of formation and growth. It first became known to the Western world through Portuguese navigators who visited the Coast in 1471, searching for spices, ivory and gold. They built defensive works along the shore,



principally with the objective of protecting their trading activities. English and Dutch competition caused the Portuguese to abandon their holdings, and yet other nations arrived and established enclaves. Slave-trading was rife. In 1871, the Dutch, the only other European nation which by then still maintained a foothold, ceded their settlements to Great Britain. The colony of the Gold Coast was created by charter shortly afterwards in July 1874.

Disputes between the peoples of the Gold Coast and the inland peoples of the Ashantis fought out in a series of bitter wars, were ended in 1900 by the defeat of the Ashanti Confederation and its annexation to the British Crown in 1901. The Northern Territories came under British rule at about the same time, as a result of agreement with the chiefs of that area. In 1922, the former German colony of Togoland was split between France and Great Britain. The narrow strip of land which passed to Britain was first held as a League of Nations mandate, and more recently as a United Nations trust territory. It is administered as part of the Gold Coast, under conditions recognizing the obligations imposed on the administering authority by the trusteeship agreement.

The People

The present inhabitants are thought to have arrived mainly during the past seven centuries, but their tribes have a metal culture which dates back

a considerable way. Many of the inhabitants call their country Ghana, which is the name of an early West African Kingdom founded in the 9th century and reaching its peak of prosperity in the 14th.

Much the greater proportion of the population is engaged in agriculture, principally cocoa and subsistence farming. They are peasant farmers, who farm in family units or sometimes organize in communal groups.

The New Constitution

The elections held on June 15, 1954, inaugurated a new era in the colony's history. The new constitution under which these elections were held provides for an enlarged Legislative Assembly, chosen by direct election on the basis of complete adult suffrage, and for a Cabinet, over which the Prime Minister will normally preside, drawn from the Assembly.

The Governor has certain limited reserved powers and retains responsibility for External Affairs, Defence, Togoland, and for certain matters concerning the police. The constitutional instruments provide, however, that the Cabinet, as the principal instrument of policy, is to be responsible for the internal self-government of the country. The Governor will be assisted in the discharge of his responsibilities by a Deputy Governor and will be advised by a committee, including the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet.

The independence of the judiciary will be ensured through a Judicial Service Commission to advise on, and later to be responsible for, judicial appointments other than that of the Chief Justice.

Similarly, the existing Public Service Commission will become responsible for appointments to the Public Service.

The Constitution contains a guarantee of fair compensation in the event of nationalization as a measure to preserve the confidence of overseas investors. The present government has stated however that it has no plans for nationalization.

That the United Kingdom regards the new constitution as the prelude to full self-government in all matters is clear from the following statement made by the United Kingdom Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, when announcing the new constitution in the House of Commons:

Under these changes the powers retained by Her Majesty's Government are the minimum which they must retain so long as they have any responsibility for the Gold Coast. These changes must therefore be regarded as the last stage before the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs. The grant of such responsibility within the Commonwealth is a matter for the United Kingdom and Parliament and I can say that at the appropriate time Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be prepared to take such steps as may be necessary for that purpose.

The Elections

In the first elections under this Liberal Constitution, Dr. Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party won a comfortable working majority, although the opposition polled a considerable vote. He and his Ministers have exercised considerable authority for the past three years and gained valuable experience thereby to fit them for their new responsibilities.



—British Information Services

GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

The thumb of a registered voter is inked before he records his vote, to show that he has already voted, and cannot vote again.

The voting took place under interesting conditions. For illiterate voters, the rival parties adopted symbols to which supporters were rallied. Dr. Nkrumah's party adopted the cockerel as its symbol; a star and crescent symbolized the Moslem Association Party and a black fist the Northern Peoples Party. Registered voters formed long queues at some polling stations. They voted by dropping unmarked ballot papers into boxes marked with party symbols. Each voter was required to press his thumb on a pad of indelible ink to prevent double voting, an important point in a country where so many people are unsure of their names, or have the same names. The secrecy of the ballot was vigorously enforced and wide publicity given to the fact of secrecy.

Self-government was not an issue at the elections, since it is taken for granted. There were altogether some 320 candidates for the 104 seats. Apart from the Convention Peoples Party, there were many independents, and candidates from the Ghana Congress Party, the Northern Peoples Party and the newly formed Moslem Association Party. A Togoland Congress Party favours union of British with French Togoland and subsequent federation with the Gold Coast.

The C.P.P. sought support to enable Dr. Nkrumah and the party to go forward to the "logical conclusion of complete independence within the Commonwealth". The Ghana Congress party had a similar objective, and sought to expose weaknesses in the administration. These were the only two parties issuing popular manifestos. The Northern Peoples Party was concerned with avoiding the domination which might come from the south with independence, and was chiefly concerned with economic development and the position of its chiefs.

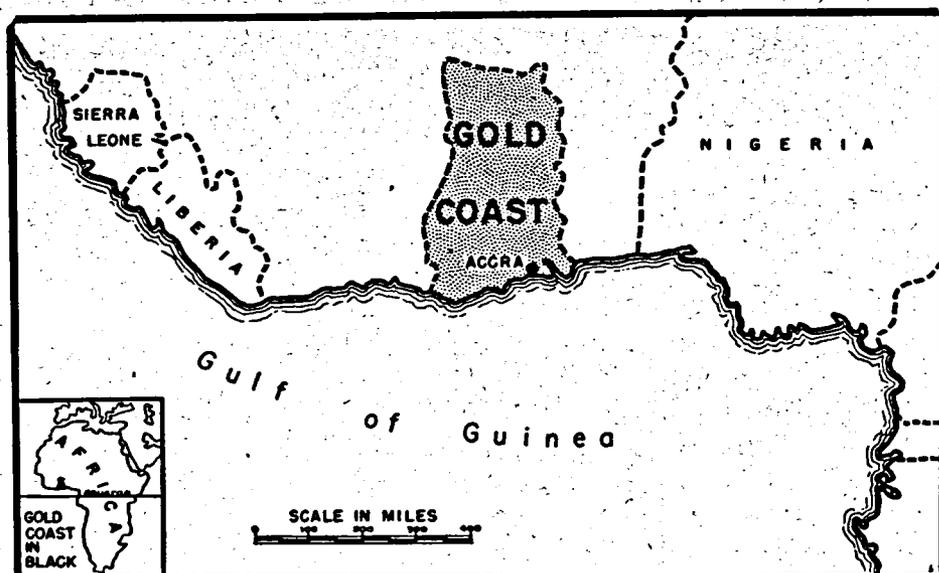
The Economy

This dramatic progress towards self-government which so considerably exceeds the advances made elsewhere is traceable to a combination of advantageous circumstances. The tropical climate has not favoured white settlement and indeed out of a population of nearly 4½ million only 4,200 are British non-Africans. The Africans themselves are the owners of most of the land. In the colony and Ashanti, the land tenure is in part reminiscent of the feudal system, the land being owned by "stools" (symbol of a chief's authority), families or individuals. In general, the vesting of rights in land is controlled by the Government and the concentration of land in the hands of non-Africans has therefore not taken place. There is thus no racial problem of colour or of extensive white landholding to hamper social and political development. The country produces considerable quantities of cocoa (over one-third of the world's supply), and bauxite. It enjoys a consistently favourable balance of trade, amounting in 1952 to nearly £20 million and so is incomparably richer than most under-developed lands. The chief factor in this economic strength is cocoa, which since the war has been in great world demand, with supply never quite adequate for requirements. This crop accounts for nearly 70 per cent of exports. It is produced in many small holdings and the considerable revenue derived from sales is widely spread throughout the population. The African-controlled Cocoa Marketing Board which handles these transactions as agents for the producers had assets of £74.9 million in 1952.

This general level of prosperity is reflected in the budget which in 1952 had a comfortable surplus of nearly £2 million.

Development projects are in hand, sponsored by private enterprise, by the government and by international organizations. The Gold Coast Development Plan, which was approved by the Legislative Assembly in 1952, provides for an expenditure of over £70 million over a period of years. This is divided between social services, communications, economic and productive services and common services. Grants from the United Kingdom of approximately £4 million have been made from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

The greatest single scheme is the Volta River project, in which Canadian aluminium companies are interested. It envisages a £124 million expenditure shared by the Gold Coast and United Kingdom Governments, and United Kingdom and Canadian aluminium interests, whereby a dam and hydro-electric station built on the River Volta would provide electricity for a large scale aluminium industry, leaving a large surplus for other purposes. A lake of some 2,000 square miles, the largest artificial lake in the world, would be created and this water reserve would also be available for irrigation. Local bauxite, of which reserves estimated at over 200 million tons exist, would be used and the total eventual production proposed is 210,000 tons of alu-



minium a year. Related projects include a new port, railway and road facilities, housing, schools and hospitals. Additional and much needed port facilities are being provided by the construction of a new harbour near Accra, and road and rail links with it are also in hand.

Over £2 million was spent in 1952-53 on health services and £3.3 million on education (free primary education was introduced in 1952) and the expenditures under these heads are continually increasing. A residential University, the University College of the Gold Coast, has been opened and now has 450 students; about twice this number receive training of different types in the United Kingdom. There is a College of Technology, Arts and Science at Kumasi, with some 450 students in residence.

The Future

It is therefore against this historical and economic background that the Gold Coast is the subject of a bold and progressive experiment in political advancement.

The problems besetting the path of the Gold Coast are certainly not inconsiderable. A particular problem arises from the fact that the country is not one, but four territories, one of which at least, the Northern Territories, is considerably under-developed. To weld areas with such varying interests and at such varying stages of progress into a unit, will require considerable statesmanship.

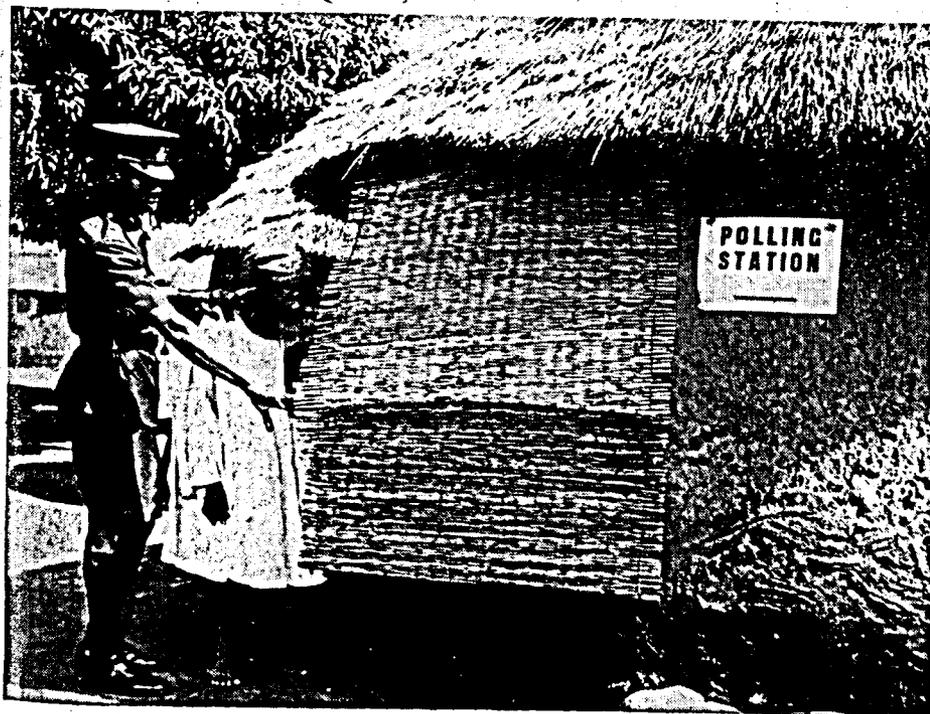
Another problem has been that of potential communist infiltration. Dr. Nkrumah has said in respect of employment in the Government Service that his Government will "refuse to employ in certain branches of the Public Service persons who are proved to its satisfaction to be active communists . . . The Government will not tolerate employing public servants who have shown that their first loyalty is to an alien power or "foreign agency" which seeks to bring our country under its domination." The contrast between these words and the situation in British Guiana requires no emphasis.

The achievement of responsibility brings new problems, amongst them that of integrity. Before the elections, accusations were levied that Ministers had been guilty of malpractice in administering government contracts. The Government thereupon established a Public Commission of Inquiry which discovered only very minor cases of corruption on the part of three junior members of the government, involving sums which were tiny in comparison with the total amounts administered while they were in office. The men were instantly dismissed and two of them sentenced to a period of imprisonment.

The way in which the Gold Coast Government has handled these two contentious issues is an encouraging prelude to an experiment which, if successful, can pave the way to a better understanding in Africa and elsewhere.

In the favourable conditions which have obtained in the Gold Coast, not only has the seed of self government flourished, but the causes of discord, which have hamstrung progress elsewhere have been much less in evidence. These fortunate circumstances, combined with a liberal colonial policy, have led to the creation of this, the first responsible African administration to be set up in an area once ruled by a European Colonial Power. A distinguished author has written:

Since, however, the crucial question throughout Africa is now and will be for decades to come whether or to what degree the African can take responsibility for his own destiny, the Gold Coast experiment has more than the simple interest of novelty, it will inevitably be watched by Africans and by non-Africans as the proving ground of African maturity.



—British Information Services

GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

A Northern Territories voter is shown into the polling booth where he will record his vote in secret.



The Colombo Plan

THE Colombo Plan is known throughout the world as the Commonwealth's response to the need for economic development in South and South-East Asia. This idea is essentially correct but in certain respects it is an over simplification. The present may be a suitable time at which to recall the way in which the Plan began and developed and the way in which it works.

On October 4 some seventy delegates from the 14 Colombo Plan countries will assemble in Ottawa for the 1954 meeting of the Consultative Committee on Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia—to give the Consultative Committee its full title. This meeting will be preceded by a two-week meeting of officials from Colombo Plan countries commencing September 20. The officials will do the preparatory work for the Consultative Committee meeting and prepare a draft report for consideration by the Committee. The officials will also participate in the meeting of the Committee as advisors to the leaders of their delegations.

First Meeting in North America

The October meeting will be the first meeting of the Consultative Committee to take place in North America. Canadians will have an unusual opportunity to extend a friendly welcome to distinguished visitors from most of the Commonwealth countries, most of the countries of South and South-East Asia, and the United States. At the same time they will have an equally good opportunity to learn more about the policies and problems, the ways of life and cultures of the less familiar of these countries.

The Consultative Committee will be concerned with urgent down-to-earth questions of an economic and humanitarian kind. At the same time, there will be drama, even a little glamour, in its meetings. It is not every day that Canadians are able to meet representatives from such different and distant lands as Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom (and its dependent territories Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya), the United States and Viet-Nam. Most of these countries will be represented by Cabinet Ministers, for the Consultative Committee is a committee at the Ministerial level.

Several of these Ministers will be Ministers of Finance or Ministers with similar portfolios who are concerned with economic development; others will be Ministers of External Affairs or Ministers whose responsibilities lie in this field; two or three countries will be represented by their diplomatic representatives in Washington or in Ottawa; and one or two will send senior officials responsible for economic development. The United Kingdom territories will be represented by two Ministers, one from the Federation of Malaya and the other from Singapore. Thailand, and possibly the Philippines, will be represented by observers.



Burmese peasants in rice fields.

There will also be observers representing the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, two agencies of the United Nations which have for many years done important work in the economic development field in South and South-East Asia, and whose representatives regularly attend the meetings of the Consultative Committee. The Director of the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Cooperation and the Colombo Plan Information Officer will attend from Colombo.

What has happened during the past few years to bring all these people to Ottawa in this month of October 1954? What is their purpose in meeting here? What business do they conduct both at their annual meetings and during the interval between meetings? What is the Consultative Committee and what is the real nature of the Colombo Plan? The purpose of this article is to provide reasonably comprehensive answers to these questions for those who are interested in the meetings and in the work of the Plan. Information regarding what has been accomplished under the Plan must, in the main, be sought elsewhere.*

* An article on "Canada and the Colombo Plan" by Nick Cavell will appear in the autumn issue of the *Queen's Quarterly* and may be obtained in reprint from the Department of External Affairs. (The *Queen's Quarterly* will also contain two valuable analytical articles on the Colombo Plan.) Less up-to-date but otherwise comprehensive information on Canada's part in the Plan was published in the April and May 1953 issues of *External Affairs Bulletin*. The most comprehensive summary of progress under the Plan, including information about what is being done by all the member countries, is contained in the Annual Report of the Consultative Committee published last October following the 1953 meeting at New Delhi. The 1954 report will be published shortly after the Ottawa meetings and will be obtainable from the Department of External Affairs. The Department of External Affairs has prepared an extensive bibliography of information material on the Colombo Plan obtainable both from Canadian sources and from sources in other Colombo Plan countries. The Ottawa Information Offices of some of these countries can provide some material of this kind.

How the Colombo Plan Began

The Colombo Plan owes its name to the fact that it was initiated in Colombo, the capital of Ceylon. In January 1950, the Foreign Ministers of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom met in that city to discuss a number of political and economic matters of common interest. The Ministers, framing in the context of public affairs a proposition which is of great human significance, agreed that economic development of South and South-East Asia is vitally important to the maintenance of political stability in the countries in that area, and to the growth of an expanding world economy based on multilateral trade.

This was by no means a new idea. Its importance with respect to all the under-developed areas of the world had already been recognized in the aims of the United Nations, in the activities of its Specialized Agencies and of other United Nations organizations such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and, in the assistance programmes of national governments such as that of the United States with its Point IV programme. But up to this time the main effort had been directed toward restoring the shattered economies of European countries and other areas afflicted by the war. This in itself had channelled some aid to under-developed areas, but their need was still very great and the achievements in these areas had been relatively small.

Conditions Which the Plan was Designed to Meet

Perhaps three-quarters of the world's 2,400,000,000 people live in what we have come to call under-developed areas. It is impossible to generalize over such a wide and varied region, but some idea of the standard of living in such areas may be gained from the fact that in South Asia the average weekly food ration is about 12 ounces of grain per person, the per capita national income is well below \$100 a year and life expectancy is about half what it is in North America. Under-developed areas exist in almost every continent but most glaringly in Asia, Africa and South America. The Commonwealth Foreign Ministers concentrated on Asia—specifically that part of it commonly described as South and South-East Asia. Three-quarters of the people in this area live in Commonwealth Countries or in territories still controlled by the United Kingdom, and the whole area has long had economic relations of the first importance both with the United Kingdom and Western Europe and with North America.

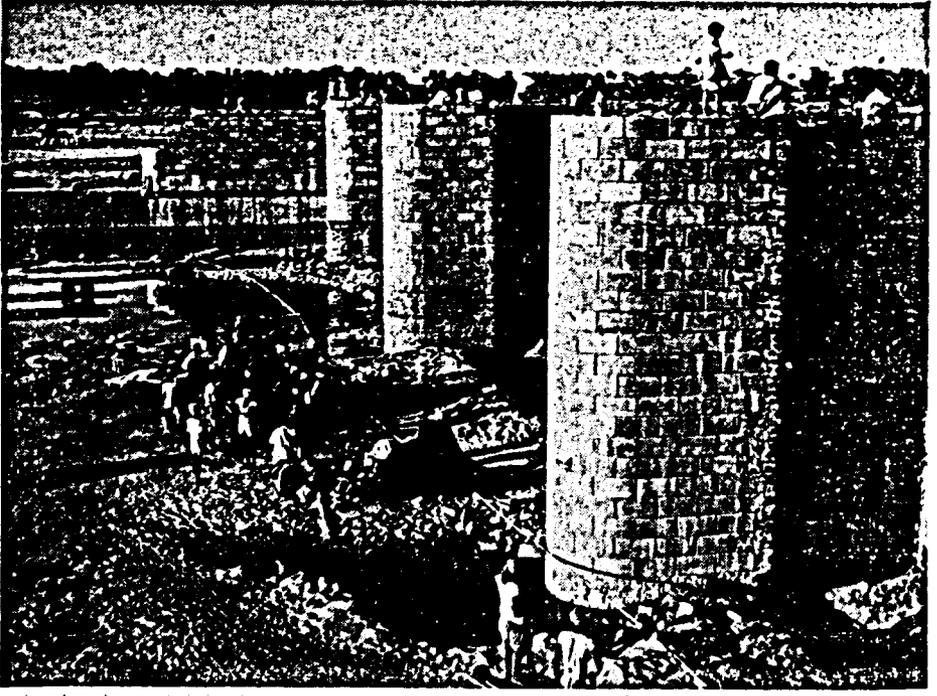
South and South-East Asia is vast enough in itself. It contains some 600,000,000 people—almost a quarter of the world's population. During the war and the years immediately following it, vast changes affecting the lives of these people took place. The first was the physical impact of the war itself. In many parts of South-East Asia, east of the Assam hills where the skeletons of tanks once readied for the Burma road may still be found rusting, the war left physical devastation and a legacy of personal misery.

The second change was psychological. There had already arisen among the peoples of this region, urgently among their leaders and dimly but persistently among the masses, an upsurge of national feeling. Peoples with ancient cultures and traditions but relatively little experience of modern self-govern-



ROAD BUILDING IN SARAWAK

Part of a thirty-mile stretch of road built to serve two oil wells in Sarawak, British North Borneo.



The Tilpara Barrage, (Mayurakshi Project).

ment had begun reaching toward national self-realization. The war and its aftermath quickened this aspiration.

This led to the third change, which was political. There are still parts of South and South-East Asia which are not self-governing—Malaya and New Guinea, for example; but enlightened efforts are being made, often in the face of enormous difficulties, to lead the peoples of these areas toward self-government. A few small states in South and South-East Asia, which never came directly under colonial rule, retain their own traditional forms of independent government, in some cases modified by the introduction of democratic processes. Thailand and Nepal, of the countries associated with the Colombo Plan, fall in this category. The Associated States of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, which we commonly cover with the name Indo-China, are emerging out of the crucible of war into a condition of independence as yet difficult to define. The Philippines, on the eastern fringe of South-East Asia, has been self-governing for several years. Perhaps the most striking political change in this area in recent years has been the emergence of five new independent countries—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. The governments of these countries, which contain the bulk of the people of the area, are all trying, in their own ways and according to their own lights, to build up stable, democratic societies and to throw off the shackles of feudalism and outmoded caste structures.

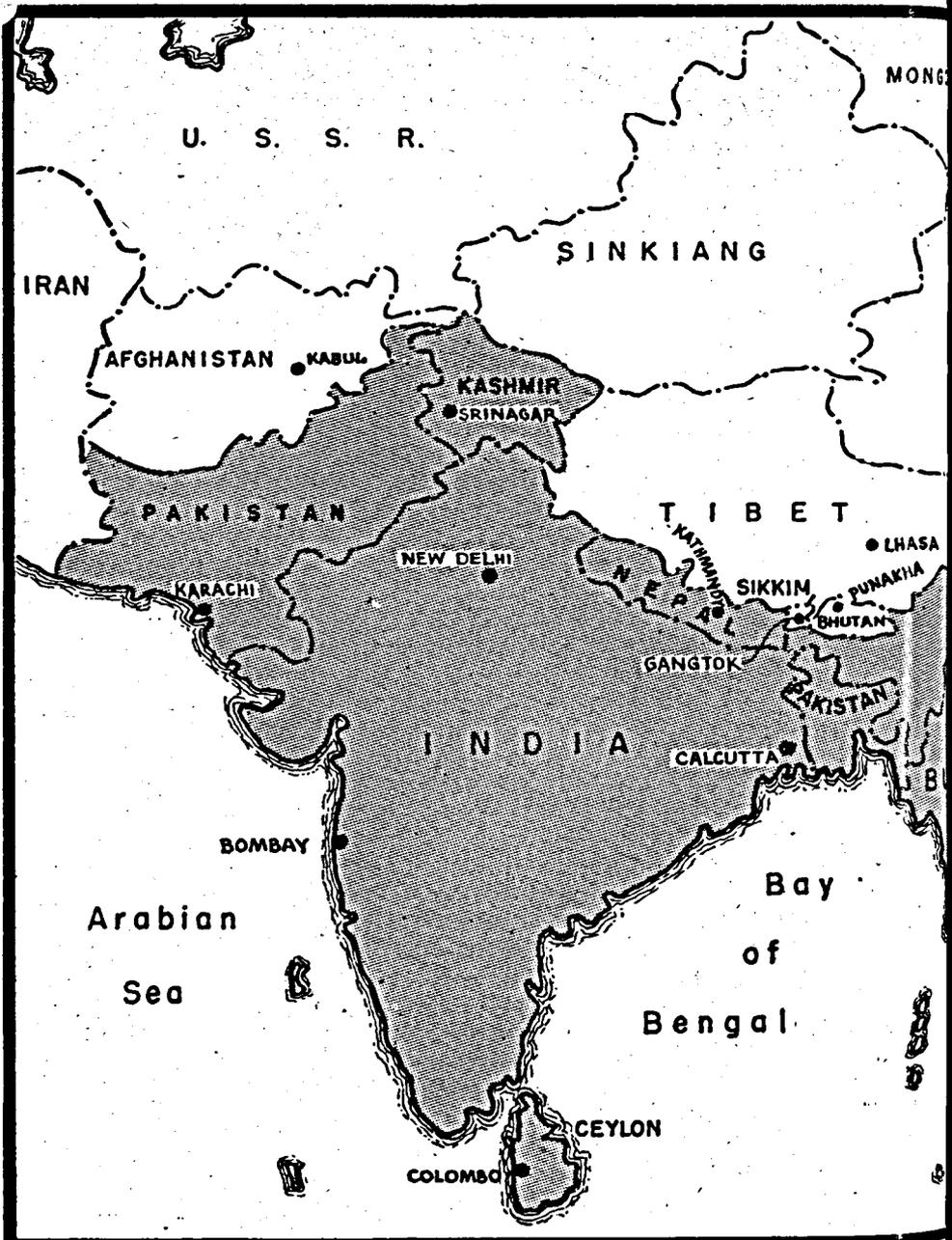
The fourth change was economic. While populations increased faster than ever, overall production of food grains failed to keep pace—partly as a result of natural calamities and because of disruptive civil wars in the main rice-producing areas, but mainly because there had been insufficient advance in agricultural methods and in systems of irrigating dry land and controlling floods to keep pace with increasing populations. At the same time the dollar surplus which the area had enjoyed before the war was replaced by a chronic dollar shortage, only intermittently relieved by demand for the area's raw materials. Also, the steady flow of capital into the area, which marked the pre-war period, dwindled, either as a result of disturbances caused by the war or because private investors became afraid to risk their savings in the face of new uncertainties.

Drawing up the Plan

These changes launched South and South-East Asia into a new era of its history. It was to the problems attendant on these changes that the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers addressed themselves in January 1950. Having agreed on the urgent need to quicken the pace of economic development, the Foreign Ministers set up a committee to consider in greater detail what might be done. This committee was and is known as the Consultative Committee on Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia, and it held its first meeting in Sydney, Australia, in May 1950.

It was decided that a comprehensive plan should be prepared, and at its next meeting in London in October 1950, the Consultative Committee drew up the Colombo Plan.* The Plan consists of a review of the conditions it is designed to meet, an outline of the development programmes of the Commonwealth countries and territories of South and South-East Asia, and an estimate

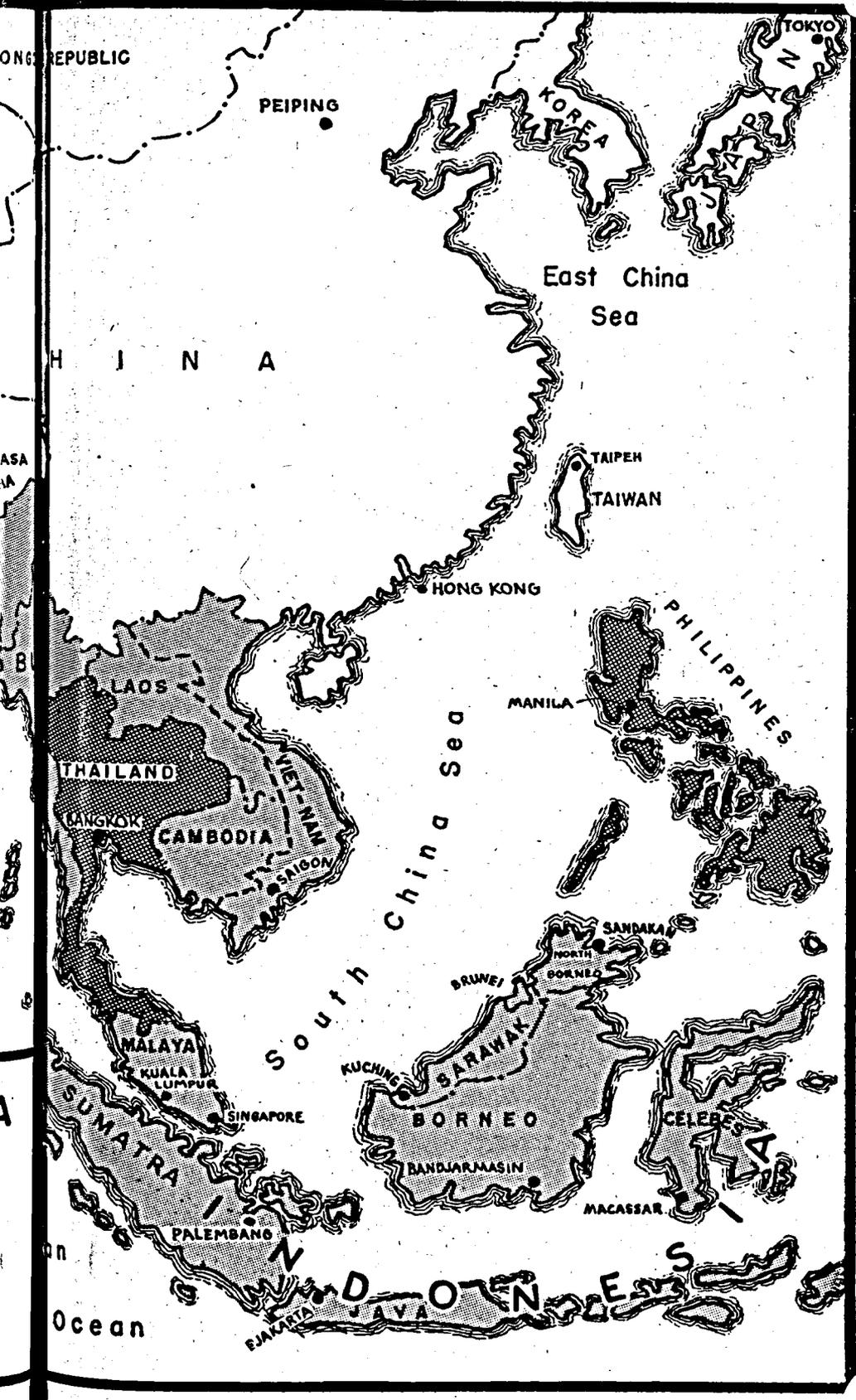
* The Plan, entitled the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia was printed by H.M. Stationery Office, London.



**COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA
THE COLOMBO PLAN AREA**

Members 
 Observers 





ONG REPUBLIC

PEIPING

TOKYO

KOREA

East China Sea

H I N A

TAIPEH

TAIWAN

HONG KONG

PHILIPPINES

MANILA

South China Sea

THAILAND

LAOS

VIETNAM

CAMBODIA

SAIGON

LANGKOK

MALAYA

KUALA LUMPUR

SINGAPORE

SUMATRA

PALEMBANG

BRUNEI

SARAWAK

BORNEO

SANDAKAN

NORTH BORNEO

KUCHING

BANDAR MASIN

CELEBES

MACASSAR

JAVANESE

Ocean

of the resources, both internal and external, needed to achieve the goals set by the Plan. This estimate could not, of course take account of subsequent changes affecting the scope and cost of individual programmes nor could it take account of the needs of countries not yet members of the Plan.

Economic development can proceed intelligently in an area as vast and complex as South and South-East Asia only if the needs and conditions are carefully studied and sensible priorities are established. The Commonwealth authors of the Plan sought from the start to draw up realistic assessments of the needs of the countries of the area and of the resources available to meet those needs. An important and integral part of this assessment was the development programmes which countries in the area were themselves drawing up or were likely to draw up if encouraged to do so.

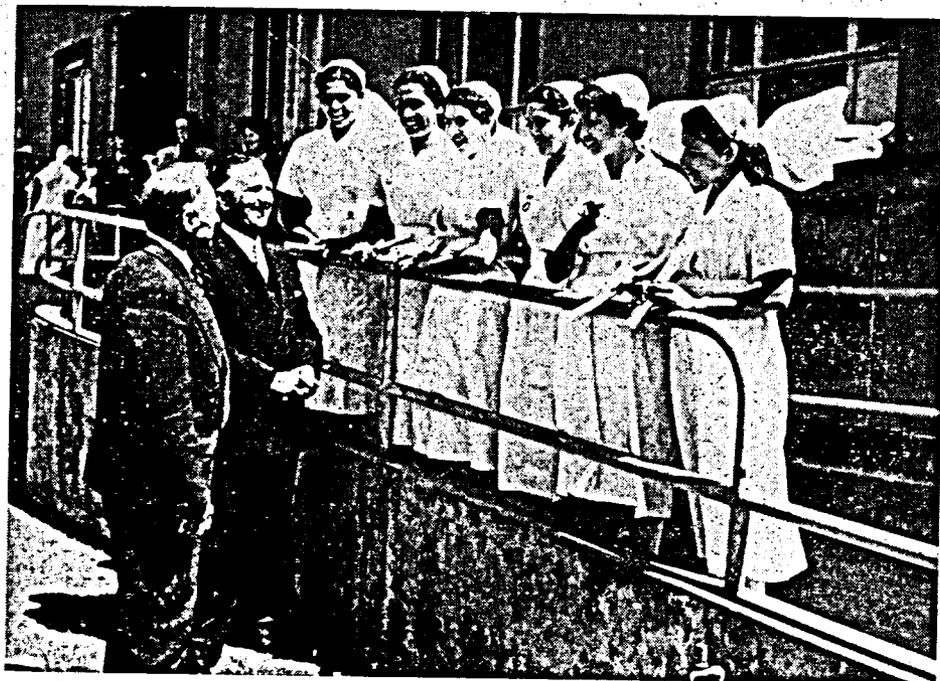
The Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, which had already made progress with development projects of their own, contributed such programmes when the Plan was first drawn up in October 1950, as did the Governments of the United Kingdom territories in the area, which also had development schemes under way. India subsequently produced a revised plan, drawn up after exhaustive consultation with state governments and interested public bodies, which is a most impressive document occupying two large volumes each the size of a Montreal telephone directory. Other governments, sometimes with the assistance of agencies such as the International Bank, are constantly striving to improve their programmes. A few, in which political conditions are unsettled, are faced with special problems and have therefore made less progress in their national planning than the others. But all are devoting increasing attention to this work.

Nature of Development Plans

The main emphasis in the development programmes of the countries of South and South-East Asia is on projects designed to increase agricultural production. These include large multi-purpose dams, small irrigation projects such as barrages, wells and pumps, community development schemes for villages, agricultural extension work, and schemes to provide farmers with seed, fertilizer, tools and so on. These are supplemented, in certain countries, by land reform measures designed to give farmers better landholding terms and better credit and marketing facilities while, it is hoped, at the same time reducing the small holdings which have plagued agriculture and introducing a measure of co-operative farming. Other development projects to which constant attention is being given include: improvement of transport and communications, increasing or initiating production of essential industrial products such as steel, cement, fertilizer, machine tools and locomotives, resettlement of homeless refugees, the provision of more widespread educational and medical facilities, and the broadening of community life in rural areas. Taken together, these objectives add up to an enlightened effort to give individuals a fuller life and to make national economies more diverse and productive.

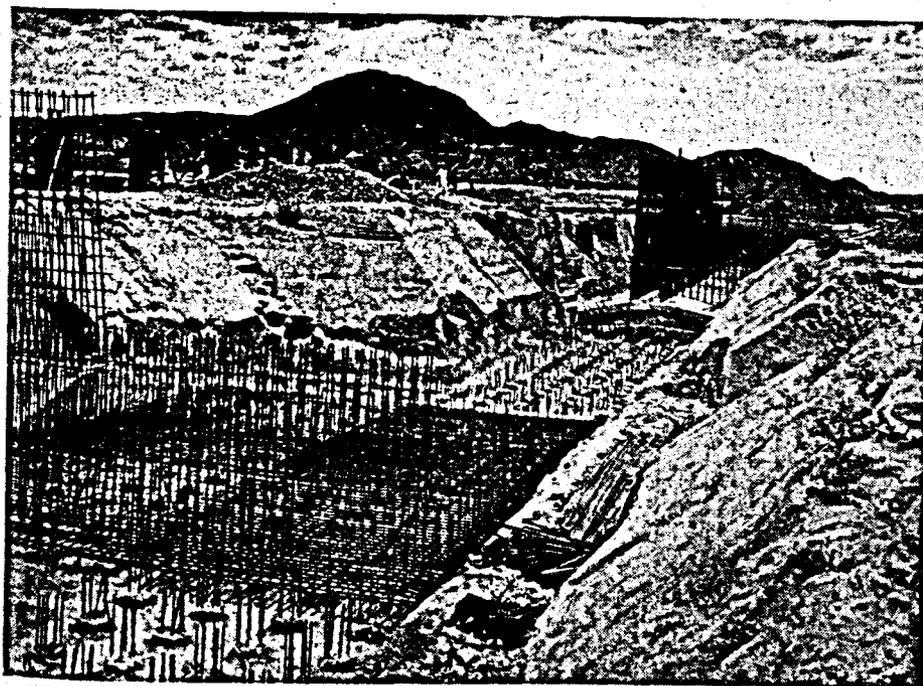
Participation by Other Governments and Agencies

When the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers launched the Plan in 1950 they hoped that it would focus world attention on the needs of South and South-East Asia and thus encourage increasing co-operative economic devel-



DENTAL NURSES GRADUATE

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. S. G. Holland, right, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. T. C. Webb, with six graduate dental nurses from Ceylon outside the Dominion Training School, Wellington, after the graduation ceremony.



DANDKAL CEMENT PROJECT, PAKISTAN

opment of the area. The Commonwealth countries were themselves embarking on a great co-operative venture but it was recognized from the start that the needs of the area are far greater than the Commonwealth alone can meet, and that Commonwealth efforts would have to be co-ordinated with the efforts of other countries and agencies already at work or likely to be at work in the area.

This wider co-operation has, up to a point, been accomplished. The United States, which since 1950 has itself operated economic assistance programmes in South and South-East Asia, has been a full member of the Consultative Committee since 1951. As was stated above, both the International Bank and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (which has done valuable statistical work on South and South-East Asia and assisted in other ways) have been regularly represented at its meetings.

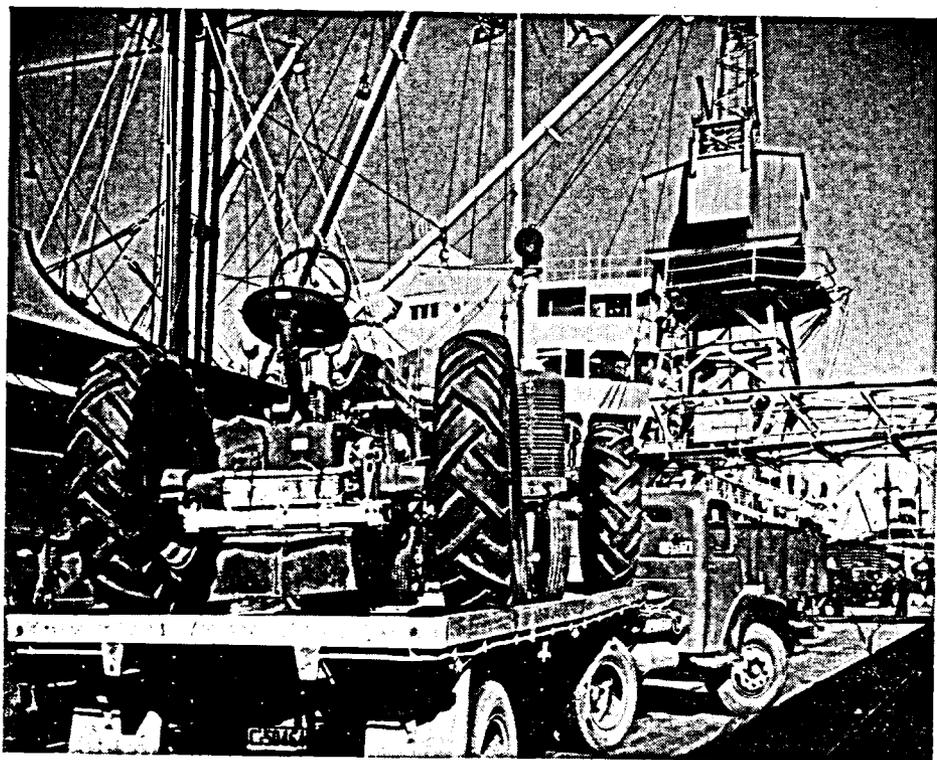
In taking their joint initiative in Colombo, the Commonwealth countries also contemplated that all countries in South and South-East Asia should be invited to participate on equal terms in whatever plan was devised. Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia and Thailand were represented by observers at the London meetings. By 1952, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and Viet-Nam had become full members and Indonesia participated as a full member at the 1953 meetings in New Delhi. Thailand had sent observers to three meetings by 1953 and the Philippines had been represented in this way at two meetings.

The Nature of the Plan Itself

The Colombo Plan is not only or even primarily an aid programme. It is the sum of the development programmes of the Asian countries which are members of the Plan, and of the aid programmes of the other member countries; in short, it is, as its full title states, a co-operative plan. Furthermore, the major burden of economic development is borne by the Asian countries themselves. They have themselves embarked on programmes of economic development and are working very hard to improve their own conditions; this is the essential basis on which the Plan rests.

At the same time they know, as do we, that they cannot achieve their objective without help from their friends — help that is urgently needed now which will be needed for the next few years at least. The pump needs to be primed. Certain economic goals such as higher national production, greater capital availability, an increased flow of foreign investment and freer trade, which it is hoped will be a secondary result of the first years' efforts to raise the living standards of the people of South and South-East Asia, will have to be realized before the countries of the area can consider themselves economically self-reliant.

The Colombo Plan, considered in both its capital assistance and technical co-operation aspects, has no permanent machinery or secretariat and no central headquarters. Special machinery exists for the handling of technical co-operation but co-ordination and orderly development in the capital field is achieved through bilateral negotiations, supplemented by consultation with others where necessary, and through the annual meetings of the Consultative Committee. There has thus grown up a flexible, pragmatic procedure which spreads among a great many governments and agencies on a continuing basis — and, once each year, on the host government and on the delegates to the Consultative Com-



AUSTRALIAN TRACTORS AND TRUCKS FOR CEYLON

—*Australian Official*

Tractors and motor-trucks being loaded at Melbourne for Ceylon under the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme.

mittee meeting. This system, by placing the emphasis on direct contacts, keeps overhead costs to a minimum and makes for a high degree of efficiency in the day-to-day operations of Colombo Plan assistance programmes.

- How Capital is Provided

How does a "donor" country, for example Canada, provide capital assistance under the Plan? First the Asian government concerned suggests to us certain projects with which it thinks we can help and we look into the matter with them and decide what we can most usefully do. In this process the authorities concerned with economic development both in the Asian country and in Canada, as well as the diplomatic missions in each country, all play a part. We have now worked out in practice a variety of methods which are flexible enough to provide for differing needs and at the same time based on mutually accepted administrative and financial principles. The Departments of External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Agriculture, National Health and Welfare and Labour, as well as such agencies as the Bank of Canada, all play a part in this work.*

* The Department of External Affairs has prepared a paper outlining the main principles which govern the provision of Canadian aid, and which also contains a summary statement of Canadian capital assistance under the plan up to the present time.

The Work of the Consultative Committee

The Consultative Committee meets once a year to review progress and future prospects and to prepare an annual report. It is, as its name implies, a "consultative" body: no collective policy decisions binding member governments are taken. The Plan was framed to cover the six-year period June 1951 to June 1957. After the meeting in London in 1950, when the Plan was drawn up, there was a meeting in Colombo in 1951. This meeting was mainly concerned with setting up the Council for Technical Co-operation. In 1952, when the Plan had been operating for about a year, it was time to have a meeting to review progress. This meeting was held in Karachi. Another meeting to review progress after two years' operations was held in New Delhi in October 1953. This year's meeting will review the situation after three years' operations.

In Ottawa, as in Karachi and New Delhi, the Ministers will review progress and future prospects, agree upon the annual report and discuss common problems. These meetings will consider both technical co-operation and capital assistance, with the main emphasis on the latter since the former is primarily in the hands of the Council for Technical Co-operation, which has already met in Colombo and will not be meeting in Ottawa.

Technical Co-operation

Colombo Plan technical aid, like capital assistance, is given bilaterally on a country-to-country basis. But the Bureau for Technical Co-operation at Colombo processes requests for such aid and endeavours to find the required assistance in other Colombo Plan countries. The members of the Council for Technical Co-operation to which the Bureau is responsible, are drawn from the permanent representatives of Colombo Plan countries in Ceylon. The Director of the Bureau is an official specially seconded to the post from one of the Colombo Plan countries. The present Director is an Australian. The Colombo Plan technical assistance programme is regarded as supplementary to the work being done by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and by Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, such as the WHO and FAO.

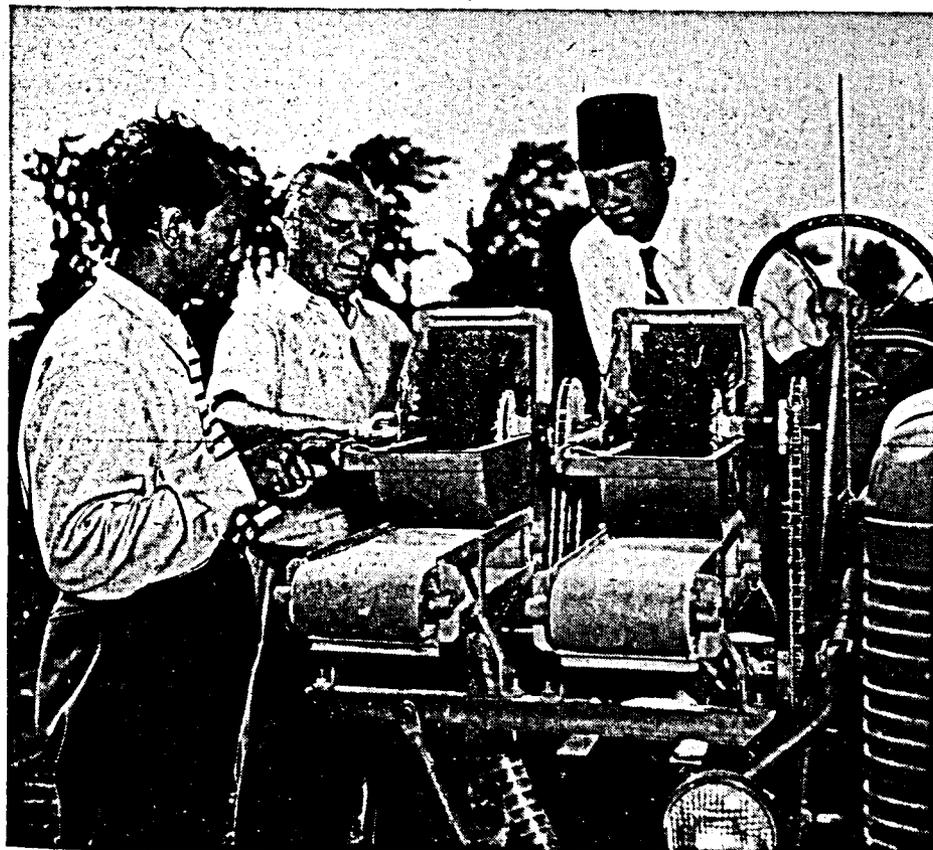
The Information Unit

The Colombo Plan now has an Information Unit in Colombo. The Information Officer, like the Director of the Bureau for Technical Co-operation, is an official specially seconded from one of the Colombo Plan countries. The present Information Officer is an Indian. The Unit assists member governments to publicize what is being done under the Colombo Plan, and is beginning to supplement their work with information material of its own.

A Meeting Ground for Asia and the West

The Colombo Plan has brought an increasingly large number of westerners and Asians together and enabled them to learn more of each others' ways of thinking and working. The annual meetings of the Consultative Committee are one example of this. The various technical co-operation schemes also bring about this desirable result. We give Asians material assistance and technical know-how, but, in doing so, we always try to remember that Asians

have their own ways, some long established, some as modern as our own, of tackling their own problems and that we on our part have a great deal to learn from them. Essentially the Colombo Plan is an expression of friendship, of co-operation between peoples in two widely separated parts of a shrinking world who are coming increasingly to realize that their welfare is interdependent.



—Capital Press

CANADIAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. Purbadwijoyo, left, and Mr. Siswadi, of Indonesia, watch a demonstration at the Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa, of a fertilizer metering attachment for use on tobacco. In the centre is Mr. L.E. Gilmore of the Tobacco Division, Experimental Farms Service.

The Canada-United States Committee on Education

By J. B. Edmonson*, Dean-Emeritus, School of Education, University of Michigan and Charles E. Phillips, Professor of Education, University of Toronto, Co-Chairmen of the Canada-United States Committee on Education.

IN the spring of 1944, a few educators from Canada and the United States held conversations about the development of stronger educational bulwarks for safeguarding the friendly relations between the two countries. These conversations led to the formation in the autumn of 1944 of the non-governmental Canada-United States Committee on Education. This Committee has been sponsored in the United States by the American Council on Education, and in Canada by the Canadian Education Association in co-operation with the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the National Conference of Canadian Universities.

To perpetuate good will through a positive programme of education is the primary aim of the Canada-United States Committee on Education which has now completed its tenth year. There are twenty members of the Committee, ten from each country. The officers are a chairman and secretary from each nation. These and other Committee members serve without compensation. The ten Canadian members of the Committee are as follows: Mr. G. G. Campbell, Principal, Sydney Academy, Sydney, Nova Scotia; Dr. Myrtle Conway, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Mr. L. John Prior, President Canadian Teachers' Federation, South Burnaby, B.C.; Dr. O. J. Desaulniers, Superintendent of Education, Quebec; Dr. N. A. M. MacKenzie, President, University of British Columbia; Abbé Arthur Maheux, Archivist, Laval University, Quebec; Mr. A. R. McCallum, Deputy Minister of Education, Regina, Saskatchewan; Dr. G. A. Frecker, Deputy Minister of Education, St. John's, Newfoundland; Dr. Charles E. Phillips, Professor of Education, University of Toronto; and Mr. F. K. Stewart, Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association. Since the Committee was organized, seven meetings of the full Committee have been held. Three of these meetings have been held in cities in the United States and four in Canada. The last meeting was held in Toronto in December 1953. Between committee meetings the work is carried on by the Executive Committee consisting of the co-chairmen and the co-secretaries.

Committee Projects

The Committee's primary objective of strengthening the bonds between the two countries is furthered by such undertakings as the following:

1. Studies are sponsored relating to attitudes and practices that might build good relationships or threaten such relationships, especially those that might influence instructional programmes of the schools and colleges of the two countries.
2. Efforts are made to increase the amount of instruction about Canada

* It is deeply regretted that shortly after this article was written, Dean Edmonson died suddenly on June 4.

in the schools and colleges of the United States, especially in those educational institutions where Canada is less well known.

3. Exchanges of teachers and students are promoted as well as visits by educators to the other country.
4. The exchange of instructional materials, including films, recordings, book lists, art exhibits, and other materials conducive to understanding the neighboring country is encouraged.

Clearing House for Information

The Committee also serves as a clearing house for information on educational needs and problems of Canada and the United States. The Committee has produced a number of articles published in Canadian and American periodicals, and several pamphlets reporting special studies. Two of the best known of these are: *A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States* (1947) and *The Growth of Peaceful Settlement Between Canada and the United States* by G. W. Brown (1948). In 1951 an extensive study of the news published in representative newspapers of the two countries was conducted for the Committee by the Ryerson Institute of Technology and the University of Michigan School of Journalism. A pamphlet outlining the similarities and differences in the governments of Canada and the United States is now in draft form.

In recent years the Canada-United States Committee has made a special effort to acquaint the people of the United States with the distinctive character of the culture of the Canadian people and their independence as a nation, as well as to give Canadians a clearer insight into some of the more perplexing problems of their neighbour to the south.

Early in June 1953 a project to identify the significant values which are common to the people of the two neighbouring nations was undertaken. This project was made possible by a small grant to the American Council on Education by the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation. The plans for the study were made by the Executive Committee of the Canada-United States Committee on Education with the help of President Arthur Adams of the American Council on Education. Mr. Dennis Wrong, a native of Canada and recently a resident in the United States, was selected to carry out the study. He is the son of the late Hume Wrong, who, after a number of years as Canadian Ambassador to the United States, was appointed Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs shortly before his death.

Mr. Wrong made an analysis of the writings of statesmen, historians, and sociologists, as well as a study of popular writings, which related to the ideals and values of Canada and the United States. His study is now being completed and may subsequently be published. It is anticipated that it will be of much interest to scholars in both countries; its primary purpose, however, is to assist in planning testing programmes designed to improve instructional materials of schools and colleges.

In May 1954, the Executive Committee, in co-operation with a joint committee of the Chambers of Commerce of Canada and the United States, began an inquiry relating to the aims and activities of about fifty non-governmental organizations and committees concerned with the mutual problems of the

two nations. The possible values of a conference of these agencies is also being considered. It is believed that such a conference might help to identify the more effective means of strengthening the friendly ties between the two countries.

Financial Support

In the past years financial support for the work of the Committee has been received chiefly from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Special projects have been financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York; the Marshall Field Foundation and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In Canada, the Committee has also received some financial assistance from the Canadian Citizenship Council, (formerly the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship) and valuable office services from the Canadian Education Association. While the Committee has made significant contributions with limited financial support, the matter of finances has frequently constituted a problem.

In a publication issued by UNESCO in July 1953, the following comment was made on the Canada-United States Committee on Education:

"This Committee has many interesting features. To begin with it is the first of its kind to have achieved tangible results since the end of the Second World War." (*Educational Studies and Documents* No. IV. p. 6).

The foregoing appraisal would seem to justify continued efforts by the Committee to promote its primary objective.

By virtue of geographic contiguity, of common elements in tradition, and of similarity in convictions and ideals and interests, the United States and Canada are drawn together by multiple ties. The two countries have striking similarities and significant differences, and each strongly influences the welfare of the other. There is a strong tradition of good will and co-operation between the two countries. To perpetuate that good will through a positive program for increased mutual understanding and respect is a responsibility that the educational and cultural agencies of both countries cannot avoid.

International Bureau of Education

Official Opening of New Canadian Exhibit

A new Canadian exhibit located at the International Bureau of Education at Geneva Switzerland, was officially opened on July 8, 1954, during the XVIIth International Conference on Public Education. The Canadian delegates to this Conference were Dr. W. H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education for the Province of Alberta and Vice-President of the Canadian Education Association, and Mr. L. J. Prior, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Statements at the opening ceremony were made by Dr. Swift, who officially opened the exhibit, and by Mr. Hector Allard, the Canadian Permanent Delegate to the European Office of the United Nations. Dr. Swift spoke as follows:

I am pleased indeed to be a representative of Canada the year that our new exhibit is officially opened. I understand that in years past our display has done us very much less than justice, which fact was reported by my predecessors here, Dr. L. W. Shaw of Prince Edward Island in 1952, and Dr. B. O. Filteau from the French speaking Province of Quebec, who was here a year ago.

In part at least this was due to the fact, to which I referred before the assembly of delegates, that we have no national ministry or office of education which might assume responsibility.



—G. G. Vuarchex

CANADIAN EXHIBIT OPENED

Present at the official opening of the new Canadian Exhibit at the International Bureau of Education at Geneva were, left to right: Dr. W. H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta and Vice-President of the Canadian Education Association; Dr. J. Piaget, Director of the International Bureau of Education; Mr. P. Rossello, Assistant Director of the International Bureau of Education.

The Canadian Education Association, of which I am currently vice-president, interested itself in this matter and with the great assistance of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, and of Mr. Hector Allard, who is the Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations here at Geneva, the present display was produced.

Canada is a country of two chief languages and culture. It is a land of great cities and of lonely hinterlands. It encompasses vast distances and its people pursue many occupations. For these reasons its educational needs are many and must be met by varied sorts of schools and school programs. To illustrate them here is quite impossible.

It would be fair to say, I think, that in Canada we are attempting to retain the undoubted values of education as it has been known through the centuries, and as it has come to us from the older civilizations, especially of this continent in which we now are, and at the same time to adapt it to our own circumstances and a rapidly changing society. It must fit our own emerging nationhood.

It is our intention to effect some changes in our exhibit from year to year and to this end a ten-year schedule has been drafted. During that period, while certain essentials in the nature of books, statistics, and general information will remain, there will pass before those whose good fortune it is to visit this world centre of educational thought and development, illustration of many aspects of our school system.

By way of general observation relative to exhibits may I say that I regret that we all find it easy to show books, buildings, and objects, metalwork, statistics and other concrete objects, but not some of those highly important things referred to by many of the delegates. I refer to processes of thought, development of character, the intimate relationship which exists between a good teacher and a child, and other intangible matters. We have these things also in Canada. If any of you discover how to include a representation of these in a display, please let us know.

May I thank you for doing my country the honour of attending here today. I take great pleasure in declaring, in your presence, that this exhibit is officially open.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to home leave, effective July 11, 1954.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory and Control Commissions, Indochina, effective August 1, 1954.
- Mr. R. A. Farquharson was appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Information Adviser to the Ambassador, Canadian Embassy, Washington D.C., effective August 9, 1954.
- Miss M. A. MacPherson was posted from home leave (Washington) to Ottawa, effective August 10, 1954.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from National Defence College Kingston, to Ottawa, effective August 16, 1954.
- Mr. D. Stansfield was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective August 19, 1954.
- Mr. H. F. Davis was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 22, 1954.
- Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 23, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective August 23, 1954.
- Mr. R. V. Gorham was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 24, 1954.
- Mr. R. Duder was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 25, 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Thurrott was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. L. Delisle was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Kilgour was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective August 31, 1954.
- Mr. Joseph Ernest Gilles Lande joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade 1 on August 3, 1954.
- Mr. Thomas Maurice du Monceau Pope joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade 1 on August 9, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

- Budget Estimates for the financial year 1955 and Information Annex. A/2647.* New York, 1954. Pp. 107. \$1.25. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 5.
- Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A/2648.* New York, 1954. Pp. 24. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 13.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 1 July 1953 - 30 June 1954. A/2663. New York, 1954. Pp. 120. \$1.25. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly. A/2666. New York, 1954. Pp. 39. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 14.

Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions—Second Report to the Ninth Session of the General Assembly. A/2688. New York, 1954. Pp. 45. 50 cents. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 7.

Elements of Immigration Policy. ST/SOA/19. New York, 1954. Pp. 21. Sales No.: 1954.IV.2.

Multilingual demographic dictionary (Provisory edition, June 1954). ST/SOA/Series A (Population Studies, No. 19. Pp. 73.

Sex and age of International Migrants: Statistics for 1918-1947. ST/SOA/Series A/11. New York, January 1953. Pp. 281 (bilingual). \$3.00. Sales No.: 1953.IV.15.

Practical results and financial aspects of adult probation in selected countries. ST/SOA/SD/3. May 1954. Pp. 112. 75 cents. Sales No.: 1954.IV.14.

ILO—*Eighth Report of the International Labour Organization to the United Nations*, 1954. Geneva, 1954. Pp. 332.

ILO—*Higher Productivity in Manufacturing industries*. (Studies and Reports, New Series No. 38). Geneva, 1954. Pp. 194.

ITO—*International Trade 1953*. Geneva, June 1954. Pp. 141. Sales No.: GATT/1954-3. \$1.50.

UNESCO

Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific—Report of the Bombay Con-

ference, December 1952. (Studies on Compulsory Education—XIII). Paris, May 1954. Pp. 157. \$1.00.

The Education of Women for Citizenship—Some practical suggestions. By Marjorie Tait. (Problems in Education Series). Paris, April 1954. Pp. 105. \$1.00.

Basic Facts and Figures. Illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, film, radio and television. Paris, April 1954. Pp. 84. \$1.00.

The University teaching of social science—Political science. Report prepared by William A. Robson. Paris, 1954. Pp. 249. \$1.00.

Inventories of apparatus and materials for teaching science. Vol. III, Part 4: Technical Colleges—Electrical Engineering. Paris, June 1954. Pp. 147. \$2.75.

Secondary teachers' salaries (XVIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1954). Pp. 289. \$2.00. UNESCO, Paris/Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 157.

Secondary teacher training (XVIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1954). Pp. 202. \$1.75. UNESCO, Paris/Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 155.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Nationality including statelessness—Survey of the problem of multiple nationality (Prepared by the Secretariat). A/CN.4/84. 14 May 1954. Pp. 149.

Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its sixth session. A/CN.4/88. 5 August 1954. Pp. 60.

Report of the Inter-American Peace Committee on the Dispute between Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. S/3287. 13 July 1954. (Washington, D.C., 8 July 1954). Pp. 75.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

October 1954

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa.

Trieste

THE City of Trieste, with the best harbour facilities in the Adriatic and an industrious and skilled population, is located at the base of one of the strategically and economically most important areas in Europe. It was for a century the main port and naval base of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, as such, served the vast hinterland of Central Europe. Its inhabitants, mostly Italians with a Slovene minority, owed their prosperity to the Austrian Empire, and economic self-interest moderated their predominantly Italian nationalism. They considered themselves to be citizens of an Italian city-state owing allegiance to the Austrian Emperor.

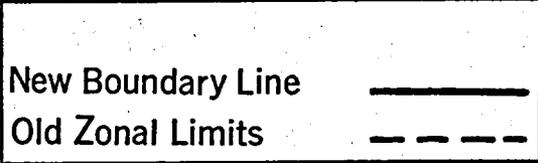
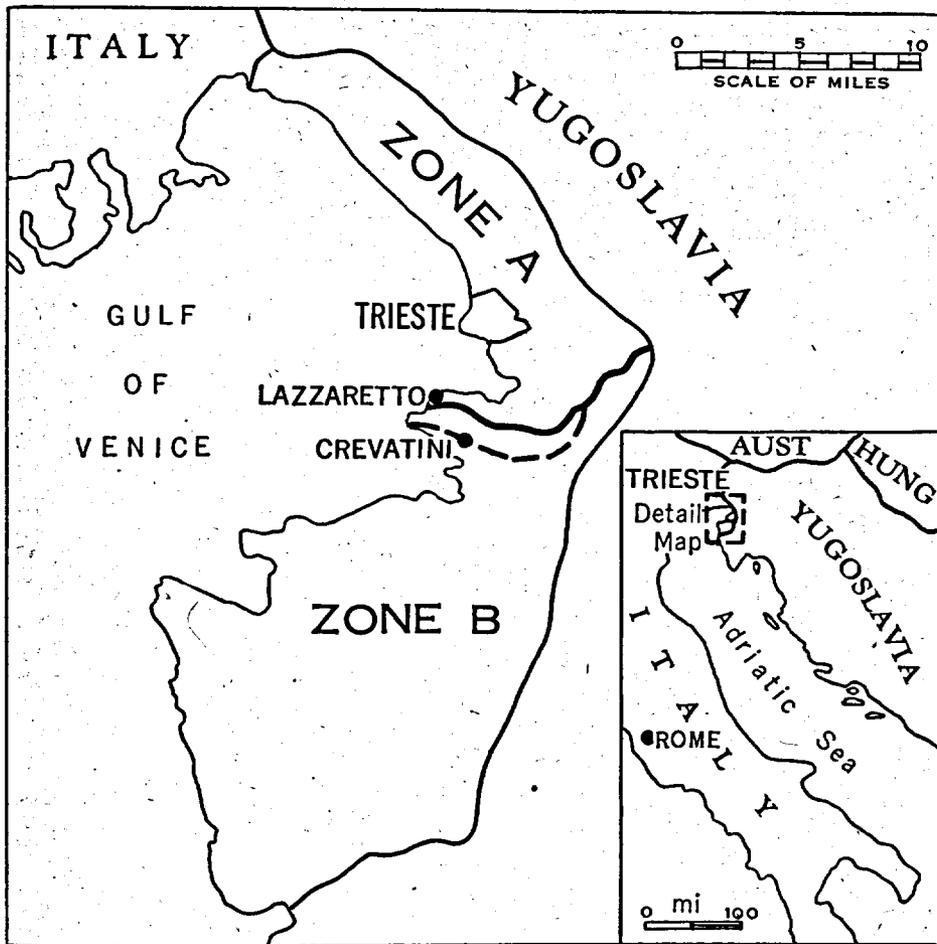
After the First World War, Trieste and the Istrian peninsula to the south-east of it were separated from Austria and ceded to Italy. The union was acclaimed by Italian nationalists, but the main *raison d'être* of the city disappeared. While Trieste was part of Austria, Venice had been the major Italian port in the Adriatic and it was difficult after 1919 to reverse this. The new state of Czechoslovakia tended to direct its overseas trade through Hamburg while Yugoslavia used ports on its own littoral. Post-war Austria could not provide the trade to keep the port of Trieste employed at previous levels. As a result Trieste lost much of its former importance.

Military Administration Set Up

At the end of the Second World War, the province of Trieste was claimed by Yugoslavia for ethnic reasons and as compensation for the damage caused by the Italian occupation of Slovenia and Croatia. Yugoslav forces occupied the territory and Marshal Tito voiced his determination to incorporate it into Yugoslavia. With equal determination Italy protested against the annexation of the Istrian peninsula and especially the city of Trieste. The Allied armies in Italy, wishing to have the question settled at the Peace Conference and to avoid any attempt at settlement by force, persuaded the Yugoslav forces to withdraw from the predominantly Italian part of the territory and an Allied Military Administration was set up in this region pending a final settlement of the dispute, the line of demarcation being known as the Morgan Line. The city of Trieste was placed under Allied administration, while the part of the province east of that line was left under Yugoslav control without prejudice to the ultimate disposal of that area.

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1946 the U.S.S.R. backed Yugoslavia's claims to the whole territory under dispute. The Western Powers were prepared to compromise but refused to consider assigning purely Italian areas to Yugoslavia. The Conference finally decided that the largest part of the Istrian peninsula, including the largely Italian cities in Western Istria and the naval base of Pola, should be given to Yugoslavia. The rest of the province was assigned to Italy except the city of Trieste and its immediate neighbourhood which, by way of compromise, was to be made a Free Territory.

The decisions of the Conference with respect to Trieste were embodied in Annexes to the Italian Peace Treaty, the principal ones being entitled: the



Permanent Statute of the Free Territory of Trieste, the Instrument for the Provisional Regime of the Free Territory of Trieste, and the Instrument for the Free Port of Trieste. Under the Permanent Statute, the Security Council of the United Nations, after consultation with Italy and Yugoslavia, was to appoint a Governor over the Free Territory. His term of office was to be five years and his salary was to be borne by the United Nations. He was to have wide discretionary powers in the administration of the Territory and was to be responsible to the Security Council. Provision was made for a Constitution, for a popularly-elected Constituent Assembly, for a responsible Council of Government, and for a free and independent judiciary. Until the Governor's appointment, the Permanent Statute of the Free Territory was to remain in abeyance and the administration of the Territory was to be governed by the Instrument

for the Provisional Regime. This Instrument provided for the temporary administration of the area, pending the appointment of a Governor, by the Allied Military Commands in their respective zones—the United Kingdom and the United States in Zone A, and Yugoslavia in Zone B. Troops stationed in the Free Territory were not to exceed 5,000 men for the United Kingdom, 5,000 for the United States and 5,000 for Yugoslavia.

These Peace Conference decisions concerning Trieste resulted in placing a territory of 86 square miles under United Kingdom and United States administration in Zone A, with a population of 299,000 persons, and placing a territory of 199 square miles under Yugoslav administration in Zone B, with a population of 73,500 persons. The city of Trieste itself became a part of Zone A. Ethnically, according to earlier censuses, Yugoslavs predominated in the coast between the Italian border and Trieste City in Zone A and also in the hinterland of Zones A and B, while the Italians predominated in Trieste City (comprising four-fifths of its population of approximately 250,000) and in the towns on the coast of Zone B.

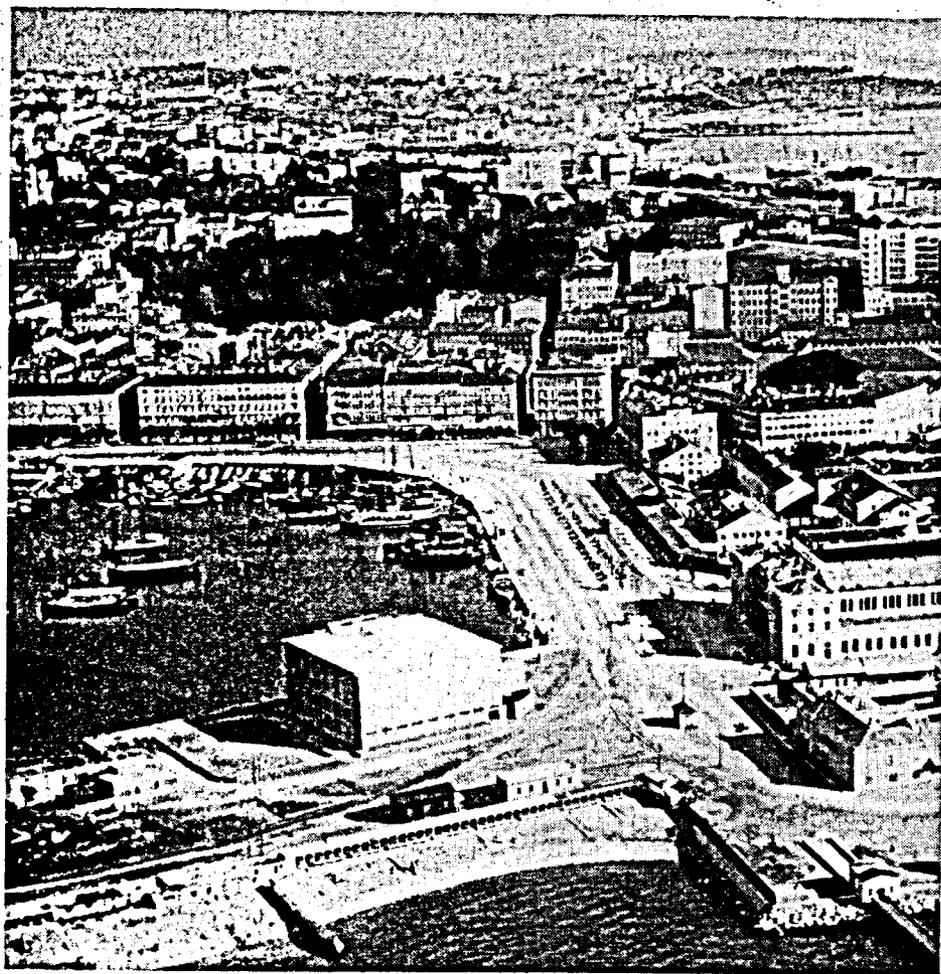
The Security Council first discussed the question of the appointment of a Governor for Trieste on June 20, 1947. A number of candidates for the post were nominated in subsequent meetings by various members of the Council, but none was acceptable to all five permanent members. In December 1947, the Security Council asked Italy and Yugoslavia to consult upon a candidate and report the results of their consultation. However, the nominees of neither State proved acceptable to the other, and the Security Council made further attempts at agreement on a candidate. After these efforts proved unsuccessful, the Security Council suspended discussion of the governorship of Trieste.

Three Power Proposal

Following this, the United Kingdom, the United States and France on March 20, 1948, proposed the return to Italy of the whole of the Free Territory, claiming that the economic and social measures taken by Yugoslavia in Zone B had made it virtually impossible for any Governor to carry out the tasks envisaged for him in the Peace Treaty and that it would, therefore, now be impossible to set up a viable Free Territory. On April 5, 1948, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced Canada's support of this Three-Power proposal.

Trieste was again discussed in the Security Council in 1949 when the U.S.S.R. tabled a resolution calling for the immediate appointment of a Governor for the Free Territory. The position of the Western countries was that the provisions of the Peace Treaty respecting the Free Territory had become unworkable because of the difficulties of agreeing with the U.S.S.R. on a Governor and because of the virtual administrative incorporation of Zone B in Yugoslavia. On May 10, 1949, the Council put to a vote the U.S.S.R. resolution, which was rejected by 2 in favour (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.), with 9 abstentions (including Canada).

After the rift in 1948 between Yugoslavia and the other Communist states who were members of the Cominform, efforts were made to have the Trieste question solved through bilateral negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia.



THE PORT OF TRIESTE

These efforts had the support of the United Kingdom and the United States, who were anxious to explore all possible means of improving relations between Italy and Yugoslavia and thus strengthening the security of the Western world. Numerous proposals were made by both sides during the five-year period from 1948 to 1953, but in every case the proposals of each side proved unacceptable to the other. These proposals included such arrangements as a division along the existing Zone A-Zone B frontier, an ethnic solution, a plebiscite, internationalization of Trieste through its administration by a group of powers, a condominium in Trieste by Italy and Yugoslavia jointly, etc.

Finally, in the summer of 1953, the situation deteriorated. Public speeches made in Yugoslavia and Italy showed that both sides were still as far from agreement as ever. On August 28, a *YUGO PRESS* communiqué dealt with the necessity of re-examining Yugoslavia's position in view of Italian actions in Zone A. This gave rise to Italian fears of a Yugoslav threat to Zone B. Italy moved troops to its eastern frontier with Yugoslavia, and concentrated naval

vessels at Venice. A later Yugoslav announcement on August 31, denying that Yugoslavia had any intention to annex Zone B, helped reduce the temperature somewhat. Nevertheless, in a speech on September 6, Marshal Tito advocated the cession of the whole Slovene hinterland of the territory of Trieste to Yugoslavia, and the internationalization of Trieste City. This was answered by a speech by the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Pella, calling for a plebiscite for the Free Territory as a whole.

Memorandum of Understanding

In the belief that the deadlock should be broken, the United Kingdom and the United States Governments announced, on October 8, that they had decided to terminate Allied Military Government in Zone A, to withdraw their troops, and, bearing in mind the predominantly Italian character of Zone A, to transfer the administration of that zone to the Italian Government. Unfortunately, the reaction of Italy and Yugoslavia to the United Kingdom-United States announcement was such that the two administering powers could not withdraw, but they continued their efforts to find a solution acceptable to both countries. Early in 1954 negotiations were begun in London between the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy and Yugoslavia and were successfully ended on October 5, 1954 with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding by representatives of the four governments.

The underlying basis of the settlement reached in London was that it had proved impossible to put into effect the provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty relating to Trieste and that the United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav Governments could not be expected to continue indefinitely a military occupation which was intended to be temporary. Among other things, the Memorandum provided for:

- (a) the termination of military government in Zones A and B of the Territory;
- (b) the division of the territory between Italy and Yugoslavia approximately along the zonal boundary with boundary adjustments in the neighbourhood of the village of Lazzaretto;
- (c) the extension of civil administration by Italy and Yugoslavia over the areas for which they will have responsibility;
- (d) the maintenance on a non-discriminatory basis, of the city of Trieste as a free port;
- (e) guarantees of the rights of Italian and Yugoslav minorities left under alien jurisdiction by the agreement.

The Memorandum further provided for the communication of the terms of the agreement to the Security Council.

It had been Canada's interest to see an amicable settlement reached on the problem of Trieste by Italy and Yugoslavia. The signing of the Memorandum of Understanding by removing this source of friction, opens the way to closer co-operation between Italy and Yugoslavia, and thus will contribute greatly to the strengthening of the welfare and security of the free world.

The Work of the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China

Text of a radio interview with Mr. Sherwood Lett, Canadian Representative on the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam, by Mr. W. J. Herbert of CBC network on Monday, September 27, 1954.

Mr. Herbert:

Would you outline the task undertaken by Canada in Indo-China?

Mr. Lett:

Canada is one of three countries which has accepted the invitation of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China to form International Supervisory Commissions to supervise the carrying out of the three cease-fire agreements for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The other two countries are India and Poland. There will be three separate commissions, with representatives of the three nations sitting on them. As the Canadian representative on the International Commission for Vietnam, I will be concerned only with the implementation of the cease-fire agreement in that state, which is the eastern-most, and most heavily populated of the three states.

Mr. Herbert:

What does the agreement call for, Mr. Lett?

Mr. Lett:

The Vietnam agreement provides for the removal of French and Vietnamese troops from that part of Vietnam which is North of the military demarcation line of the 17th parallel, and the removal of Viet Minh troops from South Vietnam. The agreement also contains provisions for the transfer of civil authority, release of prisoners and civilian internees, and the introduction into the country of military personnel, and of all kinds of arms, munitions and war materials.

I should like to make it clear that the functions of the commission are supervisory, judicial and mediatory. It can make recommendations but cannot of itself enforce recommendations that it may make. The Commission is required to set up fixed and mobile inspection teams, made up of an equal number of officers appointed by the three countries concerned. These military teams under the direction of the commission, will do much of the actual work of supervising the movement of troops into the provisional assembly areas and re-grouping zones, the rotation of military personnel, and the introduction of military supplies and equipment into the country. They'll also hold on-the-spot investigations into any incidents or alleged breach of the cease-fire agreement by either side.

I should have mentioned that if one of the parties refuses to put into effect a recommendation of the commission, the commission reports the circumstances to the Geneva Conference powers.

Mr. Herbert:

What's the size of the Canadian staff required for the task?

Mr. Lett:

At the present time the number of Canadian military personnel in Indo-China is about 120 officers and men and about 20 civilians, for a total of 140. Canada also has one Deputy Secretary-General on the international secretariat of the Commission, and will also have to provide some interpreters for the inspection teams.

Mr. Herbert:

Which of the three kingdoms will give the greatest difficulty in your opinion?

Mr. Lett:

At the present moment, I would say Vietnam. This country has been the main battleground of the war and the bulk of the military forces involved are there. Regrouping these forces is probably the biggest task and hence is probably the biggest trouble potential. Furthermore, the Vietnam agreement provides for a less permanent type of settlement than the agreements for Laos and Cambodia. In those two countries the Viet Minh forces are to be removed and the local resistance forces are to be "absorbed" into the national community. The cease-fire agreements imply no changes in the existing governmental structure of these two countries. But in Vietnam, the agreement provides for a cease-fire only, and even if it is successfully implemented without serious incident, it will leave very difficult political problems in its wake. Time alone will tell how it will work out.

Mr. Herbert:

What, in your opinion, will be the hardest problems to solve in Vietnam?

Mr. Lett:

I expect the most difficult task in Vietnam will be to build up an attitude of trust and good faith between the French and the Viet Minh. After the long and bitter war in Indo-China, it would not be surprising if the two sides regard each other with some suspicion and have some doubts about the other's good faith with respect to carrying out the terms of the cease-fire agreement. But, so long as they both are determined to see that the job is carried out, our task should not be too difficult. But there's another problem too. I understand the cease-fire agreement was drafted in some haste, and I imagine that experience will show us that in some places the terms of the agreement are not clear. In these instances, we on the commission will have to reach an agreed interpretation and persuade both sides to accept it. So long as the commission is able to decide unanimously on a proper interpretation of the agreement, things should go reasonably well. If, however, one of the members of the commission does not agree with the interpretation advocated by the other two, there will undoubtedly be greater difficulty in persuading both sides to accept the commission's interpretation. There are some provisions in the agreement which may be difficult to carry out. For instance, Article 14 provides among other things that each party will refrain from any reprisal or discrimination against persons or organizations, on account of their activities during the war, and to guarantee their democratic liberties. It also provides that any civilians residing in a district controlled by one party, who wish to move to the other zone, should be helped to do so by the authorities in that district. The agreement, in fact, calls on both parties to do certain things, which in light of the unsettled con-

ditions on both sides of the cease-fire line, may seem to them to cut across their own security arrangements, in areas which have recently been the scene of bitter fighting. Furthermore, neither party can be expected to be too enthusiastic about the exodus of large numbers of inhabitants from areas they've just taken over. The requirements of the agreements, though, are quite clear, and the International Commission will have to see to it that the local residents are fully aware of their rights, and that they are permitted to take advantage of them. It will be the job of each of the commissioners to do his best to interpret the terms of the agreement justly and fairly, and that is what I intend to do.

Mr. Herbert:

What is the relationship of the commission to the great powers which took part in the Geneva conference? And . . . do you expect any interference from them?

Mr. Lett:

The International Commission is responsible only to the Geneva Conference Powers. It has no executive responsibility. If either side refuses to carry out our recommendations, then we simply report to the Geneva Powers. Similarly, if the commission is hindered in its work it must report to the Geneva Powers. In certain situations where a violation is considered likely to start the war again, then the Commission must take a recommendation by unanimous vote. If, however, we cannot reach unanimity in these cases, then we submit majority and minority reports to the members of the Geneva Conference, for the conference powers to work out a solution. I imagine that the Geneva Conference powers may make known their views on the situation in Indo-China generally and on the implementation of the agreement. But this I wouldn't classify necessarily as "interference". I trust—and I'm sure the Canadian Government hopes—that the commission will not become a new cockpit for the struggle between East and West. The Commission has been set up to do a specific job, and it is the view of the Canadian Government that everything possible should be done to ensure that the Commission sticks to this job, and does not become involved in side issues.

Mr. Herbert:

What will India's role be in the truce supervision, Mr. Lett?

Mr. Lett:

The Indian representative is chairman of the supervisory commission. I have no doubt that he will, like myself, do his best to interpret the cease-fire agreement in as fair and just a manner as possible. The representatives on this commission, will, like judges in any courts, likely reflect their different cultural and social backgrounds. In this case, they will likely reflect in some measure the views and policies of their governments. I'm sure that India, like Canada, is anxious to see the settlement for Indo-China maintained as a first step towards establishing peace and security in Southeast Asia. Indian and Canadian foreign policies differ on some points, though our ultimate objectives are similar. I don't think, though, that any differences that may exist as to the means to be employed in reaching these objectives will impose any great difficulties in our work.

Mr. Herbert:

How about Poland and the commission?

Mr. Lett:

The Polish representative will, I expect, reflect the views of the Communist government of Poland, which will undoubtedly resemble the views of the Soviet and the Chinese Communist governments.

These important Communist powers took part in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China. They signed the final declaration of that Conference. So . . . we have good reason to expect their support in seeing the cease-fire agreements successfully implemented.

Mr. Herbert:

What, if your mission does end successfully, could be the far-reaching effects of the truce on other troubled sections of Southeast Asia?

Mr. Lett:

The purpose of the Vietnam agreement is to regroup the military forces of the two sides to areas in a manner that will most likely ensure that hostilities will not be resumed. The agreement also provides for the free movement of the civil population to enable those who wish to do so to move from one zone to another; and for the release of prisoners and civil internees. It prescribes regulations which are intended to restrict or prevent the build-up of the military forces on either side of the demarcation line. When these tasks have been successfully carried out, the stage will be set for the next operation which will be the holding of general elections in 1956 for the establishment of an All-Vietnam Government. I expect that the making of agreements for these elections, the holding of the elections and the establishment of an All-Vietnam Government will be a more difficult task than the execution of the cease-fire agreement itself. The prerequisites for a political settlement, if such a settlement is attainable, are the maintenance of the truce which has been attained, and the carrying out of the terms of the cease-fire agreement without a resumption of hostilities. If hostilities are resumed, a political settlement will of course be impossible. If the cease-fire agreement is successfully carried out, a political settlement may be possible. At this point, it is not possible to say how stable a political settlement in Vietnam might be. However, the Canadian view is that the successful implementation of the three cease-fire agreements in Indo-China is a first step towards the achievement of conditions of stability and security throughout Southeast Asia.

Mr. Herbert:

In summing up, what would you say at the moment are your chances of success?

Mr. Lett:

At the moment I would say that the prospects of a successful conclusion to Canada's assignment in Indo-China are fairly good. Indications so far are that the two parties are carrying out the terms of the agreement in good faith and without serious difficulties. So long as this attitude persists, the possibility of carrying out the military phase of the settlement would appear fairly bright. It is too early to say anything about the political phase which will come later.

UNESCO-Eighth General Conference

THE eighth General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) which will celebrate its tenth birthday during 1955, will be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, from November 12 to December 11, 1954. It will be the primary purpose of the forthcoming General Conference to review and evaluate UNESCO's programme during its first ten years in order to determine the direction that should be followed in the years to come. The Conference will consider a report recommending that a remodelled and reoriented programme be instituted in 1957. It has been proposed that the years 1955-56 should serve as a transitional period and the programme and budget for these years will be examined in this light. An understanding of the inspiration of the proposal to redesign UNESCO's programme and of the importance of the Montevideo meetings at which it will be discussed will be gained by a brief examination of UNESCO's history and Canada's participation in it.

Historical Background

Canadian representatives participated with delegations from 46 other nations in drafting the Constitution of UNESCO in 1945, and the first General Conference of the Organization convened in November 1946, at Paris. In its early years UNESCO's energies were directed toward post-war rehabilitation. In Canada, the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO (C.C.R.U.) was established to provide fellowships and scholarships for educators and scientists to study in this country, to collect books for the restoration of libraries and to offer direct aid to individuals and institutions in war-devastated countries. UNESCO's programme of rehabilitation having been largely completed, the C.C.R.U. terminated its activities in 1951 and surrendered its charter in 1953.

Meanwhile, in 1948, the first Director-General of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, was succeeded by Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, of Mexico, an international authority on mass education. The aim was now that UNESCO would concentrate on the eradication of ignorance and illiteracy in under-developed countries, and on other urgent problems of a specific nature. Substantial steps in this direction were taken during the next five years. Technical experts on education were despatched to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Fundamental education teacher-training centres were established at Patzcuaro, Mexico, and Sirs-el-Layyam, Egypt. Research on compulsory education and educational techniques was initiated. On the whole, however, the relatively small resources of the Organization were dispersed over what the interested Canadian authorities considered to be much too broad a range of activities; the results were correspondingly disappointing.

At the sixth General Conference the Canadian delegation, supported by others interested in a concentrated programme consisting of a limited number of practical projects, succeeded in obtaining approval of a resolution requiring the assignment of priorities to all proposed projects. At the seventh General Conference in 1952, this resolution was partially implemented and a new pro-



—Uruguay Official

UNESCO CONFERENCE SITE

The Plaza Independencia, Montevideo, Uruguay, with the Victoria Plaza Hotel, at the left, where the Canadian UNESCO Delegation is accommodated.

gramme and budget were approved. The Director-General resigned when the Conference did not approve the expanded budget which he had presented. An extraordinary session of the General Conference was called in July 1953, and Dr. Luther H. Evans, former Librarian of the United States Congress who had a background of administrative ability and experience, was elected Director-General. In his speech of acceptance Dr. Evans said:

. . . UNESCO is groping for the best modalities of action to achieve peace and progress through education, science and culture, and in this it has made surprising progress in seven years; we must concentrate on the objective of determining conscientiously what type of activities and what methods and procedures are fruitful and give them priority over others . . .

Review and Reorientation

The new Director-General instituted a comprehensive survey of UNESCO and its programme, and the Secretariat of the Organization co-operated closely with a working committee of the Executive Board in the preparation of recommendations for a remodelled programme. Surveying the present situation, the committee listed UNESCO's outstanding accomplishments—

- (a) It had strengthened and fostered international collaboration between specialists in many disciplines.
- (b) It had launched an international attack on such outstanding educational and scientific problems as illiteracy and restoration of the world's arid deserts.
- (c) It had focussed public attention on paramount problems which are the basis of world peace and the progress of mankind.

The Committee remarked:

These are not inconsiderable achievements and UNESCO has no cause to be ashamed; to them must be added many other lesser results, more narrow in scope but each useful within its own limits; publications, radio programmes, films, exhibitions which have made their mark; reconstruction and relief activities.

But no one, least of all those who know UNESCO best, would pretend that it has achieved all that it should have achieved or made the full impact on world opinion it should have made. If its action has sometimes been timid and fumbling, directed toward irrelevant or secondary aims, all too limited in relations to the problems to be solved, to what defects in the Organization's structure and programme can these shortcomings be attributed?

In the Committee's opinion, some of these defects were:

- (a) The complete confidence of governments of member states had not been won and effective national commissions had not been established in many countries.
- (b) There had been a failure to enlist the interest of the world's intellectual leaders and a failure to gain public sympathy.
- (c) Too much importance had been attached to abstract and general problems and too little action had been taken to meet urgent and immediate needs. Too much had been attempted with too limited resources.

With these achievements and inadequacies in mind, the working committee of the Executive Board proposed that the future programme of UNESCO be reconstructed in two phases of operations:

- (1) Continuing general services—These would include all forms of international collaboration: clearing house documentation and information activities; promotion of international conferences and seminars; formation of international conventions and regulations; technical advice to the United Nations and other Specialized Agencies; and all of the other present activities which service the continuing requirements of member states.
- (2) An action programme on specific problems—This programme would consist of a very few major projects (probably four or five) initiated by UNESCO, and others undertaken at the request of member states. The problems and projects should be specific and local, not general. For example; a major project on education might place special emphasis on primary education in Southeast Asia; or adult education in Latin America; or education of women in the Middle East. There would not be one project embracing all of these problems. Each project would be precisely defined in terms of the countries or regions during any given programme.

These proposals went a long way toward meeting Canadian views of what UNESCO should be and should attempt. The working committee's recommendations were considerably weakened by amendments during the discussion of them in the Executive Board, but the remodelling resolution may be strengthened during the forthcoming General Conference because it was approved by the Executive Board with only one dissenting vote.

Transitional Years 1955-56

The organization has been "in business" for almost ten years. The 1955-56 programme will have to be designed as a transition toward the "new look". During this period of transition, emphasis will be given to those projects which are to become major spheres of action in any remodelled programme; an effort will be made to bring many of these projects to a successful conclusion during the next two years; and some low-priority undertakings that cannot be concluded quickly may have to be abandoned.

In preparing the programme which will be discussed at Montevideo, the Director-General took into consideration the recent entry to UNESCO membership of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelorussia, the applications for membership by Rumania and Bulgaria and the probable return to active participation of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The additional revenue from contributions of these countries would make possible either a reduction in the present scale of assessments on member states or, alternatively, an expansion of the Organization's activities. For these reasons the proposed 1955-56 programme has been delineated throughout in two sections corresponding to:

- (a) the "present level" of expenditures (\$18,000,000 for 1955-56);
- (b) a "higher budgetary level" (\$21,005,952 for 1955-56).

Each chapter of the proposed programme and budget has also been divided into two sections to emphasize the transition toward a remodelled programme. Projects included in the first section are designed to benefit all members of UNESCO, to promote continuing international co-operation and collaboration. In addition to these continuing general services, the second section proposes action on specific practical problems with definite objectives. Among the subjects that have been suggested as major action projects and toward which special emphasis might be directed during 1955-56 are: fundamental education in under-developed countries; the extension of elementary education, research on the world's arid zones; teaching about the United Nations and human rights with a view to increasing international understanding; an evaluation of UNESCO's programme and procedures with a view to increasing public knowledge of the Organization and gaining the confidence of member governments.

Executive Board

The Conference will be asked to approve strengthening of the structure of the Executive Board. Members of the Board are now elected as individuals competent in the arts, humanities and education, and not as representatives of their respective governments. Some countries think that in the two-year interval between UNESCO General Conferences the guidance, which the Director-General and the Secretariat require in implementing the resolutions of the General Conference, should come from the governments of member states rather than from individuals. A resolution to this effect was co-sponsored by Canada, Australia and Brazil at the seventh General Conference in 1952, but a decision on this question was postponed until 1954.

New Members

Another alteration in the complexion of UNESCO will arouse interest at the Montevideo meeting. For the first time the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelo-

russia will be represented. These countries have long been eligible to enter UNESCO because of their membership in the United Nations. Until recently they have been very critical of the work of the Organization. In joining UNESCO, they have accepted the Constitution, the preamble of which declares that all members "believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives". The nature of the Soviet contribution will be one of the most significant aspects of the forthcoming General Conference of UNESCO in Montevideo.

Canada and the United Nations

Eighteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council met in Geneva June 29 to August 6, 1954. There was a full-scale debate on the world economic situation and the problem of maintaining full employment introduced in an address by the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, in introducing the *World Economic Report 1952-53* prepared by the Secretariat, and in speaking of the opportunities for a wide approach at the highest possible level afforded by these annual debates in the Economic and Social Council, stated that the world economic situation was precariously balanced, that it would not automatically right itself and that there was no assurance it would not get worse rather than better. He referred to the widespread political fears which had prevented full recovery since the war and said it was essential that governments and international organizations should co-operate to the fullest extent in providing sound long-term solutions for the basic economic problems, taking a realistic view of the direct scope of the difficulties and of the measures required to meet them. Succeeding speakers, while giving high praise to the Secretariat's analysis of the situation in the period 1952-53, pointed out that the recession which had followed the Korean war boom of 1950-51 appeared to have levelled off, and expressed confidence that with informal co-operation it would be possible to correct any unfavourable trends. Remedies variously suggested were measures to ensure stability in international commodity prices; to encourage the freer flow of trade between East and West, and to cushion the effects upon employment of the conversion from war industry to peaceful production. There was also, of course, considerable discussion of the problems of economically underdeveloped areas and of the steps which could be taken to assist them.

Importance of International Co-operation

The resolution adopted by the Council affirmed the importance of international co-operation to deal with the problems discussed and recommended it to governments in general terms. With regard to the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, the Council expressed approval of Mr. Raymond Scheyven's interim report on the subject and recommended that the ninth session of the General Assembly extend the appointment of Mr. Scheyven "in order that he may continue his consultations with governments". A Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade was established to consist of 18 member states elected by the Economic and Social Council to serve for three-year terms. The first elections are to take place at the resumed eighteenth session of the Council which will meet during the ninth session of the General Assembly.

The organization and administration of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was studied by the Technical Assistance Committee and discussed in the Council and a resolution was adopted which will relate the allocation of funds to the various agencies directly to the requests for assistance received by those agencies and would also relate the filling of such requests to the planning of integrated programmes of development by country and by region. These recommendations and others dealing with specific financial procedures have been submitted to the ninth session of the General Assembly for approval.



—United Nations

OPENING OF THE NINTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mme Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, congratulates Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, of the Netherlands, the newly elected President of the ninth session.

In the social field, the Council considered the reports of the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of Women. It transmitted the two draft International Covenants on Human Rights, completed by the Human Rights Commission at its tenth session, to the General Assembly. Opinion on the allowability of a reservations clause was sharply divided and the Council was obliged to refer it to the Assembly without recommendation. The Secretary-General was requested, in consultation with the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, to make the preliminary arrangements for the calling of a conference of non-governmental organizations interested in the

eradication of prejudice and discrimination. He was also requested to transmit to the International Law Commission for its information and to member governments for their observations the text of a draft Convention of the Nationality of Married Women submitted by the Commission on the Status of Women.

The Council also devoted some time at this session to a discussion of its own methods of work, centering around the problem of shortening its sessions and its agenda and steering its debates towards general policy-making, to be carried on by high-level representatives of member states, and away from over-detailed consideration of questions which could better be dealt with by technical and expert bodies. It also considered recommendations made by the Secretary-General regarding the economic and social work of the United Nations which have arisen out of his re-organization of the Secretariat. The resolution adopted provided for two sessions a year; the June session of four weeks to be for high-level policy talks, the spring session of six weeks (divided

(Continued on page 313)

"Canada and the United Nations 1953-54"*

Canada and the United Nations 1953-54, the eighth in the regular series of reports prepared by the Department of External Affairs on the work of the United Nations, is now available. The developments reviewed in the present volume occurred for the most part in the period July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954, during which the General Assembly held its resumed seventh session and its eighth session and the Economic and Social Council its sixteenth and seventeenth sessions.

Canada and the United Nations is a work of reference for those interested in United Nations affairs who may not have access to official reports and other more exhaustive sources of information. It is intended to present concise explanations of the problems with which the United Nations is dealing and of the work of the Specialized Agencies. Special attention is given to explanations of Canadian policy on specific issues. Limitations of space have prevented the reprinting of texts of Canadian speeches stating or explaining policy. However, a full list of source documents is included in the appendices. Reviews of current developments necessarily occupy most of the publication, but background material is included when necessary for an understanding of problems and procedures.

In a brief Foreword, the Secretary of State for External Affairs has written:

In free countries, public opinion must and should be built upon an understanding of the facts, discouraging as well as hopeful, and upon the sober judgment that comes from the willingness to see things as they are.

Canada and the United Nations 1953-54 has been designed to make the facts of Canada's participation in the United Nations readily accessible.

* *Canada and the United Nations* is available from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, at 50¢ per copy.

"University of the East Block"

BEFORE he is posted abroad the newly-recruited Foreign Service Officer¹ undergoes a period of training in Ottawa which normally lasts about two years. The major part of this training consists of what is commonly called "on-the-job" training—actual desk work on the day-to-day problems confronting the Department of External Affairs. Supplementing and balancing this apprentice type of learning is a course of lectures covering the work and organization of the Department of External Affairs, the functions of other Government Departments, Agencies, Boards, Commissions, and Crown Corporations, and the life and responsibilities of a Foreign Service Officer abroad.

On the Job Training

Upon completion of a brief reception, induction, and personal documentation programme of about two days' duration, the novice is assigned to one of the various "Divisions" into which the Department is organized. Here he is allotted a desk and shares an office with a more senior officer. The Head of the Division assigns the junior officer specific tasks to perform either alone or as an assistant to other officers in the Division. After a stay of four or five months in his first Division, the new officer is transferred to another Division, doing an entirely different type of work. There are three types of Divisions in the Department: "Political" or "Area" (American, Commonwealth, European, Far Eastern); "Functional" (Consular, Defence Liaison (1) and (2), Economic, Information, Legal, Historical Research and Reports, Protocol, and United Nations); and "Administrative" (Establishments and Organization; Finance, Personnel, and Supplies and Properties). Before his first posting abroad the new officer will normally spend a few months in a Division of each type in order to acquaint him with a variety of the operations and problems of the Department at home and abroad.

The series of lectures which complements his on-the-job training during his first year reminds the junior officer of his university days, which accounts for the use of the familiar expression "University of the East Block" to describe this aspect of his training. The lecture periods provide ample time for lively discussion after the talk by the guest speaker. The lecture programme is generally divided into three phases, each of which has its particular purpose. The first part consists of talks given by persons, usually at the deputy minister level, on the work of other Government Departments and agencies with interests abroad. The primary purpose of this type of lecture is to familiarize the new officers with the work and organization of closely related Government Departments, with the nature of the problems they deal with and the policies they are following. A complementary purpose is, of course, to improve the junior officer's knowledge of the machinery of the Federal Government and of Canadian affairs generally. Among typical topics discussed in the past were the following: "Technical and Capital Assistance to Under-developed Countries", "Canada's Foreign Economic Policy", "The Budget and Canada's Fiscal Policy", "The

¹ For a description of the manner in which Foreign Service Officers are recruited, see "The Foreign Service Officer Competition", *External Affairs*, July 1953.

Role and Operation of the Treasury Board", "The Cabinet and the Privy Council", "The Canadian Arctic", "The CBC and the CBC-IS", "Canadian Health and Welfare Policies", "The Organization and Policy of the Department of National Defence", "The International Joint Commission and The Permanent Joint Board on Defence", "The Work of the Defence Research Board", and "The Administration of Justice in Canada with Special Reference to Federal-Provincial Rights".

The second series of lectures is planned to provide the junior Foreign Service Officer with practical information about his profession. This series generally consists of talks by officers of the Department who have recently served abroad as a Third Secretary. Subjects dealt with concern the practical application of such functions and duties as the making of social and official calls, entertaining, liaison with the press and radio, cultural relations, tourist and travel promotion, consular activities, political reporting, office administration, and disposition of personnel problems.

The third stage in the lecture programme does not necessarily take place in that chronological sequence but is usually arranged to take advantage of the presence in Ottawa of senior officers of the Department who have served abroad as Heads of Posts or who have specialized knowledge of particular nations or areas of the world. These sessions between the most senior officers and the most junior officers, at which major foreign policy problems are discussed, serve as a suitable climax to the Departmental training programme.

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER COMPETITION

The Department of External Affairs through competitive examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission of Canada offers appointment to young men and women graduates or final-year students to start as Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1, at an initial salary of \$3,480 annually with opportunities of salary advancement and promotion.

A written examination will be held on Saturday, November 20th, by the Civil Service Commission at university centres across Canada and at posts abroad. Only graduates, or under-graduates in their final year, from a university of recognized standing, who have had at least ten years' residence in Canada, and who are below the age of 31 as of June 1, 1955 are eligible to write the examination. Candidates who are successful in the written examination will be interviewed by an oral examining board which makes an assessment of general suitability.

Candidates may apply by forwarding a completed copy of Civil Service Commission standard application form CSC 69 to the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa. Please quote competition number 54-727. For further information, write to the Civil Service Commission or the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.



—Capital Press

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER VISITS OTTAWA

On his arrival at the Parliament Buildings, during his visit to Ottawa on September 27, the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shigera Yoshida, is welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

(Continued from page 310)

into two parts) for dealing with a limited number of major questions of a less general nature. The question of the Economic and Employment Commission's status was re-opened and referred to the Secretary-General for study, a decision to be taken at the resumed eighteenth session of ECOSOC held during the ninth session of the Assembly. The Fiscal Commission was discontinued; annual meetings were decided upon for the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities; biennial meetings for the Population Commission, the Statistical Commission, the Social Commission and the Transport and Communications Commission.

CO-EXISTENCE

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Windsor, Ont., August 30, 1954.

Some twenty-five hundred years ago a political writer in Greece by the name of Aristotle, who was interested in municipal problems, stated that though men first came together in cities in order to live, they remained there in order to live well. He was concerned by the implications of this development, as most of you must be concerned today, because it meant extending the responsibilities of city government from the protection of life and property to such things as education, health, recreation and social welfare. No doubt many of you, interested, and perhaps often harassed by such problems as how to relate new services to old revenues, must at times be tempted to think that this extension of municipal functions and the difficulties it creates is not sufficiently appreciated by provincial, or even federal politicians and officials.

Aristotle, however, was not so much interested in the problem of the relations between city and province (in his time and place the city was itself a state) as he was in the deeper and more universal problem of political purpose in the government of his day; and, particularly, in the deterioration that takes place in society when men limit and lower their vision and reconcile themselves to the mediocre and shoddy. He would have agreed with a remark made not long ago that the fault is not in missing, but in aiming low.

The Ever Present Danger

This possibility, that men may sell themselves short, and may voluntarily or unthinkingly accept sub-standards and unworthy objectives, has always been one of the greatest dangers to face free human societies. This danger, that of inadequate political purpose, which worried the Greek observer of five hundred B.C., is still here to worry us today. This applies to the field of municipal politics with which you are concerned, as well as to that of international politics which absorbs most of my time. The appeal to the secondary, and the insidious effort to substitute the spurious for the genuine, is the more dangerous today, because all the media of mechanistic propaganda can be brought to bear in its support. There never was a time in history when so much ingenuity was used to confuse, to conceal and to betray. Especially is this true of the propaganda of international communism.

In this connection, a strange new word has lately been insistently and cleverly pushed by the communists—"co-existence". In its discussion it occasionally becomes a "fighting word". It is certainly a "fooling" word. It is also the thinnest word, I think, that I have ever heard. It may be appropriate enough to its source, which is the Kremlin, but it is unimpressive if you set it in any other context.

It would be a pretty poor family, for example, if the best you could say for it was that its members co-existed. Not much affection there, not much co-operation, not much life. Merely a tolerance of each other's existence: and the implication that it is a pretty drab existence at that.

Also, it would be a bad day for Canada if the municipalities merely co-existed with the provinces; and the provinces with the Dominion. If we lived and worked together in any such sterile way, our country would never achieve the great destiny that lies ahead of it; and which we have the right to hope and expect it *will* achieve.

Room for Progress

Though we Canadians of different sections and origins do much more than co-exist, there is, of course still room for progress in working out the implications of our unity.

I have often thought, for example, that I would like to be Minister of Education in one of our provinces, at least for *one* purpose. I would like to negotiate agreements with my colleagues in other provinces for the exchange of teachers. I would like to give the school children of my province the opportunity of close contact with teachers from each of the other main sections of our country: and I would like as many as possible of my province's teachers to have had the enriching opportunity, at some stage in their careers, of two or three years' experience as an exchange teacher living and working with the children and parents of at least one of the other main regions of our broad and richly-varied land.

Again, as our wealth increases, might not some of it usefully be spent in organizing and making possible for our children vacation tours on an exchange basis in other provinces? This need not cost much. Given the initiative and a little organization, it would certainly be found that many parents would be happy to put up school children from another province for a few weeks, if in exchange their own children received a corresponding opportunity elsewhere.

Given our almost unique opportunities we can and should be much more bilingual, as a people, than we are. There is in fact plenty of scope for diplomatic negotiations within our own federal state in the challenge and the adventure of working out our unity on a basis that is far more lasting than mere co-existence.

In a wider field, our relations with the United States, our friendship and co-operation with our great neighbour, go far beyond anything that could be called co-existence. To look at another part of the world, Western Europe, from here we know that France and

Germany can, of course, "co-exist" there, even if the problem of their association together in EDC or in NATO is left entirely unsolved. But it might be co-existence without confidence, where controversy and competition might easily replace collaboration. It might delay and even prejudice both European co-operation and growing unity and the development of the Atlantic coalition. The opportunity to write a shining new chapter in history would, for the time being at least be lost. One cannot help but feel deep anxiety at the possible failure to exploit this great opportunity for peace that may not soon or easily recur. But one can also hope that this anxiety will be removed by the action of those in Western Europe who would be the first to suffer from the consequences of failure.

No Reason for Despair

That hope is not by any means destroyed—so far as I am concerned—by the decision of the French Parliament not to ratify EDC. One method of solving this problem—a method originally worked out by the French Government itself—has now been discarded. That may be disappointing, but it is certainly not any reason for despair. The free nations of Western Europe, including Germany, will, I feel sure, wish now to try to accomplish their objective of closer co-operation for collective defence and unity, by some other method. The other members of the North Atlantic coalition, the United Kingdom, United States and Canada, will, I am sure, wish to assist in this process, and the best way to do that, in my view, would be to look at the whole problem in an Atlantic context.

Today, however, the word "co-existence" has required a special and narrow significance which has nothing to do with the family, the nation, or even the European or Atlantic communities. It has become a promise—a lure—by the men in the Kremlin that their world, their system, *can* live, and *desires* to live, peacefully and amicably with ours.

Perhaps it is not surprising that this appealing but ambiguous slogan, "co-existence", should have been launched by men who have inherited and maintain the device known as the "iron curtain", that complex of ingenious barriers, physical and psychological, designed, organized and administered to deny and prevent normal relations and friendly intercourse between men and between nations, and incidentally, to poison the free and frank relationship between individuals even in the same political society. How long, for instance, would a citizen of Moscow co-exist with other Muscovites if he mounted a soap box in the Kremlin Square and called for a change of government by peaceful means?

A Loaded Question

Out of this concept of co-existence there has come a perplexing new query which tends, in certain quarters, to become almost a challenge or an accusation: "Do you believe

in the possibility of peaceful co-existence with communism?". It reminds one of the old question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?". You are condemned by your own mouth whether you answer "yes" or "no".

If you answer "yes" to the possibility of peaceful co-existence, this might seem to imply a softness towards communism at home and abroad, an unweariness of its menace, a willingness, a readiness to relax one's guard. "Live and let live" is generally sound doctrine, but it can suggest a tendency to minimize a danger, to become less alert, to turn our attention elsewhere. If we believe that we can live and let live, surely (the argument would run) we can abandon some of the precautions against danger and ease some of the burdens of defence. Weary of the effort which seven years of cold war have involved, we can now afford to be distracted, for "peaceful co-existence" has arrived!

But if saying "yes" to this loaded question about peaceful co-existence is apt to be risky and confusing, saying "no" is worse. It is a wrong and defeatist, a despairing answer, for it assumes to inevitability of war. Furthermore, if Western governments return a short "no" to Moscow's declared belief in the possibility of peaceful co-existence, they would be attacked as intransigent warmongers by friendly neutrals and the well-intentioned uncommitted. To those who judge these issues only by words, and who hear words usually in the careless condensed and confident form of headlines, this blunt "no" would appear as the rejection of what might have been a proffered truce. At the very least it would blur the question of the responsibility for continuing international tensions. Those who say "no" to the possibility of peaceful co-existence, are thus apt to lend colour to the despondent, fatalist belief that war is inevitable—a belief that is not only false but profoundly dangerous, since, if widely accepted on either side, it could lead to ill-considered actions which might certainly *make* war inevitable.

We would be wrong then to under-estimate the power and the danger of this loaded question about peaceful co-existence. The measure of that danger is the fact that it has become the key-note of all recent communist propaganda. Communist dictators are good at using semantics as weapons. The debasement of good words by "double-talk" is one of the main characteristics of totalitarian tactics and propaganda. But "double-talk" can be just about as dangerous as "double-think". Indeed, the two go together.

Though the question about co-existence, then, is so phrased, so contrived, that a short "yes" or "no" answer is confusing, it is, I think, worth trying to clear up the confusion, and to examine the real issue which it raises. It is an issue central to many of the problems of our time, as we face the menace of the international communist conspiracy.

A first point to notice about this question of co-existence is that we have, in fact, been co-existing with communism for the past thirty-five years.

But another and more significant point is that a good many countries, such as the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the democratic regimes in Poland and Czechoslovakia, which co-existed with the U.S.S.R. for some years, have now ceased as free nations to exist at all. Co-existence is no problem for them. It has become the co-existence of Jonah and the whale that swallowed him. You will recall, however, that Jonah was eventually liberated by spontaneous convulsion, but without, I understand, any interference from outside!

There is plenty of evidence that communist dictatorships inevitably tend to expand, and that as they do, they will destroy the "co-existing" possibilities of free regimes in other countries wherever and whenever they think they can get away with it. It is something to remember.

The Price of Co-Existence

The moral of this is plain, that adequate defensive strength and eternal vigilance is the price to be paid for "co-existence". In the world in which we live it is dangerous to try to secure it on lesser terms. You can't get security, in present circumstances, by a small down payment.

If we lack power and vigilance, if we become careless and disunited in the free world, "co-existence" could soon be replaced by "non-existence". But if we follow steadily but persistently the other course, peace through defensive collective strength, and patient, persistent diplomacy, I don't see why we shouldn't continue to exist indefinitely alongside the communist world.

There is, I think, because of our growing collective strength, less danger at this time of a deliberate frontal aggression than a few years ago.

The Soviet leaders are realists. They know that such an attack would be met by swift and annihilating atomic retaliation, which would leave their great cities in ruins. For this reason, they *may* be quite sincere when they advocate co-existence in present conditions, because they know that the alternative in case of war is co-destruction.

But they undoubtedly also hope that we may ourselves weaken the strength, unity and resolve that make co-existence as essential for them—as for us. They will certainly do their best to encourage us in this suicidal tendency.

Even, however, if we can successfully hold off deliberate and full-scale aggression, war could come in one of two other ways. It could come by accident or miscalculation; a war which neither side intends, but which might

result from a misunderstanding of current moves, and a tragic misinterpretation of each other's intentions.

Means of Avoiding Aggression

This could happen. To avoid it we should, among other things, keep our diplomacy active and flexible; keep open the channels of communication and contact such as the United Nations, and remove, where we can, barriers, including psychological barriers, to understanding. No easy task—indeed, an all but impossible task, when you are dealing with communist states but one which we should never, I believe, abandon.

* We should also do our best to find out what is the purpose and plan of the potential adversary in every move he makes. But what is even more important, we should leave him in no doubt about our own policy; about what is in our own minds. This means, of course, that we of the free world should *know* our own minds and follow, together, a policy which is broad principle, objectives and basic purposes, is steady, fixed and firm.

It means also that we should avoid panic and provocation; that we should be "trigger ready" without being "trigger happy"; that while maintaining our strength, we should make it quite clear, by word and action, that this strength will never be used for any aggressive purpose.

The only other way in which war could come is that our free civilization should lose its nerve, its patience, its confidence, and, above all, lose touch with its own moral values. Such a tragic deterioration is, if not unthinkable, at least highly unlikely.

The kind of co-existence with communism which I have been describing is not, of course, "peaceful", in the sense that it is founded on friendship and co-operation. It is hardly more than mutual toleration, derived in large part from the sure knowledge that each side can wipe out the other, and that the victor would have nothing to gloat over but rubble and ruins.

This kind of co-existence does not give one too much joy or comfort in the future. But it is realistic and, as such, the best adjustment to the present situation. We accept it as the best possible solution at this time, but also in the hope that in time a better basis of understanding and a stronger foundation for peace may grow out of it.

Confused Thinking

There are, of course, some people—some good and sincere people—who take the view that brutal atheistic communism being inherently evil, it is impossible, and in any case would be morally wrong, to accept any kind of "co-existence" with it. This view seems to me to involve a confusion not only of words but of thought. Good has always, in this

world, had to co-exist with evil, and though some day this situation may end, that day has certainly not yet arrived. It has never, I think, been sound doctrine, either theologically or politically, to believe that because a good man hates sin, he should seek to destroy every sinner. On the contrary, our moral traditions are based on the teaching that the thing to do with a sinner is to save him from his sins. Ostracism, or the refusal to communicate or have any dealings with publicans or other sinners, is for the Pharisees. It may, for a time, make the individual feel better. It has never made society better.

None of this means, of course, that Western civilization and communism should be expected to exist together on equal terms, or that one could in any sense equate or assimilate them. Our civilization is the heir to two thousand years of Christendom, and embodies, too, the rich traditions of Judean, Greek and Roman civilizations before it. Communism, on the other hand, is a nihilistic rejection of every moral value.

This flight from and rejection of moral values and moral responsibility has, on occasion, created dynamic societies but they are often more virulent than virile. For a period these movements, Naziism, Fascism, Communism, may occupy a strong position in the centre of the human stage. But they are in essence insubstantial and they can pass.

Philosophically and ideologically, communism, far from being a new, permanent and revealing concept of life, is merely a narrow Western heresy, born amidst the abuses of the industrial revolution of the last century, and morally and, therefore, intellectually bankrupt.

There is no reason to believe that, considered in historical perspective, communism can long survive. Men are in their deepest natures moral beings to whom questions of good and evil are basic. But communism is fundamentally anti-moral. The very nature of man, therefore, makes it inevitable that sooner or later totalitarian and tyrannical regimes

based on philosophies like communism either evolve or explode. If we remain strong and patient, therefore, we may before too long have something better to co-exist with than the international communism of today.

No Need for Panic

Quite apart from this fundamental point, the internal conflicts of interest, and the internal distrust of group for group, and of man for man, which one finds in any totalitarian society, is so great that ultimately such societies must change their nature or destroy themselves. The internal stresses and strains are such that sooner or later, it seems to me, the so-called monolithic societies of the totalitarians must crumble. So, though we must remain wary and alert, and take adequate precautions against the danger that they might burst outwards, we should also refuse to become panicky or too impatient as these inevitable historical processes are slowly working themselves out. We should also assist the process when that can be properly and wisely attempted.

As I see it, the answer to the question whether co-existence with communism is possible, lies basically in recognition of the simple fact that we have to share a planet, not with abstractions, but with fellow human beings, who have now learned the secret of destroying life itself on that planet. The real question, in fact, is not whether we can "co-exist", but whether we can prevent the unspeakable catastrophe of an atomic war, and ultimately find ways not merely of co-existing, but of co-operating with the peoples of Russia and China; without at the same time betraying our own principles, weakening our values, or sacrificing our security.

Every one of us—in Canada and every other free country, and in some form or another—has a responsibility to take part in the search for the right answer to that question, for in finding that right answer, not merely peace, but, literally, existence on this planet, is at stake.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. Mayrand was appointed Canadian Commissioner, International Supervisory Commission for Laos, effective September 18, 1954.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan was posted from home leave (Lima) to Ottawa, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. P. G. R. Campbell was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1954.
- ✓ Mr. R. W. Murray was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, effective September 3, 1954.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen was posted from home leave (Karachi) to Ottawa effective September 7, 1954.
- Miss V. Allen was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective September 10, 1954.
- Mr. D. P. Cole was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective September 10, 1954.
- Mr. E. T. Galpin was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective September 11, 1954.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York to Ottawa (on temporary duty) effective September 13, 1954.
- Mr. B. A. Keith was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, effective September 13, 1954.
- Mr. G. P. Kidd was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective September 14, 1954.
- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith was posted from home leave (Geneva) to Ottawa, effective September 15, 1954.
- ✓ Mr. J. G. Maranda was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 15, 1954.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective September 20, 1954.
- Miss E. P. MacCallum was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, effective September 21, 1954.
- Mr. C. G. D. Roquet was posted to Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, effective September 22, 1954.
- Mr. H. H. Carter was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective September 24, 1954.
- Mr. P. Tremblay was posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective September 1954.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers, Grade I: Messrs. Marc-Daniel Baudouin, Godfrey Lewis Hearn and George Lewis Seens (September 1, 1954); Miss Mary Isabel Macdonald Dunlop and Mr. James Ross Francis (September 15, 1954); and Mr. A. R. Boyd (September 20, 1954).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/36—*Statement on Canadian Membership in the International Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.* (Department of External Affairs Press Release No. 43, July 28, 1954.)

No. 54/38—*Co-Existence.* An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Windsor, Ont., August 30, 1954.

No. 54/39—*The Position of Germany in International Defence*. An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, September 7, 1954.

No. 54/40—*Canada and the United States—Our Area of Economic Co-operation*. An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y., September 2, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/37—*Canada's Mental Health Services*. An address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin,

before the opening session of the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health, Toronto, August 14, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST*

(a) Printed Documents:

Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly (embodying amendments adopted by the General Assembly up to and including its eighth session). A/520/Rev.3, 1 June 1954. Pp. 43. Sales No.: 1954.I.17.

United Nations Refugees Emergency Fund—Financial Report of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and Accounts for the period 1 March 1952 to 31 December 1953 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/2648/Add.1. New York, 1954. Pp. 17. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session: Supplement No. 13A.

Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the period from 22 July 1953 to 16 July 1954. A/2680. New York, 1954. Pp. 308. \$3.00. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 6 August 1953 to 6 August 1954. A/2686. New York, 1954. Pp. 138. \$1.50. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 3.

Report of the International Law Commission covering work of sixth session (3 June - 28 July 1954). A/2693. New York, 1954. Pp. 33. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 9.

Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1953 to 15 July 1954. A/2712. New York, 1954. Pp. 69. 70 cents. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 2.

Report of the Committee on Contributions. A/2716. New York, 1954. Pp. 8. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 10.

Freedom of Information—Supplementary report submitted by Mr. Salvador P. Lopez,

Rapporteur on Freedom of Information and related documents. E/2426/Add.1 to 5. New York, 1954. Pp. 11. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 12A.

Resolutions of the Eighteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council, (29 June - 6 August 1954). E/2654, 15 August 1954 (Geneva). Pp. 32. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Railway Operating and Signalling Techniques in Europe, Japan and the United States of America. Report of the Expert Working Group from Asia and the Far East on Railway operating and signalling (2 October 1952 - 6 February 1953). ST/TAA/SER.C./6, 28 October 1953. Pp. 109. \$1.25. U.N. 1954. Sales No.: 1953.VIII.3.

European Seminar on Probation (London, 20-30 October 1952). ST/TAA/SER.C/11, 17 March 1954. Pp. 237. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1954.IV.13.

UNESCO

Compulsory Education in Pakistan by MUHAMMAD SHAMSUL HUQ. (Studies on Compulsory Education—XII). Paris 1954. Pp. 169. \$1.25.

Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea (Educational Missions—VI). Paris, May 1954. Pp. 221. \$1.75.

World Braille Usage by Clutha MACKENZIE, Chairman, World Braille Council. Paris, 1954. Pp. 172. \$2.50.

Interrelations of Cultures—Their Contribution to International Understanding. (Collection of Intercultural Studies). Paris 1953. Pp. 387. \$2.00.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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WHO

Resolutions and Decisions of the Seventh World Health Assembly, Geneva, 4 to 21 May 1954. Geneva, July 1954. Pp. 49. 50 cents. Offprint from Official Records of WHO, No. 55.

Executive Board, Fourteenth Session, Geneva, 27 and 28 May 1954. Resolutions and Annexes. Geneva, July 1954. Pp. 24.

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Question of South West Africa—Supplement to the Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly (A/2666, Supplement No. 14 of the G.A.O.R.). A/2666/Add.1. 17 September 1954. Pp. 5 and Annexes I to IV.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries—Question of the Establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. A/2727. 17 September 1954. Pp. 36.

Organization of the Secretariat (Report of the Secretary-General). A/2731. 21 September 1954. Pp. 24.



—Department of State

GREAT LAKES FISHERIES CONVENTION SIGNED

A Convention on Great Lakes Fisheries was signed in Washington by the United States and Canada on September 10. The Convention provides for joint action in the field of fishery research and the elimination of the predatory sea lamprey in the Great Lakes. To carry out this task both governments agree to establish a Great Lakes Fishery Commission of three appointees from each country. Present at the signing were, left to right: Special Assistant for Fisheries to the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. William C. Herrington; the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Walter Bedell Smith; the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney; and the Canadian Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Stewart Bates.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

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The Association of the Federal Republic of Germany with the North Atlantic Community

At the Palais de Chaillot in Paris on October 23, the Secretary of State for External Affairs signed on behalf of Canada a Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty providing for the admission of the German Federal Republic to NATO. The text of this Protocol is given below. He was also present, on the invitation of the Prime Minister of France, at the Quai d'Orsay the same day when Protocols to the Brussels Treaty were signed providing for the accession of the German Federal Republic and Italy and for accompanying arrangements concerning the control of armed forces and armaments.

The signature of these agreements marked the culmination of two months of difficult and complicated negotiations which were initiated by the United Kingdom following the decision of the French National Assembly to reject the Treaty providing for the establishment of a European Defence Community. The meeting of the Nine Powers in Paris on October 21 and the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council on October 22 brought to a successful conclusion an active period of preparation of the detailed agreements implementing the principles approved at the Nine-Power Conference which was held in London from September 28 to October 3. In all these meetings Canadian representatives participated. The texts of the communiqué issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris and of the Final Act of the London Conference are given in full below.

The measures approved and the decisions noted by the North Atlantic Council are designed to associate the German Federal Republic with the West, to provide for a German defence contribution, and to promote European integration within the framework of a developing Atlantic community.

The interrelated elements of this general settlement include the termination of the occupation régime and the restoration of full sovereignty to the German Federal Republic; the admission of the Federal Republic to NATO and the formation of a new Western European Union which will include the Federal Republic and Italy; the reinforcement of these two Organizations; and assurances against any recourse to force in violation of Article Two of the United Nations Charter. It is intended that NATO should have authority to inspect the levels and effectiveness of the forces under the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe and to ensure that these forces are not used except with the approval of the appropriate NATO authorities. Maximum levels for the forces on the Continent of the Brussels Treaty powers have been set by special agreement, and it is intended that the Western European Union should also have effective control over the levels of armaments produced by its members on the Continent.

An article on the significance of the London and Paris meetings will appear in the next issue.

PROTOCOL TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ON THE ACCESSION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949,

Being satisfied that the security of the North Atlantic area will be enhanced by the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to that Treaty, and

Having noted that the Federal Republic of Germany have, by a declaration dated October 3, 1954, accepted the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and has undertaken upon accession to the North Atlantic Treaty to refrain from any action inconsistent with the strictly defensive character of that Treaty, and

Having further noted that all member governments have associated themselves with the declaration also made on October 3, 1954, by the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic in connexion with the aforesaid declaration of the Federal Republic of Germany,

Agree as follows:—

ARTICLE I

Upon the entry into force of the present Protocol, the Government of the United States of America shall on behalf of all the Parties communicate to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany an invitation to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty. Thereafter the Federal Republic of Germany shall become a Party to that Treaty on the date when it deposits its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America in accordance with Article 10 of the Treaty.

ARTICLE II

The present Protocol shall enter into force, when (a) each of the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty has notified to the Government of the United States of America its acceptance thereof, (b) all instruments of ratification of the Protocol modifying and completing the Brussels Treaty have been deposited with the Belgian Government and (c) all instruments of ratification or approval of the Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have been deposited with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the United States of America shall inform the other Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty of the date of the receipt of each notification of acceptance of the present Protocol and of the date of the entry into force of the present Protocol.

ARTICLE III

The present Protocol, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the Archives of the Government of the United

States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Representatives, duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Protocol.

Signed at Paris the twenty-third day of October nineteen hundred and fifty-four.

For Belgium: P. H. Spaak.

For Canada: L. B. Pearson.

For Denmark: H. C. Hansen.

For France: Mendes-France.

For Greece: Stephanopoulos.

For Iceland: Kristinn Gudmundsson.

For Italy: G. Martino.

For the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg:
Jos. Bech.

For Netherlands: J. W. Beyen.

For Norway: Halvard Lange.

For Portugal: Paulo Cunha.

For Turkey: F. Koprülü.

*For the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Northern Ireland:*
Anthony Eden.

For the United States of America:
John Foster Dulles.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

(Issued by the North Atlantic Council on 22nd October 1954)

1. The North Atlantic Council held a Ministerial Session in Paris today under the Chairmanship of Mr. Stephanos Stephanopoulos, Foreign Minister of Greece. This Meeting, which was attended by Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers of member countries, dealt with issues of vital importance for the security of the free world, and for the promotion of greater European unity, within the framework of a developing Atlantic Community. In particular, the meeting was called to approve arrangements designed to bring about the full association of the Federal Republic of Germany with the West, and a German defence contribution. On the invitation of the Council, Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, attended the meeting as an observer.

2. The Council noted that all the agreements reached at the London Conference and at the subsequent meetings of the Four and Nine-Power Conferences form part of one general settlement which is directly or indirectly of concern to all the North Atlantic Treaty Powers and which was accordingly submitted to the Council. The Council welcomed this settlement.

3. The Council was informed of the agreement reached between the Foreign Ministers of France, the German Federal Republic, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in regard to ending the occupation régime in the Federal Republic.

4. The Council was informed of the agreement reached on the text of four protocols strengthening and extending the scope of the Brussels Treaty Organization—now Western European Union—expanded to provide for the participation of Italy and of the German Federal Republic, and on the text of accompanying documents. The Council welcomed this agreement and agreed with the provisions of the Protocols to the Brussels Treaty insofar as they involve action by the North Atlantic Council or other NATO authorities.

5. The Council welcomed the declaration made in London by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on 3rd October, 1954, and the related declaration made on the same occasion by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States. It noted with satisfaction that the representatives of the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty have today associated themselves with the declaration of the Three Powers.

6. The Council approved a resolution to reinforce the existing machinery for the collective defence of Europe, chiefly by strengthening the powers of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

7. The Council approved a Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty inviting the Federal Republic of Germany to join NATO. The Protocol will be signed tomorrow by the fourteen Foreign Ministers and will enter into force when each of the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty has notified the Government of the United States of America of its acceptance, and when all instruments of ratification of the Protocol Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty have been deposited with the Belgian Government, and when all instruments of ratification or approval of the Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have been deposited with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

8. The Council heard a statement by the Foreign Minister of Italy on the recent agreements reached on the Trieste problem. The value of these agreements from the Atlantic and European point of view was emphasized.

9. The Council agreed to hold its next Ministerial Meeting on or about 15th December next.

10. The Council reaffirmed that the North Atlantic Treaty remains a basic element in the foreign policies of all member governments. It agreed that there must be the closest possible co-operation between Western European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in all fields and that any duplication of the work of existing agencies of NATO will be avoided. The Council reaffirmed its unity of purpose in the pursuit of peace and progress. The present conference and the agreements reached represent a new and decisive step in the development of the Atlantic Community.

FINAL ACT OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE (OCTOBER 3rd)

Following is the text of the "final act" of the London conference:

"The conference of the nine Powers, Belgium, Canada, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, met in London from Tuesday, September 28th, to Sunday, October 3rd. It dealt with the most important issues facing the western world—security and European integration within the framework of a developing Atlantic community dedicated to peace and freedom. In this connection the conference considered how to assure the full association of the German Federal Republic with the west and the German defence contribution.

"Belgium was represented by M. Spaak, Canada by Mr. Pearson, France by M. Mendès-France, the German Federal Republic by Dr. Adenauer, Italy by Professor Martino, Luxembourg by M. Bech, the Netherlands by Dr. Beyen, the United Kingdom by Mr. Eden, and the United States by Mr. Dulles.

"All the decisions of the conference formed part of one general settlement which is directly or indirectly of concern to all the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Powers and will therefore be submitted to the North Atlantic Council for information or decision.

I. Germany

"The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States declare that their policy is to end the occupation régime in the Federal Republic as soon as possible, to revoke the Occupation Statute, and to abolish the Allied High Commission. The three Governments will continue to discharge certain responsibilities in Germany arising out of the international situation.

"It is intended to conclude, and to bring into force as soon as the necessary parliamentary procedures have been completed, the appropriate instruments for these purposes. General agreement has already been reached on the content of these instruments, and representatives of the four Governments will meet in the very near future to complete the final texts. The agreed arrangements may be put into effect either before or simultaneously with the arrangements for the German defence contribution.

"As these arrangements will take a little time to complete, the three Governments have in the meantime issued the following declaration of intent:—

"Recognizing that a great country can no longer be deprived of the rights properly belonging to a free and democratic people, and desiring to associate the Federal Republic of Germany on a footing of equality with their efforts for peace and security, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America desire to end the occupation régime as soon as possible.

"The fulfilment of this policy calls for the settlement of problems of detail in order to liquidate the past and to prepare for the future, and requires the completion of appropriate parliamentary procedures.

"In the meantime the three Governments are instructing their High Commissioners to act forthwith in accordance with the spirit of the above policy. In particular, the High Commissioners will not use the powers which are to be relinquished unless in agreement with the Federal Government, except in the fields of disarmament and demilitarization and in cases where the Federal Government has not been able for legal reasons to take the action or assume the obligations contemplated in the agreed arrangement.

II. Brussels Treaty

"The Brussels Treaty will be strengthened and extended to make it a more effective focus of European integration. For this purpose the following arrangements have been agreed upon:—

(a) The German Federal Republic and Italy will be invited to accede to the treaty, suitably modified to emphasize the objective of European unity, and they have declared themselves ready to do so. The system of mutual automatic assistance in case of attack will thus be extended to the German Federal Republic and Italy.

(b) The structure of the Brussels Treaty will be reinforced. In particular the consultative council provided in the treaty will become a council with powers of decision.

(c) The activities of the Brussels Treaty organization will be extended to include further important tasks as follows:—

The size and general characteristics of the German defence contribution will conform to the contribution fixed for the European Defence Community.

The maximum defence contribution to NATO of all members of the Brussels Treaty organization will be determined by a special agreement fixing levels which can be increased only by unanimous consent.

The strength and armaments of the internal defence forces and the police on the Continent of the countries members of the Brussels Treaty organization will be fixed by agreements within that organization having regard to their proper function and to existing levels and needs."

Armament Control: Purpose of New Agency

"The Brussels Treaty Powers agree to set up, as part of the Brussels Treaty organization, an agency for the control of armaments on the Continent of Europe of the continental members of the Brussels Treaty organization. The detailed provisions are as follows:—

(1) The functions of the agency shall be:

- (a) to ensure that the prohibition of the manufacture of certain types of armaments as agreed between the Brussels Powers is being observed.
- (b) To control the level of stocks held by each country on the Continent of the types of armaments mentioned in the following paragraph. This control shall extend to production and imports to the extent required to make the control of stocks effective.

(2) The types of armament to be controlled under 1(b) above shall be:

- (a) weapons in categories I, II and III listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty;
- (b) weapons in the other categories listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty.
- (c) A list of major weapons taken from Annex I to the same Article to be established hereafter by an expert working group.

Measures will be taken to exclude from control materials and products in the above lists for civil use.

(Weapons in categories I, II, and III listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty are atomic weapons, chemical weapons, and biological weapons. Weapons in other categories listed in this annex are long-range missiles, guided missiles, and influence mines; naval vessels other than minor defensive craft; and military aircraft. Annex I to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty divides conventional and unconventional armaments into a number of categories.)

(3) As regards the weapons referred under paragraph 2 (a) above, when the countries which have not given up the right to produce them have passed the experimental stage and start effective production, the level of stocks that they will be allowed to hold on the Continent shall be decided by the Brussels Treaty council by a majority vote.

(4) The continental members of the Brussels Treaty organization agree not to build up stocks or to produce the armaments mentioned in paragraph 2 (b) and (c) beyond the limits required

- (a) for the equipment of their forces, taking into account any imports including external aid, and
- (b) for export.

(5) The requirements for their NATO forces shall be established on the basis of the results of the annual review and the recommendations of the NATO military authorities.

(6) For forces remaining under national control, the level of stocks must correspond to the size and mission of those forces. That level shall be notified to the agency.

(7) All importations or exportations of the controlled arms will be notified to the agency.

(8) The agency will operate through the examination and collation of statistical and budgetary data. It will undertake test checks and will make such visits and inspections as may be required to fulfil its functions as defined in paragraph 2 above.

(9) The basic rules of procedure for the agency shall be laid down in a protocol to the Brussels Treaty.

(10) If the agency finds that the prohibitions are not being observed, or that the appropriate level of stocks is being exceeded, it will so inform the Brussels council.

(11) The agency will report and be responsible to the Brussels council, which will take its decisions by a majority vote on questions submitted by the agency.

(12) The Brussels council will make an annual report on its activities concerning the control of armaments to the delegates of the Brussels Treaty Powers and to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

(13) The Governments of the United States and Canada will notify the Brussels Treaty organization of the military aid to be distributed to the continental members of that organization. The organization may make written observations.

(14) The Brussels council will establish a working group in order to study the draft directive presented by the French Government and any other papers which may be submitted on the subject of armaments production and standardization."

German Declaration Voluntary Limitation

(15) The Brussels Treaty Powers have taken note of the following declaration of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and record their agreement with it: The Federal Chancellor declares:—

"that the Federal Republic undertakes not to manufacture in its territory any atomic weapons, chemical weapons, or biological weapons, as detailed in paragraphs I, II, and III of the attached list;

"that it undertakes further not to manufacture in its territory such weapons as those detailed in paragraphs IV, V, and VI of the attached list. Any amendment to or cancellation of the substance of paragraphs IV, V and VI can, on the request of the Federal Republic, be carried out by a resolution of the Brussels Council of Ministers by a two-thirds majority, if in accordance with the needs of the armed forces a request is made by the competent Supreme Commander of NATO;

"that the Federal Republic agrees to supervision by the competent authority of the Brussels Treaty organization to ensure that these undertakings are observed."

Federal Chancellor's List Declaration by the Powers

"The following list is appended to the declaration by the Federal Chancellor. It comprises the weapons defined in paragraphs I

to, VI and the factories earmarked solely for their production. All apparatus, parts, equipment, installations, substances, and organisms which are used for civilian purposes or for scientific, medical, and industrial research in the fields of pure and applied science shall be excluded from this definition.

I. Atomic weapons.

Text as in Annex II paragraph I to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty with the deletion of (c).

II. Chemical weapons.

III. Biological weapons.

IV. Long-distance missiles, guided missiles, magnetic and influence mines.

Texts as in Annex II paragraphs II, III, and IV to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty.

V. Warships, with the exception of smaller ships for defence purposes. These are:—

- (a) Warships of more than 3,000 tons displacement.
- (b) Submarines of more than 350 tons displacement.
- (c) All warships which are driven by means other than steam, diesel, or petrol engines or by gas turbines or by jet engines.

VI. Bomber aircraft for strategic purposes.

—The closest possible co-operation with NATO shall be established in all fields.”

III. United States, United Kingdom, and Canadian Assurances

The United States Secretary of State set forth the willingness of the United States to continue its support for European unity, in accordance with the following statement.

“If, using the Brussels Treaty as a nucleus, it is possible to find in this new pattern a continuing hope of unity among the countries of Europe that are represented here, and if the hopes that were tied into the EDC treaty can reasonably be transferred into the arrangements which will be the outgrowth of this meeting, then I would certainly be disposed to recommend to the President that he should renew the assurance offered last spring in connection with the EDC treaty to the effect that the United States will continue to maintain in Europe, including Germany, such units of its armed forces as may be necessary and appropriate to contribute its fair share of the forces needed for the joint defence of the North Atlantic area while a threat to the area exists, and will continue to deploy such forces in accordance with agreed North Atlantic strategy for the defence of this area.”

British Statement

The United Kingdom confirmed its active participation in the Brussels Treaty organization and gave the following assurance about the maintenance of United Kingdom forces on the Continent of Europe.

“The United Kingdom will continue to maintain on the mainland of Europe, including Germany, the effective strength of the United Kingdom forces now assigned to the

Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, four divisions and the Tactical Air Force, or whatever the Supreme Allied Commander regards as equivalent fighting capacity. The United Kingdom undertakes not to withdraw those forces against the wishes of the majority of the Brussels Treaty Powers, who should take their decision in the knowledge of the views of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

“This undertaking would be subject to the understanding that an acute overseas emergency might oblige Her Majesty’s Government to omit this procedure.

If the maintenance of United Kingdom forces on the mainland of Europe throws at any time too heavy a strain on the external finances of the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom will invite the North Atlantic Council to review the financial conditions on which the formations are maintained.”

Canadian Affirmation

Canada reaffirmed in the following statement its resolve to discharge the continuing obligations arising out of its membership of NATO and its support of the objective of European unity.

“As far as we are concerned, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the focal point of our participation in collective defence and of our hope for the development of closer co-operation with the other peoples of the Atlantic community. As such, it remains a foundation of Canadian foreign policy. While we emphasize, then, our belief in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we welcome the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty. We shall look forward to a growing relationship, within the framework of NATO, with the new Brussels Treaty organization, composed of countries with whom we are already bound by such close ties.”

German Membership of NATO

Powers’ Recommendation

IV. NATO

“The Powers present at the conference which are members of NATO agreed to recommend at the next ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council that the Federal Republic of Germany should forthwith be invited to become a member.

“They further agreed to recommend to NATO that its machinery be reinforced in the following respects:

- (a) All forces of NATO countries stationed on the Continent of Europe shall be placed under the authority of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, with the exception of those which NATO has recognized, or will recognize, as suitable to remain under national command.
- (b) Forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent shall be deployed in accordance with NATO strategy.
- (c) The location of such forces shall be determined by the Supreme Allied

Commander, Europe, after consultation and agreement with the national authorities concerned.

- (d) Such forces shall not be redeployed on the Continent or used operationally on the Continent without his consent, subject to appropriate political guidance from the North Atlantic Council.
- (e) Forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent shall be integrated as far as possible consistent with military efficiency.
- (f) Arrangements shall be made for the closer co-ordination of logistics by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.
- (g) The level and effectiveness of forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent and the armaments and equipment, logistics, and reserve formations of those forces on the Continent shall be inspected by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

"The conference recorded the view of all the Governments represented that the North Atlantic Treaty should be regarded as of indefinite duration."

Principles of UN Charter German Acceptance

V. Declaration by the German Federal Government and joint declaration by the Governments of France, United Kingdom and United States of America:—

"The following declarations were recorded at the conference by the German Federal Chancellor and by the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and United States of America.

Declaration by the German Federal Republic

"The German Federal Republic has agreed to conduct its policy in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and accepts the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter.

"Upon her accession to the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Brussels Treaty, the German Federal Republic declares that she will refrain from any action inconsistent with the strictly defensive character of the two treaties. In particular the German Federal Republic undertakes never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic, and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other States."

Declaration by the Governments of USA, UK and France

"The Governments of the United States of

America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the French Republic, being resolved to devote their efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in particular with the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the charter.

- (i) to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;
- (ii) to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;
- (iii) to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations take preventive or enforcement action;
- (iv) to ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles of the charter so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security;

"Having regard to the purely defensive character of the Atlantic alliance which is manifest in the North Atlantic Treaty, wherein they reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and undertake to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter and to refrain, in accordance with those principles, from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

"Take note that the German Federal Republic has by a declaration dated October 3rd accepted the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and has undertaken never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic, and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other States:

"Declare that

1. They consider the government of the Federal Republic as the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs.

2. In their relations with the Federal Republic they will follow the principles set out in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter.

3. A peace settlement for the whole of Germany, freely negotiated between Germany and her former enemies, which would lay the foundation of a lasting peace, remains an essential aim of their policy. The final

determination of the boundaries of Germany must await such a settlement.

4. The achievement through peaceful means of a fully free and unified Germany remains a fundamental goal of their policy.

5. The security and welfare of Berlin and the maintenance of the position of the three Powers there are regarded by the three Powers as essential elements of the peace of the free world in the present international situation. Accordingly they will maintain armed forces within the territory of Berlin as long as their responsibilities require it. They therefore reaffirm that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarters as an attack upon their forces and themselves.

6. They will regard as a threat to their own peace and safety any recourse to force which in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter threatens the integrity and unity of the Atlantic alliance or its defensive purposes. In the event of any such action the three Governments for their part will consider the offending Government as having forfeited its rights to any guarantee and any military assistance provided for in the North Atlantic Treaty and its protocols. They will act in accordance with Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty with a view to taking other measures which may be appropriate.

7. They will invite the association of other member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with this Declaration."

**European Unity
Close Association of Britain**

VI. Future Procedure

The conference agreed that representatives of the Governments concerned should work out urgently the texts of detailed agreements to give effect to the principles laid down above. These will be submitted, where appropriate, to the North Atlantic Council and to the four Governments directly concerned with the future status of the Federal Republic.

"The conference hoped that it would be possible to hold a Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council on October 22nd to decide on the arrangements affecting NATO. This will be preceded by meetings of the four Foreign Ministers on the question of German sovereignty and of the nine Foreign Ministers.

"These agreements and arrangements constitute a notable contribution to world peace. A western Europe is now emerging which, resting on the close association of the United Kingdom with the Continent and on growing friendship between the participating countries, will reinforce the Atlantic community. The system elaborated by the conference will further the development of European unity and integration."



The following documents are annexed to and form part of the final act: Draft declara-

tion, and draft protocol to the Brussels Treaty; full text of statements by Mr. Dulles, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Pearson at the fourth plenary meeting on September 29th; conference paper on German defence contribution and arrangements to apply to the forces of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent.

**Annex 1. Draft Declaration and Draft Protocol
Inviting Italy and the German Federal Republic
to Accede to the Brussels Treaty**

"The governments of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, parties to the Brussels Treaty of 17th March, 1948, for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for legitimate collective self-defense.

"Aware that the principles underlying the association created by the Brussels Treaty are also recognized and applied by the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.

"Noting with satisfaction that their devotion to peace and their allegiance to democratic institutions constitute common bonds between the countries of Western Europe.

"Convinced that an association with the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy would represent a new and substantial advance in the direction already indicated by the Treaty.

"Decide:

In application of Article IX of the treaty, to invite the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy to accede to the Brussels Treaty, as revised and completed by the protocol (and list of agreements and documents to be specified in the final text)."

**Draft Protocol to the
Brussels Treaty**

"HM the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, President of the French Union, HRH the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, HM the Queen of the Netherlands, HM the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, parties to the treaty of economic, social and cultural collaboration and collective self-defense signed at Brussels on March 17th, 1948, hereinafter referred to as the treaty, on the one hand,

"And the President of the Federal Republic of Germany and the President of the Italian Republic on the other hand,

"Inspired by a common will to strengthen peace and security,

"Desirous to this end of promoting the unity and of encouraging the progressive integration of Europe,

"Convinced that the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Italian Republic to the treaty will represent a new and substantial advance toward these aims,

"Have agreed as follows:

Article I

"The Federal Republic of Germany and

the Italian Republic hereby accede to the treaty, as revised and completed by the present protocol (and the list of agreements and documents).

Article II

“(A) The sub-paragraph of the preamble to the treaty” to take such steps as may be held necessary in the event of renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression” shall be modified to read:

“To promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe.”

“(B) The following new article shall be inserted in the treaty as Article IV:

“IV—In execution of the treaty, the high contracting parties and any organs established by them under the treaty shall work in close co-operation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.”

The present Article IV of the treaty and the succeeding articles shall be renumbered accordingly.

“(C) Article VIII, formerly Article VII, of the treaty, shall read:

“For the purpose of consulting together on all questions dealt with in the present treaty and its protocol and the agreements and other documents set out in Article I above and of strengthening peace and security and of promoting unity and of encouraging the progressive integration of Europe and closer co-operation between member states and with other European organizations, the high contracting parties will create a council, which shall be so organized as to be able to exercise its functions continuously. The Council shall meet at such times as it shall deem fit.

“At the request of any of the high contracting parties, the Council shall be immediately convened in order to permit the high contracting parties to consult with regard to any situation which may constitute a threat to peace, in whatever area this threat should arise, or with regard to any situation constituting danger to economic stability.”

Article III

“The present protocol and the agreements set out in Article II shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Belgian government. They shall enter into force upon the date of deposit of the last instrument of ratification.”

Annex 2. Conference Paper on German Defence Contribution and Arrangements to Apply to the Forces of SACEUR, on the Continent.

“The nine governments represented at the London conference agree to instruct representatives to draw up in Paris, in concert with the military and civilian agencies of NATO through the Secretary General, detailed proposals, for approval by the North Atlantic Council, for a German defense contribution and arrangements to be applied to SACEUR's forces on the Continent. These detailed pro-

posals should be based on the following principles agreed between the nine governments:

“1.—(A) The seven Brussels Treaty powers will conclude a special agreement setting out the forces each of them will place under SACEUR on the Continent.

“(B) The German contribution shall conform in size and general characteristics to the contribution fixed for the EDC brought up to date and adapted as necessary to make it suitable for NATO.

“(C) The terms of this special agreement will be agreed with the other NATO countries.

“(D) If at any time the NATO annual review recommends an increase above the figures in the Brussels special agreement, such increase will require the unanimous approval of the Brussels powers expressed in the Brussels Council or in NATO.

“(E) The Brussels powers will ask that arrangements be made for SACEUR to designate a high-ranking officer who will be instructed to transmit regularly to the Brussels Treaty Organization information acquired as indicated in 3 (F) below in order to permit that organization to establish that the figures agreed among the Brussels powers are being observed.

“2. All forces of NATO countries stationed on the continent of Europe shall be placed under the authority of SACEUR, with the exception of the forces which NATO has recognized or will recognize as suitable to remain under national command.

The strength and armaments on the Continent of the internal defense forces and of the police belonging to the members of the Brussels Treaty Organization shall be fixed by agreements made within this organization, taking into account the task for which they are intended and on the basis of existing levels and needs.

“3. Arrangements to apply to SACEUR's forces:

(a) Forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent shall be deployed in accordance with NATO strategy.

(b) The location of such forces shall be determined by SACEUR after consultation and agreement with the national authorities concerned.

(c) Such forces shall not be redeployed on the Continent nor used operationally on the Continent without his consent subject to appropriate political guidance from the North Atlantic Council.

(d) Forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent shall be integrated as far as possible consistent with military efficiency.

(e) Arrangements shall be made for the closer co-ordination of logistics by SACEUR.

(f) The level and effectiveness of forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent and the armaments, equipment, logistics and reserve formations of those forces on the Continent shall be inspected by SACEUR.”

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

AFTER more than a half century of intermittent study and investigation and several sets of negotiations between Canada and the United States, developments during the summer of 1954 finally made possible the beginning of the long awaited hydro-electric power and deep-water navigation projects in the St. Lawrence River. The key factor was the decision by the United States Supreme Court on June 7 to deny a petition for a writ of *certiorari* in connection with the issuance by the Federal Power Commission of a licence to the Power Authority of the State of New York. This effectively removed the last legal obstacle to the power project, without which work on the seaway could not be contemplated. Sod-turning ceremonies on August 10 at Cornwall, Ont., and Massena, N.Y., marked the beginning of actual construction on the power project, and intergovernmental negotiations between Canada and the United States on the seaway aspect were concluded on August 13.

In the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin, with a total drop of 603 feet between Lake Superior and the sea, nature has provided a great natural source of power and a navigation system extending some 2,000 miles into the heart of the North American Continent. Fort William, Port Arthur and Duluth, at the Head of the Lakes, lie almost half-way between Cape Breton and Vancouver Islands.

At the time the Welland Ship Canal was projected earlier in the century, it had been generally agreed that the economically optimum Great Lakes freighter was a vessel of approximately 25,000-ton capacity with a 25-foot draught. Such a vessel would therefore require a 27-foot channel for continuous safe navigation. About three-quarters of the world's merchant marine could also be accommodated in a 27-foot channel, and that depth therefore became the criterion of deep-water navigation in modern projects for developing the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin.

An International Question

From Lake Superior all the way through Lake Huron, Lake Erie, the Welland Canal, Lake Ontario and the Thousand Island section of the St. Lawrence River down to Prescott (see map), there is already a controlling channel depth of 25 feet* and this is capable of being increased to 27 feet by dredging only. However, through the 115-mile stretch from Prescott downstream to Montreal, navigation is limited to a depth of 14 feet through the existing Canadian canals, which bypass a series of rapids with a total drop of 225 feet. From Montreal to the sea, channels have already been dredged to a minimum depth of 32½ feet. Therefore the key stretch, with respect to both power and navigation development, is that section of the St. Lawrence River between Prescott and Montreal. The first part of this, i.e. the 47-mile stretch from Prescott-Ogdensburg to Cornwall-St. Regis, is bounded by Canada and

* i.e. in the downbound channels; there is 21 feet in the upbound channels in the Upper Lakes. The McArthur lock at Sault St. Marie and the Welland Canal locks provide 30 feet over the sills.



—Ontario Hydro

NEW POWER AND NAVIGATION WORKS AT IROQUOIS

The proposed site of the control dam stretching across the St. Lawrence River from the Canadian to the United States shore is indicated by the broken line. In the background can be seen the existing Canadian 14-foot canal system at Iroquois, Ont. Canada has commenced preliminary works for the construction of the new 27-foot canal and lock, which will traverse the area between the old canal and the new control dam.

the United States, and includes the Long Sault Rapids which are capable of developing 2.2 million horse-power. The remaining stretch from Cornwall to Montreal, which lies wholly within Canadian territory, contains the rapids at Soulanges and Lachine, which can provide an additional $2\frac{1}{4}$ million horse-power.

The key to an understanding of the St. Lawrence question is to be found in the following inter-related factors:

- 1) A major drop in the river, totalling 92.5 feet and including the Long Sault Rapids, occurs between Prescott and Cornwall. This is called the "International Rapids Section" as the river flows between Canada and the United States.
- 2) The development of 27 foot navigation in this section would be economically prohibitive without the concurrent development of the 2.2 million horse-power at Long Sault Rapids.
- 3) Development of power at Long Sault Rapids requires the erection of dams and power-houses *across the boundary* and the consequent *raising of water levels in boundary waters*.
- 4) Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 provides that in boundary waters between Canada and the United States, either country can construct works on its side of the boundary which materially affect the level or flow of water on the other side *only if it concludes a special agreement with the other country or secures the approval of the International Joint Commission*.*

* For an article on the six-member Canada-United States International Joint Commission, see *External Affairs*, March 1951, pp. 90-95.

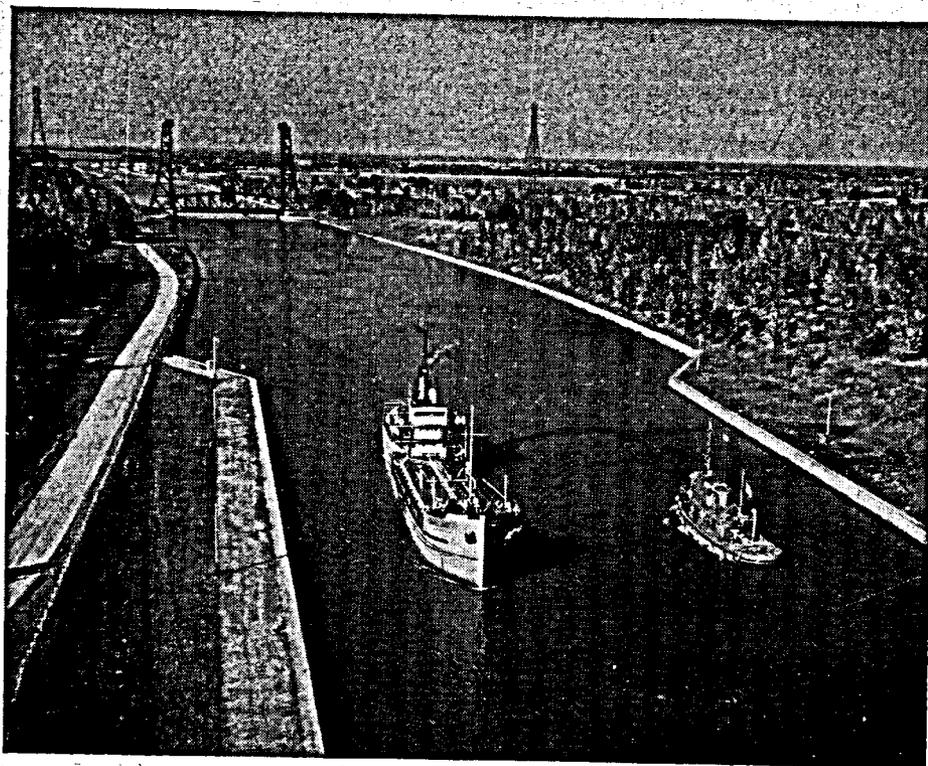
- 5) Therefore, the development of deep-water navigation in the International Rapids Section is dependent upon the prior or concurrent development of power, and the construction of power works cannot be undertaken there without the co-operation of, and agreement between, Canada and the United States.

While piecemeal development of the St. Lawrence system began centuries ago and important navigation improvements were carried out on the Canadian side during the nineteenth century, the main negotiations between Canada and the United States began towards the end of the century. Agitation for the improvement of inland waterways resulted, in 1895, in the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry by both countries. Canada completed its 14-foot navigation system in 1900 and in 1912 decided to construct the new Welland Ship Canal.* Proposals advanced by one or other country in the next few years did not receive real consideration because of World War I. Extensive studies and investigations were continued during the 1920's, culminating in the signing by Canada and the United States of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty of 1932. This Treaty provided for "the construction of a deep waterway, not less than 27 feet in depth, for navigation from the interior of the Continent of North America, through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, to the sea, with the development of the water power incidental thereto . . ." The Treaty did not reach a vote in the Senate until March 1934, when it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority (it was defeated by a vote of 46 in favour to 42 against). Further studies and negotiations took place during the 1930's, which led to the signing of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement in March 1941. This Agreement provided for joint Canadian-United States development of the whole Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin and the settlement of outstanding questions such as the Chicago Diversion, Niagara Diversion and remedial works etc. Notwithstanding repeated efforts by the United States Administration all through the 1940's, this Agreement similarly failed to receive the approval of Congress.

1952 Agreement with the United States.

Both the Treaty of 1932 and the Agreement of 1941 would have constituted the "special agreement" required by the Boundary Waters Treaty. In the absence of Congressional approval and in view of the power shortage that was developing in Ontario, the idea arose during the late 1940's of pursuing the alternative procedure provided by the Boundary Waters Treaty, viz., to secure the approval of the International Joint Commission for the construction of the power works in the International Rapids Section. In effect, the two countries decided to separate the power project from the navigation project in order to expedite both. By an Exchange of Notes dated June 30, 1952, the Canadian and United States Government agreed to submit joint Applications to the International Joint Commission for the development of power in the International Rapids Section by entities in Canada and the United States, *on the understanding that the Canadian Government would undertake to construct and operate all the works necessary to ensure uninterrupted 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal*, and that the Canadian Government would

* The Welland Ship Canal was completed in 1932, at a cost of \$133,000,000. It would cost about \$300,000,000 to build today.



THE WELLAND CANAL

—NFB

Ships move through a broad expanse of one of the world's largest and most heavily travelled waterways, connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Much of the Canal already has 27 foot depth, and the remainder is being deepened by Canada from 25 to 27 feet to permit continuous deepwater navigation.

complete these navigation works as concurrently as possible with completion of the power works.*

On the strength of the agreement embodied in these Notes and on the same day, the Canadian and United States Governments submitted joint Applications to the International Joint Commission for the development of power in the international section.†

In October 1952, the International Joint Commission gave its Order of Approval to the power project. The situation at that time, therefore, was that Canadian and United States entities were to construct the power works jointly, while Canada alone, by agreement with the United States, was to undertake construction of all the works necessary to complete 27-foot navigation between

* Also on the understanding that the Canadian Government would:

- (a) agree that the amount to be paid to Canada, in lieu of the construction by the power entities of facilities required to continue 14-foot navigation, be excluded from the total power costs to be divided between those entities; and
- (b) contribute \$15 million towards the cost of the channel enlargement which the power entities must undertake in the International Rapids Section in consideration of the benefits accruing to navigation from these channel enlargements.

† See *External Affairs* July 1952, pp. 241-8, for the text of the Canadian Government's Application to the International Joint Commission, in which is given a description of the power works, and for the texts of the June 30, 1952 Exchange of Notes.

Lake Erie and Montreal.* Accordingly, in a Note dated November 4, 1952, Canada informed the United States that it considered the 1941 Agreement to have been superseded. The cost of the navigation works to be undertaken by Canada was approximately \$261 million. The cost of the power works was estimated at approximately \$500 million without interest, to be shared equally by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York which was subsequently designated as the United States power entity.

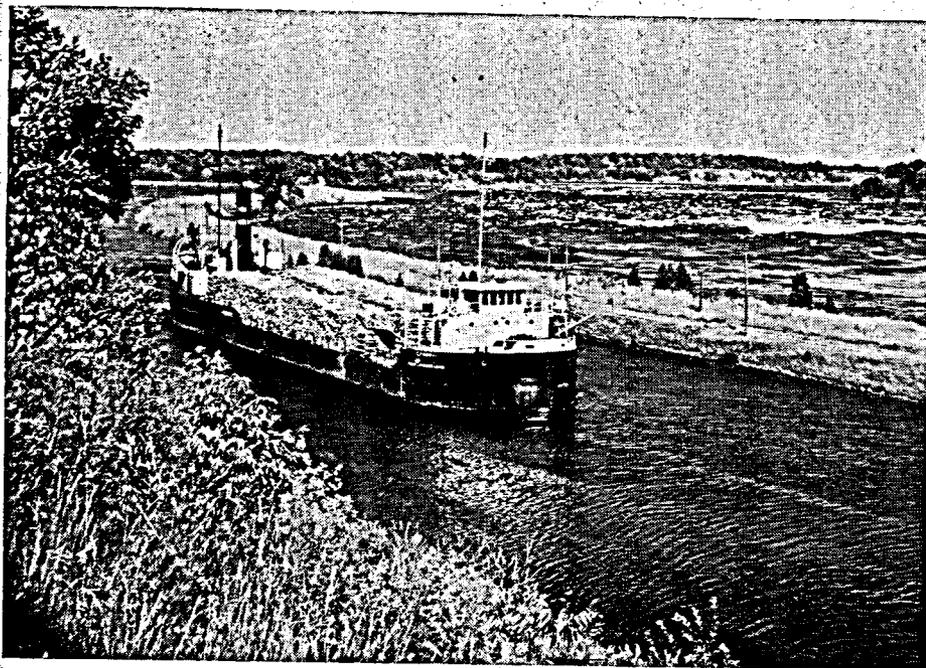
Effects of 1953 Litigation on Power and Seaway Works

Although the International Joint Commission had given the required approval, work could not immediately begin on the construction of the international power dams, and therefore on the navigation works, in the autumn of 1952. All the necessary authorization in Canada and all necessary international authorization for the construction of the power project and for the construction by Canada of the navigation facilities had been completed. There remained the authorization, in accordance with United States law, of an appropriate entity to construct the United States share of the power works. The Power Authority of the State of New York had applied to the Federal Power Commission for such authorization on September 22, 1952. Extensive hearings before an Examiner were held, and his decision in favour of licensing the Power Authority of the State of New York was issued on May 12, 1953. This decision was upheld by the Federal Power Commission itself on July 15, 1953. Under the Federal Power Act, decisions by the Federal Power Commission can be appealed to the Commission and then, within 60 days of the Commission's disposition of an appeal, to the Court of Appeals and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. Appeals to the Commission were rejected on September 4 and were then brought before the Court of Appeals on November 3, 1953. On January 29, 1954 that Court denied petitions for rehearing and on May 19 a petition for certiorari was filed in the United States Supreme Court.

This litigation process not only held up the development of power; in addition, Canada could not begin to construct the 27-foot navigation works until the litigation was concluded and the Canadian Government could be sure that the pools of water to be created by the power dams would in fact exist and that ships could sail through them. The legal obstacles holding up the development of the power works were cleared away only on June 7, 1954 when the United States Supreme Court denied a petition for a writ of *certiorari*.

During this period between October 1952 and June 1954, while both governments were waiting for the power litigation to be settled, a new factor entered the navigation picture. Early in January 1953, bills were introduced in Congress by Senator Wiley and Representative Dondero to authorize the construction, *on the United States side*, of the navigation works required in the

* Use of the phrase "all-Canadian Seaway" to describe this arrangement has possibly led to some confusion. While all the *canals and locks* might be constructed on the Canadian side of the river, the *navigation channel* in the St. Lawrence proper (and also in the Upper Lakes) inevitably weaves back and forth across the International Boundary many times. Nature dictated that. Thus, even at the present time a ship which sails through the Canadian lock at Sault Ste. Marie and through the present Canadian canals in the St. Lawrence River would still have to cross the International Boundary many times into United States waters while sailing down the navigation channels in the St. Mary's River, the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers and the St. Lawrence.



LONG SAULT RAPIDS

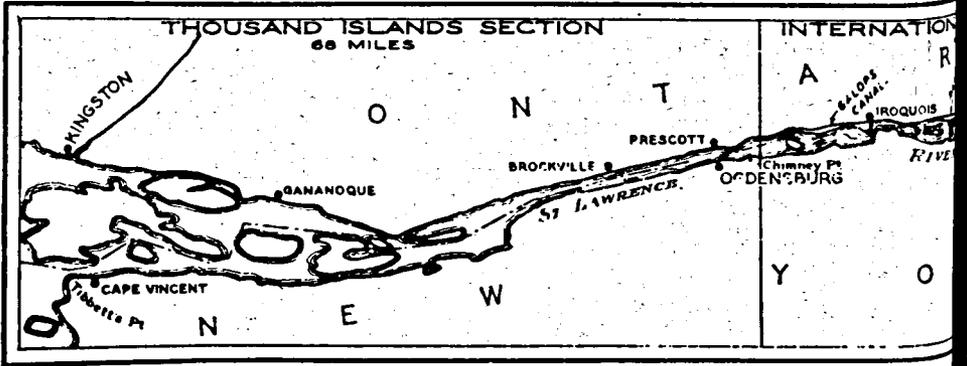
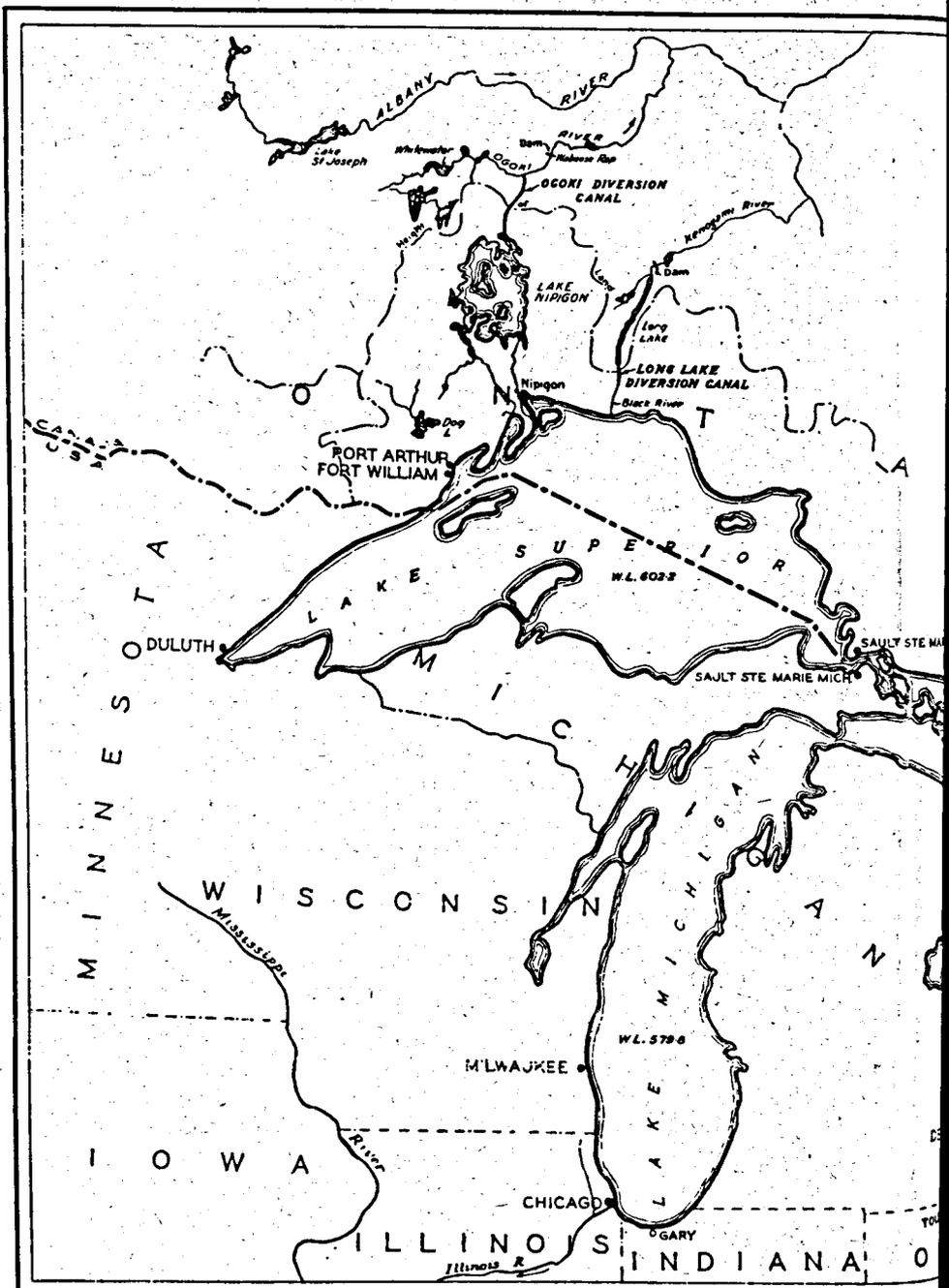
At the Long Sault Rapids alone, the St. Lawrence drops 92 feet. The new power development in this area, which is being undertaken jointly by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York, will provide 2,200,000 h.p., to be divided equally between these entities. In the photo above, a freighter passes through the Canadian 14-foot canal system by-passing the rapids.

international section of the river. In view of the delays that had occurred through the years as a result of the consideration and rejection of seaway bills by Congress, Prime Minister St. Laurent, in a memorandum dated January 9, 1953 to the United States Ambassador at Ottawa, pointed out that the Canadian Government was most reluctant to engage in any further discussion which might delay the progress of the power project. However, Mr. St. Laurent added, once the United States designated its power entity, "if the United States Government wishes to put forward a specific proposal differing from that* put forward by the Canadian Government for the construction of the Seaway in the international section, which proposal would not delay the development of power under (present) arrangements . . . , the Canadian Government will be prepared to discuss such a proposal. The Canadian Government would naturally expect the discussion to be such as not to cause any delay in the completion of the whole Seaway."

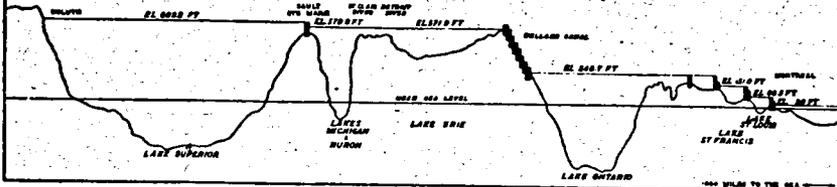
Wiley-Dondero Legislation

For the next year and a half Canada marked time on the construction of the navigation works in the St. Lawrence while awaiting the outcome of the litigation in the United States courts with respect to the power licence. During this period the United States Administration was very co-operative indeed in having this litigation given the earliest consideration in the courts, and by the

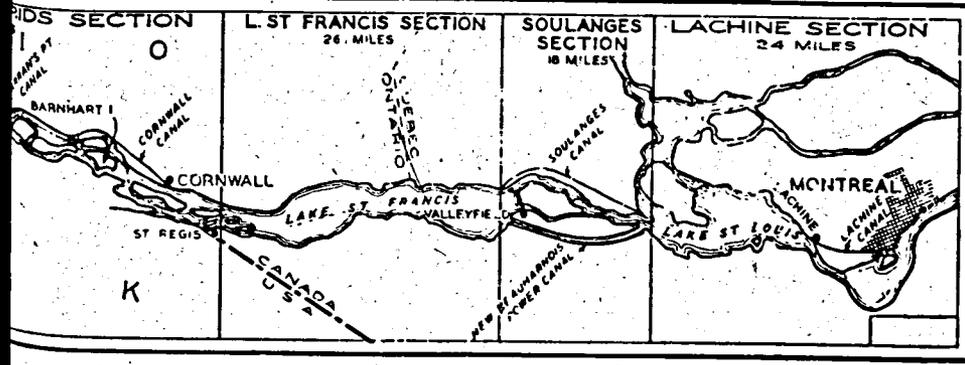
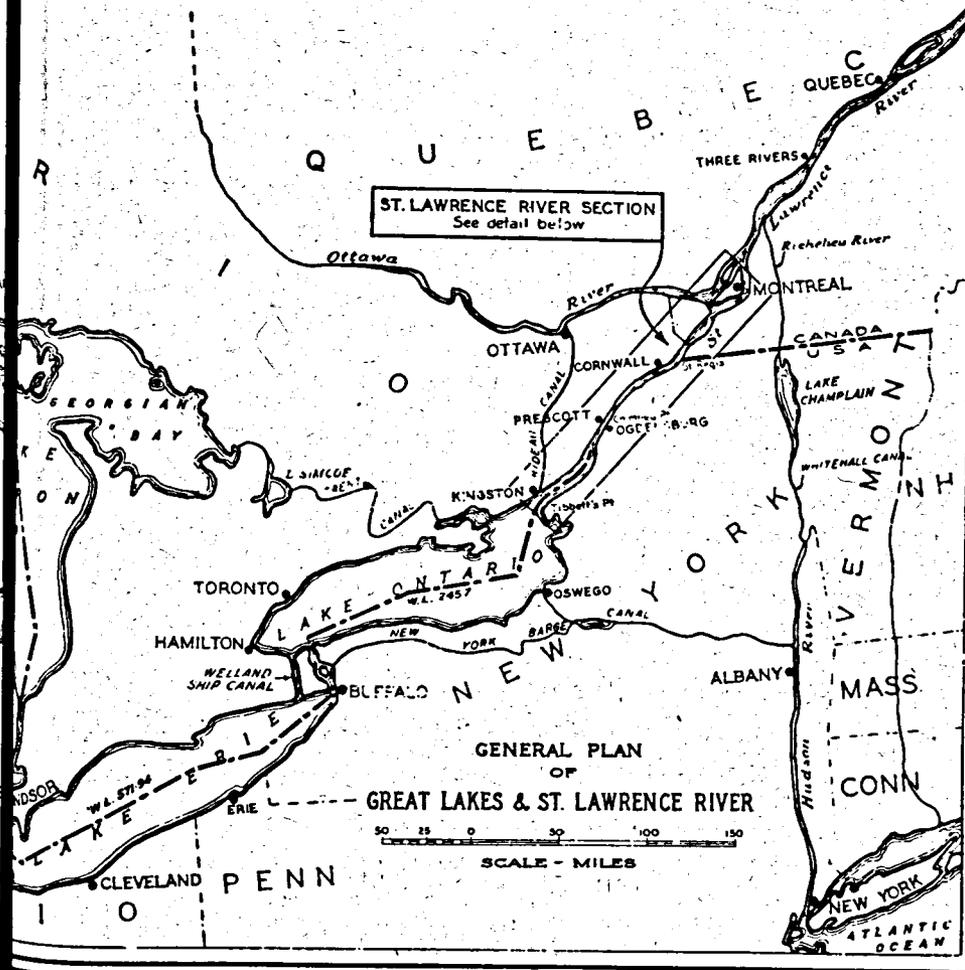
* i.e. navigation works to be built wholly by Canada, under the June 30, 1952 arrangements.



WATER LEVEL PROFILE-GREAT LAKES & ST LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY



ST. LAWRENCE RIVER SECTION
See detail below



Supreme Court's decision of June 7, 1954, the legal obstacles to the power, and therefore the navigation, development were finally surmounted. However during this period the United States House of Representatives and the Senate considered the Dondero and Wiley Bills and on May 6, 1954, approved them. The resultant "Public Law 358" established a United States Saint Lawrence Development Corporation and authorized and *directed* it to construct on the United States side the works required for deep-water navigation in the international section.

Main Seaway Works and Cost

Following is a list of the main works to be constructed to provide 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal, with an estimate of their cost:

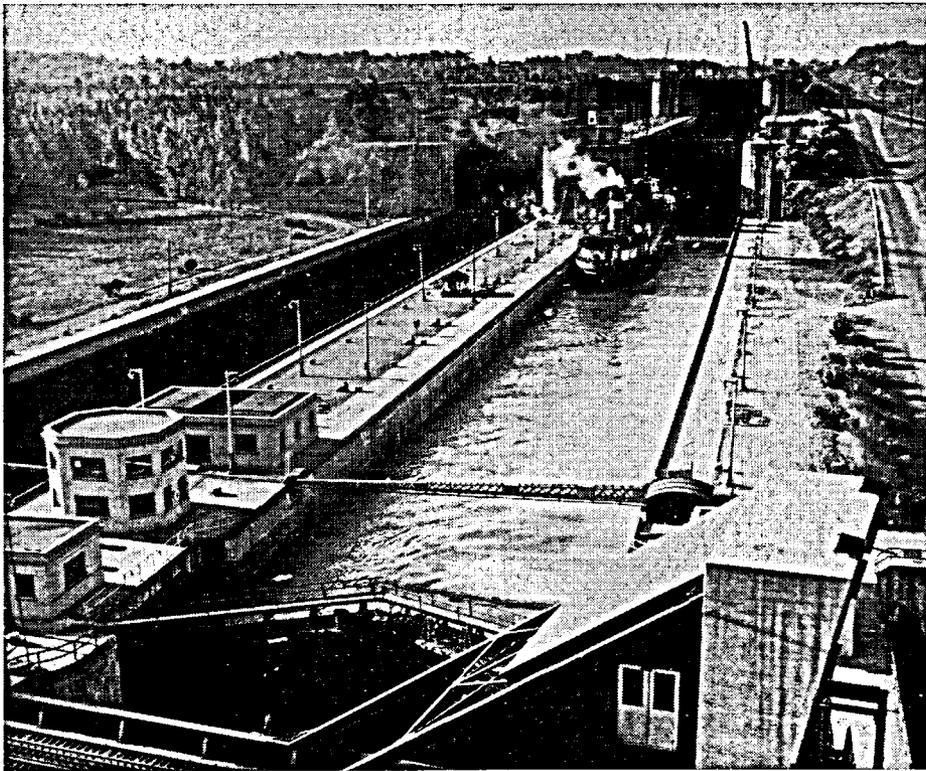
<i>In Canadian Territory</i>	\$ Millions
a) Welland Canal—channel deepening.....	2
b) Lake St. Francis—excavations.....	4
c) Beauharnois—lock, bridge, etc.....	47
d) Lachine—canal, locks, etc.....	122
 <i>In the International Section</i>	
e) Thousand Island Section—channel dredging.....	2
f) Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14
g) Barnhart Island—canal and locks.....	70

Total cost \$261 millions

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the situation during the past summer was, in effect, as follows: The power litigation had been concluded and for the first time the way was open for construction of the power works and therefore of the navigation works. Canada had enacted legislation authorizing the construction of all the works listed above on the Canadian side of the river, had given an undertaking to the United States to do so and had received the agreement of the United States in the Exchange of Notes of June 30, 1952. The United States had enacted Public Law 358 authorizing and directing (i.e., ordering) the construction, on the United States side of the river, of two of these works, viz., the canal and lock at Iroquois and the canal and locks at Barnhart Island (and also the dredging in the Thousand Islands section of the river). Both countries were authorized to amortize their expenditures by the imposition of tolls, to be imposed either individually or jointly.

On the basis of Mr. St. Laurent's January 1953 statement that Canada would still be willing to consider a "specific proposal" that would delay neither power nor navigation development, the United States on June 7, 1954, requested a meeting with Canadian representatives in order to work out arrangements for proceeding with the navigation works in the light of the new situation. Preliminary meetings were held in Ottawa during July and inter-governmental negotiations took place during August. The Deputy Secretary of Defence, Mr. Robert B. Anderson, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, headed the United States and Canadian negotiators, respectively.

One of the main difficulties which confronted the negotiators was, of course, that the legislatures of both countries had authorized the construction of the same works on their own side of the international section. One of their main tasks therefore was to reconcile the national interests and aspirations of



LOCKS AT WELLAND

—NFB

A small freighter ascends the series of three twin flight locks in the Welland Canal near Thorold, Ont. Construction of the Welland Canal and locks, permitting deep-water navigation between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, was completed by Canada in 1932 at a cost of \$133,000,000. It would cost about \$300,000,000 to build today. The locks provide a depth of 30 feet over the sills.

both countries, and at the same time to preserve their own rights and freedom of action. In such circumstances common sense dictated that the two countries should work out an arrangement which would serve both, not only now but in the long-term future. The August negotiations resulted in a new Exchange of Notes dated August 17, 1954 (the full texts of which are given as an appendix to this article). The results of the negotiations can be summarized as follows:

(1) *Barnhart Island*—The Canadian Government informed the United States Government that it was prepared to modify the June 30, 1952 arrangements to the extent that Canada would be relieved of one undertaking, viz., to construct forthwith (in Canadian territory) the canal and two locks at Barnhart Island and to carry out the dredging in the Thousand Islands section. The United States Government agreed to this modification of the earlier Exchange of Notes and will build the facilities at Barnhart Island and do the dredging in the Thousand Islands section. Canada has lost none of its rights to build the canal and locks at Barnhart Island in Canadian territory in the future. Canada stated its intention of constructing a canal and locks on the Canadian side of Barnhart Island, if and when it considers that parallel facilities are required to accommodate existing or potential traffic. An important factor bearing on the requirement for parallel facilities on the Canadian side at Barnhart Island would be increasing volume of traffic. Another factor which, however,

the Canadian Government hopes and expects would not materialize, would be unreasonable or unwarranted interference with, or delays to, Canadian shipping.

(2) *Iroquois*—Canada, as stated in its Note, will construct forthwith a canal and lock on the Canadian side of the international section at Iroquois. The United States negotiators stated that the United States Government is committed by Congressional legislation to the construction of a canal and lock on the United States side at this point. Nevertheless, the Canadian Government expressed the hope that the United States may subsequently decide not to proceed with construction at Iroquois at this time.

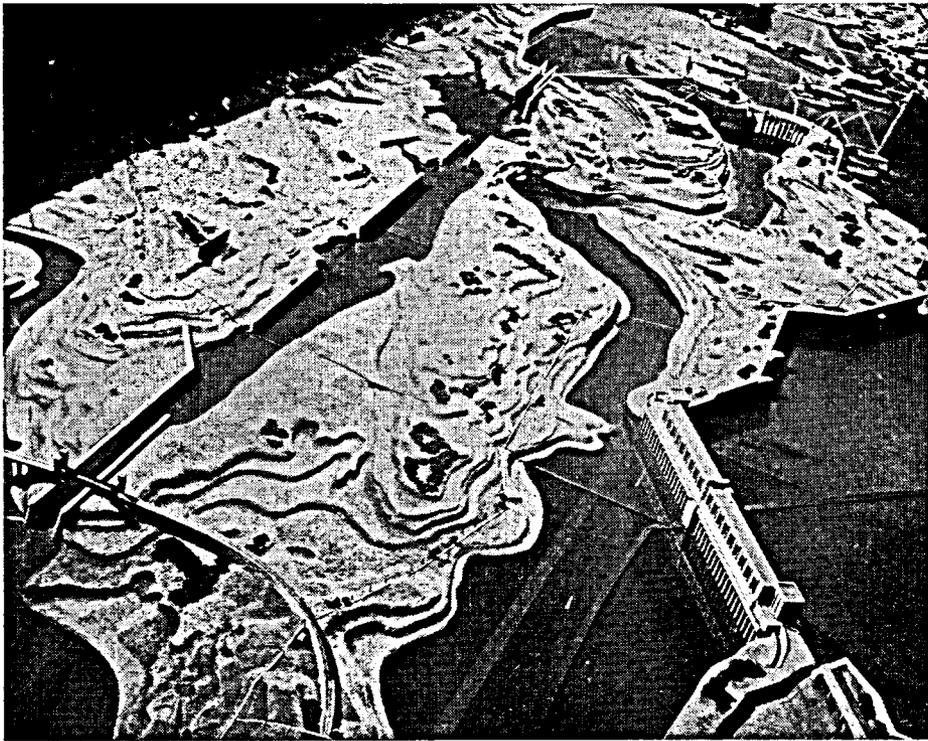
(3) *Navigation Rights*—The two governments recognized, in the new Exchange of Notes, that it was of great importance to both that the St. Lawrence Seaway be used to the maximum extent, and they therefore agreed to use their best endeavours to avoid placing unreasonable restrictions on the transit of passengers, shipping or trade in the international section of the Seaway. They also agreed to consult before the enactment of any new law, or the promulgation of any new regulation, applicable on either side of the international section which might affect vessels of Canadian, United States or third-country registry. It was also agreed that "with respect to any laws or regulations now in force in either country which affect the shipping interests of the other country in the international section . . ." either Government could request consultation and the other would accede to such request.

(4) *14-foot Navigation*—The Canadian Government reserved the right, in its Note, to decide whether and how it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids Section but agreed to consult the United States "on the question of levying tolls in connection with such works".

Arguments Against Duplication

An important problem was whether Canada should build at Barnhart on the Canadian side immediately, paralleling the Barnhart Island works which the United States is going to build. In the Canadian view, the construction now by both countries of parallel 27-foot navigation works throughout the international section would obviously not be in the best interests of either country. In the first place, it was estimated that the volume of water-borne traffic in the St. Lawrence would not be sufficient in the immediate future to warrant the construction of two canals systems. Furthermore, even if traffic were now sufficient, there would be no economic purpose served in constructing double navigation facilities in the International Section unless other facilities up and down the line in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin were also duplicated at the same time. It was estimated that doubling these other facilities would involve expenditures of approximately \$100 million at Welland* and \$40 million at Lachine, additional to those already to be undertaken by Canada under present legislation. However, it is hoped and expected that the traffic situation will be quite different some years after the Seaway has commenced operation at the end of 1958. It is expected that the growth of traffic will justify the completion of works on both sides of the International Section of the St. Lawrence, at Barnhart and at Iroquois. When that time comes, Canada can then build a canal and locks on the Canadian side at Barnhart, and thus complete the

* There is a series of eight locks in the Welland Canal. Three of these are double locks. Therefore, to double the entire facilities would require the construction of an additional five locks, at an estimated cost of approximately \$20 million each.



—Malak

ONTARIO HYDRO MODEL OF BARNHART WORKS

The international powerhouse can be seen in the foreground and the power dam at Long Sault Rapids in the rear (right). The canal and locks to be built on United States territory at Barnhart Island are shown on the left.

final link in the canal-locks system on Canadian territory from Lake Erie to Montreal.

The table below gives a recapitulation of the major works to be constructed by Canada and the United States to provide deep-water navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal, with an estimate of their cost:

<i>To be Constructed by Canada</i>	<i>\$ Millions</i>
Welland Canal—channel deepening.....	2
Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14
Lake St. Francis—excavations.....	4
Beauharnois—lock, bridge, etc.....	47
Lachine—canal, locks, etc.....	122
 <i>To be Constructed by the United States</i>	
Thousand Islands Section—channel dredging.....	2
Barnhart Island—canal and locks	70
[*Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14]

* As stated above, the Canadian Seaway Authority is now building a canal and lock on the Canadian side of the river at Iroquois. The United States Seaway Corporation considers that, under the terms of Public Law 358, it is obliged to construct a canal and lock on the United States side of the river at Iroquois. The Canadian Government has expressed the hope that the United States will decide not to proceed with construction at Iroquois at present (see Department of External Affairs Press Release No. 50 of August 18, 1954).

**CANADA-UNITED STATES EXCHANGE OF NOTES MODIFYING ARRANGEMENTS
ON DEVELOPMENT OF ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY CONCLUDED BY EXCHANGE
OF NOTES OF JUNE 30, 1954**

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

OTTAWA, August 17, 1954.

No. X-214

SIR:

1. I have the honour to refer to the Exchange of Notes of June 30, 1952, between the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the Acting Secretary of State of the United States, in which it was agreed that the Canadian Government would, when all arrangements had been made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence Project, construct locks and canals on the Canadian side of the International Boundary to provide for uninterrupted 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and the Port of Montreal.

2. With the co-operation of the Government of the United States, arrangements were made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the Project by the Power Authority of the State of New York and the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. In the meantime, the Congress of the United States enacted and the President approved on May 13, 1954, Public Law 358 which created the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation and authorized and directed it to construct 27-foot navigation works on the United States side of the international section of the St. Lawrence River.

3. At the request of the United States Government, representatives of our two governments held meetings in July and August of this year to discuss the need for modification of the Notes exchanged on June 30, 1952, in the light of Public Law 358. Although the Canadian Government is ready and willing to complete the works necessary for 27-foot navigation in the St. Lawrence Seaway on Canadian territory, it understands the desire of the United States to participate in the Seaway Project by constructing certain navigation works on United States territory. Accordingly the Canadian Government is prepared to modify the arrangements set forth in the Notes of June 30, 1952, to the extent that the Canadian Government will be relieved of the obligation towards the United States Government to provide forthwith the navigation works in the general vicinity of Barnhart Island on Canadian territory and in the Thousand Islands section.

4. (a) The Canadian Government wishes to state, however, that it will construct forthwith a canal and lock at Iroquois and that in addition it intends, if and when it considers that parallel facilities are required to accommodate existing or potential traffic, to complete 27-foot navigation works on the Canadian side of the International Rapids Section.

(b) Before undertaking these latter works in the general vicinity of Barnhart Island, the Canadian Government agrees to consult the United States Government and understands that, should the United States Gov-

ernment intend to build on United States territory in the International Rapids Section navigation works in addition to those provided for in Public Law 358, it would similarly consult the Canadian Government.

5. The Canadian Government reserves the right to decide whether and in what manner it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids Section but agrees to consult the United States Government on the question of levying tolls in connection with such works.
6. (a) It is recognized that it is of great importance to Canada and the United States that the St. Lawrence Seaway be used to the maximum extent required by the needs of commerce. It is understood therefore that both Governments will use their best endeavours to avoid placing unreasonable restrictions on the transit of passengers, shipping or trade in the international section of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

(b) It is further agreed that each Government will consult the other before it enacts any new law or promulgates any new regulation, applicable in the respective national parts of the international section of the St. Lawrence River, which might affect Canadian or United States shipping, or shipping of third-country registry proceeding to or from Canada or the United States respectively.

(c) Similarly, with respect to any laws or regulations now in force in either country which affect the shipping interests of the other country in the international section of the St. Lawrence River, the Government affected may request consultation concerning such laws or regulations and the other Government shall accede to requests for consultation.

(d) The foregoing undertakings are in addition to the treaty obligations now in force between Canada and the United States affecting shipping in the St. Lawrence River and canals, particularly Article I of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

7. I should be glad to receive your confirmation that the United States Government agrees with the modification of the Notes of June 30, 1952, proposed in paragraph 3 and with the reciprocal undertakings set forth in paragraphs 4(b) and 6 of this Note.

8. The Canadian Government looks forward to the fruitful development of this great Seaway Project in constructive and harmonious co-operation with the United States and is confident that this joint enterprise will add to the strength and prosperity of our two countries.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

L. B. Pearson
Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Don C. Bliss, Esq.,
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.,
Embassy of the United States of America,
Ottawa.

UNITED STATES EMBASSY

OTTAWA, August 17, 1954.

No. 38

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Note No. X-214 of August 17, 1954 in which you inform me that the Canadian Government agrees to certain modifications in the arrangements set forth in the Notes of our Governments of June 30, 1952, in the light of the changed circumstances with respect to the St. Lawrence Seaway Project brought about by the enactment by the Congress of the United States of Public Law 358, approved by the President on May 13, 1954.

The United States Government has called the attention of the Canadian Government to the provisions of Public Law 358 authorizing and directing the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to construct certain canals and locks on the United States side of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River as its part of the St. Lawrence Seaway Project. As the Canadian Government has been informed, it is the intention of the United States Government to participate in the St. Lawrence Seaway Project by constructing these navigational facilities.

The United States Government agrees with the requirements of consultation between the two Governments set forth in paragraphs 4(b) and 6 and agrees to relieve Canada of its obligation of June 30, 1952 as referred to in paragraph 3 of your Note No. X-214 of August 17, 1954.

My Government notes the declarations contained in your Note as to the intentions of the Canadian Government with respect to other matters relating to the St. Lawrence Seaway Project.

The United States Government wholeheartedly shares the view expressed by the Government of Canada concerning the benefits to be anticipated from this joint enterprise and welcomes this new opportunity for constructive and harmonious co-operation between our two countries.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Don C. Bliss

The Honorable Lester B. Pearson,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

Canada and the United Nations

Ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly

THE ninth session of the General Assembly opened in New York on September 21. The agenda adopted, up to the present time, contains 69 items. There are new and potentially controversial political items on Cyprus, on the status of West New Guinea and on the admission to membership of Laos and Cambodia, and important issues such as disarmament and the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Elections to the various organs of the United Nations took place as usual in the first days of the session. On the Security Council, Belgium, Iran and Peru will replace Denmark, Colombia and Lebanon; on the Economic and Social Council, the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands, Egypt and Argentina were elected to fill the places of four retiring members; France and China, in accordance with the accepted precedent governing the membership of the five great powers on ECOSOC, were re-elected. There were six seats to be filled on the International Court of Justice; Mohammed Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan was elected to fill the vacancy left by the death of Sir Benegal Rau of India and the remaining vacancies were filled by Jules Basdevant (France), Roberto Cordova (Mexico), José G. Guerrero (El Salvador), Hersch Lauterpacht (United Kingdom) and Lucio M. Moreno Quintan (Argentina). Consideration of the controversial question of Chinese representation was postponed for the duration of the ninth session "in the current calendar year".

The general debate in plenary session was concluded on October 6, and the seven main committees of the Assembly have begun consideration of the agenda items assigned to them. Below is an account of the three most important matters on which decisions have so far been reached.

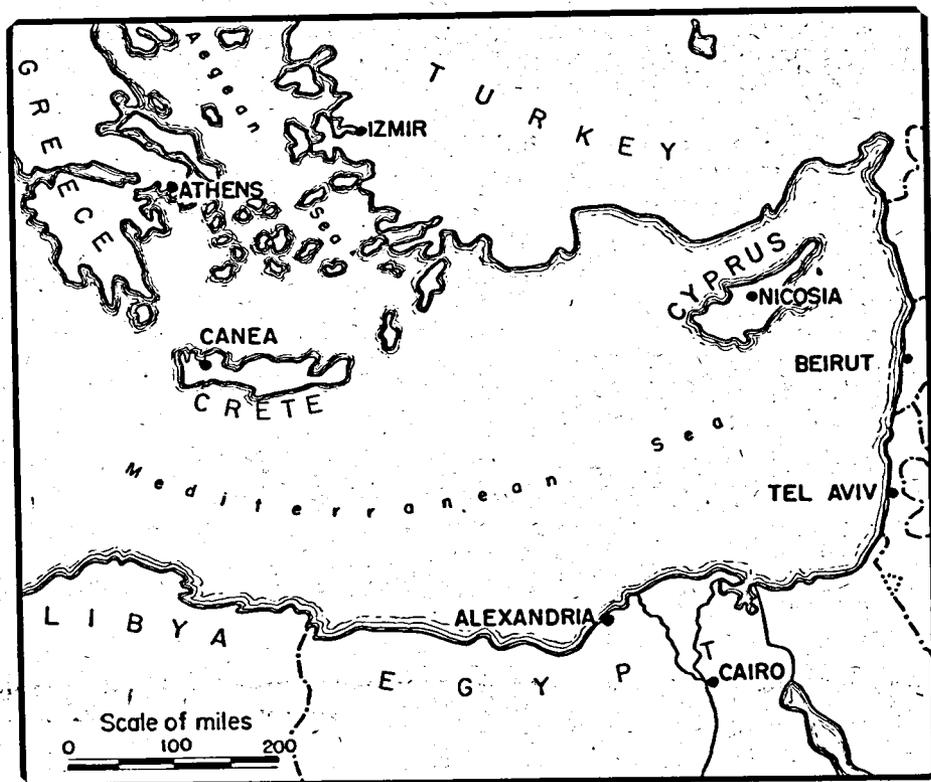
Cyprus

On September 24, 1954, shortly after the opening of the ninth session, the General Assembly had to decide whether an item on Cyprus, proposed by the Government of Greece, should be inscribed on the agenda. The item was described as follows:

Application, under the auspices of the United Nations, of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the island of Cyprus.

The action taken by the Greek Government was not entirely unexpected. At the eighth session of the General Assembly the Greek Delegate had stated that, although his Government would not then press the matter, if bilateral talks about Cyprus between Greece and the United Kingdom proved unavailing, the Greek Government would be obliged to raise the question at the ninth session. Prior to the eighth session unofficial delegations from Cyprus had tried to gain a hearing of the case for the union of Cyprus with Greece.

For years proponents in Greece and Cyprus have asserted that the people of the island, four-fifths of whom speak the Greek language, and are considered as of Greek racial origin (the majority of the remainder are of Turkish origin),



desired that Cyprus be united with Greece. These advocates maintain that in any free plebiscite, such as one under the auspices of the United Nations, the majority of Cypriots would choose union with Greece. In bringing the present item before the General Assembly, the Greek Government seeks to provide the islanders with an opportunity to make this choice.

The United Kingdom Stand on Cyprus

The United Kingdom has resisted Greek efforts to bring about a discussion of the status of Cyprus. The United Kingdom Government has maintained that, since United Kingdom sovereignty in Cyprus is well founded in international law, it is not open to third parties to question the status of the island. United Kingdom spokesmen have expressed regret that Cyprus should have become a source of disagreement between the United Kingdom and Greece. They have emphasized that Cyprus is vital to the discharge of the United Kingdom's responsibilities in the eastern Mediterranean and that these responsibilities can be carried out effectively only if full administrative control of Cyprus is maintained. The United Kingdom has refuted the allegations concerning conditions in Cyprus and has pointed to the substantial material benefits which have accrued to the Cypriots from United Kingdom control and to the constitutional reforms which, if permitted to evolve methodically, would lead to self-government in Cyprus.

In the debate on the inscription issue, the General Assembly had to decide whether the legal arguments based on Article 2(7) of the Charter, the domestic jurisdiction clause, combined with the weighty practical arguments concerning

the harm likely to be done by an Assembly debate about Cyprus, were to prevail against the view, which the majority of members have in the past supported, that the General Assembly has very wide competence to discuss matters of international concern. In the end the majority of members voted in favour of inscription of the Cyprus item. All the NATO powers voted against inscription except Greece, and the United States, which abstained.

Canada voted against inscription because, in the words of the Canadian Delegate, "as a matter of practical judgment on the overall situation and not on grounds of competence . . . the inclusion of the item is likely to do more harm than good in Cyprus, in the region of Cyprus and in the United Nations". The Canadian Delegation was further sustained in this conclusion by the wording of the proposed Cyprus item and its supporting memorandum. This language, in the Canadian view, implied not merely a discussion of the Cyprus question but action by the Assembly of a particular kind. By its very wording, therefore, the item pre-judged the issue and pre-supposed an intervention in the domestic affairs of a member state, which intervention would be contrary to the Charter.

Disarmament

Between May 13 and June 22 the five countries—Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R.—represented on the Disarmament Commission Sub-committee, held private discussions in London. During these discussions important proposals were advanced by the representatives of the Western countries. These included an Anglo-French paper setting forth a basis for a comprehensive international agreement providing for the eventual total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction, together with major reductions in armed forces and other armaments, the whole to be carried out under effective international control. Detailed plans for a control scheme of this kind were embodied in a United States working paper. No agreement could, however, be reached with the Soviet Union, whose representative, Mr. Vyshinsky, continued to press for an unconditional ban on the use of nuclear weapons as a precondition of any progress towards a disarmament agreement. His proposal was, of course, unacceptable to the Western powers on the grounds that without the establishment of an effective and authoritative control scheme before acceptance of such a ban, there would be no means of ensuring its faithful observance by all countries.

No progress was made in the Disarmament Commission towards breaking the deadlock reported to it by the Sub-committee. Accordingly the Commission's report to the General Assembly merely transmitted the text of the various proposals that had been made and expressed the hope that circumstances would facilitate the continued and fruitful consideration of the question of disarmament.

When this subject was brought before the First (Political) Committee of the Assembly at the end of September it seemed unlikely that further consideration of the question would bear fruit. The Soviet representative, however, announced that his country had at last decided to accept the Anglo-French paper as a basis for an international convention, subject to two "basic provisions".

Although on its face the new Soviet proposal seemed to offer encouraging concessions to the Western position, the nature of the "basic provisions" out-



—United Nations

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL GIVEN TO FIVE POWER PROPOSAL

Unanimous approval was given in the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on October 27 to the proposal submitted by Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States under which the five powers will resume the disarmament negotiations that were conducted in London during the summer.

lined by Mr. Vyshinsky gave rise to some doubt that the Soviet views had really altered to any appreciable extent. Mr. Paul Martin, Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in concert with other Western representatives, welcomed the Soviet statement and promised that sincere and sympathetic consideration would be accorded it by the Western countries. He warned, however, that the Soviet Union continued to be reluctant to agree to the kind of international control which the Western countries were willing to accept as the minimum requirement for any effective scheme of disarmament. He went on to say that the urgent importance of finding some basis for agreement was shared by all countries. "None of us" he remarked, "should be ashamed, or too proud, to admit that we are concerned. Humility before the awesome power which scientists are placing in our hands is, I suggest, a becoming attitude for members of governments in any part of the world." He noted, too, that:

It may be that it is awareness of these growing dangers that at least in part has prompted the apparent advances in the Soviet Union position which Mr. Vyshinsky has outlined during the last few weeks. On the one hand, we of the democratic world dare not be naive. It would be foolish and dishonest to pretend that those who are most skeptical may not be right. Certainly the timing of the Soviet Union's proposals suggests that the men in the Kremlin may have their eye rather on debates in London, Paris and elsewhere concerning the unity and the defence programmes of Western Europe, than on the desirability of disarmament programme in itself.

In order to explore every possibility of bridging the gap between the points of view of the Western countries and of the Soviet Union, Mr. Martin introduced a draft Canadian resolution on October 13, providing for an early resumption of private discussions in the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-committee. In doing so he addressed an earnest plea to the other countries represented in the Sub-committee to join with Canada in co-sponsoring the

resolution. France, the United Kingdom and the United States at once accepted this invitation, and a period of negotiation ensued during which the Canadian Delegation played an important role in the working out of amendments to the Canadian draft that would make it acceptable to the U.S.S.R. as well as to the Western countries. Final agreement was reached eventually and Mr. Vyshinsky announced on October 22 that his country would co-sponsor the Canadian draft resolution which was unanimously adopted in the First Committee.

Nature of Amendments to Resolution

Outlining the nature of the agreed amendments, on October 22, Mr. Martin drew particular attention to the difficulty of finding a text which would not imply Soviet acceptance of the United States working paper on control, but would, at the same time, ensure that this paper would be taken into account by the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-committee, along with the Anglo-French proposals and the Soviet proposals. Although expressing satisfaction that the five members of the London Sub-committee had at least reached agreement on a framework of general objectives and procedure which would allow subsequent negotiations to go forward with the optimum chance of success, the Western representatives stressed that substantive agreement on disarmament had yet to be achieved. In this regard Mr. Martin said:

Finally, I should add, in all seriousness, a warning against any hasty or irresponsible optimism. The debate of the past few weeks in this Assembly has made it crystal clear that the gap which still divides us from the Government of the Soviet Union, on the nature and scope of an acceptable disarmament programme—and particularly on the all important matter of control—remains deep and wide. In a few particulars, that gap has been narrowed. That is heartening. But facile optimism, or wishful irresponsibility, could be a grave disservice to the cause of peace.

So too, I think, would be cynicism, or despair at the admittedly great and vital points on which major differences remain. The sound attitude, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, is that we should take heart that at least on procedure, and on a broad definition of objectives, five nations are now agreed; but that we should be careful not to overestimate this very limited step forward.

High Commissioner for Refugees

From October 1 to October 18, the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee considered the annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition to stressing the need for continuing emergency aid to refugees under his mandate, the High Commissioner put forward proposals for a five-year programme designed to achieve permanent solutions for the problems of refugees for whom it has not yet been possible to arrange repatriation, resettlement in other countries or assimilation in present countries of residence. The High Commissioner estimated that his five-year programme would cost approximately \$12 million. In order to obtain the necessary funds, the High Commissioner requested the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds be authorized to seek voluntary contributions from Governments.

At the conclusion of the debate, the Third Committee adopted a resolution based on proposals put forward by the United States Delegation and co-sponsored by the Delegations of Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands and Turkey. The main provisions of this resolution were:

- (a) The High Commissioner is authorized to undertake a programme designed to achieve permanent solutions within the period of his current mandate (up to December 1958).
- (b) The Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds is requested to seek voluntary contributions from governments of member and non-member states to a fund (the amount of which is to be determined by the High Commissioner's Advisory Committee at its next session) to be devoted principally to the promotion of permanent solutions and also to permit emergency assistance to the most needy cases among the refugees.
- (c) The Economic and Social Council is requested, not later than its 19th session and in the light of proposals to be submitted to it by the High Commissioner, to establish an executive body which would be responsible for giving directives to the High Commissioner in carrying out his programme and for exercising the necessary controls in the use of funds allotted to his office.
- (d) The High Commissioner is requested to prepare for presentation to this executive body details of proposals for projects designed to achieve permanent solutions, including plans for adequate financial contributions from sources within the countries of residence. In addition, governments concerned are requested, in negotiating agreements with the High Commissioner, to give assurance that they will assume full financial responsibility should any of the refugees within the scope of the programme still require assistance (other than emergency relief) after December, 1958.

Forty states, including Canada, voted in favour of this resolution; the five Soviet-bloc states voted against it. A number of Asian and Arab states abstained mainly on the grounds that the High Commissioner's programme was concerned with refugees of European origin only.

■

CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE NINTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Representatives: L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation); Paul Martin, M.P., Minister of National Health and Welfare (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation); Senator C. B. Howard, Sherbrooke, Quebec; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York; G. D. Weaver, Member of Parliament for Churchill.

Alternate Representatives: L. Cardin, Member of Parliament for Richelieu-Vercheres; Mrs. K. G. Montgomery, who is prominent in community activities and public affairs in Edmonton, Alberta; Charles Stein, Q.C., Under Secretary of State; K. P. Kirkwood, Department of External Affairs; Stuart Hemsley, Department of External Affairs.

Parliamentary Observers: T. E. Ross, (Hamilton East); Andre Gauthier, (Lake St. John); A. R. Lusby, (Cumberland); D. R. Michener, (St. Paul's); A. B. Patterson, (Fraser Valley); C. Gillis, (Cape Breton South).

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- The Honourable T. C. Davis was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Japan, effective September 11, 1954.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew was posted from home leave (Vienna) to Ottawa, effective September 20, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. Morin was posted from home leave and sick leave (Rio de Janeiro) to Ottawa, effective September 22, 1954.
- Mr. G. F. Power was posted from home leave (Bonn) to Ottawa, effective September 27, 1954.
- Miss A. Ireland was posted from sick leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa, effective October 5, 1954.
- Mr. G. K. Grande was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Athens to home leave, Ottawa, effective October 7, 1954.
- Mr. G. E. Cox was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, effective October 11, 1954.
- Mr. T. L. Carter was posted from home leave (Warsaw) to Ottawa, effective October 27, 1954.
- Mr. H. G. Hampson was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 27, 1954.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective October 29, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST*

(a) Printed Documents:

Information Annex II to Budget Estimates for the financial year 1955. A/2647/Add.1. New York, 1954. 37 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 5A.

Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. A/2711. New York, 1954. 20 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 15.

Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954. A/2717. New York, 1954. 35 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 17.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries—Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (Final Report by Mr. Raymond Scheyven, prepared in pursuance of G. A. resolution 724B (VIII)). A/2728. New York, 1954. 22 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 19.

Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. A/2729. New York, 1954. 31 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 18.

Resolutions of the Fourteenth Session of the Trusteeship Council (2 June-16 July 1954). T/1133. New York, 1954. 45 pp. (bilingual). T.C.O.R.: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952: Special Report on the Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem. T/1105. New York, March 1954. 57 pp. T.C.O.R.: Eleventh Session (Second Part), Supplement No. 2.

Report on Togoland under United Kingdom Administration. T/1107. New York, March 1954. 46 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

Report on Togoland under French Administration. T/1108. New York, March 1954. 35 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Report on the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration. T/1109. New York, March 1954. 39 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report on the Cameroons under French Administration. T/1110. New York, March 1954. 36 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

International Court of Justice - Yearbook 1953-1954. 302 pp. Sales No. 125. (A. W. Sijthoff's Publishing Co., Leyden, 1954).

International Organization—Third Asian Regional Conference. Records of Proceedings, Tokio, September 1953. Geneva, 1954. 205 pp. \$3.00.

UNESCO

Final Act of the Inter-Governmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, The Hague, 1954. 8C/PRG/4.An. 83 pp. (English, Spanish, French, Russian).

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: ECONOMICS. (Teaching in the

Social Sciences Series). Paris, July 1954. 300 pp. \$2.00.

Canada's Farm Radio Forum by John NICOL, Albert A. SHEA, G. J. P. SIMMINS, R. Alex SIM—editor. (Press, Film and Radio in the World Today Series) Paris, August 1954. 235 pp. \$2.50.

WHO—Proceedings and Reports Relating to International Quarantine (Supplement to Official Records No. 55: Seventh World Health Assembly). Annual Report of the Director-General on the International Sanitary Regulations. First Report of the Committee on International Quarantine. Relevant Proceedings of the Seventh WHA. Geneva, September 1954. 121 pp. \$1.00. Official Records of WHO. No. 56.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Second Report on The Law of Treaties by H. Lauterpacht, Special Rapporteur. A/CN.4/87. 8 July 1954. 53 pp.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/41—Statement made on September 23, 1954, by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

No. 54/42—*Canada and the United Nations*, a speech by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made at the Annual Convention of the United Steel Workers of America, at Atlantic City, September 22, 1954.

No. 54/43—*Disarmament*, the Canadian statement on disarmament, made by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Dele-

gation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First Committee, October 13, 1954.

No. 54/44—*United Nations Day*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on United Nations Day, October 24, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/45—*The Bank of Canada: The First Twenty Years*, an address by the Governor of the Bank of Canada, Mr. Graham Towers, to the Canadian Club, Montreal, October 18, 1954.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
".....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
".....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krkowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Ambassador (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 910 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Ambassador.....	Cairo (6 Sharia Roustom Pacha Garden City)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zitelmann Strasse, 22)
".....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 avenue Vassilissis Sofias)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Haiti.....	Ambassador (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Port-au-Prince
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
".....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Djalan Budi Kemuliaan 6)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Israel.....	Ambassador (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Tel Aviv (Farmers' Bld., Dizengoff Rd.)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chôme, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Ambassador (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Beirut (Immeuble Alpha Rue Clemenceau)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)

Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kepa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room F-3, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaai Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (Suite 65, Kerry Bldg., 238 Vermeulen St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Bldg.)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Montevideo (Calle Colonia 1013, piso 7)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urupal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Permanent Delegate..... Deputy Permanent Delegate	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

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Association of the German Federal Republic with the North Atlantic Community

(This article on the significance of the London and Paris Conferences follows the article which appeared in the last issue summarizing the Agreements resulting from these Conferences)

THE agreements signed in Paris on October 23 are a considerable diplomatic achievement, particularly in view of the doubts and dismay that prevailed when the European Defence Community Treaty was rejected by the French National Assembly on August 30. The Nine Powers that gathered in London only seven weeks later approached their task in the spirit that they could not afford to let the conference fail. In that spirit they were able, in five short days, to reach agreement in principle on a settlement providing for the association of the German Federal Republic with the West in a manner that would make possible a German defence contribution with adequate safeguards and would promote closer European unity within the framework of a developing Atlantic community. It is difficult to see how any better settlement could have been worked out at this time, given the inevitable conflict of national interests involved in issues of such importance. It is a settlement, moreover, which is firmly based on mutual confidence and non-discrimination and which, because it does not entail as great a measure of supranationalism as did the European Defence Community, is probably more in tune with public opinion in the countries concerned.

A Joint Effort

To this achievement all the participating countries contributed, but special mention should be made of the role played by the United Kingdom, which suggested the conference and made the preliminary soundings. Sir Anthony Eden's tireless skill as Chairman of the Nine-Power meetings, and his government's pledge to maintain troops on the European continent, were perhaps decisive factors. Other indispensable elements were the French agreement to German membership in NATO, the German Federal Republic's self-denying ordinance with respect to the manufacture of atomic, biological and chemical weapons and certain other heavy armaments, and the Franco-German agreement on the Saar, which is in a very important sense basic to the whole settlement.

Canada was represented at the Nine-Power Conferences in London and Paris and at the NATO Ministerial Meeting in Paris by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our general interest arose of course from Canada's membership in NATO and its stake in the collective defence arrangements of the West. NATO is one of the foundation stones of Canadian foreign policy

and it was felt that satisfactory solution to the problem of associating Germany with the West must involve measures which would be of concern to NATO as a whole. Canada also had a particular interest as a country maintaining sizable forces in Germany for the common defence.

The Canadian Delegation therefore had three main pre-occupations at these conferences. It sought to ensure that NATO was maintained and strengthened as the chief organ of Western collective defence, and that the new Western European Union would work as closely as possible with NATO. It urged that progress toward closer European unity be made within the wider framework of the Atlantic community. And it made efforts to see that all the NATO countries would have an opportunity to consider the conclusions reached by the Nine Powers. In addition, the Delegation lent what assistance it could in finding a solution acceptable to the European countries most directly concerned, providing it met the above-mentioned points.

Canadian Delegation's Aims Achieved

The Delegation's aims were in the main achieved. The Paris agreements explicitly state that the Western European Union will not attempt to duplicate the military structure of NATO. The year-by-year determination of force goals for all NATO countries will continue to be a function of the NATO Annual Review of member countries' defence programmes, and the maximum force levels set by the Brussels Treaty Powers will not be reviewed and need not interfere with the NATO Annual Review unless there is a conflict between them and the force goals proposed by NATO. The inspections to check on the forces and their equipment assigned to NATO are to be the responsibility of the NATO Supreme Commander, while the levels of armaments to be produced by the Western European Union countries in Europe will be based on the requirements for the forces approved by NATO. It should also be noted that the NATO machinery itself will be reinforced by measures designed to strengthen the central control of the NATO forces in Europe.

Canadian policy toward the arrangements worked out at the Nine-Power Conference in London was outlined in a statement given at that conference by the Secretary of State for External Affairs (the full text of which is given below). In that statement he reaffirmed the Canadian Government's resolve to discharge the continuing obligations arising out of Canada's membership in NATO and its support of the objective of European unity. He welcomed the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty and looked forward to the closest possible co-operation between NATO and the new Western European Union. At the same time he emphasized that NATO would remain the focal point of Canada's participation in Western collective defence. To date that participation had included land and air forces stationed on the European continent and, as far as he could anticipate, that would continue to be the case.

The only important new commitment which these agreements involve for Canada is the extension of our NATO obligations to cover defence of the territory of the German Federal Republic. In practice, however, Western

Germany is already included in NATO defence plans because, under the existing terms of the Treaty, an armed attack on the occupation forces of three Western powers in Germany would be regarded as an attack on all the NATO Powers. It is for this reason that Canadian forces are stationed in the Federal Republic, and the admission of the Federal Republic to NATO is not expected to affect the disposition of these forces.

As already noted, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe will exercise greater authority over the forces under his command, including the Canadian forces. He will have increased powers to organize and distribute the logistic support required by these forces and to call for reports and make field inspections regarding the level and effectiveness of the forces and their equipment. We have also agreed not to use our troops in Europe in peacetime without the Supreme Commander's consent, and have accepted the principle of the maximum degree of integration of the NATO forces consistent with military efficiency. However, these measures will probably make little difference to Canada in practice. The Canadian forces, and their logistic arrangements, are already highly integrated with the other NATO forces with which they serve in Europe, and it is most unlikely that these forces would ever have been used except in consultation with NATO.

Outstanding International Development

In many respects the conclusion of these agreements constituted the outstanding international development of 1954. One effect, and perhaps the most important, was to fill the critical void created in Western political and military planning by the failure of the EDC. The German Federal Republic is now to become a sovereign member of the Atlantic alliance and will make a contribution of some twelve divisions, 1350 aircraft and light naval forces to the common defence. At the same time membership in this association will involve limitations on its freedom of action, as it will on that of the other member countries. It is considered, however, that this association is based on a sufficiently substantial community of interest that it will prove of mutual benefit both to the Federal Republic and to the other member countries. Another effect of the success of the London and Paris meetings was to bring about a renewal of Western solidarity and unity of purpose at a time when they were severely shaken by the rejection of arrangements which had been the subject of complicated negotiations and prolonged debates in many parliaments of the Western world. In the third place, these agreements embody an armament control scheme in which, for the first time, sovereign states will be submitting their armed forces and armament production facilities to mutually agreed limitations administered in common. This scheme should not only help to build up the confidence of those who still fear a renewal of German aggression, but should also provide a practical model for any general plan for the limitation and control of armaments that may be devised under the United Nations. Finally, these agreements serve to underline the purely defensive nature of the Alliance, since they include solemn declarations by the Federal Republic on the one hand, never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification

of Germany or the modification of its present boundaries, and by the Three Powers on the other hand, to take appropriate steps against any violation of this assurance.

The fate of these agreements now lies in the hands of the governments and peoples of the Atlantic community. The admission of the German Federal Republic to NATO and the establishment of the new Western European Union depend on ratification by all the countries concerned. However the spirit of amity and understanding which was evidenced at the London and Paris Conferences encourages the belief that these agreements will make possible both a new advance in the development of the Atlantic community and a notable strengthening of the security of free men everywhere. They offer a basis for reconciliation and enduring co-operation with a country against which Canada has fought in two world wars. They also provide a framework that will enable France, Germany and the United Kingdom to work together for the benefit of Europe as a whole, and that will further foster those bonds between the new Europe and North America without which our common heritage cannot successfully be defended.

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, at the Nine-Power Conference in London on October 29, following statements by the Chairman, Sir Anthony Eden, and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles

Your statement, Mr. Chairman, if I may say so, was one of historic importance. If it is thought, as it sometimes is, that the United Kingdom looks across the Channel more intensely in war than in peacetime, that feeling certainly must have been removed by your statement earlier this afternoon. To me it was all the more impressive because I recognize that the source of the power and glory of this island has been its vision across the seas.

The statement of Mr. Dulles was also important not only for the development of European unity, but for that larger Atlantic community development which we are all concerned. Indeed, as I see it, European unity cannot be effectively secured unless the lines not only across the Channel but also across the Atlantic are strong and unbroken. My country has a part to play in this Atlantic aspect of the problem. Therefore, we accept the continuing obligations arising out of our membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and we are resolved to continue to do our best to discharge them. The disappearance of EDC does not, we think, affect those obligations, because EDC—though we were indeed disappointed in its disappearance—as we saw it, was a means to an end and not an end in itself. We are here to find an alternative method to accomplish the same purpose. That alternative method, that alternative arrangement, must include the association of Germany not only with the defence of Europe and the West, but—and this is, I am sure, equally important—with the development of the Atlantic community; an association to be brought about in such a way that the fears that we have in-

herited from the unhappy past will be replaced by a new and better hope for the future.

So new methods are being discussed this week and new solutions are being sought. As far as we are concerned, however, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the focal point of our participation in collective defence and of our hope for the development of closer co-operation with the other peoples of the Atlantic community. As such, it remains a foundation of Canadian foreign policy. Indeed, enduring and whole-hearted support for NATO is for us a policy above politics on which I think our friends can rely.

That support in defence matters is now worked out each year by consultation through the appropriate agencies of NATO. Apart from mutual aid, it now takes the form of naval forces, an infantry brigade group, and an air division of twelve jet fighter squadrons stationed in Europe. We will continue to assist in the common defence through the existing NATO procedures until better ones are agreed on. The presence of these Canadian forces on the European Continent is not only a measure of our military contribution to the common defence, but an evidence of our belief in the future of the North Atlantic community.

Extension of Brussels Treaty Welcomed

While we emphasize, then, our belief in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we welcome the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty. We shall look forward to a growing relationship within the framework of NATO to the Brussels Treaty countries, with whom we are bound by the close ties.

We are sure, and I hope our confidence will be realized—I know it will—that these new arrangements through the Brussels Treaty can be developed without weakening or diminishing NATO in any way in its essential functions, because NATO, with Germany associated with it under agreed arrangements, should, we think, be a stronger force than ever against war, and for the progressive development of the Atlantic community.

We are also certain, Mr. Chairman, that in this development the United States, which has played such a magnificent, generous and indeed essential part, will continue to be able to do so. Mr. Dulles has given us hope in that regard this afternoon.

We Canadians, being neighbours of the United States, know as well as anybody else that that country does not fail to accept and to meet successfully any great international challenge which faces it. We are certain that in the days ahead it will continue to meet the challenge of assisting in the development of European unity and the Atlantic community—and the two go together.

The work, then, which we are doing this week must, in order to succeed, make possible the continued contribution of the United States to these great objectives. If that is done, and I know it is going to be done, it will also, I assure you, make it much easier for my own country to continue to do its share.

Slavonic Studies in Canadian Universities

By DR. J. ST. CLAIR-SOBELL

Department of Slavonic Studies, University of British Columbia

THERE is not much point in comparing Slavonic Studies today in Canada—or for that matter in the United States—with the developments in this sphere in the Old World. Slavonic Studies in the United States are a century younger than they are in Europe, and in Canada we can speak of notable development in this sphere only during the last decade—since the end of World War II. The reasons for the growing importance attached to this field of investigation and study are varied, but to most people no doubt the great political strength of the U.S.S.R. and the Slav countries under the direct influence of the Russians is the most important one. It is also worthwhile keeping in mind the cumulative effect of some two centuries of growing political prestige of the Tsarist empire, and the remarkable cultural development in the field of literature, music, the theatre, and the fine arts, which took place in nineteenth century Russia, not to mention the other Slav countries. There is also the factor of the not inconsiderable Slavonic immigration element which has blended with the Canadian population. Perhaps foremost, however, is the very practical consideration that in the world of today it is vitally necessary for young Canadians to learn more about a great group of peoples who, either directly or indirectly, have position and authority in the destinies of nearly half of the population of the world.

Pre-War Studies

Though Slavonic Studies in Canadian universities have become an integrated part of normal academic programmes only in the last ten years, it would be misleading to give the impression that work in this field was not done in Canada before the last war. One has only to recall the achievements of such pioneers as the late economist and political scientist, Professor James Mavor of Toronto University, to whom we owe the valuable study "An Economic History of Russia", or of Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, now President of Acadia University, whose skill as a poet has enabled him to become a gifted interpreter of Slav verse, not to mention his numerous translations from other languages, especially Hungarian. Professor George Simpson of Saskatchewan has long been a leading figure in historical studies, particularly in the Ukrainian field; this scholar's pioneer work has been a great stimulus of Slavonic Studies as a whole in Canada and his scholarly interest and devotion to the Ukrainian people is widely admired. Professor William J. Rose, now of the University of British Columbia, is a Canadian scholar of Polish literature, culture and civilization who before 1939 enjoyed a reputation second to none in this field. At the University of Saskatchewan Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, Chairman of the Department of Slavonic Studies, has devoted many years of painstaking work to the preparation of a large modern Ukrainian-English dictionary. This ambitious project has been supported financially by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

Unlike the U.S.A., Canadian educational institutions offered little in the Slavonic languages before World War II and indeed there were not many courses dealing with the history, institutions and peoples of Eastern Europe in our universities.

The extension of linguistic, historical, cultural and economic studies to Eastern Europe has not been an altogether easy matter in Canada, where the traditional arena of study has been that of the area of Graeco-Roman civilization as continued in the countries of Western Europe. The traditional language disciplines in our schools and universities have been: French, Latin and to a lesser extent German, though by the last war Spanish was making some headway, particularly in Eastern Canada, and is even taught sporadically in the schools. Russian and the other Slavonic languages were not taught even in the universities; the only Slavonic language at all cultivated in formal school education was Ukrainian, and this was done not with a view to using the language for scientific or scholarly purposes, but rather as an expression of the desire of the large Ukrainian ethnic group which had immigrated into Canada to maintain ties with this original culture and tradition.

Development Impressive

Since 1945, however, development in Slavonic and Eastern European studies if looked at on a relative scale has been as impressive as in the U.S.A. Immediately after the war many Canadian universities decided to add courses on the Russian language to their curriculum and in some places Polish and Ukrainian as well. Side by side with this traditional discipline (language and literature) has come the addition of what in Britain are known as Regional, in the U.S.A. as, Area Studies: full-dress courses dealing with history, geography, economics and social and political institutions.

The development of courses in East European studies in Canada, though it has been fairly general since the end of World War II, has differed somewhat in emphasis and concentration from place to place. This is understandable when one considers the diversity of population groups and interests in so vast a country. The third largest ethnic group in Canada, that is after the two chief groupings of the Anglo-Saxon and the French-speaking Canadians, is the Slavic-Ukrainian group of the population. These Canadian citizens of Slavic origin constitute upwards of half a million out of a total population of about 15 million. This figure would be misleading without reference to the geographical concentration of our Ukrainian fellow citizens. Though their numbers east of the Great Lakes are growing fast, they still live chiefly in the Prairie Provinces, where in some areas they constitute a high percentage of the population. Thus, it is not surprising that the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have instituted a noteworthy amount of study to Ukrainian language, literature and history, whereas the University of British Columbia, situated at the gateway to the Pacific, has concentrated more particularly on the study of Russia, the Soviet Far East and, of course, the Russian language.

In Eastern Canada a similar pattern of growth in Eastern European studies can be seen. The University of Toronto established a Department of Slavonic

Studies shortly after the end of World War II. Here, a series of Area Study courses was introduced, the main fields of interest being history, geography and social institutions of Eastern Europe and Russia in particular. This development was paralleled by a series of courses on the Russian language. In Toronto, there is an extensive evening study programme sponsored by the University, giving instruction in Serbo-Croat, Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak. At McGill important work is done at both undergraduate and higher levels in Slavonic history and geography, in part by European scholars; while the Université de Montréal has a growing *Centre d'Études slaves*, designed for French-speaking Canadians, as well (it should be added) as for recent arrivals from Europe. This work is shared with the University of Ottawa, and will serve useful ends at least as long as men and women immigrants continue to come who are desirous of completing studies begun elsewhere. These Departments have the financial backing of the Paderewski Foundation.

The teaching of Russian has for years been carried on in Dalhousie by Professor Kent Griffin of the Classics Department, and in the University of Western Ontario by Mr. Leonid Ignatiev.

As for the Prairie Provinces, some courses in Slavonic Studies (chiefly Russian and Ukrainian) have been going on in Saskatchewan and Alberta even before 1945, and the volume is growing. In the University of Manitoba a bold step was taken after the war when Dr. J. R. Rudnyckyj was brought from Europe to initiate Slavonic Studies there. He has had a part-time assistant in language and literature, as well as help in the History of Eastern Europe from a young Canadian scholar, Paul Yuzyk. One feature of Dr. Rudnyckyj's work has been the publishing of a series of brochures on various subjects of Canadian Slavica, in which (as in the teaching programme) he has been helped financially by the Ukrainian Business and Professional Men's Club of Winnipeg and by the Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Rockefeller Grant

The Universities of British Columbia and Toronto have been exceptionally fortunate in the development of their departments of Slavonic Studies. In 1949, the Rockefeller Foundation of New York made a grant of the sum of \$180,000 which was divided equally between these two institutions. This generous grant was to cover a period of five years in which the two universities were to build up and expand their offerings in the Slavonic field. The action of this great educational and philanthropic foundation has been a stimulus to similar generosity in at least one of our own Canadian communities. For example: the University of British Columbia recently received useful help in the form of prizes, bursaries and scholarships both for graduate and undergraduate students from one of B.C.'s leading industrialists, Mr. Walter C. Koerner, President of Alaska Pine and Cellulose Company. This endowment amounts to \$3,000 annually. The Library of the University of British Columbia also received from the same donor a gift of \$5,000 for a special Slavonic collection. Furthermore the Canadian National Ukrainian Committee, and Polish societies have donated valuable help in the form of book collections, files of foreign newspapers and journals and also often funds for special projects. At the time of writing news has been received that the Rockefeller Foundation has granted an additional

\$10,000 to the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of British Columbia for the year 1954-55.

Response from Students

The response from the student side to these new ventures in academic studies has been good, though not as great in some provinces as in others. The acid test is, of course, how many students elect Slavonic courses (language, literature, history, geography, institutions) for serious study over at least one full year. In the University of British Columbia the results obtained have been gratifying, not less than four hundred "elections" of this kind being made every year. Of these a substantial per cent do serious work in languages (chiefly Russian), and a number of honours graduates have gone on to do higher studies elsewhere. On this account the writer feels justified in setting down rather more in detail what is going on.

During the last nine years the University of British Columbia has added to the curriculum of the Faculty of Arts eleven courses on Area Studies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Some of these subjects are: The Cultural History of the Slavonic Peoples; Central Europe; The Economic History and Geography of the U.S.S.R.; Slavonic Literature in translation; The Peoples of the U.S.S.R.; The Theory of the Soviet State; The Structure and Organization of Soviet Planning. Such Area Study courses are designed to familiarize more Canadian students with the general background of the nations of Eastern Europe, and of course they lay heavy stress on the U.S.S.R. Basic to this, however, the Department of Slavonic Studies, consisting today of a staff of eleven full-time teachers, offers up to six years of instruction in the Russian language—including the M.A. degree—and four years of instruction in the Polish language. But the field of Comparative Philology and Linguistics is not neglected. Students *specializing* in Slavonic studies, as opposed to those who are taking courses as electives in a general Arts degree course, may and indeed must, study on a comparative basis several other Slavonic languages. There is a seminar extending over two years on comparative Slavonic linguistics which provides a theoretical reading knowledge of Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croat and Slovene.

National Interest Served

All this may seem a little ambitious, and one might perhaps ask: how is the national interest of Canada served by such developments? There is little doubt that it is well served. Canadians are increasingly conscious of the part their country is playing in international affairs and the position it occupies in the comity of nations; and with this conviction comes a recognition of the need for Canadians to broaden the sphere of their interests and knowledge. It is refreshing to encounter this, as one does constantly, in our university life. Moreover, most Canadian students are happily free from undesirable preconceptions about other peoples, and possess a healthy willingness to find out all they can about their neighbours. When it comes to the more specific question of demand for young people possessing a sound knowledge of Eastern Europe and principally the Soviet Union, the requirements have not been great, but they are already increasing, and the fact remains that at present the demand is higher than the supply of suitably qualified persons.

Canada and the United Nations

On Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

On December 8, 1953, in a memorable speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations, President Eisenhower proposed that the governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, should begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency. President Eisenhower added, "We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations". He pointed out that undoubtedly initial and early contributions to this plan would be small in quantity, however the proposal had the great virtue that it could be undertaken without the irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of worldwide inspection and control. President Eisenhower said that the United States would be more than willing—it would be proud to take up with others "principally involved" the development of plans whereby such peaceful uses of atomic energy would be expedited. "Of those principally involved the Soviet Union must of course be one."

As President Eisenhower had made his proposals to the General Assembly of the United Nations, it was to be expected that at the session held this autumn the United States would wish to have them considered by the Assembly. Accordingly last September 23, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the Chairman of the United States Delegation to the General Assembly, requested that an item entitled "International co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy: Report of the United States of America" to be added to the agenda of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

Canadian Approval

Inaugurating the general debate in the Assembly on the same day, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson signified Canadian approval in the following words:

Canada, like the United States and other free countries principally involved with atomic energy matters, believes that even in the absence, the regrettable absence of Soviet participation, an international atomic energy agency along the lines proposed by President Eisenhower could usefully be formed by the nations willing to subscribe to its aims and support its activities. My country is in a position to make a useful contribution to this work—the work of such an agency and will be glad to do so.

Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed that in spite of general world approval of President Eisenhower's proposals the private negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the proposals had been fruitless. A note delivered to his government on the preceding day however, had indicated Soviet willingness to continue discussion on this subject. Mr. Dulles said that the United States was still ready to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. but would no longer allow these negotiations to delay the establishment of an international atomic energy agency.



—United Nations

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF UNITED STATES "ATOMS FOR PEACE" PLAN

The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly gave unanimous approval to the United States "atoms for peace" plan on November 23. A partial view of the conference room is shown above, with Mr. David M. Johnson, the Permanent Canadian Delegate voting for Canada.

The Soviet Representative, Mr. Vyshinsky, denied that the Soviet Union had refused to co-operate and associated his delegation in the unanimous support for the inclusion of the item on the agenda.

On November 4 Mr. Lodge opened detailed discussion by reporting further on the efforts of the United States to explore and to develop the vast possibilities for the peaceful use of atomic energy. He said that these efforts had been and would continue to be directed toward the early creation of an international agency; the calling of an international scientific conference to meet in 1955 under the auspices of the United Nations; and the establishment of training facilities in the United States where students from abroad might learn the working principles of atomic energy with specific regard to its peacetime uses.

Mr. Paul Martin speaking for Canada in the debate, said:

International co-operation in this field without the Soviet Union would be a second best solution. But I do not see how the Soviet Union or anyone else can expect those of us who are now ready to co-operate internationally under the aegis of the United Nations to delay doing so indefinitely . . . It seems to my Government that the most immediate need is for information and training to spread the technology required for the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes on a wide scale . . . In this connection, I may say that Canada would be a potential source not only of information but of raw material and fissile material.

Our aim, in short, is to see established a specialized agency of the United Nations which would initially promote the various objectives I have enumerated, which would help to meet the first requirements of more information and more

training in this field, and which would facilitate countries participating to set up their own research reactors . . .

When it had seemed that Soviet participation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy would not be forthcoming, the United States had consulted with Canada, Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, South Africa and the United Kingdom, which were the countries possessing raw materials or technical knowledge of atomic energy and were developing this force for peaceful purposes. With the exception of Portugal, which is not a member of the United Nations, these countries joined in co-sponsoring a seven-power resolution, which expressed the hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency would be established without delay and suggested that once the agency was established it should negotiate an appropriate form of agreement with the United Nations. The resolution also provided for the holding of an international conference of nuclear and related scientists in the summer of 1955, the arrangements for the conference to be made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, acting on the advice of a small advisory committee composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Brazil, India and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union did not join in sponsoring this resolution, and a number of other countries had reservations about the manner in which the complicated programme was being advanced. Nevertheless they co-operated in a unanimous vote in favour of the resolution; thus indicating the complete agreement in the Assembly that advantages for economic and social welfare could result from an appropriate implementation of President Eisenhower's welcome suggestions. Although most delegations agreed with Mr. Lodge that this was "an historic moment", many of them cautioned against undue optimism in the face of the formidable problems which remain to be solved before the full potentialities of the scheme can be realized.

The Question of Defining Aggression

The question of defining aggression first came before the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 17, 1950, and was referred to the International Law Commission. The work of the Commission was studied, along with a report of the Sixth Committee, by the General Assembly at its seventh session in 1952. By resolution 688, the General Assembly decided that a definition of aggression was both desirable and possible; and a special committee of fifteen members was set up to study the question further and to submit a draft definition of aggression to the ninth session of the General Assembly.

The Special Committee met between August 24 and September 21, 1953, and prepared a report which was discussed in the Sixth Committee of the current ninth session of the General Assembly. The report included a study of the two main types of definitions (general and detailed) and of the different modes of aggression, including indirect.

It was apparent at the outset of the debate in the Sixth Committee that there was a wide area of disagreement among delegates about the desirability of defining aggression at all and about the type of definition that should be adopted. It was also evident that there was no unanimity on the kind of aggression which should be included in the definition. Some delegates thought it should be restricted to armed aggression while others wished to see the notion of indirect aggression also included in the definition.

Mr. Charles Stein, the Canadian Representative in the Sixth Committee, expressed Canada's position in these words:

We believe that the question of possibility cannot but be considered in relation to the usefulness of a definition. We are still doubtful whether any definition could really be helpful to the competent agencies of the U.N. . . . indeed some definitions might well constitute an obstacle to them . . . We feel, in fact, that any definition would fail to achieve its proper purpose unless it safeguarded the present broad discretion of the Security Council and the General Assembly to assess and decide upon all the factual elements of the case.

As to the scope of the definition, the Canadian Representative was opposed to branding automatically certain acts as aggression. In conclusion, Mr. Stein added that Canada "is not opposed to a definition which would appear likely to be agreed upon by the General Assembly and the Security Council, including the permanent members of the Council, which would not be at variance with the existing scheme of the Charter and which would meet the other texts (I have) outlined".

After nearly five weeks of discussion, the Sixth Committee on November 9, by a vote of 33 in favour and 3 against with 14 abstentions, including Canada, approved a resolution to set up a second special committee, which is directed to meet in 1956 and to submit to the eleventh session of the General Assembly "a detailed report followed by a draft definition of aggression having regard to the ideas expressed at the ninth session of the General Assembly and to the draft resolutions and amendments submitted". An earlier proposal to set up a working group was rejected by 19 votes in favour and 22 against.

Admission of New Members

The agenda item on Admission of New Members at the ninth session was discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Although a number of proposals were considered and two resolutions eventually were adopted by the Committee, little progress in breaking the deadlock on new members was achieved.

Responsibility for recommending admissions of new members rests with the Security Council. The continuing failure of the Council to approve any of the twenty-one outstanding applications has resulted in the General Assembly becoming increasingly concerned with the problem. At its eighth session, the General Assembly established a three-member Committee of Good Offices to consult with members of the Security Council and report to the General Assembly. The Committee, consisting of representatives of Peru, Egypt and the Netherlands, was forced to report to the ninth session that it had been unable to obtain from members of the Security Council any indications of changes of attitude on their part on outstanding applications.

In addition to considering the report of the Committee of Good Offices when it began its deliberations on the new members question, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee had before it a draft resolution sponsored by Australia suggesting that the Security Council should give renewed consideration to the applications of Laos and Cambodia in view of the favourable references to recognition of their sovereignty and independence made in the final declaration of the Geneva Conference.

The Canadian Representative in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, Mr. G. D. Weaver, M.P., spoke in the general debate on November 5. He said it was obvious that little progress towards a solution of the new members problem had been made since the eighth session.

The situation still remains that fourteen states* whose admission is overwhelmingly supported by the General Assembly and by the Security Council are kept out by the veto of one member of the Security Council. A further seven applicants** have been unable to obtain the seven supporting votes in the Security Council necessary for a positive recommendation to the General Assembly. Until some solution has been found and deserving applicants have been admitted, we cannot claim that the United Nations is in a position to speak for the world as a whole and to exercise its functions as it should. The Canadian Delegation considers it a matter of great importance that some means should be found to solve this problem, and that all of those states which are eligible for admission under the provisions of the Charter should be added to our councils as soon as possible.

Mr. Weaver paid tribute to the efforts of the Committee of Good Offices and said the Canadian Delegation favoured its being continued "to be ready to take immediate advantage of any new development which might make a solution possible". Mr. Weaver said that the Canadian Delegation would give its "wholehearted support" to the Australian resolution.

Action by Security Council Recommended

A number of draft resolutions recommending action by the Security Council were considered in the Committee. The Representative of India and the Representatives of Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador agreed to combine in one resolution draft proposals which they had submitted separately. Their combined resolution eventually was adopted unanimously in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It expressed appreciation of the work of the Committee of Good Offices and requested continuation of its efforts; referred all pending applications to the Security Council "together with a full record of the discussions in the present session of the General Assembly for further consideration and positive recommendations"; suggested that the Security Council should meet to consider the problem and requested both the Council and the Committee of Good Offices "to report to the General Assembly during the present session if possible and in any event during the tenth regular session".

Adoption of the resolution sponsored by India, Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador left four other resolutions before the Committee — the Australian resolution; a resolution sponsored by Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador proposing support for all non-communist applicants except South Korea and Viet Nam; a United States proposal recommending support for non-communist applicants including South Korea and Viet Nam, and a familiar Soviet bloc fourteen-power "package" proposal. The Soviet bloc proposal had been rejected at earlier sessions because of its exclusion of Japan and general weighting in favour of the communist countries. The four resolutions eventually were disposed of in the *Ad Hoc* Committee by adoption of a resolution proposed by

* Portugal, Jordan, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, South Korea, Libya, Japan, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

** Albania, Mongolia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, North Korea and Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

India and Indonesia which referred them en masse to the Security Council without consideration of their merits. The Canadian Delegation abstained on the Indian-Indonesian resolution.

In plenary session, on November 23, the resolution sponsored by Argentina, Cuba, El Salvador and India was adopted unanimously. When the Indian-Indonesian resolution came before the plenary session, the Representative of India proposed that it should not be put to a vote since a divided vote would spoil the unanimity shown by the Assembly with respect to the other resolution. No delegation had any objection to this proposal, and it was therefore unanimously agreed without a vote to take no action on the second resolution.

Reorganization of the United Nations Secretariat

In August of this year the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, announced that his Secretariat reorganization plan was complete. In October he placed his report on the subject before the Fifth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly with the recommendation that the plan be implemented on January 1, 1955.

In his report the Secretary-General explained that the reorganization was designed to increase the efficiency and reduce the cost of the Secretariat. Changes and reductions had been effected or were proposed for the lower levels of all departments of the Secretariat. The most significant changes, however, were proposed for the top-level positions in the Secretariat. Four offices, three of them new, were to be set up within the office of the Secretary-General, bearing the titles of Executive Assistant, Legal Counsellor, Controller and Director of Personnel. In addition, seven under-secretaries' offices were to be established, five of which would be responsible for specific departments and two of which would be given a general mandate. On the same level, a director in charge of the Department of Conference Services and a Director-General of the Technical Assistance Administration were to be appointed. The plan also proposed the appointment of deputy under-secretaries in departments where the volume of work merited the services of two senior officials. In all, the Secretary-General requested authorization for fifteen senior posts.

Compromise Proposed

The debate in the Fifth Committee was prolonged by differences of opinion on the numbers of and reimbursement proposed for the senior posts in the Secretariat. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions considered that the number of senior posts proposed would make the Secretariat organization topheavy. Agreement was reached when the Secretary-General proposed a compromise providing for immediate authorization of thirteen senior posts and the authority, subject to the concurrence of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, to recruit at a later date two additional deputy under-secretaries should the need of their services become evident.

Mr. Hammarskjöld proposed that senior officials be paid a basic salary of \$12,500 net, with fixed allowances of \$3,500, and he requested that he be given authority to grant an additional allowance of up to \$6,000 per annum to

(Continued on page 376)

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. D. McGreer, former Canadian Minister to Denmark, was posted to home leave, effective October 1954.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Pakistan, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Scott left Ottawa for Karachi October 27, 1954.
- Mr. J. B. Seaborn was posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to home leave, effective October 29, 1954.
- Mr. J. D. Foote was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective November 5, 1954.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective November 12, 1954.
- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Canadian Minister to Lebanon, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Kirkwood left Ottawa for Cairo, November 17, 1954.
- Mr. A. C. E. Joly de Lotbiniere was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective November 18, 1954.
- Miss H. D. Burwash was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective November 23, 1954.
- Mr. P. V. Lyon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective November 29, 1954.
- Mr. H. F. B. Feaver was appointed Canadian Minister to Denmark, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Feaver left Ottawa November 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. Shenstone was posted from the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective November 30, 1954.

ROBERT MORRISON LITHGOW 1924 - 1954

"Bob Lithgow was here in Rio for a year before he died suddenly last month of polio. It was his first post and he applied himself with untiring diligence to the many duties which are the lot of a Third Secretary in our smaller missions. He soon demonstrated qualities which with his fine mind would, I am sure, have led him to important offices in our service.

"He was thirty when he died, his career over before it had scarcely begun but he served Canada well and was a credit to his people for the brief period permitted him. We liked him and respected him, and we miss him greatly."

SYDNEY D. PIERCE
Canadian Ambassador to Brazil

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

- Treaty Series 1948, No. 36*:—Index to Treaty Series, 1948. English text. (Price: 25 cents).
- Treaty Series 1949, No. 28*:—Index to Treaty Series, 1949. English text. (Price: 25 cents).
- Treaty Series 1950, No. 22*:—Index to Treaty Series, 1950. English text. (Price: 25 cents).
- Treaty Series 1951, No. 17*:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and France constituting an agreement for the settlement of Canada's claim in respect of military relief and the claim of France in respect of French vessels requisitioned by Canada during the war. Signed at Ottawa, June 26 and July 4, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 30:—Agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India and Pakistan, and the Government of the French Republic regarding British Commonwealth war graves in French territory. Signed at Paris, October 31, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 3:—Exchange of Notes giving effect to the Convention between His Majesty and the Federal President of the Republic of Austria regarding legal proceedings in civil and commercial matters signed at London March 31, 1931, as between Canada and Austria. Signed at Vienna, January 18, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 19:—Supplementary Agreement to revise Article II of the agreement annexed to the Final Act of the Commonwealth-United States Telecommunications Meeting, signed at London on 12th August, 1949. Signed at London October 1, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 21:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Italy constituting an agreement for the settlement of certain Canadian war claims and the release of Italian assets in Canada. Signed at Ottawa, September 20, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 23:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ceylon constituting an agreement giving effect to the statement of principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of Ceylon. Signed at Colombo, July 3 and 11, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 24:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Egypt constituting an agreement for the exchange of most-favoured treatment to regulate and facilitate trade between the two countries. Signed at Ottawa, November 26 and December 3, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 5:—Agreement for the extension to Italy of the International Accord of July 27, 1946, on German-owned patents as amended by the Protocol of July 17, 1947. Signed at Rome, November 29, 1950. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 6:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the Double Taxation Agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Tax to Southern Rhodesia. Signed at Ottawa, February 27 and April 9, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 9:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and India constituting an agreement regarding the inspection of supplies and equipment purchased in Canada by India. Signed at Ottawa, June 5 and 12, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 10:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the Double Taxation Agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Tax to the Colony of Dominica. Signed at Ottawa, June 30 and July 21, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 14:—Convention between Canada and the United States of America for the Preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea. Signed at Ottawa, March 2, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 16:—International Plant Protection Convention. Signed at Rome, December 6, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 18:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement for the establishment of a joint Canada-United States committee on trade and economic affairs. Signed at Washington, November 12, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 22:—Financial Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom. Signed at Ottawa, August 13, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 2:—Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark and the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa regarding the war graves and memorials of the British Commonwealth in Danish territory. Signed at Copenhagen, February 22, 1954. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 3:—Agreement on Commerce between Canada and Japan. Signed at Ottawa, March 31, 1954. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 4:—Agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific and cultural character. Signed at Lake Success, December 17, 1948. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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each senior official, depending upon his responsibilities. The Advisory Committee agreed with the basic salary and the fixed allowances but wished to limit the additional allowances to a maximum of \$4,000 per annum with a limitation of \$35,000 for expenditures of this kind. The United States representative, while agreeing with the basic salary, proposed that the fixed allowances be graduated from \$1,000 to \$3,000 and that additional allowances be paid from a hospitality fund totalling not more than \$40,000 per annum. The Canadian Delegation supported the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. After a lengthy debate a compromise was reached which granted the basic salary and fixed allowances proposed by the Secretary-General but limited additional allowances to a maximum of \$4,000 per annum per official and \$50,000 per annum in toto.

On November 15 the Fifth Committee unanimously adopted a joint resolution co-sponsored by Argentina, India, Lebanon and Yugoslavia expressing general approval of the measures adopted by the Secretary-General concerning the reorganization of the Headquarters Secretariat and invited him, in proceeding with the implementation of his proposals, to take into account the comments contained in the report of the Advisory Committee and the observations and suggestions made during the debate in the Fifth Committee.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.