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W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 242

Pages C162889-C163381

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C163109

Pan-American Questions

1. Statement respecting Havana Conference.

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C163110

Income Tax

Kallaal

1. Provisions respecting salaries of members of Legations.

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Income Tax

1. **Provisions respecting salaries of members of Legations.**

These salaries were originally exempt from taxation. Action was taken some time ago to make private incomes taxable. No formal action has been taken to make official incomes subject to taxation. With the increasing demands on citizens generally, and the growing importance of income tax as a means of meeting these requirements, it has been considered desirable that official incomes of Canadian representatives abroad should also bear their share of taxation. Provision is, therefore, being made for the deduction of an approximate equivalent to National Defence tax and income tax.

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C163112

General Policy Respecting

Canadian Government Offices Abroad.

1. Reductions in votes for current year.

2. Possibility of opening further offices abroad.
   (e.g. Latin America)
   (Possibilities of Consular representation).

3. Statement respecting requirements of Diplomatic representation as opposed to appointment of further Trade Commissioners.

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General Policy Respecting Canadian Government Offices Abroad.

1. **Reductions in votes for current year.**

A very substantial reduction will, of course, be made for the remainder of the fiscal year. There will, however, be additional expenditures for movement of personnel or return of members of the staff. In some cases, salaries of members of Legation staffs who have been assigned to other work will continue for the balance of the year to be paid from their former vote. It is, therefore, not possible at present to say precisely what reduction can be made.

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General Policy Respecting
Canadian Government Offices Abroad.

2. Possibility of opening further offices abroad. (e.g. Latin America) (Possibilities of Consular representation).

NAR

During the past year, the chief development in our contacts with other countries has been the establishment of High Commissioners in Canberra, Wellington, Pretoria, and Dublin. The opening of any offices in Europe is, of course, out of the question at present, and the Government does not propose to establish further offices under the present conditions unless for very special and urgent reasons.

It is possible that one or two offices might be established in Latin-America. Several Latin-American countries have recently raised the question of exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Government is giving careful consideration to these proposals. It might be decided in one or two instances to establish a Consulate instead of a Legation. If such offices were opened, it would not be proposed to ask for any additional appropriations. The necessary funds could be found out of Vote No. 42 for Representation Abroad.

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(Note No. 42 reads:

> Representation Abroad, including salaries of High Commissioners, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Consuls, Secretaries and Staff, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Civil Service Act or any of its amendments.)

The general term is the operative provision. The details set forth on Page 81 of the Estimates indicate the expected allocation of appropriation among the various offices abroad, but a transfer may be made from one office to another so long as the total in Vote No. 42 is not exceeded. It has, of course, been the Prime Minister's practice not to establish posts abroad without discussing the matter in the House. A statement such as above would appear to be sufficient warrant for any posts that it might be decided later to establish within the total of Vote No. 42.

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General Policy Respecting

Canadian Government Offices Abroad.

3. Statement respecting requirements of Diplomatic representation as opposed to appointment of further Trade Commissioners.

Our relations with other countries cover many questions other than the promotion of trade. As regards trade, splendid service has been done by the well-organized Canadian Trade Commissioner Service. The increasing measure of Government control over trade in almost every country in the world is, however, making it necessary to supplement the activities of Trade Commissioners and business firms. The development even in countries not at war of systems of quota restrictions, exchange control, shipping restrictions, and many other barriers to trade has rendered it necessary, if business is to be done, to make constant representations to the governments of the countries concerned. Such representations can only be made through the diplomatic channel.

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Canadian Legation

at Brussels
and
The Hague

1. Present status of these offices.

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NAR

BELGIUM
HOLLAND

C163118

1) Present status of Canadian Legations in Brussels
The Hague

In both Belgium and Holland the members of the Canadian Legations remained at their posts after the invasion by Germany and withdrew at the last moment before the German advance. They kept the Government well advised of developments, and members of the various Canadian Government services were evacuated successfully. 9 The Queen of Holland and her Government are now in London. 9 The position of the Belgian Government which operated for a time in France is somewhat obscure. It is anticipated that Belgian representation will shortly be established in the United Kingdom.

The Canadian Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands, Mr. DESY, who had kept in touch with the Belgian Government throughout, has this week gone to London.

The staffs of the Legations for the most part have been retired or absorbed. It is espected that representation on a very restricted basis will be continued in England to enable us to keep in touch with the Netherlands and Belgian authorities.

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3) POSITION OF FRENCH LEGATION IN CANADA

The Canadian Government have continued to recognize the French Minister in Canada. It is felt desirable that a bridge should be maintained, if at all possible, between the British Commonwealth and France. So far as they are concerned, the Canadian Government have no intention of altering this position. It would change only as a result of action in Europe itself.

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C163120

Canadian Legation at Paris

1. Present status of Canadian Legation in France.
   stall

2. Possibility of re-establishment of Legation.

3. Position of French Legation in Canada.

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League of Nations

Canada, total expenditures of, in	L of N	1
Present position of	L of N	2
Resignation of Secretary-General of	Appendix	A
Secretariat, Canadian attitude to transfer of	L of N	4
Secretariat, possible transfer of to U.S.A.	L of N	3
London, High Commissioner at	High Commr	1
New offices abroad	Gen Policy	2
New Zealand, High Commissioner for Canada in	High Commr	2
Nickel, export of	Tokyo	3
Ontario, power shortage in	Washington	3
Paris, Canadian Legation at		
present status of	Paris	1
re-establishment of	Paris	2
Petroleum, exports of	Tokyo	2
Power, hydro-electric, situation in Ontario	Washington	3
Pretoria, High Commissioner at	High Commr	2
St. Lawrence Waterway, negotiations re	Washington	2
Salaries		
High Commissioners	High Commr	4
Ministers Abroad	Ministers	
South Africa, High Commissioner for Canada	High Commr	2
The Hague, Canadian Legation at	Brussels/H	1
Trade Commissioners, appointments &c	Gen Policy	3
War materials, export of: Canadian policy re petroleum, scrap iron & scrap steel	Tokyo	2
War metals, export of: Canadian policy re copper, lead, nickel	Tokyo	3
Washington, Canadian Legation at: questions dealt with by	Washington	1
Wellington, High Commissioner at	High Commr	2

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good grounds and some on grounds not so good. These inconveniences and delays, however, are now a thing of the past.

What Branch Offices have the Canadian Government established?

Answer:- Offices have been established in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Sault Ste. Marie, Windsor, Montreal and St.Stephen. The Departments of National Revenue and Immigration have co-operated in furnishing office space and some of the staff required for this work.

Will further offices be established?

Answer:- It may be found necessary to open one or two more offices and to discontinue some of the existing ones in the light of the relative applications from different areas.

Does the Canadian Government intend to require passports and consular visas on the part of United States citizens entering Canada?

Answer:- ~~There is no present intention to adopt such a course.~~ The question is not at present under consideration.

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C163123

League of Nations

1. Total expenditures of Canada -
   (January 10, 1920 to March 31, 1940).

2. Statement respecting present position of League.

3. Possible transfer of secretariat to the United States.

4. Attitude of Canada to this transfer.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1) Canadian contributions to the League and
Other League expenses

As regards the contribution to the League, it must be borne in mind that the fiscal year of the League of Nations is the calendar year. We would therefore in any case take into account the expenditures incurred during the three months before our present fiscal year began. It will also be necessary to bear in mind that while the activities of the League have been very greatly reduced and will be still further reduced in the next few months, the arrangements made with the retiring members provide in most cases for carrying on their salary for a year. Many of the former members of the League have resigned and many of those who are nominal members have ceased to make payments for its upkeep. It is doubtful if more than two or three countries on the continent of Europe will make payments to the League, and the number of Latin-American contributors is greatly reduced. It is out of the questions for the members of the British Commonwealth which now provide the bulk of the revenue of the the League to continue to maintain its activities on any extensive scale. Substantial reductions in the contributions will doubtless be found necessary. We cannot forecast at the moment the reduction in the Canadian payment for the current year.

The total . .

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C163125

The total expenditures by Canada attributable to its membership in the League of Nations from its foundation in 1920 (January 10) to March 31, 1940 was

note re question asked : Hansard :
by T.L. Church, M.P., : p. 2400 :

$5,471,674.24

The great bulk of this expenditures consists of

annual contributions to the maintenance of the LEAGUE
including the International Labour Office
and the Permanent Court of International Justice

exchange premiums (arising from fact that accounts of the League are kept in gold francs and gold dollars

expenses of delegates to the Council
Assembly
International Labour Ofc
various League Committees

annual grant for publications

maintenance of the Office of the Permanent Delegate of Canada to the League of Nations in Geneva

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2) PRESENT POSITION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League unfortunately has ceased for the present to play any important part in the conduct of international affairs.[1] To explain the reasons for this would involve a reviww of the whole course of European and world affairs for the past ten years. Wahtever may be the inherent merits of the principle of collective security - and certainly a strong case can be made - the events of the last few years have made it painfully apparent that the assumption that every country would be prepared to fight on behalf of any other country anywhere if it were attacked, does not correspond to present facts. 6 There has never been any clearer case of aggression than that launched by Germany. There is not one member of the League outside the Allies which has even considered the application of military or political sanctions. This was so apparent that it was not even considered worth while to hold the ordinary regular meeting of the League Assembly last September.

When the Soviet Union attacked Finland, there was a temporary revival of collective interest and the situation was considered at a meeting of the Assembly and Council in December. A resolution was passed condemning the Soviet action and Russia was declared by the Council to be no longer a member of the League, but there was no suggestion from any quarter

1 See telegram from Joseph AVENOL (Late Secretary-General): copy in Appendix A (below)

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of the application of the political or economic sanctions of ARTICLE XVI, and no aid was given Finland except limited supplies of food and clothing.

Since September 1939, neither the Assembly nor the Council of the League has met. Many of the non-political activities of the League and the International Labour Office, which were of high value, were carried on for several months longer. The entrance of Italy into the war and the control by the axis powers of the territory surrounding Switzerland on every side has made it extremely difficult to carry on even these limited activities. A great majority of the members of the League staff have resigned. The staff has been reduced from about 600 to less than 100. The Secretary-General, Monsieur AVENOL, has submitted his resignation /Appendix A, below/

This does not mean that the League or International Labour Office are going to disappear. It is very desirable to try to maintain a nucleus of so promising and necessary an experiment in the hope that it will revive, doubtless on somewhat different lines, when the war has been brought to a successful conclusion.

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3) POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SECRETARIAT to the United States.

Q: Is it true that part of the League of Nations Secretariat is being moved to the United States ?

A: This is not quite the case.

The members of the ECONOMIC SECTION of the League Secretariat are being given quarters in Princeton University for the duration of the war.

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4) ATTITUDE OF CANADA TOWARDS POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF SECRETARIAT.

Q: Why has Canada not opened its doors to the League Secretariat ?

/O D S/ NOTE

(It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily without breaking the undertaking as ti secrecy until the I L O arrangements are completed)

(Perhaps it might be said that

the question certainly had received consideration by the Canadian Government and that

the Prime Minister would be quite ready to explain the situation privately to the questioner).

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H.W. LOTHROP

Dept. of Nat'l. Defence

A5 P.C. 219

C163130

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 18th January, 1940.

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 18th January, 1940, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, representing:-

> That it has been decided that it is expedient under existing circumstances that a Service Attache should be appointed to the staff of the Canadian Legation at Washington and that a similar appointment should be made to the staff of the Canadian Legation in Paris;
>
> That the Minister of National Defence has recommended that Major-General L. R. LaFleche, D.S.O., be appointed Military Attache at the Canadian Legation in Paris, and that Group Captain (Temporary Air Commodore) W. R. Kenny, D.F.C., be appointed as Air Attache at the Canadian Legation in Washington; and
>
> That the names of these two Officers have been submitted to His Majesty the King from whom approval has been received.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, therefore, acting in pursuance of the nominations received from the Minister of National Defence, recommends:

(1) That Major-General L. R. LaFleche, D.S.O., be hereby appointed Military Attache at the Canadian Legation in Paris,

(2) That Group Captain (Temporary Air Commodore) W. R. Kenny, D.F.C., be hereby appointed Air Attache at the Canadian Legation in Washington.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendations and submit the same for approval.

Acting Clerk of the Privy Council.

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ODS/AH

July 27th,1940.

C163131

LEGATIONS

WASHINGTON

What questions has the Legation been dealing with?

Answer: - One of the main duties of the Legation has been to follow and report upon the state of public opinion, policy administration and congressional action, particularly on questions affecting the conduct of the war and our economic relations. In addition to the ordinary trade and administration questions arising between the two governments, the duties of the Legation have naturally been very greatly increased since the opening of the war by the countless questions arising in connection with supplies of war material and other war questions.

What is the present position of the St. Lawrence Waterway?

Answer: - There have been discussions for a number of months with a view to reaching agreement on all the outstanding St. Lawrence and Great Lakes questions. The discussions have been interrupted by developments in both countries, but they are still proceeding.

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What is being done to meet the approaching power shortage in Ontario?

Answer:- This question has been an important factor in all the recent negotiations and is being given special attention at the present time.

Does the Government intend to proceed with the Alaska Highway?

Answer:- The Commission appointed to examine the question has made an interim report and provision has been made for the further engineering surveys required to determine which of the several routes proposed would be most satisfactory from the engineering and financial standpoint. In the meantime no decision has been made as to the building of the Highway.

In view of the report of the Committee of the United States House of Representatives regarding the proposal that the United States should obtain air bases in Nova Scotia, what is the attitude of the Canadian Government?

Answer:- So far as I am aware, neither Congress nor the Administration has made any suggestion such as is indicated. The Hon. Member was doubtless referring to suggestions made informally by members of some Congressional subcommittee.

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TOKYO

Does the Government intend to send a Minister to Tokyo?

Answer: - Decision on the appointment of a Minister has been deferred in view of the necessity of considering the situation in a number of other Legations. It is expected that an appointment will be made shortly. In the meantime, the Legation has been competently looked after by Mr. McGreer, the Chargé d'Affaires. Mr. E.H. Norman, who was born in Japan, is the son of a Canadian Missionary, and a specialist in oriental languages, has recently been appointed language officer in the Legation.

Does the Canadian Government intend to follow the course ~~adopt the proposal~~ of the United States, which has prohibited exports of petroleum and scrap iron and steel ~~metals~~ to Japan?

Answer: - So far as I am aware the United States has not prohibited exports of these commodities to Japan or any other country. It has prohibited the export without a licence from the Administrator of Export Control. Canada is an importer rather than an exporter of petroleum and has not in recent months been a substantial exporter of scrap iron or steel.

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But what action is Canada proposing to take regarding the metals essential to war effort, of which she is a large producer and exporter, nickel, copper, lead, etc.

Answer:- The Canadian Government has not adopted any general embargo policy. Export of these and various other metals was made subject to special licence many months ago. In deciding whether to issue licences, the Minister of National Revenue is primarily concerned to prevent any of these metals reaching the enemy, directly or indirectly and to maintain the supplies essential for the war production of Canada and her Allies. Practically no shipments of aluminum or zinc, for example, have been made for many months except to Allied countries as the whole Canadian production is required for our own and Allied use, while exports of nickel have been reduced to much smaller dimensions.

Does the Canadian Government policy support the closing of the Burma road?

Answer:- As I have already indicated, this is a matter on which we have not expressed an opinion. We realize the practical difficulties which have faced the United Kingdom in the determination of its policy. It will be recalled that in agreeing to the closing of the road for a temporary period of three months the United Kingdom at the same time indicated its readiness to utilize this interval in facilitating a satisfactory peace between China and Japan.

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PARIS

What has become of the Canadian Legation in France?

Answer:- When the French Government withdrew from Paris, members of the Canadian Legation followed it to Tours ~~different points, the final point being~~ and finally to Bordeaux. With the approach of the enemy forces within a short distance of that city, the Canadian Minister, as well as the British Ambassador and the South African Minister, departed from Bordeaux late in June and took ship for England. The Canadian Minister is at present in London. Some members of his staff have been absorbed in other duties in England and in Canada.

Is it intended to re-establish the Canadian Legation in France?

Answer:- It is the desire of the Canadian Government to maintain as friendly relations as possible with the people of France. Whether we can re-establish a Legation in France in the near future will depend on the development of the relations between the Government of France and the Axis Powers. If the Government were to return to Paris or other German occupied area that would be a new factor that would have to be considered.

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Will the French Legation in Canada be maintained?

Answer:- The Canadian Government have continued to recognize the French Minister in Canada. It is felt desirable that a bridge should, if at all possible, be maintained between the British Commonwealth and France, so far as they are concerned, the Canadian Government have no intention of altering this position. It would change only as a result of action in Europe itself.

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BRUSSELS and THE HAGUE.

What is the present position regarding these Offices?

Answer:- In both Holland and Belgium the members of the Canadian Legations remained at their post after the invasion by Germany and withdrew at the last moment before the German advance. They kept the Government ~~extremely~~ well advised of developments and members of the various Canadian government services were evacuated successfully. The Queen of Holland and her Government are now in London. The position of the Belgian Government which operated for a time in France is somewhat obscure. It is anticipated that Belgian representation will shortly be established in the United Kingdom. The Canadian Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands, Mr. Désy, who had kept in touch with the Belgian Government throughout, has this week gone to London. The staffs of the Legations for the most part have been retired or absorbed. It is expected that representation on a very restricted basis will be continued in England to enable us to keep in touch with the Netherlands and Belgian authorities.

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See below re League of Nations

The total expenditures by Canada attributable to its membership in the League of Nations from its foundation in 1920 to the 31st March, 1940, was $5,471,674.24. The great bulk of this expenditures consists of the annual contributions to the maintenance of the League, including the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court, together with the exchange premiums involved in the fact that the accounts of the League are kept in gold francs and gold dollars. The above total also includes expenses of delegates to the Council and Assembly, the International Labour Conferences and various League Committees, the annual grant for publications and the maintenance of the Office of the Permanent Delegate of Canada to the League of Nations in Geneva.

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GENEVA.

What has happened the League of Nations?

Answer:- The League unfortunately has ceased for the present to play any important part in the conduct of international affairs. To explain the reasons for this would involve a review of the whole course of European and world affairs for the past ten years. Whatever may be the inherent merits of the principle of collective security, and certainly a strong case can be made, the events of the last few years have made it painfully apparent that the assumption that every country would be prepared to fight on behalf of any other country anywhere if it were attacked, does not correspond to present facts. There has never been any clearer case of aggression than that launched by Germany. There is not one member of the League outside the ~~British Commonwealth of Nations~~ allies which has even considered the application of military or political sanctions. This was so apparent that it was not even considered worth while to hold the League meeting of the Assembly in September. When the Soviet Union attacked Finland, there was a temporary revival of collective interest and the situation was considered at a meeting of the Assembly in Council in December. A resolution was passed

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condemning the Soviet action and Russia was declared by the Council to be no longer a member of the League, but there was no suggestion from any quarter of the application of/political or economic sanctions o the Article 16, and no aid was given Finland except limited of food and clothing. of food and clothing.

Since September, neither the Assembly nor the Council of the League has met. Many of the non-political activities of the League and the International Labour Office, which were of high value, were carried on for several months longer. The entrance of Italy into the war and the control by the Axis powers of the territory surrounding Switzerland on every side had made it extremely difficult to carry on even these limited activities. A great majority of the Members of the League staff have resigned. The staff has been reduced from about 600 to less than 100. The Secretary General, M. Avenol, has submitted his resignation.

This does not mean that the League or International Labour Office are going to disappear. It is very desirable to try to maintain a nucleus of so promising and necessary an experiment in the hope that it will revive, doubtless on somewhat different lines when the war has been brought to a successful conclusion.

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Is it true that part of the League of Nations Secretariat is being moved to the United States?

Answer:- This is not quite the case. The members of the economic section of the League Secretariat are being given quarters in Princeton University for the duration of the war.

Why has Canada not opened its doors to the League Secretariat?

~~Answer~~:- (It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily without breaking the undertaking as to secrecy until the ILO arrangements are completed. It might perhaps be said that the question certainly had received consideration by the Canadian Government and that the Prime Minister would be quite ready to explain the situation privately to the questioner).

What about the Canadian contribution to the League and other League expenses?

Answer:- As regards the contribution to the League, it must be borne in mind that the fiscal year of the League of Nations is the calendar year. We would, therefore, in any case take into account the expenditures incurred during the three months before our present fiscal year began. It will also be necessary to bear in mind that while the activities of the League

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have been very greatly reduced and will be still further reduced in the next few months, the arrangements made with the retiring members provide in most cases for carrying on their salary for a year. Many of the former members of the League have resigned and many of those who are nominal members have ceased to make payments for its upkeep. It is doubtful if more than two or three countries on the continent of Europe will make payments to the League and the number of Latin-American contributors is greatly reduced. It is out of the question for the members of the British Commonwealth which now provide the bulk of the revenue of the League to continue to maintain its activities on any ~~substantial~~ extensive scale. ~~A very~~ Substantial reductions in the contributions will doubtless be found ~~be~~ necessary. We cannot forecast at the moment the reduction in the Canadian payment for the current year, ~~but it should be substantial~~.

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In view of the closing of the Canadian Government Offices in Europe, what reductions have been made in these votes?

Answer:- A very substantial reduction ~~has~~ will, of course, ~~been~~ be made for the remainder of the fiscal year. There will, however, be additional expenditures for movement of personnel or return of members of the staff. In some cases, salaries of ~~Legation~~ members of staffs who have been assigned to other work will continue for the balance of the year to be paid from their former vote. It is, therefore, not possible at present to say precisely what reduction can be made.

Does the Government propose to open other offices abroad?

Answer:- During the past year the chief development in our contacts with other countries has been the establishment of High Commissioners in Canberra, Wellington, Pretoria and Dublin. The opening of any offices in Europe is, of course, out of the question at present and the Government does not propose to establish further offices under the present conditions unless for very special and urgent reasons. It is possible

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that one or two offices might be established in Latin-America. Several Latin-American countries have recently raised the question of exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Government is giving careful consideration to these proposals. It might be decided in one or two instances to establish a Consulate instead of a Legation. If such offices were opened ~~that were done,~~ it would not be proposed to ask for any additional appropriations. The necessary funds could be found out of Vote No.42 for Representation Abroad.

(Vote No.42 reads:

> Representation Abroad, including salaries of High Commissioners, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Consuls, Secretaries and Staff, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Civil Service Act or any of its amendments.)

Note

The general term is the operative provision. The details set forth on Page 81 of the Estimates indicate the expected allocation of appropriation among the various offices abroad, but a transfer may be made from one office to another so long as the total in Vote No.42 is not exceeded. It has, of course, been the Prime Minister's practice not to establish posts abroad without discussing the matter in the House. A statement such as above would appear to be sufficient warrant for any posts that it might be decided later to establish within the total of Vote No.42.

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Why establish Legations rather than appoint Trade Commissioners abroad if we wish to develop trade?

Answer:- Our relations with other countries cover many questions other than the promotion of trade. As regards trade, splendid service has been done by the well-organized Canadian Trade Commissioner Service. The increasing measure of Government control over trade in almost every country in the world is, however, making it necessary to supplement the activities of Trade Commissioners and business firms. The development even in countries not at war of systems of quota restrictions, exchange control, shipping restrictions and many other barriers to trade has rendered it necessary, if business is to be done, to make constant representations to the governments of the countries concerned. Such representations can only be made through the diplomatic channel.

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C163146

Are salaries of members of Legations subject to Income Tax?

Answer:- These salaries were originally exempt from taxation. Action was taken some time ago to make private incomes taxable. No formal action has been taken to make official incomes subject to taxation. With the increasing demands on citizens' purses and the growing importance of income tax as a means of meeting these requirements, it has been considered desirable that official incomes of Canadian representatives abroad should also bear their share of taxation. Provision is, therefore, being made for the deduction of an approximate equivalent to National Defence tax and income tax.

(See note on this subject)

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ODS/ET
3rd August, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

File C163147

JAPAN

Under present circumstances, it would appear better to make no commitment about sending a Minister. I suppose the subject can always be "under consideration".

FRANCE

If any attack is made on divergence between the United Kingdom and Canada as regards diplomatic relations with France, I think it might safely be said that there was no difference of opinion between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada on the subject.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

If anyone complains of the five million dollars that Canada has spent on the League and related efforts in the last twenty years, it might perhaps be said that this amounts to only two days cost of the war to Canada, and would seem not an unreasonable insurance premium to have paid for peace.

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ODS/ET
3 August, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163148

Tax on Salary of Legation Staffs.

I find there may be some difficulties in connection with the application of the same rule to Trade and Commerce and other representatives abroad. I do not think it would be well to make any reference to the proposal to require from officers abroad a payment equivalent to National Defence and Income tax on their salaries unless the question is raised in the House. If it is raised, it might be well not to be too definite as to the time or manner of bringing this principle into force. My own feeling is that it should be done as soon as possible, but there may be some technical difficulties.

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Why is the Canadian Government maintaining a postal blockade of France?

(Editorials have appeared in a number of papers including Le Devoir blaming the Canadian Government for preventing correspondence between France and Canada, letters which had been mailed from Canada to France early in June having been returned marked "Service Suspended")

Answer: The cessation of postal service between Canada and France is not a result of any action taken by the Postmaster General or the Postal Censor but is on the contrary a result of the physical impossibility at the moment of delivering mail to that country. A great part of France is occupied by the enemy and this occupation takes in practically all the important ports through which Canadian-French postal service could otherwise be maintained. Alternative routes are now being considered. In view of enemy occupation of the greater part of France, postal communications which it is possible to send forward will be subject to censorship.

(Note) The above answer is a quotation from a general statement, which we have suggested to the Post Office that they should make in order to avoid misunderstanding on this subject.

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Aug.7-'40

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

C163150

Questions have been raised in the House and in the press as to our relations with France.

In the difficult and tragic situation which has resulted from the collapse of French resistance to Germany, relations between France and her former allies ~~are~~ inevitably are ~~changing and~~ still in some respects indefinite. The full consequences of the German victory are not yet clear. The situation is fluid and constantly changing. There are, however, two definite and determining factors in the position. The first is our faith in France, ~~and~~ her people and her future. The second is the hard fact that our ruthless enemy is largely in control of French territory and resources.

The permanent and enduring fact is the character and traditions of the French people. France has been our partner and our ally in two great struggles against German domination. She is bound to us by enduring ties of kinship and historical association. She is an indispensable member of the community of free peoples, one of the builders and upholders of Western civilization and the way of life that makes the happiness and development of the individual man and woman, and not the ruthless efficiency of a centralized Gestapo its aim and objective. I cannot believe that the deep-rooted

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independence, ~~that~~ the free ranging mind, ~~that~~ the sense of balance and proportion, ~~that~~ the clear minded power of seeing through pretence, which would mark the French people will be lost or long submerged. No reactionary forces, whether within or without France, ~~could~~ can prevent the rebirth of a free and democratic nation. We are ~~bound not only to~~ not only concerned with the France of the past, we are ~~bound~~ concerned even more to the France that will be. Our aim must be to avoid recrimination and all unnecessary friction. France will again be free. Our task is to see that anything we do ~~will~~ ensures that freedom coming sooner rather than later.

The temporary and immediate factor in the situation is that in great measure the territory and resources of France are now under German control. The greater part of the territory of France is under the direct military occupation ~~and government~~ of Germany. Within the rest, the Government of France moves within the hard, though not yet absolutely determined, limits set by the Armistice. No communication can take place with France today from the West except through ports ~~of~~ which ~~is~~ are not only occupied by Germany but ~~is~~ are a basis of attack against us. Communication through the Mediterranean is inevitably limited by the military operations between ourselves and the forces of Fascism. It has therefore been impossible to permit sending to France goods or funds which

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under the existing circumstances would be ~~completely~~ at the disposal or the mercy of the enemy.

The question has been asked if we are recognizing the Petain Government and maintaining diplomatic relations with France. It has been further stated that the Government of the United Kingdom has denied such recognition and has broken off diplomatic relations with France.

When the French Government withdrew from Paris, the Canadian Legation followed it to Tours and finally to Bordeaux . With the approach of the enemy forces within a short distance of that city, the Canadian Minister, as well as the British Ambassador and the South African Minister departed from Bordeaux late in June and took ship for England. The Canadian Minister is at present in London. Some members of his staff have been absorbed in other duties in England and in Canada.

The French Legation has remained in Ottawa and is in frequent consultation with the Government on difficulties that have arisen in the ~~changing~~ new circumstances. The activities of the Legation, under the changed conditions, are necessarily limited, and no one understands better than the present French Minister to Canada, Mr. Ristelhueber, the necessity of those limitations. So far as the Canadian

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Government is concerned, we do not wish to terminate that connection. We believe that it can serve as a bridge between the France of today and the France of tomorrow, and that we would be failing in our duty, however difficult the situation may at times become, if we did not endeavour to maintain that bridge. The time may yet come, as a consequence of action in France or elsewhere in Europe, when it may not be possible to continue even this slender bridge. If so, it will be in consequence not of our action, but the action of others.

There has been no question of giving recognition to the Petain Government or withdrawing recognition from it. The statement that the Government of the United Kingdom has withdrawn recognition or refused recognition is wholly without foundation. The maintenance of active diplomatic relations is a question of course entirely separate from recognition. We recognize, or do not question, a score of governments with whom we have no diplomatic relations. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, its diplomatic relations with France are at the moment largely, though not absolutely, suspended. So far as formal British representation in France is concerned, the British Embassy, like the Canadian and South African Legations, left the country on the approach of German troops. The French Embassy was withdrawn from London, not at the request of the United Kingdom Government, but by the action

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of the French Government following the tension of the battle of Oran. Most British Consuls have in France returned ~~to Great Britain~~, but French Consuls remain in Great Britain and are exercising their functions there. I do not think it advisable to go into the matter more fully at present, but as regards the attempt which has been made in some quarters to draw a distinction between the attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Canada, I can only say that there is no ground whatever for believing that there is any difference of opinion in the attitude of the two Governments towards the question of diplomatic relations with France.

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It was unanimously agreed at the Conferences of 1929 and 1930 that the present constitutional position was that the power of disallowance of Dominion Statutes could not be exercised without the consent of the Dominion.

(The disallowance power is thus recognized as being constitutionally dead, if not legally buried. United Kingdom's)

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GENEVA.

What has happened the League of Nations?

Answer:- The League unfortunately has ceased for the present to play any important part in the conduct of international affairs. To explain the reasons for this would involve a review of the whole course of European and world affairs for the past ten years. Whatever may be the inherent merits of the principle of collective security, and certainly a strong case can be made, the events of the last few years have made it painfully apparent that the assumption that every country would be prepared to fight on behalf of any other country anywhere if it were attacked does not correspond to present facts. There has never been any clearer case of aggression than that launched by Germany. There is not one member of the League outside the ~~British Commonwealth~~ Allies themselves of Nations which has ever considered the application of military or political sanctions. This was so apparent that it was not even considered worth while to hold the League meeting of the Assembly in September. When the Soviet Union attacked Finland, there was a temporary revival of collective interest and the situation was considered at a meeting of the Assembly in Council in December. A resolution was passed

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Since September, neither the Assembly nor the Council of the League has met. Many of the non-political activities of the League and the International Labour Office, which were of high value, were carried on for several months longer. The entrance of Italy into the war and the control by the Axis powers of territory surrounding Switzerland on every side had made it extremely difficult to carry on even these limited activities. A great majority of the Members of the League staff have resigned. The staff has been reduced from about 600 to less than 100. The Secretary General, M. Avenol, has submitted his resignation.

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Is it true that part of the League of Nations Secretariat is being moved to the United States?

Answer:- This is not quite the case. The members of the economic section of the League Secretariat are being given quarters in Princeton University for the duration of the war.

Why has Canada not opened its doors to the League Secretariat?

Answer:- (It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily without breaking the undertaking as to secrecy until the ILO arrangements are completed. It might perhaps be said that the question certainly had received consideration by the Canadian Government and that the Prime Minister would be quite ready to explain the situation privately to the questioner)

What about the Canadian contribution to the League and other League expenses?

Answer:- As regards the contribution to the League, it must be borne in mind that the fiscal year of the League of Nations is the calendar year. We would, therefore, in any case take into account the expenditures incurred during the three months before our present fiscal year began. It will also be necessary to bear in mind that while the activities of the League

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have been very greatly reduced and will be still further reduced in the next few months, the arrangements made with the retiring members provide in most cases for carrying on their salary for a year. Many of the former members of the League have resigned and many of those who are nominal members have ceased to make payments for its upkeep. It is doubtful if more than two or three countries on the continent of Europe will make payments to the League and the number of Latin-American contributors is greatly reduced.
It is out of the question for the members of the British Commonwealth which now provide the bulk of the revenue of the League to continue to maintain its activities on any substantial scale. A very substantial reduction in the contributions will be necessary. We cannot forecast at the moment the reduction in the Canadian payment for the current year, but it should be substantial.

League 20 years = 2 days wd

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C163162 MK/EH/Z

Copy for Dr. Gibson's information.

August 13, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. O. D. SKELTON:

I am inclined to doubt the wisdom of making an appointment at this particular time. South America will be a trouble zone while the war continues.

It will be preferable, I think, to begin with consular representatives, to follow later with diplomatic. If the right persons for the consular positions could be obtained, I would favour having consulates opened in both Argentina and Brazil, and both countries informed that this was intended as a preliminary to the opening of a legation at some future date. That ought to come, I think, just as soon as the war is over; possibly before, if it runs longer than another year.

W.L.M.K.

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12 Sept.1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

XA-C

C163163

Revision of External Affairs Service.

The war has for the present put out of business a large proportion of Canada's diplomatic service. So far as Europe was concerned,we had made our initial appointments in the friendly democratic countries of Western Europe, France,Belgium,the Netherlands,and in the League of Nations. We have had to withdraw our representatives from all four centres. It will be desirable to keep up for the present some formal contact with the Netherlands Government,which is firmly established in London; with the Belgian Government representatives,who are divided between France and England and less firmly established in either place; and with France, in order to be in a position to renew full relations if and when the outcome of the war permits. There is not enough to do in these fields,however, to warrant keeping a Minister on the job and maintaining any substantial office.

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As regards France, it has now been arranged to bring Colonel Vanier back for conference, with the probability that he will be made a member of the Defence Board and perhaps D.O.C. in one of the Quebec districts. Scott Macdonald was brought back some months ago. Pierre Dupuy,First Secretary,now in London,can carry on in Vanier's stead,with one or two part time staff. The other members of the staff are being paid off,returned to Canada,or assigned to work in Canada House.

Désy has little to do,now that he has done what he could to clear up the difficulties caused by the evacuation. It would seem desirable to transfer him to some other diplomatic post. Probably Renaud,who was First Secretary at Brussels,could act as Chargé for both the Belgian and the Netherlands Legations. Kirkwood,who was at The Hague,has been transferred as Consul to Greenland.

As regards Geneva,Alfred Rive is now back in Ottawa and assisting Robertson. Wrong was appointed Economic Adviser in London,and did a very useful job for a time. Now the work he was doing,largely control of trade with neutral countries in Europe,has pretty well disappeared with the disappearance of neutral

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countries or the adoption of complete naval blockade rather than rationed control. Wrong to his credit does not like idleness or nominal jobs. He is impatient and arrogant as always,but he has first-class abilities which should be used more effectively. I have given much thought to the possibility of a post in Canada, but have not until now heard of anything entirely suitable. The proposed segregation of "friendly refugees" from the pro-Nazi aliens or prisoners who have been sent to us from England,which is dealt with in a note on the meeting of the Cabinet sub-committee under Mr.Lapointe, requires the appointment of a man to take over from General Panet,at his urgent request,supervision of the 2000 people,mainly anti-Nazi refugees,and including a large percentage of students and scientists,sent us by tragic error. They would have to be kept at work or study,some allowed to enter Canada as free immigrants,, more allowed to enter the United States when they can get the necessary visas. I think Wrong could do this temporary job admirably. Alternatively,he should be considered for a post in Latin America or Japan,but that perhaps could come later.

I shall send later the second part of this note, dealing with diplomatic or consular developments in Latin America.

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Confirmation of memo Privy Council Office

C163166

The growing importance of Latin America, politically and industrially, and the desirability of closer Canadian contact, are now widely recognized. You have indicated that you do not think it desirable to consider joining the Pan American Union now, particularly as we are a belligerent country, but that you had in mind the possibility of effecting a direct diplomatic exchange with some of the larger countries. Argentina and Brazil have both recently indicated their desire to send a Minister here. It would not be essential that we should reciprocate immediately, but they would like, before they acted, an indication of our intending to reciprocate shortly.

In a recent note you indicated you were considering the possibility of sending a Consul instead of a Minister. The Ottawa Journal last month (August 9th) suggested a Trade Commissioner:

> "The Government is said to be considering diplomatic representatives to South American republics. Wouldn't it be wiser to send the ablest possible trade representatives? Trade representatives might not mean so much to our "status"; they might get us more trade - which is probably more important."

Under the circumstances I think that only the appointment of a Minister would effectively meet the need.

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Trade Commissioners perform very useful functions, and our Canadian Service is an excellent one. But they do not represent the Canadian Government and have not access to a foreign government. Their business is to serve as a link between business men here who are seeking trade outlets,and business men in the other country. Years ago that was all that was needed, aside from making an occasional trade agreement or tariff change. Nowadays it is emphatically not enough. In every country in which we seek to do business the State has intervened. It controls trade by quotas,import licanses,exchange controls,import monopolies,and every other device designed to restrict and divert trade in the interest of domestic exigencies or political considerations. Trade Commissioners cannot deal with the problems to created. Only a Minister can have access to a foreign government and try to clear away these barriers.

A Consul has more political standing. He represents his government,but represents it locally. He is not accredited to the other government,but acts in co-operation with the Legation of his country. His duties are in part trade promotion,but more concerned with administrative acts - taking custody of estates,registering citizens,issuing passports and visas,certifying trade invoices,administering shipping Acts and clearing vessels,performing notarial services,etc. For most of these functions fees are charged which largely to to maintain the office.

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It is true that in Canada, in the absence of diplomatic officers, and with the United Kingdom carrying on our diplomatic work, the practice grew up of recognizing foreign consuls here as having quasi-diplomatic standing. That is disappearing here with the setting up of legations, and in any event most foreign countries, particularly the larger Latin-American States, do not give any such recognition.

I had a visit yesterday from Major McCrimmon, of "Brazilian". He has been a very strong imperialist, but he said he had become convinced of the necessity of direct Canadian representation in Brazil and Argentine if we were to take our place in the future commercial and political relations of this hemisphere. I asked him if it would not suffice to appoint consuls. He said he thought absolutely not : they would not have the standing; they could supplement a Minister but they could not take his place.

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As to personnel, there would be two possibilities from our own service, Désy and Wrong : if legations were established, probably one post should be filled by a man with public or business experience. The funds for the balance of the year could be met from the vote for "Representation Abroad".

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To be added if I think necessary

November 14, 1940.

C163170

When it was announced this summer that the establishment of legations in Latin America was under consideration, I noted in one or two quarters the suggestion that Canada's needs would be fully met by the appointment or extension in our Trade Commissioner Service. That suggestion, I think, is based on a misapprehension. Our Trade Commissioner Service abroad is a splendid one; there is not a better one in any country and I doubt if there is any as good. It has recently been strengthened in Latin America as well as other parts of the world. But such a Service cannot take the place of Diplomatic representation. Trade Commissioners deal with the business world, not with Governments. Nowadays the scope of Government activity has extended widely. Aside altogether from general political questions, most trade questions now require diplomatic intervention to deal adequately with the various barriers to trade, not merely tariffs of the old type but prohibitions, quotas, exchange controls, barter deals and endless other restrictions which many neutral as well as belligerent countries have set up.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 242, pages C162889-C163381

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

November 14th, 1940.

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C163171

Members may recall that in the discussion of the External Affairs Estimates this summer, I indicated that the Government was considering the establishment of Canadian Legations in South America.

Steps have recently been taken to carry out the action then forecast. Following the customary approval of His Majesty, the proposal of the Canadian Government to establish legations in Buenos Aires and [Rio de Janeiro] (another Latin American capital) has been communicated to the Governments [of Argentina and Brazil] (concerned) respectively through the British Foreign Office. I may say that both countries had informally indicated their readiness to effect an exchange of Ministers.

It is not necessary to elaborate on the reasons for the extension of our diplomatic relations to these countries. The growing political and economic importance of Latin America in world affairs and its significance for Canada have become apparent to all. It is essential if we are to play our part in the world of tomorrow that we should have direct means of contact with the governments of representative South American countries, and we have therefore decided to accept and act upon this responsibility.

I may add that the funds required for the establishment of these legations will be met from the existing appropriation for Diplomatic Representation.

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XA/O 1941

C163172

2. CANADIAN REPRESENTATION ABROAD (General)

Toronto Globe and Mail - February 7: (Exhibit H.)

complains that

(a) "the calibre of the men who are being appointed to Canadian Legations in various parts of the world shows a singular lack of imagination on the part of those who are responsible for the selection of our envoys.....

(b) .....those chosen are so obscure it is doubtful that Canadians can name a solitary plenipotentiary with the exception of Hon. Vincent Massey."

It also refers to

(c) "mediocre men of the type who have been sent to some capitals"

(d) "it is appalling to think that Canada must rely on obscure politicians or little-known civil servants to represent this Dominion on the diplomatic front.

It adds

(e) "the idea of permanency and promotion in the diplomatic service is good. Young men of brilliant talents who enter the Department of External Affairs in a junior capacity should be encouraged to hope that one day they may find themselves occupying positions of great authority and responsibility ... do not let us talk of sending Ministers to all parts of the world until able men are available.

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COMMENT:

The last complaint is a quite different one from the first attack. Of "envoys" appointed under the present Administration

as Ministers to United States, France, Belgium & Netherlands) were all
as Permanent Delegate to League of Nations) drawn from
as High Commissioner to New Zealand) the service of the Department.

Note: (1) High Commissioner in Great Britain previously served as Minister to United States;

(2) Minister to Japan at present vacant;

(3) High Commissioners in Ireland, Australia, and South Africa were appointed from outside the Service.

In addition, Canadian Consuls in Greenland, France and Japan are career officers.

It is open to question whether the adjective "mediocre" may fairly be applied to any of these men.

The Globe mentions five noble Lords who filled important British diplomatic posts:

Bryce, Derby, Reading, Grey and Lothian.

Of these, all except Derby (Paris 1918-20), served in Washington, and of these, three filled their posts for a single year or less.

The Washington Legation has frequently been filled by

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outstanding men not of the Diplomatic Service, but it has also been filled by career men (the most recent was Sir Ronald Lindsay).

The Globe also mentions "more of the type of Lord Strathcona, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir George Perley, Hon. Vincent Massey, and Hon. C. Howard Ferguson.

All of these served as High Commissioners in London; but only the Hon. Mr. Massey filled any other diplomatic post.

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3. CONSULAR SERVICE.

Urged in an address to Native Sons of Canada, Federal Assembly, by T. S. Ewart, (Exhibit J) possible transformation of present Commercial Intelligence Service into Consular Service.

4. DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (General)

Ottawa Citizen - February 1: (Exhibit K)

Suggesting Hon. Vincent Massey as Under-Secretary.

Ottawa Citizen - February 6: (Exhibit L)

re Ministery to South America.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 242, pages C162889-C163381

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

H

The PM to see

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date FEB 7 1941

C163176

Subject

POORLY REPRESENTED ABROAD.

The calibre of the men who are being appointed to Canadian legations in various parts of the world shows a singular lack of imagination on the part of those who are responsible for the selection of our envoys. We are spending more than $500,000 a year on representation abroad, yet those chosen are so obscure it is doubtful that Canadians can name a solitary plenipotentiary with the exception of Hon. Vincent Massey.

The Prime Minister believes the time will come when Canada will have Ministers and Consuls-General in all parts of the world, but he wisely questions very much that the Canadian people would approve of the Government taking so far-reaching a step at the present time. Heaven forbid that we should clutter up the chancelleries of Europe, America and the Orient with mediocre men of the type who have been sent to some capitals.

When it is considered that Britain chose for important diplomatic posts such men as Lord Bryce, Lord Derby, Lord Reading, Lord Grey and Lord Lothian, it is appalling to think that Canada must rely on obscure politicians or little-known civil servants to represent this Dominion on the diplomatic front. If it is possible for Britain to enlist the services of distinguished scholars, leaders of the bar and outstanding business men to go abroad and promote cordial diplomatic and commercial relations, it ought to be possible for Canada to appoint more of the type of Lord Strathcona, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir George Perley, Hon. Vincent Massey and Hon. G. Howard Ferguson.

The idea of permanency and promotion in the diplomatic service is good. Young men of brilliant talents who enter the Department of External Affairs in a junior capacity should be encouraged to hope that one day they may find themselves occupying positions of great authority and responsibility. But do not let us talk of sending Ministers to all parts of the world until able men are available.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 242, pages C162889-C163381

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date FEB 7 1941

C1631'76

Subject

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

J

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date Feb. 6/41.

Subject

C163177

Consular Service Urged For Canada

The need of a consular service for Canada was the subject of an address last evening by T. S. Ewart to the Federal Assembly of the Native Sons of Canada. Mr. Ewart stated that Canada now used the British consular service but he felt it was not satisfactory in the promotion of Canadian commerce as the consuls were not familiar with Canadian requirements or manufactures and their first duty was, quite properly, to the United Kingdom. That Canada did not consider the present system a good one was shown by the fact that at very considerable expense she covered 53 countries before the war by her own trade commissioners, he declared. Mr. Ewart advocated transforming the present Commercial Intelligence Service, which is very highly regarded both here and abroad, into a consular service, and stated that this could probably be done at less expense than in maintaining the present commercial service.

The assembly passed a resolution congratulating the government on the exchange of ministers with Brazil and the Argentine Republic and hoped that the Canadian diplomatic service would be further extended.

A further resolution expressed regret that the Prime Minister had referred to the conduct of Canadian seamen at the time of the loss of H.M.C.S. Saguenay as being "in accordance with the highest traditions of the British navy" instead of referring to the high tradition of Canadian sailors.

The following officers were elected: President, T. S. Ewart; first vice-president, A. Parisien; second vice-president, C. W. Mahoney; treasurer, D. A. Reny; secretary, J. H. Vincent; sergeant-at-arms, E. B. H. Wright; chaplain, C. A. Clark; historian, J. B. Aubin; inner guard, [illegible] Terpannier, and outside guard, W. Morrison.

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

K

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date February 1, 1941

C163178

Subject External Affairs (C)

Department of External Affairs

The sudden passing of Dr. O. D. Skelton last Tuesday deprived the government of one of the ablest permanent officials in the civil service. As under-secretary of state for external affairs, he held relatively the same position in Canada as Sir Robert Vansittart at the Foreign Office in London. The prime minister has acted without delay, of necessity, in appointing an able member of the department's staff, Norman Robertson, to serve as acting under-secretary. It is to the credit of Mr. Mackenzie King as minister of external affairs that the department has such competent men at hand in Ottawa, as well as in capitals abroad, to draw upon when responsible positions have to be filled. Before the final decision is made on the appointment of a new permanent head of the Department of External Affairs, however, the prime minister will doubtless give very serious consideration to the responsibilities ahead as they are likely to develop.

The heavy duties of prime minister of Canada, especially in wartime, are more than sufficient to occupy the whole attention of any one man. It has sometimes seemed desirable that a minister of external affairs should be appointed. The name of Hon. Vincent Massey used to be mentioned as the most likely Canadian in public life to fill this position. It might be well to consider the feasibility of bringing Mr. Massey back to Ottawa.

No other man in Canadian public life has Mr. Massey's experience in external affairs. He served for nearly five years as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Washington, the first Canadian minister to be appointed to the first Canadian legation. Mr. Massey's later activities in international affairs included leadership of the Canadian group at the Shanghai conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1931. Perhaps excepting Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, one of the ablest officials in the Department of External Affairs, there is no better informed Canadian public servant than Mr. Massey on the complexities of diplomacy in the Far East.

Since 1935, it has been Mr. Massey's privilege to serve Canada in the highest office abroad as Canadian high commissioner to the United Kingdom. The high commissioner's practical experience in London as the representative of Canada's partnership with the British nation since the outbreak of war would surely be invaluable in Ottawa at this time.

It is possible that Mr. Massey would hesitate to leave London to enter Dominion politics to become Canadian minister of external affairs. He could, however, be invited to accept the position of permanent under-secretary of the department. Whether it could be regarded as promotion is of minor importance. Lord Halifax has established a notable precedent in this respect by giving up the office of foreign minister to become British ambassador to Washington.

The appointment of Mr. Massey to succeed Dr. Skelton would be calculated to enhance public confidence in this important department. It would be recognized at Washington and everywhere throughout the British Commonwealth as further evidence of Canada's readiness to shoulder responsibilities in world politics.

The name of Massey is highly regarded throughout Canada. Hon. Vincent Massey's devoted service to the nation, and to the British Commonwealth in the battle of Britain, private benefactions, unremitting interest in the welfare of the fighting forces, have commended him more than ever to the people of Canada. There could be no more popular appointment to fill the high office of under-secretary to the Department of External Affairs.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 242, pages C162889-C163381

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa L. Citizen

Date February 1, 1941

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa L. Citizen

Date February 6, 1941

Subject External Affairs (General)

C163179

Ministers To Go To South America Not Yet Selected

Canada's two new legations, to be opened shortly in Brazil and the Argentine, are expected to be provided with ministers selected from among officers now holding high office in the Dominion's diplomatic corps.

Jean Desy, who was minister of the dual legations in Holland and Belgium, is belived to be a certain selection for one of the South American posts and it is unofficially reported his name has been submitted for consideration by the government of Brazil.

External Affairs Department officers said last night no decision had been reached, and there was no particular rush since Parliament must first approve the necessary appropriation before the legations are established.

Mr. Desy had to leave his post when the Germany army overran Holland and Belgium last spring. He now is at his home in Quebec.

Another temporarily homeless minister is Col. P. Vanier of Montreal, minister to France. Now working on the Canadian-American joint defence board, he is understood to be standing ready to return to his post at once if France should again become an active ally of the British. It is felt there is a possibility he might be asked to open one of the South American legations with the understanding that if the fortunes of war brought a militant French government to the side of Britain, he could resume his post as French minister.

Hume Wrong, who was resident Canadian delegate to the League of Nations in Geneva before war ended the functioning of that body, started work this week on the secretariat of External Affairs Department here. A former charge d'affaires of the Canadian legation in Washington, he would be considered a likely candidate for a South American legation were it not that he is said to be anxious to live in Canada after many years in service abroad.

The Canadian legation in Japan has been without a minister for several years but so far as is known the government has made no immediate plans for filling the vacancy.

Loring Christie, formerly counsellor to the External Affairs Department, and now minister to Washington, has been ill for many months. He now is on the road to recovery but it is not known whether he will be able to resume his responsibilities of office in the near future.

Meanwhile the Washington legation is in charge of Merchant Mahoney, charge d'affaires and former commercial attache, one of the most experienced diplomats in the Canadian service.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa 5 0 'clock Journal.

Date Feb. 11/41.

Subject C163189

Loring Christie Faces Long-Extended Rest

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 11.—(B.U.P.)—Loring C. Christie, Canadian Minister to the United States, accredited with knowing more influential Americans than any other legation, consular or embassy representative in the United States, may be forced to take an extended rest, it was learned today.

Christie has been in ill-health for some time.

Aside from being a close friend of the President, the Canadian Minister is acquainted with at least one Supreme Court Justice well enough to call him by his first name.

It is expected that during Christie's absence Commercial Counsellor Merchant M. Mahoney will act for him as he has been doing during the past few weeks.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

C163181

May Make Statement On Washington Post

The situation in regard to the Canadian minister at Washington is believed to be under official consideration. If nothing is said about it before, it is believed Prime Minister Mackenzie King will anticipate a question in Parliament and be prepared to make an announcement.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 242, pages C162889-C163381

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date FEB 1 2 1941

Subject C163181

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date February 19, 1941

Subject C163182

MR. KING AMAZED AND PAINED.

Our Prime Minister is not often guilty of the grosser inconsistencies but when he does fall into this error he makes a very complete job of it. He did so on Monday. He had been, he said, amazed and not a little pained on observing what he described as slighting and belittling references to Mr. Loring Christie, Canadian Minister at Washington. He said that men who spend their lives in the public services, even in the most responsible posts, are rarely well known to the general public, that by the very nature of their work they do not come in contact with the public and their contribution to the solution of difficult questions or the administration of public affairs is little known to "uninformed persons." This, to begin with, calls for some hard swallowing. It was not true of previous Canadian Ministers in Washington, is emphatically not true of United States Ministers to this country and is conspicuously inaccurate if applied to men like Lord Halifax or his predecessor the late Lord Lothian. As a matter of fact, it is the rule rather than the exception that ambassadors and ministers are always very much in the public eye and that their influence is measurable in terms of the public's knowledge of them.

Mr. King assured the House of Commons that Canada's interests at Washington have not been allowed to suffer in consequence of Mr. Christie's illness—which illness, he omitted to say, has not been the basis of criticism directed against Mr. Christie's activities or inactivities. In the next breath the Prime Minister announced that immediate provision for additional or other representation at Washington is being made. He said this was necessary because of the Minister's condition of health, and this, no doubt will have to stand as the official explanation. The truth is that the Government is at last taking steps to remedy an intolerable condition of things, a condition which was permitted to continue far too long and which, primarily at any rate, had nothing to do with Mr. Christie's regrettable illness. The real trouble is that Canada has not been represented at Washington by the right kind of Minister. Mr. Christie's talents are not unknown and not unappreciated, and his long experience in the public service is a matter of record. Unfortunately, that experience and those talents have not been enough. The circumstances have been exacting, so much so that Mr. King himself has kept in close contact with the United States government, regarding that contact as of possibly more importance than would be his presence in London as a member of an Imperial war cabinet. Upon this point he says: "The possibility of immediate personal "contact between the Prime Minister of Can- "ada and the President of the United States in "critical situations affecting the relations "between the United States and the British "Commonwealth may easily be more im- "portant to the common cause than any "service which a Prime Minister of Canada "could render at the council table in "London."

And yet, with this international relationship and contact of such paramount importance, Canada has not had at Washington a Minister capable of carrying an exceptional responsibility created by admittedly exceptional circumstances. Mr. King himself as head of the Department of External Affairs allowed this condition to go on. He is only now doing something to correct it, after one or two Canadian newspapers, discharging an extremely distasteful duty, brought the matter to the attention of the public. Mr. King says that he has been amazed and somewhat pained, but he is about to act, notwithstanding the pain and the amazement. He is probably less amazed than are the Canadian people, whose interests have been so flagrantly disregarded.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date February 19, 1941

Subject

C163182

MR. KING AMAZED AND PAINED.

Our Prime Minister is not often guilty of the grosser inconsistencies but when he does fall into this error he makes a very complete job of it. He did so on Monday. He had been, he said, amazed and not a little pained on observing what he described as slighting and belittling references to Mr. Loring Christie, Canadian Minister at Washington. He said that men who spend their lives in the public services, even in the most responsible posts, are rarely well known to the general public, that by the very nature of their work they do not come in contact with the public and their contribution to the solution of difficult questions or the administration of public affairs is little known to "uninformed persons." This, to begin with, calls for some hard swallowing. It was not true of previous Canadian Ministers in Washington, is emphatically not true of United States Ministers to this country and is conspicuously inaccurate if applied to men like Lord Halifax or his predecessor the late Lord Lothian. As a matter of fact, it is the rule rather than the exception that ambassadors and ministers are always very much in the public eye and that their influence is measurable in terms of the public's knowledge of them.

Mr. King assured the House of Commons that Canada's interests at Washington have not been allowed to suffer in consequence of Mr. Christie's illness—which illness, he omitted to say, has not been the basis of criticism directed against Mr. Christie's activities or inactivities. In the next breath the Prime Minister announced that immediate provision for additional or other representation at Washington is being made. He said this was necessary because of the Minister's condition of health, and this, no doubt will have to stand as the official explanation. The truth is that the Government is at last taking steps to remedy an intolerable condition of things, a condition which was permitted to continue far too long and which, primarily at any rate, had nothing to do with Mr. Christie's regrettable illness. The real trouble is that Canada has not been represented at Washington by the right kind of Minister. Mr. Christie's talents are not unknown and not unappreciated, and his long experience in the public service is a matter of record. Unfortunately, that experience and those talents have not been enough. The circumstances have been exacting, so much so that Mr. King himself has kept in close contact with the United States government, regarding that contact as of possibly more importance than would be his presence in London as a member of an Imperial war cabinet. Upon this point he says: "The possibility of immediate personal "contact between the Prime Minister of Can- "ada and the President of the United States in "critical situations affecting the relations "between the United States and the British "Commonwealth may easily be more im- "portant to the common cause than any "service which a Prime Minister of Canada "could render at the council table in "London."

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DS/SA/

NAR/SR
7.4.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Diplomatic Representation in South America

C163183

With the worsening of relations between the United States and German Governments, the question of our diplomatic relations with Argentina is becoming rather urgent. As you know, preliminary arrangements were made some time ago between the United Kingdom and Argentina for the latter to take over British interests in enemy and enemy occupied territory in the event that the United States should, for any reason, be unable to continue as the Protecting Power for British interests. If the United States should become involved in the war, or if, as is quite likely, diplomatic relations should be broken off between the United States and Germany, the United States diplomatic and consular services would be unable to continue the protection they have been giving to British and Canadian interests in enemy and enemy occupied countries. Presumably, we should then ask Argentina to take over this responsibility on our behalf and at our expense. This would inevitably lead to much less satisfactory arrangements than those that have been worked out with the United States authorities, largely through our Legation in Washington.

The difficulties of working with the Argentine as Protecting Power would be sufficiently great even if there were an Argentine Legation in Ottawa and a Canadian Legation at Buenos Aires. Should the necessity of asking the Argentine to act as our Protecting Power arise before Legations are established, we might be cut off

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from communication with our nationals in Europe for several weeks and possibly months. It would be hoped that, if the Argentine became the Protecting Power for Canadian interests, it would be possible for them to handle communications with enemy countries directly from their Legation in Ottawa to their offices in Europe rather than by way of Buenos Aires.

This aspect of the situation gives a quite unexpected urgency, I think, to completing arrangements for the exchange of Ministers as quickly as possible. The Argentine Government, which designated its Minister to Ottawa about two months ago, indicated a few days ago to the British Embassy in Buenos Aires that it seemed "quite pointless" for them to hurry up with their plans for establishing a Legation in Ottawa until they had some word as to when the Canadian Government intended to reciprocate.

I think you have been counting on the possibility that Christie might have been in shape by this time to take over the organization of our Legation at Buenos Aires. Unfortunately this possibility is now out of the question and the question of the appointment of a Minister to Argentina will have to be considered ab initio.

Of the present External Affairs Service, the only immediately available man is Colonel Vanier. He has been anxious to retain his status as Minister to France, and in the autumn, when the possibility of his appointment to a South American post was canvassed, there

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seemed to be some grounds for believing that appointing our Minister to Paris to another post would further prejudice the precarious balance on which our relations with the Vichy Government stood. This factor, I think, has lost some of its weight. In fact, if the occasion arose to appoint a permanent mission to Vichy under present conditions there would, I think, be a lot to be said for naming an English Canadian to it.

There are two complications in the way of appointing Vanier to Buenos Aires - one, that Desy will be going to Rio de Janeiro, the other that Buenos Aires is a notoriously expensive post in which a man without some private means would probably find himself embarrassed.

If, as seems probable, the Minister to Argentina had to be appointed from outside the Service, there might be something to be said for trying to get a man from the prairies with a good understanding of Canadian agricultural problems, which have their close counterpart in Argentina. Wheat is the biggest problem which we share with Argentina and one in which we may require Argentinian collaboration in any new effort to work out an international solution. It is not easy to find the combination of qualifications which we would like our new Minister to have. The salary provided for the post is $10,000 a year, with allowances of $12,000 a year, but I am assured that some supplementary private means would be useful if not absolutely indispensable. I am

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appending a brief note on half a dozen persons, one or other of whom might seem suitable to you.

Ca
serviceman's welfare
at War

Asst.

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E.J. Tarr, K.C. - Winnipeg. President of the Monarch Life Insurance Company. He was a member of the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto in 1929 and the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation at the Institute Conference held in Banff in 1933. He is a past President of the Association of Canadian Clubs and of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. He has taken an active and informed interest in the development of Canadian foreign policy, including the question of our relations with Latin American countries.

J.R. Murray, - Winnipeg. Keeps his name out of the Canadian "Who's Who", so I am not able to supply any biographical details. I should think if you were looking for a grain man from the West, Mr. Murray would be a possibility.

J.M. Imrie - Managing Director of the Edmonton "Journal", was born in 1883 and has had long experience as a publisher. He has been an active member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of International Affairs and was Chairman of the Canadian Trade Delegation to Japan and China in 1930. He is a Conservative. I do not know Mr. Imrie personally, but I am told he would make a very respectable representative.

Hon. F.B. McCurdy - Publisher of the Halifax "Chronicle", born in 1875, has the advantage of being a very wealthy man who might be able to put the new legation on its feet quickly. He has, I believe, taken a certain interest in international affairs and he was a Member of Parliament from 1911 to 1921 and a member of the Meighen Government in 1920-1921. He has, I believe, been pretty much out of politics since that time.

Col. S.C. Oland - is another Nova Scotian who might be a possibility. He was born in 1886, served overseas in the last war and has been active in Nova Scotian business and financial circles. He has been an Honorary A.D.C to the Governor General since 1930 and is closely connected with military and naval circles in Halifax. I

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notice that his wife is Spanish and he may, therefore, have some knowledge of the language himself.

J.S. Duncan - Former Acting Deputy Minister of National Defence for Air would, if available, be the type of man we should try to get for the Buenos Aires post. He knows Spanish well and is thoroughly familiar with the problems of Canadian export trade. As head of Massey-Harris he has had to take a pretty intelligent interest in agricultural problems, and his appointment would, I think, be very well received by Canadian opinion generally. I am afraid, however, that as he had to give up his post in National Defence to return to his business, he would not be available for appointment at the present time.

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DS/F

NAR/SR
9.6.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163189

As none of the junior Third Secretaries appointed after the last Civil Service examination have the language qualifications in Spanish and Portuguese that will be necessary for the new Legations to be established in South America, we have asked the Civil Service Commission to invite applications from candidates who, beside measuring up to the general standards required for junior Secretaries, have a useful knowledge of Spanish and/or Portuguese. The Commission are handling this request as a matter of urgency, and it is hoped we will know whether suitable men will be available before the end of this month.

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C163190

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Referring to Mr. Burchell's telegram No.580 of July 20th; Mr. Burchell recommends that the Government take over the lease of his house for the use of his successor and suggests that pending his appointment, it could be sub-let to Mr. John Minter, the United States First Secretary. From what I know of the difficulty of getting suitable office and house accommodation in Canberra, I think we would be well advised to take his advice in the matter.

MacKeigan, whom Mr. Burchell asks for in Newfoundland, was on the eligible list established after the last examination for a Third Secretary in the External Affairs Service. I think he was a junior in Mr. Burchell's law office in Halifax before he accepted his present appointment with Fred MacGregor, Combines Investigation Branch. From the general point of view of the Service, there is no objection to sending MacKeigan to St. Johns instead of Pick, whom we had recommended. In fact, it would be more satisfactory for us to keep Pick in the Department where he has been very useful, than to send him to Newfoundland.

OTTAWA, July 21st, 1941. 23-7-41

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C163191

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You may not have seen the attached interview with the Japanese Minister printed in yesterday's Evening Journal.

Making all allowances for the risks of misrepresentation in such an interview, I do not think it can be regarded as, in any way, a helpful statement at the present time.

In considering plans for designating a new Canadian Minister to Tokyo, have you given further thought to the possibility of naming ~~your~~ representative to Chungking? Both from ~~the~~ purely domestic considerations and with a view to strengthening the war effort, I think an announcement that the Government was considering appointing a representative in China would be well received.

If it is intended to do anything of this sort, it would desirable to secure the King's approval in principle of the appointment for the Minister. This is the course to be followed in respect of Chile, set out in draft telegram that I sent you earlier today.

OTTAWA, July 24th, 1941.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Journal 5 O'Clock

Date July 23/41

C163192

Subject

Japanese Minister Will Remain In Ottawa 'Until Last Minute'

Mr. Soijiro Yoshizawa, the young and blandly friendly Japanese Minister to Canada, this morning seemed reconciled to the possibility of his stay in Ottawa being limited.

"The news gets no better does it?" he smiled referring to reports of the Japanese fleet steaming south with troop transports and the preparations by London and Washington to freeze Tokyo credits.

He used his comment on the news to greet the press, for earlier in the day he had received reports on new developments in the Far East—but not from his Government.

"If the worst comes to the worst", and he didn't volunteer the belief either personally or officially that it wouldn't, the Minister will remain in Ottawa until Tokyo recalls him or the Canadian Government invites him out.

"It will be my duty to remain to the last minute", he explained, "working to try and maintain the good relations between our countries."

In those "last minutes", should they come, it further would be his duty, he said, to "interpret" to the Canadian Government the attitude and actions of his Emperor's ministers.

Mr. Yoshizawa said he had heard only once from his home office since his Government changed and Foreign Minister Matsuoko was replaced by Admiral Toyoda.

Policy Unchanged.

That one communication from Tokyo informed him there would be no change in the Japanese foreign policy.

And that policy, he quite frankly said, was based on the principle of "establishing a sphere of co-prosperity in the Far East".

He used the words "expansion to the south" in explaining his interpretation of the Japanese foreign policy and then retracted them.

"Are The Netherlands East Indies included in that 'sphere of co-prosperity in the Far East?'"

"Apparently", he replied.

Then emphasizing he was giving purely personal opinion on the possible inclusion of Australia and New Zealand in the "co-prosperity sphere", he said those nations were too far afield to come within its bounds.

Establishment of this sphere would be done through "peaceful penetration", after the manner of the broken-down negotiations in which Japan failed to convince the Dutch East Indies that a trade pact would be desirable.

Creation of Far Eastern co-prosperity was necessary, explained Mr. Yoshizawa, because "in case of war" Japan had to feel secure in protection of her supply lines.

Article Three of the Tri-Partite Pact between Tokyo, Berlin and Rome, basis of the Japanese foreign policy, made it pretty clear who would be fighting "in case of war".

The Minister would not be quoted here, but his reference to the Tri-Partite Pact was clear, as Article Three sets out that Japan will fight if either Germany or Italy are attacked by any nation not participating officially in the war at the time the treaty was drawn.

The United States was used as an example in explaining the pact.

Stacked With Papers.

Two of the Minister's staff were on vacation, and lacking the attention of personnel, the legation offices were stacked with piles of Canadian newspapers—The Ottawa Journal, Toronto Globe and Mail, and the Winnipeg Free Press—from which, presumably, Mr. Yoshizawa had learned of the news getting "no better".

The Minister received a representative of The Journal in his private, green-carpeted office. There was no waiting, and Mr. Yoshizawa extended a friendly hand, motioned the newspaperman to a leather chesterfield and brought out a celluloid box full of cigarettes.

When ushering out The Journal representative, Mr. Yoshizawa asked that he not be quoted where he had spoken "off the record" and assured this formality would be observed, he said: "Thank you. As long as you observe that representatives of your paper will be welcome in my office. I read The Journal regularly, although it is inscrutable."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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JAG/C
6.11.41

C163193

Statement respecting appointments to the diplomatic representation of Canada abroad since June, 1941.

1. First Canadian Minister to Brazil

Mr. Jéan Désy, formerly Canadian Minister to Belgium and The Netherlands

appointed June 1941

arrived at Rio de Janeiro September 10

presented credentials September 30

This appointment reciprocates appointment of the Minister of Brazil to Canada, Mr. J. A. Lins de Barros, who presented credentials to the Governor General on May 15, 1941.

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2. First Canadian Minister to Argentine Republic and Chile

Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, formerly Chief Justice of Saskatchewan

appointed Minister to Argentine September 24, 1941,

has ~~left Canada en route to~~ now arrived in Buenos Aires, and is expected to present his credentials shortly.

~~Subsequently announced that Mr. Turgeon would also~~ serve as Canadian Minister to Chile.

The First Minister of the Argentine to Canada, Dr. Pablo Santos Munoz, presented his Letters of Credence to the Governor General on June 3, 1941.

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3. Establishment of direct diplomatic relations with China

In my remarks on Monday last I referred to the courageous struggle being waged by China, and China's demonstration by her heroic example of the spiritual foundations as well as the underlying unity of the cause of the democracies.

Late in July the Canadian Government determined to make arrangements for the establishment of a Canadian Legation in China. The Chinese Government cordially welcomed the proposal, and have already undertaken to make a reciprocal appointment. I am pleased to be able to announce that the Chinese Government has nominated, and the approal of His Majesty has been signified for Dr. LIU SHIH SHUN.

Dr. LIU has had a lengthy experience in the Foreign Service of his country, and since 1931 has headed the European and American Divisions of the Foreign Ministry in Chungking. It is not known how soon he can reach Canada. He will, I am confident, receive a warm welcome as the representative of a nation and a people whose valour and fortitude in the present struggle is beyond praise.

I hope it may be possible, during the present session of the House, to announce the name of the first Canadian Minister to China.

Mr Robertson very different to pronounce this

Memo by Keenleyside also in folder

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4. High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland

Mr. John Doherty KEARNEY, K.C., of Montreal appointed July 31, 1941, in succession to the late John Hall Kelly.

5. High Commissioner for Canada in Newfoundland

New appointment, arising from varied and urgent matters of Canadian interest in Newfoundland

defence responsibilities
financial and material assistance
joint undertakings with U.S. Govt. &c.

Mr. Charles J. BURCHELL, K.C.

lately High Commissioner for Canada in the Commonwealth of Australia

appointed to new post and took up residence at St. John's on September 11th last.

6. High Commissioner for Canada in the Commonwealth of Australia

to fill the vacancy occasioned at Canberra by Mr. Burchell's appointment to St. John's, Newfoundland.

I have

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C163196

copy of this letter to Odlum in folder

I have much satisfaction in announcing to the House the acceptance of this post, one of grave and increasing responsibilities, by

Major-General VICTOR W. ODLUM
until now General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Second Canadian Division overseas.

see separate draft attached, submitted by Mr Robertson

~~I had previously wished General Odlum to accept the post of Canadian Minister to Japan, and he has now consented to undertake Canadian representation in Australia as a matter of high and urgent national duty.~~

~~I feel honoured that so distinguished a Canadian has accepted this post in our sister Dominion.~~

Mr Robertson suggests omitting

~~Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada~~

~~Sir Patrick Duff, appointed Deputy High Commissioner arrived in Ottawa, June 3, 1941~~

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November 6th, 1941.

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. C163197

As the House will be aware, the post of Canadian High Commissioner in Australia has been vacant for a short time following the transfer of Mr. Burchell, the previous High Commissioner, to new and important duties as High Commissioner in Newfoundland. It will be appreciated that, in view of the developing situation in the Pacific, it is important that Canada should have in Australia a representative with experience in and knowledge of public affairs and proven judgment. The Government has, therefore, offered the appointment to Major General Odlum, at present commanding the Second Canadian Division overseas, and General Odlum has accepted. I need hardly say that he has accepted with reluctance, and only on the assurance that ~~his~~ in the opinion of the Government this new post will provide ~~even greater~~ exceptional opportunities for him to serve Canada in this critical time. ~~His~~ General Odlum's ~~heart and soul are with the Canadian army overseas and nothing but the strongest sense of duty has persuaded him to accept this new post.~~ Entirely

The Government, in fact, would not have approached General Odlum if we had not felt that he had very special

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qualifications for the post of Canadian High Commissioner in Australia.

General Odlum has been identified with the army for more than forty years. In his military career, he has advanced from a private in the Canadian Army in South Africa, to the Second in Command of a battalion in the First Division at the beginning of the last war, to the Command of a Brigade at the end of that war, and to the Command of the Second Canadian Division in the present conflict. He has also been prominent in public affairs in Vancouver and in British Columbia, while he served for some time as a Member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It should also be pointed out that he spent part of his early life in Japan and is extremely well acquainted with Far Eastern problems.

I know the House will feel that Canada is extremely fortunate in being able at this time to secure the services of General Odlum as High Commissioner in our Sister Dominion of Australia.

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C163199

7. Consular Representation Abroad

St. Pierre and Miquelon

following decision of Government that Canadian interests would benefit from the establishment of a ~~direct relations with this outpost of the French Empire~~ Canadian Office in St. Pierre

Mr. Christopher C. EBERTS, of the Department of External Affairs, was in August appointed Vice-Consul and Acting Consul for Canada.

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8. ~~Consular Representation of Foreign~~ ~~Nations in Canada (not represented by diplomatic missions)~~

~~Over the past year, Consuls-General of the following nations have established residence in Ottawa:~~

~~Chile - (Mr. Luis E. Feliu)~~

~~Peru - (Dr. Humberto Fernandez Davila)~~

~~Cuba - (Mr. Mario Harrington)~~

The question of extending Canadian representation in the Western Hemisphere has assumed a considerable importance from the recently-concluded bisit of a Canadian Trade Mission, headed by my colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce to South America. The success of this mission in establishing new and closer contacts with many of the Latin-American nations has been most gratifying, and I should like to acknowledge publicly the most generous hospitality and kindly courtesies with which the Mission was everywhere received.

In my remarks in the House on February 17th last, I indicated that the Government would continue to give the most friendly consideration to the general question. The opening of new legations would be surrounded with certain technical difficulties upon which I will not here enlarge. They are difficulties which can be overcome in time, and I look forward to a useful and cordial development of direct relations with many of those among our neighbours of the Western Hemisphere to whom our diplomatic representation does not yet extend.

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C163201 NAR/SR 2.12.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

In June last, the War Cabinet approved of the reception in Ottawa of diplomatic representatives of Allied Governments, suggesting that these arrangements should be subject to review after the war and that, in the meantime, no steps should be taken to accredit Canadian representatives to the Governments concerned.

In accordance with this direction, we have been in communication with the Governments of Poland, Norway, Yugoslavia and Greece, each of which, through different channels, had intimated that it would like to maintain direct diplomatic relations with Canada and appoint a Minister here for that purpose.

Poland.

As you are aware, the Poles took the conditions attached to the reception of a Minister in Ottawa as an indication that the Canadian Government was reluctant to receive a Polish Minister, and withdrew their proposal to open a Legation. I have explained to Mr. Podoski the reasons why it would be difficult for us, under war conditions, to accredit diplomatic representatives to the Governments in Exile, and made it clear that this absence of formal reciprocity did not in any way limit the status or usefulness of a Polish Minister in Canada. At the same time I assured him, as you had assured General Sikorski, that Podoski himself was an entirely acceptable representative of Poland in this country. In view of the evidence that Polish feelings have been rather hurt by our attitude, I asked the High Commissioner in London to find an opportunity to talk to the Polish Foreign Minister there and repeat to him, formally, what I had said to Mr. Podoski.

Norway.

The Norwegian Government does not attach the importance

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that Poland does to the question of formal reciprocity. Their policy, in war as in peace, so the Consul General tells me, has been to appoint Ministers where the importance of Norwegian interests required it, regardless of whether or not the other country thought it necessary for it to maintain a Legation in Oslo. The only complication with regard to the reception of a Norwegian Minister is that he would inevitably have to spend a good deal of his time in Montreal, where the Norwegian Trade and Shipping Mission is located. I told Mr. Steen that we recognized that undoubtedly his most urgent work, under war conditions, was in connection with the Norwegian merchant marine, and that I did not think this temporary arrangement would present any difficulty.

Greece.

The Greek Government was informed, together with the other Allied Governments, of the conditions under which we would be prepared to receive a Greek diplomatic representative. No further communication has been received from them on the subject. It is possible that this is a question which the King of the Hellenes will propose to take up on his visit to Canada, now deferred.

Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government have advised us, through the High Commissioner's Office in London, that they propose to appoint Dr. Isidor Cankar as their first Minister to Canada. He is at present the Yugoslav Minister at Buneos Aires. The Yugoslav Government agree that this arrangement would be for the duration of the war only and that the question of ultimate exchange of Ministers could be discussed after the war. They would not expect the Canadian Government to reciprocate by accrediting a representative to the Yugoslav Government in London. No steps have been taken yet to submit Dr. Cankar's nomination to the King for his approval, as it is hoped that the Polish situation will be cleared up satisfactorily before diplomatic representatives of other Allied Governments are received in Ottawa.

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DS/G

NAR/SR
31.3.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163203

Last summer, with your authority, Mr. Crerar spoke to E.J. Tarr, K.C., of Winnipeg, about the possibility of his accepting the new Legation in Argentina. You will recall that Mr. Tarr, for various reasons, felt he could not accept such a post. He is, however, very interested in the development of the Canadian diplomatic service, and when he was last in Ottawa I told him that I felt at some disadvantage when making nominations from outside the Service for diplomatic posts because my own contacts were pretty much confined to Ottawa and, outside of Ottawa, largely to university circles. I suggested that he give me the names of men he knew in the west who might make respectable Canadian representatives abroad. The attached letter, which I received from him today, contains his private slate of suggestions.

W.L.M.K.

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C O P Y

C163204

THE MONARCH LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY
HEAD OFFICE
WINNIPEG

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 27, 1942.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Norman A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Norman,

I have been thinking about possible material for Ministers to foreign capitals, and in view of your remarks the last time I was in Ottawa I have excluded Professors. Without any order of preference, I think each of the following is potential material, although of course I recognize that in making a choice for any particular post one would look for some special qualifications relating to that post.

Gordon Smith - who is Deputy Chairman of the Wheat Board, is a youngish man of unusual ability, broad interests, and very pleasing personality.

W.J. Parker - President of Manitoba Pool Elevators, is a very level-headed person, of high character, and ability far above the average.

Hon. Ewen McPherson - Chief Justice of King's Bench in Manitoba, has a marvelous fund of good commonsense, and a wide experience. He was, as you know, a Member of the House of Commons, and later was Provincial Treasurer of Manitoba.

E.K. Williams, K.C. - is an exceedingly able lawyer with very broad interests, these having included over a long period, International Affairs. He, by the way, has the French language, and this fact together with his linguistic aptitude would, I think, mean that he could rapidly acquire Spanish.

Brigadier H.J. Riley - is in command of this Military District. As you probably remember, he did not belong to the Permanent Force. His military experience dated from the last war, when he had a splendid record. Between wars he was a practising lawyer here. He is about as far removed from the typical brass hat as anything you could imagine, and is a person of very sound judgment, is broad in his interests, and generally well-informed.

I duly apologize for the fact that all of the above are Winnipeggers, but I have mentioned these men because I know them.

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By the way, there is another I might mention along with them, and that is J.R. Murray, one-time Chairman of the Wheat Board but now retired. He is a peppery, outspoken Irishman, of really outstanding ability. At first thought one might say that he might not have the qualities of tact required, but I know him very well and think that he would readily adjust himself to the necessities in this regard.

There are a couple of men in Ottawa whose names occur to me. I should think that Senator Hugesson would be a splendid appointment for almost any ministerial post. He would, of course, make an excellent man as Government Leader in the Senate, and if he is definitely in mind for that job that would wash him out so far as you are concerned.

The other Ottawa name that occurs to me is Senator Lambert.

I presume it would be quite possible to appoint a Senator without resignation from the Senate, on the basis of granting leave of absence and at the same time putting through legislation in order to get around the technicalities of the "Independence of Parliament Act".

Don't bother acknowledging.

Yours sincerely,

E.J. TARR

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May 7, 1942. S/PC1

Transfer of Protection of Canadian Interests in Japan from Argentina to Switzerland. C163206

The House is aware that two days ago the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs made a statement in the House of Commons, London, with regard to a decision taken by the United Kingdom, in consultation with the governments of the Dominions and of the other United Nations, to transfer the protection of British interests in Japan from Argentina to Switzerland. The welfare of Canadian nationals in Japanese hands, members of the Canadian forces and civilians alike, has been the cause of anxiety to the Canadian Government ever since the outbreak of war with Japan.

Throughout this trying period the Argentine has been our protecting power in Japan. The Canadian Government deeply appreciate the services which have been rendered by the Argentine Government, the Argentine Foreign Office and, in particular, by the Argentine Embassy in Tokyo. As a result of their ~~unstinted~~ efforts, they have made progress in their work on behalf of Canadian prisoners of war, despite the refusal of the Japanese Government to recognize any neutral government as protecting Canadian or British interests in Hong Kong.

~~The~~ decision to transfer the protection of Canadian interests in Japan from Argentina to Switzerland has been taken ~~by the Canadian Government, as it is felt desirable~~ that the protection of Canadian interests in Axis countries should be in the hands of a single

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protecting power. As Switzerland has assumed the protection of Canadian interests in Germany and Italy, and territories occupied by Germany and Italy, since the United States entered the war, Switzerland has been asked to take over the protection of Canadian interests in Japan. Canadian interests in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories are inextricably bound up with the interests of the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth, and it is felt that administrative arrangements for their protection can be effectively centralized in a single protecting power.

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Re Press announcements re Legations

DS/Gen

NAR/SR
15.10.42
2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163208

withheld by Mr Robertson 16/10 Jay

Herewith are Recommendations to Council appointing General Odlum as Minister to China, Mr. Wilgress as Minister to the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Justice Davis as High Commissioner to Australia. We are still waiting for word from Moscow and Chungking agreeing to our nominations, but the Australian Government have intimated that Judge Davis will be very welcome as Canadian High Commissioner.

Attached, for your consideration, is a draft press release covering the three appointments. Word enabling us to go ahead with the announcements may come in while you are in Montreal, in which case you might wish to give the statement to the press yourself. I promised General Odlum, who is now en route to Vancouver by train, that I would send him a telegram, giving him as much advance notice as possible of the press announcement.

Jack

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C163209

~~DRAFT~~ STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER REGARDING APPOINTMENTS OF MINISTERS TO CHINA AND THE U.S.S.R., AND OF HIGH COMMISSIONER TO AUSTRALIA

~~I am glad to be able to announce the~~ appointments of ~~three outstanding Canadians~~ to diplomatic posts abroad: Major General Victor W. Odlum, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., ~~as~~ Minister to China; Mr. L. Dana Wilgress ~~as~~ Minister to the U.S.S.R.; and Mr. Justice T.C. Davis ~~as~~ High Commissioner for Canada in Australia.

General Odlum's career of service ~~is already well known in Canada~~. During the Great War ~~he~~ served as a Major in the 7th Canadian Infantry Battalion, becoming a Brigadier General at 35, commanding the 11th Canadian Infantry Brigade in the 4th Division. In civilian life, ~~General Odlum~~ has been active in the field of journalism and in financial activities in Western Canada, and for some years ~~was~~ a member of the legislature of the Province of British Columbia. ~~As a resident of that Province, he was widely~~ known for the breadth of his charitable, cultural and humanitarian interests. ~~He~~ was one of the original Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and a moving force in a great many welfare and community projects.

At the outbreak of the present war, General Odlum was in charge of the 2nd Canadian Division, which went forward to the United Kingdom, and commanded ~~it~~ until December, 1941, ~~when~~ he was appointed High Commissioner to Australia, arriving in Canberra by way of North Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies. His experience and observations in Australia and

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in the Pacific Area will be of great value in the vital work which he is now to take up in Chungking. As Minister to China, General Odlum's chief duties will be largely diplomatic, but his broad military background will assist him in following the fierce fighting in which the gallant people of China are now engaged against the common enemy. It is also of interest that General Odlum lived for three years in Japan, and has long been a close student of the problems of the Pacific Area. I am extremely glad that General Odlum has found it possible to accept this important assignment in our diplomatic service.

This week we have had the pleasure of welcoming to Canadian soil, the first Minister of the U.S.S.R. to Canada, Mr. Fyodor Gusev, following the establishment of direct diplomatic relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R., announced some time ago. I have no doubt that the appointment of Mr. L.D. Wilgress as Minister to the U.S.S.R. will be warmly welcomed by the many friends he has made, at home and abroad, in the course of a brilliant career in the public service of Canada. Mr. Wilgress, who has acted as Deputy Minister of the Department of Trade and Commerce since October 1st, 1940, has had a rich and extensive experience in Canadian economic and trade relations. In addition it can be said that few Canadians have a more direct knowledge of Russia than Mr. Wilgress. His familiarity with the spoken and written language of that country

Cont'd on page 3 *

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will prove a valuable asset in his day-to-day relations with the Government and people of the U.S.S.R. He served as Trade Commissioner at Omsk in Siberia, and at Vaidivostok during the last war, was a member of the Canadian Economic Mission to Siberia in 1918-1919. He revisited Russia in 1921 and 1923 in connection with trade matters of common concern to Canada and the Soviet Union. From 1922 to 1932 he served as Canadian Trade Commissioner at Hamburg, Germany. Following his appointment as Director of the Commercial Intelligence Service in 1932, Mr. Wilgress acted as Adviser to the Canadian Delegation at the Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa in 1932, and was a member of the Canadian Delegation to the World Monetary and Economic Conference held in London in 1933. In 1936 he accompanied the Hon. W.D. Euler to the Soviet Union on a Trade Mission which resulted in the termination of the embargo on trade between Canada and Russia. Mr. Wilgress also played a major part in the detailed negotiations leading up to the Trade Agreements signed by Canada and the United States in 1935 and 1938.

In addition to his responsibilities as the senior permanent official of the Department of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Wilgress has been active, since the outbreak of war, as a member of the Foreign Exchange Control Board, the Advisory Committee on Economic Policy, the Canadian Shipping Board, the Advisory Committee on Export Control, and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. I need hardly say that his

Note on page XX

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departure from Canada will leave a gap that will not be easily filled. At the same time, it is gratifying to know that his special experience and high qualifications can now be applied to that most important part of the total war effort which concerns the supply to the Soviet Union of essential munitions, strategic materials and foodstuffs. I am confident that the exchange of Ministers, which is now completed with the arrival of Mr. Gusev and the appointment of Mr. Wilgress, will greatly strengthen the co-operation of our two countries, both in the winning of the war and in the maintenance of the peace to come.

In appointing Mr. Justice T.C. Davis as High Commissioner to Australia, the Government has chosen a worthy representative of Canada. In these critical days, when the area of the South West Pacific is itself a major battle front in the present world-wide conflict, the Canadian Government places the greatest importance on the maintenance of close relations with the Government and people of Australia. It will be the mission of our new High Commissioner to maintain and strengthen the cooperation between our two countries, already united in the free association of the Commonwealth, in the common prosecution of the war. Mr. Justice Davis has had a distinguished career in the public life of Canada. Born and educated in the Canadian West, he served for several years as Mayor of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and was elected to the legislature of Saskatchewan in 1925. He entered the Provincial Cabinet as Minister

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of Municipal Affairs and served for several years as Attorney General. In June, 1939, ~~he was~~ appointed to the Bench as a member of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal. In June, 1940, ~~he~~ was asked to come to Ottawa to accept the appointment of Associate Deputy Minister of the Department of National War Services, ~~and~~ since the outbreak of the war he has worked tirelessly and effectively on a wide range of administrative problems directly related to the Canadian war effort. Mr. Justice Davis will take up his new post, as a war-time assignment, and during his work in Australia, he will be on leave of absence from the Bench. From the experience of Mr. Charles J. Burchell and General Odlum, I am confident that Mr. Justice Davis will receive a warm reception from the Government and from the people of Australia. As our new representative in Canberra, he will be able to contribute his wide knowledge of Canada and of our own war problems to the united effort.

Of the three representatives who are now to go forward from Canada to the fighting fronts of China, the U.S.S.R. and Australia, one is a distinguished soldier, the second is an outstanding public official, and the third an able representative of the Bench. It is a symbol of the spirit of service that has arisen in the hearts of all Canadians, that these three men have ~~volunteered~~ their trained judgments and capacities to strengthening the diplomatic ties between Canada and her fighting Allies.

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DS/qw

C163214

Mr. Wilgress

This week (Oct. 15) we have had the pleasure of welcoming to Canadian soil, the first Minister of the U.S.S.R. to Canada, Mr. Fyodor Gusev, following the establishment of direct diplomatic relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R., announced some time ago. I have no doubt that the appointment of Mr. L. D. Wilgress as Minister to the U.S.S.R. will be warmly welcomed by the many friends he has made, at home and abroad.

. I am confident that the exchange of Ministers, which is now completed with the arrival of Mr. Gusev and the appointment of Mr. Wilgress, will greatly strengthen the co-operation of our two countries, both in the winning of the war and in the maintenance of the peace to come.

Mr. Justice Davis

In appointing Mr. Justice T. C. Davis as High Commissioner to Australia, the Government has chosen a worthy representative of Canada. In these critical days, when the area of the South West Pacific is itself a major battle front in the present world-wide conflict, the Canadian Government places the greatest importance on the maintenance of close relations with the Government and people of Australia. It will be the mission of our new High Commissioner to maintain and strengthen the co-operation between our two countries, already united in the free association of the Commonwealth, in the common prosecution of the war.

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C163215

From the experience of Mr. Charles J. Burchell and General Odlum, I am confident that Mr. Justice Davis will receive a warm reception from the Government and from the people of Australia. As our new representative in Canberra, he will be able to contribute his wide knowledge of Canada and of our own war problems to the united effort.

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Ch/China

NAR/SR
26.10.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163216

1. I spoke to the Chinese Minister this morning about Odlum's Agrement, for which we are still waiting. I told him the Russian Agrement had been received, and that we were holding up an announcement until the appointment of the Minister to China could be released simultaneously, in accordance with the promise we had given him. He said he would send an immediate cable to Chungking, asking them to expedite action on Odlum's Agrement.

2. We had a telegram on Saturday, D.O. No.220, which stated that the King had approved the proposal to establish a Legation to the Allied Governments in London. Shall we go ahead with getting Vanier's Agrement, or do you wish to mention the appointment in Cabinet first?

3. Shall I put Mr. Chipman's name forward now to the King for approval as Minister to Chile? The establishment of the Legation has already been approved, and Chipman's nomination will be to succeed Turgeon as nominal Minister to Chile.

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Ds | Chile

C163217

NAR/SR
29.10.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You will recall that we sent telegrams to Mr. Turgeon and Mr. Desy, advising them of the prospective appointment of the new Minister to Chile, and asking them to send us any suggestions they might wish to make for the improvement of the arrangements which we had made in connection with the establishment of the Legations at Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. I am enclosing a copy of Desy's personal and confidential reply, in which I have marked the more interesting paragraphs. I think there is merit in Desy's suggestion that the second man at the Legation should be a First Secretary, but in our straitened circumstances I think we will have to start with a Second Secretary, who will also be the Commercial Attache (Vechsler, now Trade Commissioner in Santiago, who happens to have a good knowledge of Spanish). For Third Secretary, I would strongly recommend Leger, who has had two valuable years' experience in your Office. Since our conversation at Kingsmere, I have been looking out for a suitable replacement for Leger as French Assistant Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office and have a very likely candidate in Delisle coming down on Saturday for an interview.

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C163218

CANADIAN LEGATION
Rio de Janeiro, October 19, 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Robertson,

I thank you for your telegram No.168 concerning the decision to send a full-time Minister to Chile within the next six weeks. I do appreciate your invitation that I should give you frankly my suggestions. In order to be still more frank, I am taking the liberty of writing to you personally on the subject.

In the first place - and although this is not a constructive suggestion - I should like respectfully to register my regret for the fact that a "non-career" Minister is to be appointed. It seems to me that we do have men in our service who would have been perfectly fitted for such a post. Any "non-career" man will require a first class Secretary if he is to avoid many technical faux-pas; and I am therefore sorry that the able Secretary will derive only secondary credit and that many other younger members of the service will lose another chance of making a step forward.

My experience in South America has convinced me that a head of mission in Chile will have only limited success if he is to be only a sort of commercial agent. He must be representative of Canada in a manifold manner and he will do so by personal contacts with the Chileans much more than writing behind his desk and receiving occasional visitors. He must take all opportunities to participate in the manifestations of the life of Chile, showing thereby his real interest in the country. In doing so he will associate with the people outside the diplomatic and government circles, without of course neglecting the latter groups.

Before leaving Canada, the new Minister and his Secretaries ought to make a serious study of Chilean history, ethnography and psychology. South Americans are very sensitive, and the new Minister should know what he should say and what he should not say to them. In particular, the interview to be given upon his arrival should be well prepared in advance and not improvised.

South Americans take great interest in the fact that Canada is, to some extent, a Latin country. A Canadian Minister will, therefore, be well inspired to act in a Latin way, that is to say with a certain warmth in the expression, without rigidity or excessive show of dignity. He will find that a personal attention to the appropriate head of a department may be far more effective than the most learned and logical memorandum. He will find also that the South American officials will grant much more readily a request for a favour than a request for a right. South Americans love to feel that they are consenting to something only because they want to please you.

South Americans are also deeply interested in the fact that we have become an independent nation; and, as it is difficult for them to understand all the niceties of our constitutional status, a Canadian Minister should be cautious not to disillusion them by giving the appearance of his Legation being an annex of the British Embassy. He should have a number of Canadian flags, some of which he will be

N. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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called to lend on the occasion of various pan-american and other manifestations. He should also have the music and words of "O Canada".

I think a Canadian Minister in Chile will not be at his ease unless he speaks Spanish or French. One of the Secretaries at least should have a complete knowledge of Spanish. For official communications French should be used rather than English.

The new Minister will be asked questions on all aspects of Canadian life and he should bring with him sufficient documentation about Canadian history, politics, science, art, etc., as regards both the English-speaking and the French-speaking parts of our country.

Personally, I have found that Canadian works of art (mostly paintings and handicrafts) have been a great asset in my residence. It may now be more difficult to secure them and bring them down to Chile, but I wish nevertheless to stress the importance of giving a Canadian atmosphere to the place.

Miss McCloskey will no doubt take into account the past experience of this Legation as regards supplies. A great deal of time and trouble will be saved if the new Minister will take with him a supply of all the forms, seals, paper, etc., which he requires. Then, in view of the difficulties of communications, I think he should also take with him the plates so that he may have his paper printed locally when this becomes necessary.

The Protocol Section of the Department will have to inform the Minister of his obligations when he reaches Chile. South Americans are rather punctilious on this.

May I also suggest that the first assistant to the Minister should be at least a First Secretary. This, to my mind, is very important for our prestige; and prestige means a great deal in this part of the world. In the absence of the Minister, the Secretary will not be able to achieve much in the way of personal contacts unless he is a First Secretary. The Brazilian diplomatic list, which I propose to send you by the next bag, will show you what other countries are doing here in this regard. At the British Embassy, for instance, you will see that there are both a Counsellor and a First Secretary; and I should add that the First Secretary is only a Second Secretary in the British diplomatic service, but ranks and is paid as First Secretary in Rio because the mission requires a First Secretary.

There are many other questions which do not come to my mind just now and about which I shall write further to you if and when they do. There are others which, I feel, could only be taken up usefully in a direct conversation. And this is why I venture to say that I should be only too willing to fly even only for a very short visit, to Ottawa, if my presence were desired there.

Since my arrival in Brazil, I have seen my U.S. colleague travelling to and fro between Rio and Washington. I do think that I have myself reached a stage when a visit to Canada would enable me to expedite many important matters which, otherwise, I may take years to conclude. I could leave at once and should therefore appreciate knowing as soon as possible whether the Department would actually be interested in my coming over "for consultation".

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Jean Desy

30-7-42

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N. A. ROBERTSON TO WLMK

NAR/SR
5.11.42

C163220

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Vanier, G. P. ✓
Can. Representative to Chile ✓
Can. Representative at Brussels ✓
Can. Belgium ✓

Attached for your signature are:-

1. formal submissions to the King for the appointment of Mr. Chipman as Minister to Chile and Brigadier Vanier as Minister to Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Greece; and

2. Letters of Recall for Mr. Turgeon as Minister to Chile and Mr. Desy as Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands.

NAR

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JAG/Z
Revised to November 14, 1942.

C A N A D A

Diplomatic Representation Abroad

C163221

MINISTERS TO:

United States - (Legation opened 1926)

Hon. Leighton McCarthy, K.C. — no previous departmental post.
appointed February, 1941.

Belgium)
Netherlands) - (Legation opened 1939)

(Pierre Dupuy, Charge d'Affaires, from 1940 to 194)
Office of Legation established in London.

Brigadier George P. Vanier, D.S.O., M.C., (See also paragraph 8 (below).
appointed November 1942,
previously Minister to France.

Brazil - (Legation opened 1941)

Jean Desy, Esq. (first Minister) — previously Minister to Belgium and Netherlands.
appointed August 1941.

Argentine - (Legation opened 1941)

Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon (first Minister) — previously Chief Justice of Saskatchewan
appointed September 1941.

Chile - (Legation opened 1942)

Warwick F. Chipman, Esq., K.C., (first Minister to Chile separately) — no previous departmental post.
Appointed November 1942.

U. S. S. R. (Legation opened 1942)

L. Dana Wilgress, Esq. (first Minister) — previously Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce.
Appointed November 4, 1942.

China (Legation opened 1942)

Major-General Victor W. Odlum, (first Minister) — previously High Commissioner to Australia
Appointed November 4, 1942.

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C163222

MINISTERS TO:

Allied Governments established in London:

Poland)
Norway (Brigadier George P. Vanier, D.S.O.,M.C.
Yugoslavia) appointed November 4, 1942.
Greece ((previously Minister to France).
Czechoslovakia)

Brigadier Vanier is simultaneously Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands. (see above, paragraph 2.)

France - (Legation opened 1927) Relations terminated November 9, 1942.
Pierre Dupuy, Charge d'Affaires (since 1940)
office of Legation established in London.

Japan - (Legation opened 1929)

Mission terminated on declaration of State of War December 1941;
E. D'Arcy McGreer, Charge d'Affaires at that time;
Mission returned to Canada August 1942.

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C A N A D A C163223

Representation in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

High Commissioners:

United Kingdom - (Office opened 1880)		
Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, P.C., LL.D., appointed November 1935.		Minister to the United States 1926-1930.
Australia - (Office opened 1939)		
Hon. Mr. Justice T. C. Davis appointed November 1942.		previously Associate Deputy Minister of National War Services.
New Zealand - (Office opened 1940)		
Dr. W. A. Riddell, appointed February 1940.		previously Counsellor of Legation, Washington.
Ireland - (Office opened March 1940)		
John D. Kearney, Esq., K.C., appointed July 1941.		no previous departmental post.
South Africa - (Office opened May 1949)		
Dr. Henry Laureys appointed February 1, 1940.		no previous departmental post.
Newfoundland - (Office opened 1941)		
Charles J. Burchell, Esq., K.C. appointed July 23, 1941.		previously High Commissioner to Australia.

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C A N A D A

Consular Representation Abroad.

St. Pierre - Miquelon - (Office opened September 1941)

C. C. Eberts, Esq.,
Vice-Consul and Acting Consul for Canada
appointed August 1941.

Greenland - (Office opened June 1940)

A. E. Porsild, Esq.,
Consul for Canada.

The Permanent Delegation of Canada to the League of Nations at Geneva was closed in 1940.

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HCL C163225

NAR/SR
7.12.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The following quotation from a recent letter from Mr. Massey, about the problem of representation in wartime, is interesting:-

> "I can speak with some experience as to the conditions in this Capital which are no doubt duplicated in varying degrees in the Capitals of the principal members of the United Nations. Of the 'pro forma' hospitality and conventional entertainment which are to be found in peacetime, there is practically none. Hospitality is both simple and informal, but the Head of a Mission in any active belligerent Capital is certain to find under wartime conditions that, although entertainment is more modest in character than in time of peace, the obligations of hospitality do not decrease - in fact that the contrary is the case. This is natural, as I am sure you will agree, when one considers the true object of such entertainment which is not simply to give 'parties' but to provide opportunities for acquaintances to be formed and ideas exchanged. War conditions bring about a far greater movement of official personnel than takes place in time of peace. It is of the greatest importance that visitors from Canada should be brought in touch with persons whom it is useful for them to meet, and hospitality is the natural instrument to serve this purpose. For these reasons I would suggest that hospitality, rightly conceived, and appropriately carried out, is an essential function of diplomatic representatives in such times as these, and should be adequately provided for. The wartime practice of both the British and American Foreign Services shows that in both those countries this is fully recognized."

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DS/5

SFR
11.1.43.

C163226

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Preliminary arrangements have recently been completed with the Wartime Information Board to organize brief tours of war industries in Montreal, Toronto, and other centres adjacent to Ottawa, in order to permit members of the diplomatic corps to see something of the practical side of the Canadian war effort. The first tour was held last week in the course of which the Ministers to Russia, China, Czechoslovakia and Chile visited war plants in Montreal and Toronto. From all accounts, their visit was extremely successful, and at the same time, the tour provided some of our own people, who are shortly going forward to Kuibyshev and Chungking, with the opportunity of seeing something at first hand of our own industries.

The expenses of this tour were borne by the Wartime Information Board, and I have recently been discussing with Board officials the question of responsibility for payment for future tours of this kind. While the Wartime Information Board authorities are anxious to keep their expenditures in line with the previous budget of the old Bureau of Public Information, they agree that such tours are of direct value to Canada, and should be continued. I think that the Board would be prepared to assume full financial responsibility for any future tours of this type which might be arranged if you would indicate that such action meets with your approval.

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DS/8

NAR/SR
13.5.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163227

Miss Helen Dogherty, who used to be Women's Secretary of the National Liberal Federation and is now working with National War Services, came to see me the other day about the possibility of Colonel Thomas Guerin, M.L.A. for Ste. Anne's, Montreal, being appointed to a diplomatic post. She said there was some possibility of Godbout taking Guerin into his Cabinet as Irish Catholic representative, but Guerin would much prefer a ministerial appointment if anything of the sort were available.

I met Guerin once some years ago when he was Honorary Austrian Consul in Montreal, but had no opportunity of judging his capacity. The general impression I have of him is that he was a pleasant mannered man of some general culture and considerable private means. He is, I believe, bilingual.

Do you think he is the sort of person we should keep in mind for a smaller Latin American post?

Mack

Special Mss Dogherty
5-6-43

noted

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DS/USA NAR/ET
20 June, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: C163228

As you probably know, the manufacture of limousines has been suspended for the duration of the war. Consequently we have had some difficulty in picking up suitable cars for the requirements of our Legations abroad. Moffat's limousine, which was his own property, and had excellent care and is in very good condition, is in storage here, and Mrs. Moffat would be glad to dispose of it. We could probably get it for one-third or less of what we would pay for a new car, and I think it would be worth purchasing for the use of one or other of the new Missions to be established in the next few months.

Noted

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DS/8 C163229

NAR/mc

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Jean Bieler, Deputy Treasurer to the Province of Quebec, telephoned me this morning at the request of his Minister, the Honourable J. Arthur Mathewson, to let me know that Mr. Mathewson hoped that Colonel Guerin, M.L.A., might be considered when appointments to new Latin-American Legations came to be made. Mr. Mathewson thought that Colonel Guerin's experience, record of public service, knowledge of languages and private means should make him a very respectable representative of Canada abroad. He mentioned Peru or Cuba as posts in which Guerin would be useful.

I told him that I would bring this matter to your attention.

Ottawa, July 22nd, 1943.

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XA10

NAR/SR
12.9.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163230

Re my letter to Wilgress of Sept. 8th (Copy returned)

Now that the United States Government is receiving Ambassadors from all the Latin American countries, irrespective of their size and importance, and has raised all its Latin American Legations to the rank of Embassies, the status of the Canadian Legation in Washington, as one of the larger and more important diplomatic missions of the United Nations, has become more anomalous in appearance at least. If the situation in Washington alone is considered, there seem to be fairly compelling reasons for turning our Legation into an Embassy.

Apart from the altered rank of the missions of the smaller Latin American countries within the last two years, the United States Government, by agreement with the Allied European governments, has raised the status to Embassies of the Allied European Legations in Washington and has accredited Mr. Biddell as Ambassador to all the Governments in London. The Soviet Government and the United Kingdom Government have simultaneously raised the status of the missions they exchange with the smaller European Allies.

This has left a curious collection of countries which are represented in the principal capitals by Ministers only; Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa from the British Commonwealth, the few remaining European neutrals, Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal; Denmark; and a few other small states such as Iran and Iraq. These changes in the status of missions have reduced the importance - never large in recent years - of the distinction between Legations and Embassies.

The fact that the British Commonwealth is represented in Washington by one Ambassador and four Ministers, not to mention the Agent General for India who is shown on the Diplomatic List on the staff of the British Embassy with the rank of Minister, tends to create an impression that the British Ambassador is the leader of the flock who speaks on occasion for them all. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the United Kingdom Embassy, under war conditions, has no less than six Ministers on its staff - all given the rank of "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary", i.e., the same as heads of Dominion missions. From the constitutional standpoint, I think that events have destroyed any validity that there may have been in the argument that the King could only be

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represented by one Ambassador in any country. This argument rests on the ancient doctrine that an Ambassador represented the person of the Sovereign in a way which gave him readier access to the Head of the foreign state.

The evident Russian misunderstanding of the Commonwealth constitutional position, which Wilgress and the Australian Charge d'Affaires have been trying to clear up, may have something to do with this senior-junior relationship between the diplomatic representation abroad of the United Kingdom and the other Commonwealth countries.

It seems to me there is a prima facie case for raising the status of the Canadian Minister in Washington and Moscow if one looks at the position in these capitals alone. If, however, one examines the effect of this change elsewhere, it seems likely that we should have to take complementary action at other posts and probably also in Ottawa as well.

It would, I think, be difficult for us to receive a United States Ambassador here while refusing to exchange Ambassadors with Brazil, Argentina and Chile. If we agree to an exchange of Ambassadors with the United States and the U.S.S.R. alone, I feel sure that we should receive requests from these countries and probably from all the other countries whose missions in Washington and London are now Embassies.

It seems not improbable that the distinction between Ambassadors and Ministers, having become purely formal and in some ways quite invidious, will disappear by general agreement. If so, the method of disappearance is almost certain to be through the alteration of all remaining legations to embassies. When we have Haiti represented by Ambassadors throughout the American continents and a country as small as Norway represented by Ambassadors in Washington and London, there is not much to be said for preserving an artificial distinction which now serves only to create an impression of inferiority which is not justified in fact. I understand this is, in fact, the intention of the United States, which plans to raise all of its heads of missions who are not now ambassadors to that rank immediately after the war. This would involve the transformation into embassies of the legations now operating in Afghanistan, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Liberia, New Zealand, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sweden and South Africa.

Since this change appears to be inevitable, I should not like to see Canada "promoted" in this last odd lot, and I think we might better initiate some action ourselves.

I agree. - Please come back to me on this and other ones - & Liberia etc also - x Statement for House asking for reasons for change.

Told Bar

13-IX-43

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XA 10

Canadian Legation. 42 CM/USSR

SECRET

No. 85

KUIBYSHEV, July 8th,1943.

C163232

Sir,

Pravda of June 17th,1943, published a statement to the effect that the Governments of the Soviet Union and Mexico had agreed to raise their respective diplomatic representations to the rank of Embassies. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have appointed Mr.K.A. Oumansky to the position of Soviet Ambassador to Mexico and the Mexican Government have nominated Mr. Luis Quintanilla as their Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

2. This step is a triumph for Mr. Quintanilla, who soon after his arrival here last March commenced to work for his elevation from the position of Mexican Minister to that of Ambassador. He first of all persuaded the Soviet authorities to send to Mexico a more important representative than the Soviet Consul General at New York with the result that Mr. Oumansky was nominated to the post at Mexico City. The departure of Mr. Oumansky at the end of May was attended by a terrible tragedy in that his young daughter, of whom he was very fond, was shot shortly before the plane was due to leave.

3. Mr.Quintanilla is now awaiting the receipt of his credentials as Ambassador. His Greek colleague has already received his credentials and is waiting until Mr. Kalinin will be able to receive him. When these two representatives formally assume the position of Ambassador there will be fourteen diplomatic representatives to the Soviet Union holding that rank out of twenty foreign missions including the semi-diplomatic mission of the French Committee of National Resistance. The remaining legations are those of Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba and Sweden. The position of the Cuban Legation is a peculiar one in that the Cuban Ambassador at Washington came to Moscow in May, presented his credentials as Minister, then returned to Washington, leaving the mission here in charge of a Charge d'Affaires.

4. With Canada the only American country represented in Washington by a Legation and with the dwindling number of legations in the Soviet Union, you may be giving consideration to the possibility of raising our representation in either Washington or Moscow or both to the rank of embassy. I have no strong views on this subject and have no personal desire to be promoted to the position of Ambassador. In fact I am finding it difficult enough to discharge adequately my responsibilities as Minister. The only advantage I can see so far as this post is concerned is that such a step would help emphasize to the Soviet people our growing importance in world affairs and that we follow a foreign policy independent of that of the United Kingdom.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

L.D.Wilgress

90 Rec'd Ottawa 12-14-43

The Right Honourable,
the Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa,Canada.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

X+to
ch cm/USSR

C163233

PERSONAL, CONFIDENTIAL

OTTAWA, 8th September, 1943.

Dear Dana,

I cannot comment officially on your despatch No. 85 of July 8th in which you report the raising to the rank of Embassies of the Mexican Mission in Russia and the Soviet Mission in Mexico. The current seems strongly set in favour sooner or later of the universal substitution of Ambassadors for Ministers. The United States Government has now exchanged Embassies with all Latin American countries and with all the Allied European countries. There only remains in Washington a curious collection of Legations made up of the Missions from the Dominions, those from the smaller European neutrals and those from the small Asiatic and African countries. We learned informally the other day that it was the intention of the State Department after the war to propose the exchange of ambassadors to all countries now represented in Washington by Ministers.

It has already been intimated to us informally on the highest authority that there would be no objection in Washington to our raising our Legation to the rank of Embassy at any time. If this is done, it will clearly be desirable to take similar action in Moscow and in several other capitals, including the Latin American capitals, in which Canada is directly represented. No decision has yet been taken by the Government. If, however, it is correct to assume that envoys heading diplomatic missions will before long all be given the rank of Ambassador, there is something to be said for our taking action in advance of this development. The information given in your despatch about the situation in Russia is useful in helping a decision to be taken in Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd)--N. A. Robertson.

L.D.Wilgress, Esquire,
Canadian Minister to the U.S.S.R.,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

COPY
DC.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: XA/O

NAR/ET
17 Oct.,1943

C163234

I am attaching, for your signature, a recommendation to Council which has been prepared by the Civil Service Commission in consultation with this Department. Its object is to consolidate in a single list the permanent establishments in Ottawa and in the offices abroad which have been authorized from time to time. At present our establishment is a conglomerate affair, with so many specific posts authorized for the Legation in Moscow, so many for the Legation to the Allied Governments in London, etc. It is desired to consolidate these pockets in a single establishment similar to that under which the Commercial Intelligence Service of the Department of Trade and Commerce has been operating for a number of years.

This reform is one that we have had under consideration for some time. Its present urgency arises from the fact that in establishing an office in North Africa, which will be staffed by personnel drawn from other offices of the Department, we do not wish to attempt to set up a new additional permanent establishment for what is essentially a temporary wartime post. At the same time we have to man it with experienced personnel. We can do this if we consolidate our present authorized establishments, using unfilled posts to provide for permanent officers who will be assigned to Algiers.

already approved Council 20 Oct 43

verified WDM 22/10

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MG/5 P. C. 8699 DS/ Embassies

C163235

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 10th November, 1943.

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated November 10, 1943, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, representing that it is desirable for the better representation of Canadian interests abroad in accordance with the growing importance of Canadian participation in international affairs that he should be authorized, in cases where he deems it expedient, to recommend to His Majesty the King that the rank of any Canadian Minister accredited to a foreign sovereign or government should be raised to that of ambassador, subject in all cases to the agreement of the foreign sovereign or government to the exchange of ambassadors.

The Committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to approve the policy of raising the rank of Canadian ministers to that of ambassador, and that the Secretary of State for External Affairs be authorized to make recommendations for specific alterations of status in accordance with that policy in such cases as he deems expedient.

The Committee further advise that the usual steps be taken to submit this matter to His Majesty.

A. P. Heney

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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SECRET

XA 10

BF Ottawa

NAR/SR
15.11.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163236

If Mr. McCarthy comes up tomorrow, as he plans to, he will undoubtedly raise the question of strengthening the Legation staff. Pearson is carrying a heavy load, both inside and outside the Legation. The juniors we have sent to Washington (Wershof, Rogers and Tremblay) are all good, but there is a gap in experience and seniority between them and Pearson which needs filling. Keeping in mind the requirements of Washington and our own office, my recommendation is that Stone should be sent to Washington as Counsellor. Ronald Macdonnell, who is coming back to the Department next week, will be able to take his place very adequately in some respects, but not so easily in others.

Mr. McCarthy may also raise the question of having somebody on the Legation staff whose special duty it would be to maintain liaison and contacts with the Latin American missions there. It would be useful to have such a man, if he existed and could be spared. As matters stand, however, we will be so strained to staff the two new Latin American Legations in Mexico and Peru that, for the time being, we shall have to forego making such an appointment.

Now that the United States is moving so quickly to complete the elevation of their mission here to the new status of Embassy, I think we might return the compliment and have Mr. McCarthy present telegraphic credentials to the President as soon as the latter returns to Washington. The formal documents, signed by the King, will follow in due course. This is the procedure to be followed in Mr. Atherton's case.

Mr. McCarthy has spoken to me about the effect of raising the mission to Embassy status on Pearson's rank. His present designation is that of Minister-Counsellor. His duties are certainly comparable with those of Sir Ronald Campbell, Mr. Noel Hall, Mr. H.B. Butler, Sir George Sansom and the other senior officers of the British Embassy, who have the rank of Minister. His promotion to Minister at this time, like Keenleyside's recommended promotion to Argentina, raises a question which we have discussed several times, viz., the sharp difference between the position of the Assistant Under-Secretaries of State here and the corresponding career officers at posts abroad. Promotion of Pearson and Keenleyside to Ministerial rank, though amply earned in itself, would, in some ways, be unfair to Hume Wrong and to

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John Read, who are carrying quite as heavy and responsible loads as either of their colleagues. The sort of solution to this difficulty which I am inclined to recommend is that the promotion of Pearson and Keenleyside to Ministerial rank should not be accompanied by an increase in substantive salaries which would put them senior to the two Assistant Under-Secretaries here in Ottawa, but that their local allowances be supplemented by special allowances equal to the difference between their present salaries and what they would have received under the established scale if they had been promoted as career Ministers in normal times.

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FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO Mr N. A. Robertson

Please speak to PM re

C163238

1) Harkington

2) Dr. Riddell

DEC 23

noted

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File CM/N#

C163239

NAR/SR
18.11.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Herewith are Recommendations to Council which have been cleared with the Department of National Defence for the appointment of Lt.-Col. Maurice Forget as Military Attache to the Canadian Representative to the French Committee of National Liberation, and of Major Leal as Assistant Military Attache to the Canadian Legation to the Allied Governments in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Power tells me that his Department is not able to second Wing Commander Georges Roy as Air Attache in Algiers because his services are needed for an operational command with one of the French Canadian squadrons of the R.C.A.F. I am very sorry about this because I think he would have been a very useful addition to Vanier's staff and ultimately to our diplomatic service. Power has recommended Wing Commander Desloges,D.F.C. as Air Attache in Algiers. I wish to have a further word with him about this nomination before preparing a Recommendation to Council on the subject.

19-11-43

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XA/O

NAR/ET
22 Nov.1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: C163240

Since our last talk about diplomatic posts to be filled,I have reviewed the position again and now submit the following suggestions:

(1) Mexico.

In view of the current elevation in rank of our missions abroad,I think we should skip the Legation stage with Mexico,which now has embassies in all the other American countries and has recently exchanged Ambassadors with the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom representative in Mexico is still a Minister,but if this is a complication,it could easily be corrected by the United Kingdom raising the status of its representative. Making the Mexican post an embassy would make Mr.Turgeon's appointment all the more appropriate,since he is one of the senior members of our Service. He has intimated his willingness to go to Mexico if you wish him to, and expressed the hope that if he went,Kirkwood could accompany him. I do not think we can agree to this because Kirkwood will be needed as Charge d'Affaires in Argentina when Mr.Turgeon leaves.

(2) Peru

We are committed to find another post for Dr.Laureys. Though I do not think he has all the qualifications one would like,I cannot think of another Latin American post where he would fit better than in Lima.

(3) Argentina

We might defer for the time being naming a successor to Turgeon in Argentina. Kirkwood could handle the Legation business as Charge d'Affaires. The Argentine Government took nearly a year to name a successor to Dr.Santos Munoz, and the new Minister Designate is taking his time in coming. In these circumstances and having in mind the general Argentine attitude towards the war, I see no serious objection to leaving this post without a Minister for a number of months.

(4) South Africa

Dr.Laureys' transfer from Pretoria creates a more difficult vacancy to fit. Political and constitutional questions relating to peace settlement,etc. are likely to require closer contacts with the other Commonwealth Governments than we have had hitherto. Our contacts with Australia are close and valuable, particularly during the last year or two. The exchange of High

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Commissioners with the Union of South Africa has not so far produced easy arrangements for the interchange of information and views. I should like to see the High Commissionership in South Africa filled from within the Service, if at all possible. In order of availability the senior officers who might be appointed to this post are:

1. Keenleyside
2. Macdonald
3. Mahoney (of whose work Mr.McCarthy gave a very good report last week)
4. Stone

The appointment of either Keenleyside or Macdonald would make possible a number of junior staff changes within the Department which are overdue.

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XA/o C163242 NAR/SR
9.12.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER noted

Attached is a letter from Sir Patrick Duff, passing on the views of the United Kingdom Foreign Office on one aspect of our recent decision to elevate the rank of Canadian missions abroad. You will note that they are concerned lest, when we come to exchange missions with Mexico, Peru or Cuba, those countries might propose an exchange of embassies rather than legations. It is represented that our agreement to such an arrangement would cause some embarrassment to the United Kingdom, which is only represented by Ministers in these three countries.

I think we can defer any reply to this letter until after your return to Ottawa, but I thought you should see it in Washington, in case the Mexican or Peruvian Ambassadors there should raise the question of their diplomatic representation in Canada with you.

The United Kingdom attitude is understandable, though not quite self-consistent, and could, I think, be modified if we thought it worth arguing the point. It may be noted:

(1) that the United Kingdom decision not to alter the status of diplomatic missions during the course of the war was taken during the summer of 1942, just after the United Kingdom had raised to the rank of Embassy its Legations to the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece; and

(2) the decision itself suggests a disposition to try to perpetuate a formal distinction between embassies and legations.

I do not think this is a wise or feasible policy, and would expect the United Kingdom Government to be prepared to reconsider it if we pressed the point. The question is quite likely to be raised by the Mexican Government, which exchanges embassies with a good many countries, including the U.S.S.R. and, I believe, China. It might wish its mission to have the same status here as the Brazilian mission, particularly since Mexico has been a belligerent for a good deal longer time than has Brazil. We need not take any initiative in the matter, but if the other Governments appear to attach importance to it, I see no serious difficulty for the United Kingdom in raising its missions in Mexico

(over)

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or Peru, as the case may be, to the rank of Embassy.

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558/64

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE
UNITED KINGDOM
Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
4th December, 1943

C163244

Dear Mr. Robertson,

We have received from the Dominions Office a telegram containing some general observations by the Foreign Office in connexion with the elevation of the Canadian Legation at Washington to an Embassy and the likelihood of other Legations being similarly elevated, and we have been asked to pass these on informally to the Canadian authorities.

While the elevation of Canadian Legations to Embassies is a step which the Foreign Office welcome, they have drawn attention to one aspect of the matter which might possibly prove somewhat embarrassing.

This results from the decision taken in London that no further changes in the status of United Kingdom Missions in foreign countries should be made during the war. In pursuance of this policy the United Kingdom Government have hitherto declined to agree to requests from Mexico, Cuba and Peru for the elevation of their Legations to Embassies. If new Embassies were now to be established in a number of South American countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Chile, the Foreign Office have some apprehension that other South American countries such as those mentioned above might approach the Canadian Government with the request that Embassies might be established in their case also; if these requests were to be granted, it would in practice prove impossible for the United Kingdom Government to maintain their present policy as regards United Kingdom Missions.

The United Kingdom authorities would of course be put in no difficulty by the Canadian Government raising to the rank of Embassy their Legation at any capital where the United Kingdom is already represented by an Ambassador. In fact, the present position is that the United Kingdom is already represented by an Ambassador in all countries where a Canadian Legation has so far been established. The possibility of embarrassment would only arise if Canada were to appoint an Ambassador to a post where the United Kingdom is at present represented by a Minister only, such as for example, Mexico, Peru or Cuba, and at present Canada has no Minister in any of these three countries.

The question is perhaps therefore not of immediate practical importance, but in view of possible future developments the Foreign Office wish to draw the attention of the Canadian Government to the above aspects of the matter, and they express the hope that the Canadian authorities may be willing to avoid the possibility of embarrassment which would be caused to the United Kingdom if the Canadian authorities were to appoint an Ambassador to a capital where the United Kingdom is not similarly represented.

Yours sincerely,

PATRICK DUFF

Norman A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

NAR/ET
10 Dec.,1943

C163245

When we were last talking about Ministerial appointments you tentatively approved the nomination of Mr.Turgeon as Minister to Mexico,and of Laureys as Minister to Peru. I asked Turgeon privately if he still felt,as he had indicated he did a year ago,that he would glad to open a new Mission in Mexico. He has advised me that he would be glad to do so if you wished him to. I hear from Kirkwood however that his real preference would be to replace Vanier as Minister to the Allied Governments in London. Mr.Turgeon did not mention this possibility in his letter to me,but I have no doubt that Kirkwood, to whom he is very close,knows his real mind.

I think Turgeon would be a good representative in London. He knows the countries of Western Europe well and would take a pretty informed interest in the questions of relief and rehabilitation, which are likely to be our principal point of contact with them during the next two or three years.

If you think well of such a suggestion,we would have to consider an alternative appointment to Mexico. I received this morning the enclosed letter from Mr.St.Laurent,reporting that Senator Gouin would be willing to accept a diplomatic appointment in a Latin American country. He mentioned Cuba,but I think Cuba must wait until a number of more important posts are filled. Besides, Gouin himself could do more useful work than a Canadian Minister at Havana would likely be called upon to perform. I think he would make an admirable Minister to Mexico,where, in addition to his other good qualities, his really firstclass knowledge of Spanish would be a very special qualification.

The only objection I can see to this slate of Ministers taking shape is the preponderance of French Canadian Ministers to Latin American countries. It is true that taking the Service as a whole,there is no such disproportion between the English and French, Protestant and Catholic,appointees. At the same time there might be legitimate criticism of too many French appointments to Latin American posts. Such criticism could be met by appointing an English Protestant to Argentina. Here again it is difficult to find an altogether suitable nominee,but I have been wondering if J.S.Duncan would be available and acceptable. I see that Mr.Howe and Mr.Gardiner have recently agreed to name him as Canadian representative and chairman on the new Combined Committee on the Allocation of Agricultural Implements, and I believe Mr.Power had no objections to his nomination. He does,I understand, speak Spanish very well,and would probably be a good man to handle the postwar trade possibilities of that Latin American market.

noted

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OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE
CANADA

C163246

Ottawa, December 7th, 1943

Mr.N.A.Robertson,

Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,

Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Robertson:

Senator Gouin has written me that he would be glad to represent Canada in some appropriate legation of Latin America, or preferably Cuba.

I thought it might be worthwhile mentioning it to you so that you may have him in mind when discussing with the Prime Minister the establishment of any such legations.

Yours sincerely,

LOUIS ST.LAURENT

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DS/Gen

Note for Prime Minister

C163247

Yesterday (December 29, 1943) was

22nd anniversary of swearing into office of the first Liberal Administration formed by Mr Mackenzie King as Prime Minister.

Then, there were no Canadian Legations abroad.

There were certain Canadian Offices, some of the functions of which were of a quasi-diplomatic nature, eg.g.

High Commissioner for Canada in London (1880)
Commissioner-General for Canada in Paris.

The first Canadian Legation abroad was opened in Washington in 1927. On November 11, 1943, it was announced that this Legation (and the United States Legation in Ottawa) were to be raised to embassies.

OTHER LEGATIONS ABROAD

1928 France
1939 Belgium and the Netherlands
1941 Brazil (x)
1941 Argentine
1942 U.S.S.R. (x)
China (x)
Allied Governments in London (7)

(x) shortly to be made embassies

HIGH COMMISSIONERS ABROAD:

1940 Australia
1941 New Zealand
1941 Union of South Africa
Ireland
Newfoundland

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ds/Embellie NAR/ET
29 Dec.,1943

C163248

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Dec.13.
No.343

Attached is an interesting despatch from Judge Turgeon, commenting on the elevation of a number of our missions to embassies,and putting the case very modestly and objectively for elevating the Canadian Legation in Argentina to the same status as our mission to Brazil.

I also attach a draft reply which I propose to send him if you approve the line taken.

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C163249

Ottawa, 29th December, 1943

Dear Mr.Turgeon,

I was very glad to receive your despatch No.343 of December 13, and to have your observations on diplomatic practice in Argentina, particularly on the working status of ambassadors and ministers.

As you know, Ottawa is a very informal place. For practical purposes ambassadors, ministers, high commissioners, and even consuls gener are here on pretty much the same footing. They have the same opportunities of access to the Government, and are treated as the accredite representatives of their Governments regardless of their formal diplomatic status. I do not expect the progressive elevation of legations to embassies will alter this general situation.

Against this background, we have probably been inclined to minimize the local importance on posts abroad of raising our legations to embassies. In the light of your report on the way things are done in Buenos Aires, I am satisfied that under normal conditions our representative there should have the rank of ambassador in order to discharge his duties properly.

I agree there is a good deal of logic in the Latin American position as put to you by your friend the Ecuadorean Ambassador, in explaining his country's decision to raise its mission in Buenos Aires to an embassy, despite their lack of sympathy with the present Argentine regime. It might well be that an agreement between Canada and Argentina to exchange embassies would not be construed in Argentina as additional evidence of outside approval of the policies of its Government. I am afraid, however, that in Canada such an arrangement at this time would be quite severely criticized, and I suspect that in both the United Kingdom and the United States it might be regarded as showing some degree of defection from the general attitude towards Argentina which that country's isolationist policies have forced the United Nations to take. As matters stand, therefore, I should be reluctant to advise the Prime Minister to take any step toward raising our mission in Buenos Aires, or to agree to such an initiative if it were to come from the Argentine Government.

The Hon.Mr.Justice Turgeon,
Canadian Minister to Argentina,
Canadian Legation,
Buenos Aires.

P.T.O.

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The Hon. Mr. Justice Turgeon,
Canadian Minister to Argentina,
Canadian Legation,
Buenos Aires.

P.T.O.

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C163250

I realize it is rather difficult to strike a balance of gains and losses in a matter like this, and hard to be entirely consistent, but I feel that for the time being at least the political disadvantages which would follow on an exchange of embassies with Argentina outweigh the diplomatic advantages which our representative in Buenos Aires might be expected to derive from such a change in status.

Yours sincerely,

N.A.ROBERTSON

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CANADIAN LEGATION
BUENOS AIRES ARGENTINA

SECRET
No.343

December 13,1943

Sir,

C163251

I have the honour to refer to your telegram No.95 of November 11th,1943,regarding the elevation of certain Legations to the rank of Embassies with the intimation that no change of status of missions is contemplated in respect to Argentina. It has occurred to me that it might be of some use to you to have my observations on the question of Canadian diplomatic representation in Latin America as a result of the two years' experience I have had here.

2. Referring particularly to Argentina,I have been impressed by the fact(and this,even before receiving your telegram) that Argentina's failure to carry out her Pan-American undertakings as these have been interpreted by her associates in the Union, does not seem to have re-acted disadvantageously to her in the diplomatic field. On the contrary. Within the last few months, Cuba and Ecuador have elevated their Legations here to Embassies and the Venezuelan Minister,Senor Luis Teofilo Nunez, told some of us at a diplomatic gathering a short time ago that his country is about to take similar action and that he will soon become the first Venezuelan ambassador to Buenos Aires. Paraguay took this step about 18 months ago. It seems to be generally accepted that within the next few months all these Latin-American Legations will have become embassies.

3. I am on particularly friendly terms with the Ecuador Ambassador,Senor Carlos Manuel Larrea. He is a man of sixty,quiet but sagacious, of long experience in diplomacy and politics. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs in his own country for three presidential terms and occupied diplomatic posts in several European countries. He came here about one year ago as Minister Plenipotentiary in charge of the Legation,and has just been made ambassador. A few days after SenorLarrea's official reception I met him at a friend's home and we had a chat on general topics. I brought the conversation around to the subject of Embassies and Legations,because I was interested in finding out how he could explain his country's apparently friendly gesture towards Argentina at this time.

4. Senor Larrea's explanation was very simple. He said that, whatever may have been the accepted practice in Europe in past times, the raising of a Legation to an Embassy in this hemisphere does not spring from an exuberance of friendship but is merely part of a general movement to do away with Legations,which,according to him,have ceased to have any "raison d'etre", just as the institution of "minister resident" has lost its usefulness and has been done away with. Ecuador, he said,has no special regard for Argentina; on the contrary she feels that Argentina,as one of the arbitrators in the recent boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru,acted unfairly in upholding Peru's claims,and she resents this unfairness deeply. Then again,Ecuador also resents Argentina's maintenance of relations with the Axis powers despite the Rio de Janeiro agreements. So there is no particular friendship between Ecuador and Argentina; nevertheless diplomatic relations are to go on between them,and, such being the case,the only reasonable thing to have done, according to Senor Larrea,was to put them upon a proper working basis, according to the present day outlook, by converting the respective Legations into Embassies.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa,Ontario,Canada.

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C163252

5. Senor Larrea's explanation puts the question upon practical grounds: if you are to take part in the diplomatic life of a country and the diplomatic councils of a Capital, why assume a position of inferiority? Because there is no doubt that the position of a Legation is becoming markedly inferior, and will continue to lose prestige as the number of Embassies increases and the Ministers of even the smallest and least important countries in this hemisphere become Ambassadors.

6. From the position of a member of a Government, say the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Argentina, to that of the head of a Legation there is a step down, while the ambassadors and the government members are on the same plane. The step down is taken with due politeness and willingness when occasion requires, provided the head of the Legation has some real, specific, reason for seeing the government member, is prepared to make his visit brief, etc. But the ambassador walks in and out almost at will, is given precedence over all others, even those having previous appointments, is encouraged to talk freely upon all questions, if he is inclined to give advice he is listened to, etc. From the nature of their respective positions, intimate relations between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the head of a Legation (at least in this country) are well-nigh impossible. This may not be altogether an evil in some cases, but I think that, generally, the diplomatic representative should be in such a position as will allow him to make an intimate approach to the Minister of Foreign Affairs if he considers it advisable to do so. An ambassador is in such a position; a minister plenipotentiary is not. This is a matter of protocol and is of quite rigid observance in this country.

7. The same considerations apply to the relations of the members of the diplomatic corps among themselves. For instance, we "Americans" have had many conferences together, particularly since the June revolution. Of course, the greatest courtesy and kindness always prevails as between ambassadors and ministers; there can be no complaint whatever on that score. But I notice that the few of my colleagues who are still only ministers have very little to say on these occasions, and rarely venture to make a suggestion. The ambassadors do nearly all the talking.

8. Whatever I have been able to do here in the general field of American diplomatic effort I have had to do very often indirectly, by cultivating the friendship and the confidence of such splendid men as the United States Ambassador, the Brazilian Ambassador, and a few others. But I cannot but feel that I would have been more useful in achieving certain results during recent months if I had enjoyed the greater freedom and greater privilege of an ambassador.

9. I am sure you will understand that I am submitting these observations to you quite impersonally and objectively and only because I believe that the time has come to submit them and that they may be of use to you for future reference. Speaking personally I am glad to say that my relations with my colleagues in the diplomatic corps and with those members of the Argentine Government with whom I have been brought in contact have always been most happy.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your obedient servant,

W.F.A.TURGEON

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C163253 XA/0

DR. GIBSON.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

As requested in your telephone conversation, I enclose a list compiled from Departmental files giving the dates our Ministers presented their credentials. I assumed you were interested only in those holding these offices at present, but if you require the dates for former Ministers, these can be looked up if you will let us know. I did not include High Commissioners, as they do not present credentials as Ministers do. Did you wish any information from our files on them to supplement this list?

G.W.H.

Ottawa, 4/1/44.

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DATES OF PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE.

	NAME	COUNTRY	DATE
A	Hon. Leighton G. McCarthy.	United States of America.	March 13, 1941.
B	Mr. Jean Désy.	Brazil	Sept. 30, 1941.
	Hon.W.F.A. Turgeon.	Argentine Republic.	Nov. 13, 1941.
	Mr. Warwick Chipman.	Chile.	March 5, 1943.
C	Mr. L. Dana Wilgress.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	March 18, 1943.
D	Major-General Victor W.Odlum.	China.	May 28, 1943.
	Major General George P.Vanier.	Belgium	April 9, 1943.
	" " " " "	Czechoslovakia.	April 13, 1943.
	" " " " "	Poland.	April 15, 1943.
	" " " " "	Norway.	April 28, 1943.
	" " " " "	Netherlands.	April 29, 1943.
	" " " " "	Yugoslavia.	May 7, 1943.
	" " " " "	Greece.	June 1, 1943.

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C163255

DATES OF PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE.

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE
Hon. Leighton G. McCarthy.	United States of America.	March 13, 1941.
Mr. Jean Désy.	Brazil	Sept. 30, 1941.
Hon.W.F.A. Turgeon.	Argentine Republic.	Nov. 13, 1941.
Mr. Warwick Chipman.	Chile.	March 5, 1943.
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" " " " "	Netherlands.	April 29, 1943.
" " " " "	Yugoslavia.	May 7, 1943.
" " " " "	Greece.	June 1, 1943.

EXPLANATORY NOTE. (1) Due to the peculiar circumstances existing when Mr. McCarthy assumed office as Canadian Minister to the United States while Mr. Loring Christie was technically still Minister, Mr. McCarthy was received by President Roosevelt on March 13, 1941, in lieu of presenting his credentials in the normal way. This would appear from the Departmental file to be the date he assumed office, but the "Report of the Secretary of State for External Affairs" for 1941, states that Mr. McCarthy took up his post on March 14, 1941. Later, after the death of Mr. Christie, he ~~finally~~ sent his own Letter of Credence to the State Department by letter on October 20, 1941, rather than presenting his credentials in person, since he had already been acting as Minister for some seven months. (The Order-in-Council appointing him is P.C. 1356, dated February 24, 1941.)

(2) Major General Vanier presented his credentials to the Greek Ambassador in London by special arrangement, since His Majesty King George of Greece was not available for the ceremony.

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C163256

Memorandum for Mr. W. D. Matthews:

re: "Canadian" Furnishings and Decorative Effects
for diplomatic establishments in foreign countries

I understand that an advisory committee, composed of Mrs. H. L. Keenleyside, Mrs. H. H. Wrong and Mrs. T. A. Stone, is being formed to look into the matter of discovering and recommending such characteristic and distinctive Canadian furnishings and decorative effects as might appropriately be used in residences and other establishments occupied by Canadian representatives in foreign countries.

From time to time the Department of External Affairs is reminded, by its representatives abroad, of the very desirable impressions which could be created in the countries to which they are assigned if the Department might adopt a policy of encouraging the furnishing and decorating of their establishments with the works of skilful Canadian creative artists and craftsmen.

I recall that during the past several years our ambassadors Mr. Jean Desy and Mr. W. F. A. Turgeon; and our High Commissioner, Mr. Davies, have all pointed out the benefits which the Service would enjoy by presenting a "Canadian atmosphere" -- at least in their residences, if not to some extent also in their official business establishments.

And here, at Ottawa, we are able to notice the significance of such observations among the diplomatic establishments of other countries. For instance, the former ministers from Brazil and Yugoslavia displayed in their residences numerous examples of furnishings and decorative effects which are characteristic ~~and distinctive~~ of their own countries. The all-over effect of a visit to such an establishment has, I have reason to believe, created a much more interesting and friendly atmosphere, and a generally more lasting effect upon visitors, than would have been the case had hospitality been offered amid surroundings of the familiar and local trends in interior decoration.

Quite apart from the importance of illustrating Canadian cultural accomplishments by such a means, the purchasing of Canadian furnishings and decorative effects may often prove more economical for the Department than when such effects are purchased in the countries to which our representatives are assigned. Unfortunately, some countries have developed the practice of considering diplomatic representatives as "fair game" -- to be charged the highest possible prices for living accommodation, furnishings, services, etc.

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The enclosed copy of a "Review Statement" will acquaint you with a study which has been under way for the past several years by an Interdepartmental Committee on Canadian Hand Arts and Crafts. This Committee is now under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. O. McCurry, Director, National Gallery of Canada.

The Committee on Canadian Hand Arts and Crafts have, on several occasions, reviewed the possible official interests of certain departments of Federal Government in making use of such a service as is proposed in the recommendations contained in the enclosed statement (page 5). The possible special interest of the Department of External Affairs in the matter of securing furnishings and decorative effects for its official establishments abroad had been discussed on two or three occasions. Consequently, this Committee would greatly welcome an opportunity to assist your department in the development of plan which might serve the dual purpose of:

1) creating "Canadian atmospheres" for establishments abroad
2) encouraging the development of useful Canadian creative art and craft talents

The records of the Committee on Canadian Hand Arts and Crafts already contain much information of potential value for the working out of a plan of this nature. However, while a start may be made almost immediately concerning some phases of such a plan, it is felt that the best results may ultimately be obtained only when permission may be secured to carry out certain of the recommendations made by the Committee. Perhaps the two most helpful proposals for this particular interest are:

1) the conducting of a thorough national survey (which would bring to official light the varied skilful Canadian craftsmen who could execute work of a quality deserving of such recognition

2) the holding of a national exhibition (which would present a comprehensive review of typical Canadian creative art and craft skills)

These, and the several other recommendations appearing in the Review Statement, were recently considered by Mr. H. S. Southam, Chairman, Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada, and the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, member of the same Board. Both were readily able to agree that the service proposed might reasonably be considered as an extension of and complement to the existing fine art service of the National Gallery.

You may be interested to learn that the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction have also made a recommendation supporting the need to plan such a service on the findings of a thorough national survey. A marked copy of the Reconstruction Committee's report is also attached for your reference.

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A glance through the Review Statement will indicate the general scope of the study to date, and will suggest also the many worth while interests which may be encouraged through some Federal Government interest in this field. Also, there is a growing feeling among organized groups across Canada that the time has come when, along with the important attention being given plans for economic and social development in Canada, some more serious consideration should be given to Canadian cultural development.

A number of departments of Federal Government have already expressed their special desires to be able to turn to some central, authentic service as is being proposed for guidance and assistance according to their particular interests. (see attached memorandum)

If some word, concerning the particular interests of the Department of External Affairs in the matter of discovering distinctive Canadian furnishings and decorative effects for its establishments in other countries, might appropriately be sent to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery, such an expression of interest would be greatly appreciated by the Board of Trustees, and would, ~~at the same time,~~ offer considerable encouragement to the many across Canada who are anxious to encourage Canadian creative art and craft talents.

Deane H. Russell

Ottawa
March 30, 1944

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C163259

For Mrs. T. A. Stone:

I thought it might save a little time at our first meeting if you had the enclosed material to glance over first. I am very much afraid these notes have been rather too hurriedly prepared and not too well expressed, but they represent simply some initial thoughts which came to me over the week-end. Copies are enclosed for Mrs. Wrong and Mrs. Keenleyside.

I am very much looking forward to our meeting and plan to bring along some pictorial exhibits of some of the categories suggested in the enclosed notes.

Deane H. Russell

Ottawa
April 3, 1944

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SECRET

NAR/SR
19.4.44

C163260

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Herewith are Recommendations to Council confirming Macdonald's appointment as High Commissioner in Newfoundland. I had originally suggested his designation as Acting High Commissioner in the expectation that he might go down there for three or four months, and that we should then decide whether he should stay on. On thinking it over further, I feel it would be a mistake to appoint a second Acting High Commissioner. To do the job that has to be done in Newfoundland, our representative should start with his status assured.

The Recommendation to Council provides that Macdonald shall receive the minimum salary of an officer in the High Commissioner class, but shall keep the rank of Counsellor in the External Affairs Service. His allowances would be the same as Burchell's, but his salary would be $1260. less. This, I think, we should regard as an interim arrangement, subject to revision as soon as we can consolidate our Departmental Service classifications. We are working on a scheme to bring together, in appropriate Civil Service classifications, the senior posts abroad and in Ottawa, so that a man's permanent rank in the Service does not necessarily depend on the particular post to which he is assigned at any given time. This will make for much greater interchangeability between posts abroad and in Ottawa, and will recognize that the three or four senior posts in the Department are quite as onerous and responsible as most of the Legations, Embassies and High Commissionerships.

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CA/Chile (2) NAR/SR
~~Peru~~ 19.4.44

C163261

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing an additional copy of Mr. Chipman's telegram No.25 of April 18th, transmitting a request from the Chilean Government that the Legation here should be raised to an Embassy. In all the circumstances, it would be very difficult to return a discouraging reply to this proposal. The distinction between Embassies and Legations is disappearing very rapidly, and an effort on our part to maintain it, even for a few months, might be misconstrued by the Chilean Government and taken as some reflection on Dr. Grove, who would, of course, be completely persona grata.

Any decision reached with regard to Chile would have to apply to Peru, which has made the same approach and been told that the Chilean precedent would have to apply in its case. I do not know whether you have had a chance to consider the suggestion made the other day about appointing Riddell to Peru. He arrived this morning from New Zealand, and I have already had a long talk with him. He seems to have made a very good recovery, and to be in first rate physical shape. I have not said anything to him about the possibility of his being transferred to another post, but I think it would be very helpful, particularly from the Peruvian point of view, if a decision could be taken in this matter before we get away.

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C163262

FROM: THE CANADIAN MINISTER TO CHILE, SANTIAGO

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE Santiago, April 18th, 1944.

NO. 25

No. 25. After dinner given by me for Dr. Grove last Wednesday, April 12th, Foreign Minister asked me to transmit to you proposal from Chilean Government for raising of respective Missions to Embassies without change of diplomatic personnel. An aide-memoire, then suggested, has now been received and states that Chile has especial interest in strengthening links with Canada with which it collaborates in defence, democracy and civilization and concludes that Chile is disposed to elevate to rank of Embassy its Legation in Ottawa and only awaits decision of Canadian Government with respect to its Mission in Santiago in order to settle formalities and date of mutual accord. I understand similar requests will be sent to Chilean Charge d'Affaires, Ottawa, for transmission to you. I explained to Foreign Minister the necessity of His Majesty's approval before formal action by Canada or any announcement of any arrangements agreed upon. I understand Dr. Grove would wish to return to Ottawa bearing his new credentials if possible.

CANADIAN MINISTER

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SECRET

C163263 NAR/SR
14.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Riddell, who is returning for leave and consultation after nearly five years in New Zealand, will be in Ottawa next Wednesday. Riddell is 62 and could have one more post before he reaches the normal retirement age of 65. He is, from point of view of service, one of our most experienced people, though I have never thought him a particularly strong representative. Would you approve of offering him the appointment to Peru? The Peruvian and Mexican posts were bracketted in the press announcement, and it would be desirable to proceed with the opening of a mission in Lima. One advantage in naming Riddell is that it would restore the balance between English and French Ministers in Latin America.

I mentioned Riddell's return to Mr. McCarthy this morning, when he called me from Toronto. He said he thought that Mahoney could take his place in New Zealand very well, and asked me to let you know that, in the light of the last twoyears' experience, he entirely withdrew the private reservations on Mahoney's account of which he had spoken to both you and me. In recommending Mahoney for New Zealand, he said he would not like to have him leave Washington before his own term as Ambassador was up, as he depended on Mahoney in a good many ways. He thought, however, that a promotion for Mahoney to New Zealand would fit in very well with a change of regime in Washington.

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C163264 NAR/SR
22.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Dupong, the Prime Minister of Luxemburg, called at the Department this morning to say goodbye and to repeat his Government's very warm appreciation of the hospitality the Grand Duchess and her Ministers had received in Canada.

He referred to our earlier conversation about the possibility of our exchanging diplomatic representatives. Under an arrangement of long standing, Luxemburg interests abroad were entrusted to the Netherlands Diplomatic Service, except in a limited number of posts, where there was direct Luxemburg representation. His Government had diplomatic representatives to the United Kingdom, Holland, Belgium, France and in the United States, and they had hoped that we would agree to have the Luxemburg Minister in Washington also accredited in Ottawa, and that our representative to the Allied Governments in London could also be accredited to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

I told him why we had always refused to receive diplomatic representatives who were also accredited to the United States, and that an exception conceded in the special circumstances of Luxemburg's case would undoubtedly be invoked as a precedent by two or three other countries who had proposed similar arrangements. At the present time, our diplomatic arrangements with the Allied Governments in London were on the basis of reciprocity. Each of the Governments to which Dupuy was accredited maintained a diplomatic mission here, and for this reason it would be difficult, just now, to accredit him to the Luxemburg Government.

I told Mr. Dupong that I was sure that after the war an Ambassador to Belgium would be installed in Brussels, and that we would be glad to have him accredited to Luxemburg. It might well be, too, that with the completion of our Diplomatic Corps in Canada by the separate representation here of all the principal countries, there might be fewer difficulties in the way of the smaller countries, with limited diplomatic representation, arranging to have one representative on this continent, who would look after their interests in both Canada and the United States. In any case, we would keep in mind the interest Luxemburg had shown in maintaining the special contacts which the

(P.T.O)

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war had given it with Canada, and would see whether there was any action we might be able to take in future which would help to meet their wishes.

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~~N.Z.~~ XA/5

P.M. wishes to speak to Mr. Norman

SECRET AND PERSONAL

NAR/SR
24.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163266

I have had two talks with Dr. Riddell about his position in the Service. He does not wish to return to New Zealand, where he has been High Commissioner for four years. Nor, I gathered, would he be particularly anxious to receive a diplomatic assignment in Latin America such as I suggested to you last week. He wishes to bring his family back to Canada, which is natural enough after nearly twenty years' service abroad, and wondered if there would be a post for him in the Department where he could deal principally with questions of international organization. If such an arrangement were not feasible, he would think seriously about retiring from the Service. He is now 62, with three more years to go before he reaches the normal retiring age. He has a farm near Hamilton, and sufficient private means to make him independent. In the circumstances, I think his talk about possibly retiring is probably quite genuine.

I find it difficult to make a recommendation as to what you should do in this matter. I do not think he has the intellectual calibre or personality to fit him for one of the senior political posts in the Department. For this reason I did not encourage his suggestion that he might be brought back to handle questions of general international organization. These questions, over the next years, will be the central questions of policy. What we could do is put him in charge of the Diplomatic and Consular Division in Beaudry's place. He would have to have the rank of an Assistant Under-Secretary, which would ~~perhaps~~ only be reasonable in view of his seniority and experience. If he was willing to take over this work, it would release McGreer, who has been doing it in Beaudry's absence. McGreer we could send to Moscow, where Wilgress has been repeatedly requesting a senior diplomatic assistant of Counsellor rank, who would be in charge of the Embassy whenever he was out of Moscow.

One difficulty about these arrangements is that they do nothing to help us where we are weakest, which is our lack of senior and competent French Canadian personnel. One of the Assistant Under-Secretaries should be a French Canadian. Beaudry filled that role very satisfactorily, but he has been on sick leave now for a year, and we have just had to arrange further leave without pay so that he may have the complete rest which his doctors enjoin. They are confident that he will be all right in

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~~N.Z.H.C.~~ XA/3

P.M. wishes to speak to Mr. Riddell

SECRET AND PERSONAL

NAR/SR
24.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163266

I have had two talks with Dr. Riddell about his position in the Service. He does not wish to return to New Zealand, where he has been High Commissioner for four years. Nor, I gathered, would he be particularly anxious to receive a diplomatic assignment in Latin America such as I suggested to you last week. He wishes to bring his family back to Canada, which is natural enough after nearly twenty years' service abroad, and wondered if there would be a post for him in the Department where he could deal principally with questions of international organization. If such an arrangement were not feasible, he would think seriously about retiring from the Service. He is now 62, with three more years to go before he reaches the normal retiring age. He has a farm near Hamilton, and sufficient private means to make him independent. In the circumstances, I think his talk about possibly retiring is probably quite genuine.

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six months' time. I had hoped that Dupuy might fill this gap for a year or two, but he is unavailable.

We have a number of pretty good junior French Canadians coming along in the Service, most of them now stationed abroad. There is no one, however, who could be advanced to take Beaudry's place. I think we shall have to go outside the Service to try and get a really good French Canadian of Counsellor rank to balance the Department. One man whose name I have had in mind for some time is Lalonde, now of the National War Labour Board. Another is Major C.P.A.Hebert, who is on leave overseas from the Tariff Board. Both of these men have been getting $10,000 a year, but they might be willing to come into our Department at about $6,000. Hebert, I believe, is now back in London after some six months' experience with AMG in Italy and Sicily. I remember I suggested him a few years ago as a possible replacement for Pearson in the High Commissioner's Office in London. I still think he would be quite a useful addition to our Service if we could get hold of him.

// appointed Military Attaché to Dupuy

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XA/O

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163268

There are half a dozen questions of Departmental business which I hope we can dispose of quickly.

1. I have had two reminders from Ottawa about the reply to the Chilean-Peruvian request that our respective Missions should be raised to Embassies. Now that the question has been formally raised by his Government I understand that Dr. Grove is reluctant to return to Canada in his former capacity. In the circumstances I see no reason why we should not agree at once to the exchange of Embassies to which the other Governments attach some importance and which would undoubtedly improve the position of our representatives in Chile and Peru. If you agree we can take the formal question up with the Palace direct and you can advise the King yourself.

2. Dunton and I have had general talks this week with Bowes Lyon, General Stuart and Massey about Canadian contacts with Political Warfare activities on the Supreme Allied Command during the coming invasion months. We feel that Canada should have a senior Officer here during these next months who could keep in close touch with the Political Warfare Executive and with the Psychological Warfare Division

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of the Supreme Allied Command and with Canadian Army Headquarters to make sure that there is no repetition of last year's Sicilian Public Relations fiasco. There is no use sending any one but a very good man to do this job. He would have to have close contacts on a high level with both British and American Psychological Warfare people. I therefore recommend that Stone be made available for this work for the next three or four months, with the local rank of Counsellor and attached to the High Commissioner's Office for the purpose.

3. I have mentioned before the possibility of getting Major Charles Hebert as a senior French Canadian reinforcement for the Departmental staff. He could be made available as Military Attaché to our Legation to the Allied Governments here and would, I think, in view of his Army service and recent experience with Civil Affairs Administration in Italy, be very useful liaison with the Allied Governments during the liberation period. I would hope that after his appointment as Military Attache he could be taken on into the regular External Affairs service.

4. I should like to approach Graham Spry with a

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view to his joining the Canadian service. He has developed a great deal during the last few years and has had varied and extremely useful experience over here, where he is very well thought of. I understand from Massey that Barrington Ward wants to get him as a leader writer for The Times. My feeling is that if we are going to use him in the Canadian service, where I think he belongs, we should act promptly. If you approve I would like to ask him to come back to Ottawa and work in the Department where, among other things, he could take over from Stone.

6th May, 1944.

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CA/Chile 24.5.44

STATEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES WITH CHILE AND PERU

C163271

I should like to inform the House that the Canadian Government have agreed with the Chilean Government for the elevation of their respective legations to the rank of embassy. No change in personnel is contemplated. Mr.Warwick Chipman,who presented his Letter of Credence as Canadian Minister on March 5th,1943, will remain as Canadian Ambassador to Chile, and Dr. Eduardo Grove,who presented his Letter of Credence as Chilean Minister to Canada on September 15th,1942,will become Chilean Ambassador to Canada upon his return from Chile where he is at present on leave of absence.

A similar agreement has been reached with the Government of Peru. Honourable Members will recall that on January 28 of this year it was announced that diplomatic missions would be exchanged between Peru and Canada, and it has now been agreed that these will be of the rank of embassy.

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XA/D

C163272

NAR/SR
27.5.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Henry Laureys is arriving in Ottawa on Tuesday, and will, I expect, be in town for some days. I should like to be able to give him some indication of his next post. Those vacant at the moment are Argentina and Peru. New Zealand will be vacant after Dr. Riddell's retirement. There is also the possibility of our appointing a High Commissioner to India.

No appointment can be made to Argentina until the present diplomatic impasse is ended. There will have, however, to be somebody found for Peru very shortly. Laureys has had four years' experience in South Africa. Before that he was Director of the School of Higher Commercial Studies in the University of Montreal. His original appointment to the External Affairs Service was very strongly endorsed by Senator Dandurand. In the

(P.T.O.)

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circumstances, I think he would probably make an acceptable representative in Lima.

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PERSONAL XA/10 NAR/ET
1 June,1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163274

I had a word with Dr.Laureys this morning about his own position in the Service. He is quite restored to health and ready to take another assignment abroad,after he has had the home leave in Canada which his four years stay in South Africa has earned him. He would like to be appointed to a European post rather than a Latin American one,but I explained that it was not your intention for the time being to make any change in the status of our Mission to the Allied Governments nor was it presently planned to open a Mission to Stockholm. Of the possible South American posts, Argentina was excluded by the present policy of non-recognition, so that Peru would be the next diplomatic post to be filled. I said that you had not had an opportunity yet of considering a number of senior diplomatic appointments that would have to be made in the near future, so that I did not know just what plans you might have in mind for him.

I should say that I have been quite favourably impressed by the conversations I have had with Dr.Laureys during the past two or three days. He was sent to South Africa without any previous experience in the Department or in the work of the Government generally, and he was not until very recently given the secretarial assistance which we promised him. This undoubtedly made his work there more difficult and less rewarding than it might have been. Both Field Marshal Smuts and Mr.Forsythe,the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs in South Africa, spoke well of Laureys to me in London, and I am satisfied that given proper support, he would make a very suitable representative of Canada in any but major diplomatic posts.

Mack

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~~D of E~~ CA/Belg

W.H.M.
23.9.44

C163275

Memorandum for The Prime Minister

Mr. Turgeon's Appointment

4 Attached for Mr. King's signature are the following Formal Submissions to the King:

1. Mr. Turgeon's Recall from Mexico
2. Raising Canadian Legation to Belgium to rank of Embassy and appointment of Mr. Turgeon as Ambassador
3. Establishment of Canadian Mission to Luxembourg and appointment of Mr. Turgeon as Minister
4. Recall of General Vanier as Minister to Belgium.

N.A.R.

I + 3 replace the submissions you had already signed which did not specifically provide for the establishment of the new missions.

K

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XA/O

HW-AH
October 12th, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER-SECRETARY

Noted HWA

C163276

The Committee on Administrative Questions has been giving some consideration to the policy which should be adopted with regard to the provision of diplomatic uniform for members of the External Affairs Service. All the members of the Committee would prefer that uniforms should not be worn. If for the reasons referred to below it appears desirable that uniform should be worn they would prefer that a distinctive Canadian uniform be authorized.

This cannot be regarded as an important matter but it is one which it is not easy to settle. A general trend seems to be toward the adoption of official uniforms by countries which have previously not used them. While our knowledge is not complete, it seems probable that the United States, Switzerland and Ireland are the only countries in which no uniform is authorized. We have treated the matter as a voluntary one but have authorized the payment of an allowance of $250 to diplomatic personnel who felt that they required to procure a uniform. I think that the wearing of uniform is also voluntary in the case of representatives of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

At a large number of posts the alternative to the wearing of uniform on state occasions is the wearing of evening dress even if the function takes place in the morning. This seems to be the case in Latin American posts, in China and in most European posts. As it is necessary for Canadian representatives to follow the local rules the choice presented is between wearing a uniform or wearing full evening dress. I think that in Washington alone of our posts abroad is a morning coat regarded as the proper dress on such occasions in daytime.

With the opening of new missions and the probable restoration of formal state functions which have been suspended or modified during the war we should issue some instructions for the guidance of members of the Service. The Committee considers that it would be unwise to raise at this time the question of the design and acceptance of a distinctive Canadian uniform and, therefore, feels that all that can be done at present is to temporize. The adoption of a separate Canadian uniform would raise some difficult problems. The existing uniform is not strictly speaking a diplomatic uniform but is a civil uniform authorized to be worn by officials throughout the British Commonwealth with insignia depending on their rank in the Public Service. Canadian officials stationed in London have on certain occasions to wear this uniform if they attend court functions and their situation presents special problems.

(over)

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The Committee recommends that Missions abroad and members of the Service in Ottawa should be informed that consideration is being given to the question whether uniform should be worn by Canadian representatives abroad and if so whether it should be the existing civil uniform or a distinctive Canadian uniform; until a definite decision is reached no allowance will be granted to members of the Canadian Service for the purchase of uniforms; those who already possess uniforms may wear them on the proper occasions when stationed abroad but this is a matter of individual choice; until some instructions are issued anyone purchasing a uniform at his own expense must do so at the risk of authority to wear [redacted] being withdrawn.

WLM.

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XA/o

MEMORANDUM C163278

Attached are draft regulations on various subjects relating to our offices abroad. To a great extent these regulations are a consolidation of existing ones and a codification of the practice that the department has endeavoured to follow. The lack of definite regulations over a wide field has left the way open for each case to be argued and pressed as a hard case. This has made it impossible to follow a consistent policy. The lack of regulations has also made it difficult for the chiefs of posts abroad to determine what matters come within their authority.

Some changes in present practice are suggested, the principal ones being summarized below.

Accounting Regulations

With the following two exceptions these regulations are designed to advise the posts abroad of current practice which is sometimes not complied with.

1. Section 1. This section provides for fees to be deposited in bank account of the post. At present funds collected as fees are, where possible under exchange regulations, sent to Ottawa. This involves costs for the transfer and the spread between the buying and selling rates.

2. Section 5. In some countries proper vouchers are unprocurable and in others it is essential to retain them at the post to protect our interests. The practice adopted of necessity at some posts is regularized by this section.

Leave Regulations

1. Section 10. It is desirable that officers representing Canada abroad keep in close touch with Canadian conditions. This provision is intended to facilitate this without cost.

2. Sections 17 and 19. The opening of posts in unhealthy localitites make the present regulations less favourable to officers stationed there than to others. The present regulations are particularly hard on persons who have had a short period of service. These sections are intended to remedy this situation.

Statutory Holidays

There are no departmental regulations at present, so practice varies from post to post.

Allowance Regulations

1. Section 1(b). The difficulty in many capitals of obtaining living accommodation immediately upon arrival frequently imposes heavy financial burdens upon members of the staff at a time when their other expenses are greatest. In individual cases it has been necessary for us to advise our officers that we will recommend to Treasury Board action along the lines of this paragraph.

2. Section 2. An officer stationed abroad is at times recalled to Ottawa or sent to another post abroad without any final decision as to whether the change shall be permanent. This is to regularize the practice of the Department of withholding allowances where appropriate which has given rise to many arguments and also to permit payment of the appropriate allowances when the move is to a more expensive post.

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3. Section 3(c). It is considered essential that officers stationed abroad take full advantage of home leave to gain knowledge of conditions in Canada. There is a natural tendency to spend the whole period of home leave at their normal place of residence in Canada both for financial and personal reasons. This proposal is intended to remove in part the financial reasons. As home leave has not normally been granted during the war, this provision will not be operative until after the war but as a large proportion of the Department's staff will not have been in Canada for a long time, it is most desirable that this provision become operative immediately upon the cessation of hostilities.

4. Section 3(e). This provision, which is subject to approval of Treasury Board in each case, is considered essential since posts have been established in such places as Chungking.

5. Section 4. The change from present practice is the provision of a small allowance to meet the high original expenses on removal to Ottawa, which removal itself results in a substantial reduction in remuneration as allowances stop and income tax begins.

6. Section 6. This will give continuing authority for payments now made in each case by separate application to Treasury Board.

Removal Expenses

These regulations codify the restrictions the Department has unsuccessfully endeavoured to enforce owing to there being no definite rules.

1. Section 12. In most posts abroad it is desirable that diplomatic officers have their own automobile. It is, therefore, suggested that the Department be authorized to pay the costs of shipping an automobile where they are not excessive.

2. Section 16 is a new provision. Many submissions to Treasury Board are now necessary where nothing is involved other than transportation expenses which would be covered by the travel regulations if a return trip was being made. There seems to be no advantage in adopting a more cumbersome procedure unless unusual expenses are incurred.

Ottawa, 12th December, 1944.
WDM/JEB/DC.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS C163280

REGULATIONS FOR POSTS ABROAD RE ACCOUNTS AND RECORDS TO BE MAINTAINED, AND RETURNS TO BE MADE TO OTTAWA

(1) Bank Account

A bank account shall be opened in the name of the office in a local bank to be selected by the Head of the Post. All advances of funds from Ottawa for the maintenance of the Post and all fees or sundry receipts shall be deposited in this account. Withdrawals shall be authorized upon the signature of the Head of the Post or upon the signature of any other two officers or employees designated by him. All expenses of the Post not payable from Ottawa shall be paid by cheque on this account with the exception of small items paid from the Petty Cash fund. The Petty Cash fund shall be maintained by transfers from the bank account.

(2) Petty Cash

A Petty Cash fund not exceeding an amount to be determined by the Department shall be retained by an officer designated by the Head of the Post. Small accounts, not normally for amounts in excess of $5.00, may be paid out of this fund. At the end of each month, a cheque upon the bank account for an amount equal to the month's petty cash disbursements shall be cashed to bring the Petty Cash fund up to the amount authorized. Such cheque shall be entered under the sundries column of the contingent account.

(3) Accounts to be maintained in Posts abroad

It is suggested that the following accounts be maintained:- travel expenses; postage; stationery; office furnishings; rent, fuel, light and water; newspaper and magazine subscriptions; telegraph and telephone; salary and allowances paid locally; suspense; sundries, and such other accounts as may be appropriate to any particular post. Should any other type of expenditure require frequent payments, a separate account should be opened during the continuance of those payments. For example, if a residence is being furnished and numerous purchases made locally, a special account should be opened for residence furnishings.

The most convenient way of maintaining this account had been found to be to use a columnar ledger. One column can be used for all deposits in the bank account, and a separate column used for each of the accounts referred to above. The breakdown is the same as that required in the departmental contingent account form, and this practice simplifies the completion of that form.

A petty cash book shall be maintained into which shall be entered all receipts from the bank account and all items paid out of petty cash. It is suggested that accounts be opened under the same headings as those above.

(4) Register of Passports and Fees

A passport register shall be maintained by each post. This register shall show the date of issue, the passport number and the person to whom a passport is issued. This register may consist of duplicate pages of the passport register sheets sent to Ottawa.

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A passport renewal register shall be maintained by each post. This register shall show the date renewal is granted, the number of renewal, the passport number and place of its issue, the person to whom it is issued and the date to which validity is extended. This register may consist of duplicate pages of the passport renewal sheets sent to Ottawa.

A visa fee register shall be maintained by each post. This register shall show the name of the person to whom the visa was issued, the date of issue, the country by which the passport is issued, the type of visa and the amount of fee collected.

A fee register shall be maintained by each post that performs services of any other kind for payment of a fee. This register shall show the name of the person for whom the service was performed, the nature of the service, the date upon which it was rendered and the amount of the fee collected.

(5) Vouchers

Vouchers in duplicate shall be obtained for all items paid for by cheque upon the bank account of the post. One copy should be retained for the post's files and the other dealt with according to paragraph 7 (a). Similar vouchers should be obtained for all items paid for out of the Petty Cash account. Where, however, it is inconvenient to obtain receipted vouchers for petty cash items amounting to less than the equivalent of $2.00, no receipt need be obtained but the payment must be vouched for over the signature of a member of the staff designated by the Head of the Post. Where sufficient particulars are not given to explain the nature of the expense, details should be written on the voucher sent to the Department or on a separate sheet attached thereto. Where an account is rendered on several pages, all pages must be included in the voucher sent to the Department and the last page with totals carried forward will not be sufficient. When vouchers are in a language other than French or English a translation of the voucher, giving full particulars of the nature of the expenditure, and vouched for by a member of the staff designated by the Head of the Post, should be written on the voucher sent to the Department or on a separate sheet attached thereto. The contingent account statement shall cover all payments made out of the bank account during the preceding month. When owing to local practice a voucher is unobtainable, a statement of expenditure vouched for by an officer designated by the Head of the Post and stating why an original is not available may be forwarded in place of the voucher. If a voucher subsequently becomes available, it should be forwarded to the Department. When the original voucher is required for use at the post, it may be retained for a period not exceeding three months and the Department should be advised as to the circumstances. If the voucher may be required at the post for a longer period of time, it should be forwarded to Ottawa for examination by the Auditor General with the request that it be returned to the post.

(6) Issue of Receipts

No receipts need be issued to persons paying passport fees or passport renewal fees. Numbered receipt forms will be provided by the Department and should be issued in triplicate for all other fees. One copy should be given to the person making the payment, one copy retained for the records of the Post, and one copy forwarded to the Department in the manner outlined in para. 7(b) below. If receipts are demanded for passport or passport renewal fees a separate unnumbered receipt form should be used as it is essential that each number be accounted for when checking statements of other fees in Ottawa.

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(7) Returns to the Department

(a) One copy of the Reconciliation statement of the bank account and petty cash fund shall be sent to the Department each month:-

In support of this statement shall be forwarded

(i) one copy of the statement of the contingent account and one receipted copy of each supporting voucher. Each payment shall be numbered consecutively on the statement and the corresponding voucher shall bear the same number,

(ii) one copy of a statement of the petty cash account and one receipted copy of any supporting vouchers available. This statement may also be submitted on a contingent account form, suitably marked. Each payment shall be numbered consecutively on the statement and the corresponding voucher shall bear the same number,

(iii) one copy of the bank statement.

(b) A statement of all fees received by the Post during the preceding month shall be forwarded upon a form provided by the Department. In support of this statement shall be forwarded the following items:-

(i) One copy of the passport register sheet if any passports have been issued during the month.

(ii) One copy of the passport renewal register sheet if any passports have been renewed during the month.

(iii) A statement of the names of the persons to whom passports were issued gratis during the month and the reasons therefor.

(iv) A statement of the names of persons whose passports were renewed gratis during the month and the reasons therefor.

(v) Copies of receipts issued in respect of fees other than passport fees.

(8) Determination of Rate of Fees.

All instructions to Posts abroad concerning the amount of fees to be collected are given in Canadian dollars. As fees are normally paid in the local currency, the amount of local currency required to be paid sh uld be determined at approximately the prevailing rate of exchange upon the date of payment of the fee. There will be no objection to a slight overcharge being made for the purpose of making the fee a round amount in the local currency. Upon receipt of the statement of fees the necessary adjustments will be made in Ottawa debiting the account of the Post and crediting Revenue.

(9) Authority to Incur Expenditures.

The Head of a Post may authorize expenditures for minor items of office or residence furnishings or equipment in an amount not exceeding in the aggregate that authorized by the Department for the Post at the beginning of each fiscal year. Any expenditure in excess of this amount for furnishings or equipment must have the prior approval of the Department. The Head of the Post may authorize expenditures for essential minor repairs or decorations in the office or residence. Other expenditures for repairs or decorations and all expenses for alterations must have the prior approval of the Department.

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The number of persons that may be employed and paid locally shall not exceed a number previously authorized by the Department. For existing Posts, the number and the maximum rate of pay shall be the number employed and the rate of pay given at the time of the receipt of these regulations. Any vacancy occurring in the staff may be refilled by the Head of the Post at a salary not exceeding that authorized for the prior occupant of the position. It is the intention of the Department, wherever practicable, to fill all stenographic and clerical positions with persons recruited in Canada and preferably with persons who have had experience within the Department. Therefore any persons appointed locally to such positions should be employed temporarily and the Department should be notified so that it may consider the possibility of obtaining a replacement from Canada. Any increase in the total number of employees or any increase above the maximum remuneration of any one of the employees requires the prior approval of the Department.

The Head of a Post may authorize expenditure of funds for necessary travel by a member of the staff of the Post within the country to which he is accredited. Where possible, it is desirable to obtain the prior approval of the Department if the period of absence from the Post will be long or where the travelling expenses will be substantial. The prior approval of the Department should normally be obtained before funds are provided for travel outside of the country in which the Post is situated or for travel by any person other than a member of the staff of the Post.

No funds shall be provided for removal expenses without the prior approval of the Department. When such approval is obtained, the Head of the Post may provide funds either by advance direct to the individual concerned or by payment directly from the Post's bank account of travelling and shipping expenses. Whichever method is followed, all such payments shall be charged as an accountable advance subject to the regulations relating to removal expenses.

In considering the purchase of furnishings, equipment and supplies, the Head of the Post should bear in mind that it is desirable that, unless there are good reasons to the contrary, such articles should normally be purchased in Canada.

Insofar as it is practicable all stationery and office supplies should be purchased through the Department since this greatly reduces the cost. Requisitions should be submitted each six months for the quantity required for a six-month period. All items currently available in Canada can be packed and ready for shipment in not more than one month from the date the requisition is received by the Department.

No agreement to lease or purchase any property for an office or a residence, and no agreement to authorize others to occupy any part of property leased or owned by the Government may be entered into without prior approval of the Department.

The Head of the Post may approve all normal expenses necessary in connection with the operation of the Post subject to the limitations set out above.

Where it is essential for the carrying out of the duties of the post, to protect Government property or to protect Canadian nations, the Head of the Post shall be expected to incur expenses not within the authority outlined above where the delay that would result from obtaining prior approval of the Department might have serious results. Any such expenditure should be reported to the Department immediately.

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(10) Type of Expenditures Chargeable to the Department

Entertainment expenses incurred by members of the staff in receipt of representation allowances are payable out of those allowances when absent from their post as well as when present at their post. Payment may not be made out of travel advances for personal items or for alcoholic beverages. The amount of such items appearing on any vouchers submitted in support of travel expenses should be deducted before rendering the account.

The Department will pay for the cost of official calling cards suitable for use by any officer in the country to which he is posted. It will not pay for the cost of calling cards of members of his family or of invitation cards, place cards, etc.

All expenses in connection with the operation, insurance and repairs, including the replacement of tires, of an automobile provided by the Department to an officer receiving a car allowance shall be paid by that officer. The officer may, however, refer to the Department for consideration any large expenditures required for the replacement of a part of the car where it appears that such replacement is required because of the age of the car.

(11) Discretion of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs shall have authority to authorize any expenditure required to be referred to the Department by these regulations provided that there are funds available and further provided that, in the case of employing persons for the staff at posts abroad except to meet temporary situations, approval has been received from Treasury Board for the position and for a salary not less than that to be paid.

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RECONCILIATION OF BANK ACCOUNT

Balance forward from previous month	$	Contingent Account for month	$
Received from Ottawa	$	Bank Balance	$
Fees deposited	$	Less outstanding cheques (state cheque numbers below)	$
Other deposits - specify	$		
		Balance forward	$
Total	$		$

RECONCILIATION OF PETTY CASH ACCOUNT

Balance forward from previous month	$	Petty Cash account for month	$
Transferred from Bank Account	$	Balance on hand	$
Other receipts - specify	$		
Total	$		$

(Attach copies of contingent account, petty cash account, relevant vouchers and bank statement.)

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STATEMENT OF PASSPORTS ON HAND

Number on hand at beginning of month		Passports issued during month	
Received from Ottawa during month		Spoiled Passport forms returned to Ottawa for destruction	
		Passports on hand at the end of month	

STATEMENT OF FEES

Passports issued for payment during month at $	$	Passport fees received during month	$
Passports renewed for payment during month at $	$	Passport renewal fees received during month	$
Other services rendered during month		Other fees received during month	
Specify Service at $	$	Specify Service	$
at $	$		$
at $	$		$
at $	$		$
Total Revenue earned during month	$	Total fees deposited	$
Add			
Refunds of fees - indicate Voucher number appearing in contingent account	$	Fees received - no action taken at end of previous month	$
Fees received - no action taken at end of month	$		$
Total			

(Attach passport register sheet, passport renewal sheet, statements of passports issued and renewed gratis, and receipts issued for "other fees".)

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE OBSERVANCE OF CANADIAN AND FOREIGN STATUTORY HOLIDAYS AT POSTS ABROAD.

New Year's Day, Good Friday, Dominion Day and Christmas may be observed as holidays at offices abroad. Sufficient staff shall be on duty to keep offices abroad in operation on all other week days. Subject to this requirement, the Head of each Mission may grant a holiday to any member of his staff on each other day observed as a holiday by the Public Service in Ottawa and on each National holiday in the country in which the post is situated, provided that the total number of public holidays observed by any one member of the staff shall bear a reasonable relation to the number of holidays granted to the Public Service in Ottawa.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

LEAVE REGULATIONS FOR OFFICES ABROAD

PART I - GENERAL

1. These Regulations apply to the personnel of the Department of External Affairs stationed abroad.

2. For the purposes of these Regulations:

(a) "Diplomatic and Consular Service Abroad", means persons stationed abroad who hold rank as Ambassador, High Commissioner, Minister, Consul General, Counsellor, First Secretary, Consul, Second Secretary, Third Secretary or Vice Consul together with such other persons as may be designated by the Under-Secretary.

(b) "Administrative Service Abroad" means persons stationed abroad, other than those comprised in sub-section (a) who were recruited in Canada, together with such other persons as may be designated by the Under-Secretary.

(c) "Other Staff Abroad" means all other persons employed abroad.

(d) "Leave" is, in all cases, exclusive of Sundays, and also of holidays as authorized by the regulations.

(e) Saturday morning counts as a full working day.

3. All arrangements respecting Leave are subject to the exigencies of the Service.

4. Full salaries shall be paid during any leave authorized by these regulations unless otherwise expressly provided.

5. Earned credits for Vacation, Special, Sick or Home leave of a member of a staff transferred between posts abroad shall be carried to the new post. Earned credits for vacation, special or sick leave of a member of a staff transferred to or from Ottawa shall be carried with him, and a member of the staff transferred to Ottawa who has served continuously for 3½ years abroad may be granted leave, not exceeding the home leave to which he would have been entitled had he remained abroad, immediately after arrival in Canada.

6. The provisions of these regulations may be varied by, or any discretion granted by these regulations may be exercised by, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, provided that the approval of Treasury Board shall be obtained if any such variation would result in payment of salary or allowances for a period not authorized by these regulations or by any other Treasury Board authority.

PART II - VACATION LEAVE

7. The Annual Vacation Leave due personnel of the Department abroad will be taken at such time during each year as the Head of the Post may determine.

(A) Diplomatic & Consular Service Abroad

8. Officers serving abroad are entitled, during the first ten years of their service with the Department, to Annual Vacation Leave of 24 days in each fiscal year. In the fiscal year following the completion of ten years' service with the Department, and in each year thereafter, they are entitled to Annual Vacation Leave

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of 30 days. Irrespective of their length of service with the Department, Ambassadors, High Commissioners, Ministers and Consuls General are entitled to Annual Vacation Leave of 30 days.

9. If in the opinion of the Head of the Post the exigencies of the Service permit, up to one half of Annual Vacation Leave may be carried forward to the year following that in which it is earned. In the case, however, of an officer proceeding to Canada on home leave, unspent Vacation Leave earned since he last had home leave may be accumulated up to a maximum of 30 days to be spent in Canada as an addition to the Home Leave authorized in Section 20 of these regulations.

10. An officer who has served abroad for two years and who wishes to proceed to Canada at his own expense during Annual Vacation Leave, may be granted by the Under-Secretary, upon the recommendation of the head of his post, travelling time to and from his normal place of residence in Canada in addition to any other leave authorized by these regulations.

(B) Administrative Service Abroad.

11. Members of the Administrative Service Abroad are entitled to Annual Vacation Leave as set forth below:-

(a) In the first five years of service with the Department, eighteen days computed at the rate of one and one-half days a month for each completed month of service;

(b) Beginning with the fiscal year following the completion of five years' service, twenty-one days;

(c) Beginning with the fiscal year following the completion of ten years' service, twenty-four days.

12. If in the opinion of the Head of the Post the exigencies of the Service permit, up to 6 days of Annual Vacation Leave may be carried forward to the year following that in which it is earned. The current year's Vacation Leave must be used before any leave carried forward from the previous year. In the case, however, of a member of the Administrative service proceeding to Canada on home leave, unspent Vacation leave earned since he last had home leave may be accumulated up to a maximum of 30 days to be spent in Canada as an addition to the Home Leave authorized in Section 20 of these regulations.

(C) Other Staff Abroad

13. Other Staff Abroad are entitled to Annual Vacation Leave of eighteen days computed at the rate of one and one-half days for each completed month of service.

If in the opinion of the Head of the Post the exigencies of the Service permit, up to 6 days of Annual Vacation Leave may be carried forward to the year following that in which it is earned. The current year's Vacation leave must be used before any leave carried forward from the previous year.

PART III - SPECIAL LEAVE

14. Special Leave with pay may be granted by the Head of the Post to all personnel of the Department stationed abroad who have the necessary Special Leave credit, for certain designated causes as follows:-

(a) Illness in family.
(b) Death in family.

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(c) Quarantine.
(d) Urgent domestic reasons (not to exceed three days in the year), not covered by (a), (b) or (c).
(e) Marriage of employee - six days.
(f) For purposes deemed in the public interest by the Head of the Post provided a subsequent report is made to the Department.

15. Special Leave accumulates at the rate of one-half day for each completed month of continuous service up to a maximum of 30 days. When this Special Leave credit has been drawn upon, it will again commence to accumulate until the maximum of 30 days is reached.

16. Special Leave with pay shall be granted by the Head of the Post only on the production of a written application from the officer, setting forth in detail the reasons and supported by such evidence as he may require. Such Leave is normally not to be granted for a period in excess of six days, but may be extended at the end of six days if the Head of the Post considers circumstances warrant.

PART IV - SICK LEAVE

17. Sick Leave will be granted to personnel of the Department stationed abroad who through illness are incapacitated for duty. Sick leave accumulates at the rate of one and one-half days for each completed month of service. For members of the Diplomatic and Consular Service and of the Administrative Service stationed at posts which have been designated by the Under-Secretary as "Unhealthy Posts" sick leave shall accumulate at two and one-quarter days for each completed month of service. Some posts may be designated as Unhealthy Posts permanently because of climatic reasons and others temporarily because of wartime disruption of services or other temporary reasons.

18. Medical Certificates should be furnished to the Head of the Post when a member of the Service is absent for more than three consecutive days. Absence on Sick Leave up to two months may be granted, on a doctor's certificate, endorsed by the Head of the Post, if the member's accumulated Sick Leave permits it. When Sick Leave is required for more than two months, the case should be referred to the Under-Secretary together with the medical certificate.

19. If Sick Leave is required beyond the period for which a person's credit has accumulated, the Head of the Post may extend such Leave without payment of salary and allowances up to one month; when Sick Leave without pay is granted, sufficient notification should be given to the Department to permit the necessary financial adjustments to be made. The Head of a Post designated as an "Unhealthy Post" may refer to the Under-Secretary the circumstances of any illness of a member of the Diplomatic and Consular or the Administrative Services requiring sick leave beyond the period for which sick leave has accumulated. If satisfied that the illness results from the conditions at the post, the Under-Secretary may grant additional sick leave with pay. Such additional sick leave shall be deducted from future sick leave credits if any are subsequently earned.

PART V - HOME LEAVE

20. Home Leave of 30 days may be granted to members of the Diplomatic and Consular Service and of the Administrative Service who are Canadian Nationals after the completion of at least three and one half years' continuous service abroad since last being granted home leave.

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21. Recommendations by the Head of the Post respecting Home Leave should be submitted to the Under-Secretary for authorization at least two months in advance of the date from which the leave is proposed to be taken.

22. The maximum period allowed for such Home Leave will be the unexpired portion of the Annual Vacation Leave in the fiscal year in which the journey is to be taken, plus 30 days Home Leave, plus such unused Annual Leave up to 30 days as may have been accumulated under section 9 or section 12 of these regulations together with travelling time by the shortest route between the post and Ottawa and return.

23. Travelling expenses, in accordance with Treasury Board regulations, will be allowed persons taking home leave and dependent members of the families of members of the Diplomatic and Consular Service from the post abroad to their normal place of residence in Canada and return by the most direct route.

24. The cost of accommodation payable by the Department shall not exceed -

(a) The cost of a parlour car seat for a journey by train in daytime;

(b) The cost of a single room, or where that is not available the cost of a compartment or of a drawing room, for a journey by train requiring sleeping accommodation for an Ambassador, a High Commissioner, a Minister or a Consul-General and for his wife;

(c) The cost of a lower berth for a journey by train requiring sleeping accommodation for any other person unless accommodation at increased cost is authorized by the Head of a Post or by the Under-Secretary as being necessary because the member of the staff is carrying secret papers;

(d) For journeys by boat accommodation will be provided in a cabin class boat where available, unless more expensive accommodation is authorized by the Under-Secretary. Where possible a boat sailing to and from a Canadian port shall be used. Except in the case of an Ambassador, a High Commissioner, a Minister or a Consul-General and his wife, accommodation at the minimum rate shall be obtained if available.

(e) When travel by air is specifically approved by the Department, the cost of air transportation.

The type of accommodation authorized is based upon North American and trans-Atlantic standards and should be taken as a guide of the standard of accommodation that will be regarded as reasonable for travel elsewhere.

25. During the period of absence from the post on Home Leave, exchange compensation will not be paid on salary or on living and representation allowances, but will be paid on rental allowance if rental allowances continue to be paid during that period.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS C163292

ALLOWANCE REGULATIONS

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE

PART I.

1. Commencement of Living, Representation and Rental Allowances upon arrival at a new Post.

(a) For an officer who is provided with a furnished residence, the Department may pay room rent for suitable accommodation for himself, his wife and his dependent children at a hotel or in an apartment house during such time as a furnished house is not available.

Living and Representation Allowances will be paid from the date of the arrival of such officer at his post.

(b) Any other officer may be given the option for the first two weeks after his arrival at his post of receiving full allowances or of charging to the Department room rent for accommodation, approved by the Chief of the Mission as suitable for an officer of his rank, at a hotel or an apartment house, the cost of meals for himself, and dependent members of his family and other incidental living expenses of a kind normally allowed when travelling. If the Head of the Mission certifies that it is impossible for the officer to rent a suitable house or apartment and that the officer must continue to reside in a hotel, this option may be extended with the approval of the Under-Secretary. The Department will pay Representation, Living and Rental Allowances either from the date of arrival at the new post or upon the termination of the option to accept the cost of room meals and etc.

2. Absence of an Officer from Post on Duty.

Full allowances will normally be paid during any absence on duty during which the officer remains within the country to which he is posted. Full allowances will normally be paid for any absence on duty from the country to which an officer is posted of not more than one month's duration. For any absence on duty from the country to which he is posted in excess of one month, the Under Secretary shall rule whether an officer shall receive the allowance, if any, appropriate to his rank in the place to which he moves, or shall continue to receive the whole or part of the allowances appropriate to his post.

3. Absence on Leave

(a) Full allowances will be paid during annual leave except such part of annual leave as is added to home leave under Sec. 22 of the leave regulations.

(b) Full rental allowance may be paid during home leave if the officer continues to pay rent during that time. No Living and Representation Allowance shall be paid on home leave during such time as the officer is receiving travelling expenses. One-half of the Living and Representation Allowances will be paid during the balance of home leave as defined in Sec. 22 of the leave regulations.

(c) If an officer agrees to travel throughout Canada at his own expense on an itinerary approved by the Under-Secretary for a period of at least one-half of his stay in Canada during home leave, Living and Representation Allowances may be increased to the full amount for that portion of the home leave as defined

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in Sec. 22 of the leave regulations during which the officer is not receiving travelling expenses.

(d) Full allowances will be paid for the first month of absence on sick leave (with pay). For that part of absence on sick leave with pay in excess of one month, and during such time as an officer or his family remain outside of Canada, rental allowance, car allowance shall be paid. The case shall be referred to the Under-Secretary after one month's absence on sick leave, to determine what reduction, if any, should be made in the living and representation allowance owing to reduced representational expenses.

Should an officer and his family return to Canada on account of illness, his allowances will be subject to termination as if he had been assigned to duty in Ottawa at the date of his return but not before one month's absence from duty.

(e) Where owing to inadequate medical facilities, or to the unhealthy climate at a post the chief of a Mission considers the Department should bear the whole or part of the expenses of an illness, he shall submit a recommendation to the Under-Secretary who may refer the case to Treasury Board.

4. Termination of Allowances.

Living and Representation Allowances shall cease upon the day of final departure from a post abroad provided that if an officer proceeds to Canada on home leave before assuming a new post the Department may pay him allowances under Section 3(b) and 3(c) of these regulations as if he was still assigned to his previous post. The Department, in addition to the allowances appropriate to a new post, may continue to pay rental allowances for not more than three months after the day of final departure from a post abroad if the officer has to continue to pay rental.

In the event of an officer unavoidably incurring abnormally high expenses for board and lodgings in Ottawa when first transferred from a post abroad to duty in Ottawa, the Department may pay an allowance to defray such expense for a period not exceeding one month and in an amount not exceeding the scale set out below:

Ambassador, Minister or High Commissioner	$200	per month
Counsellor or Consul General	150	" "
1st Secretary or Consul	125	" "
2nd Secretary	100	" "
3rd Secretary or Vice Consul	75	" "

5. Car Allowances.

Car allowances may be paid during such time as a car owned by the Department is provided for an officer from the day of his original arrival at his post to the day of his final departure from his post. If, at any time from the day of original arrival to the day of final departure, there is no car owned by the Department for an officer normally provided with a car, he shall not receive any car allowance for such time but may charge to the Mission's account any taxi fare or car rental incurred by him in the capital to which he is posted.

6. Special Allowance to Charge d'Affaires.

Any officer, under the rank normally held by the chief of his post, who is in charge of his post may be paid in addition to his normal allowances an additional amount equivalent to 75%

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of his living and representation allowances or $100 per month whichever is greater commencing one month after the departure of his superior officer and continuing as long as he is in charge. Should an officer under the rank normally held by the chief of a post be appointed to take charge of a post without the allowances normally paid to the chief but only those appropriate to his rank, this special allowance may commence upon the day of arrival. If this scale of allowance is not adequate in certain cases where an officer must act as Charge d'Affaires for a long period of time, individual cases may be submitted to Treasury Board.

7. Special Allowance for Senior Diplomatic Officers.

The senior diplomatic officer at any post under the rank normally held by the chief of the post, who is not receiving a special allowance as Charge d'Affaires, shall be paid a special allowance of $200 per annum subject to the same conditions as to commencement and termination as apply to his Living and Representation allowance.

PART II.

Allowances to other members of the Staff.

Living allowances payable to members of the staff at posts abroad not covered by Part I shall be paid from the date of arrival at a post to the date of departure from the post including all periods of absence with pay except absence on home leave. No living allowance shall be paid on home leave during such time as the member of the staff is receiving travelling expenses. One-half of the living allowance will be paid during the balance of home leave as defined by Sec. 22 of the leave regulations.

PART III.

Discretion of Secretary of State.

The provisions of these regulations may be varied or any discretion granted by these regulations may be exercised by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in any case where, in his opinion, special circumstances so require provided that the approval of Treasury Board shall be obtained if any such variation would result in payment for a period not otherwise authorized by these regulations or of an amount in excess of the maximum authorized by these regulations or by any other Treasury Board authority.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS C163295

REGULATIONS re REMOVAL EXPENSES.

(1) When an officer of the Department proceeds to a new post, the Department will, subject to the following regulations, pay as removal expenses the costs involved for the transportation of himself, of the dependent members of his family and for the packing, unpacking, insurance and freight (but not express) of his furniture, personal effects and, in certain circumstances, of his automobile.

When any other member of the staff of the Department proceeds to a new post, the Department will, subject to the following regulations, pay as removal expenses the costs involved for the transportation of himself and for the packing, unpacking, insurance and freight (but not express) of his personal effects.

(2) Dependent members of a family shall include wife and children not over 18 years of age, or in the case of a single officer, a female relative who normally keeps house for him.

(3) The Department will not be responsible for any removal expenses incurred without its prior approval granted not more than six months in advance of the date the expense is incurred. Such approval may be granted in general terms and need not specify each item of expenditure.

(4) Removal expenses other than transportation for the member of the staff will only be approved by the Department when it is anticipated that the assignment of the member of the staff to his post will continue for a sufficient length of time to warrant the expense.

(5) Removal expenses upon departure from a post will normally only be paid when a member of the staff is departing permanently from his post.

(6) If a dependent child reaches the age of 18 years while abroad, the Department may pay for his first trip from that post which would be authorized by these regulations or by the leave regulations if the child had not attained that age.

(7) Transportation will be paid by the most direct route between the previous post and the new post provided that if a member of the staff abroad is recalled to duty in Ottawa or returns to Canada on home leave between assignments to posts abroad the Department may pay transportation via Ottawa. If an officer abroad is assigned to a post to which he is not permitted to take the dependent members of his family, their expenses to their normal place of residence in Canada will be paid. If, subsequently, they are permitted to join him, their expenses from their normal place of residence in Canada will be paid.

(8) The cost of accommodation payable by the Department shall not exceed -

(a) the cost of a parlour car seat for a journey by train in daytime;

(b) the cost of a single room, or where that is not available the cost of a compartment or of a drawing room, for a journey by train requiring sleeping accommodation for the head of a mission and for his wife;

(c) the cost of a lower berth for a journey by train requiring sleeping accommodation for any other person unless accommodation at increased cost is authorized by the head of a mission or by the Under-Secretary as being necessary because the member of the staff is carrying secret papers;

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(d) for journeys by boat accommodation will be provided in a cabin class boat, unless more expensive accommodation is authorized by the Under-Secretary. Where possible a boat sailing to and from a Canadian port shall be used. Except in the case of an Ambassador, a High Commissioner, a Minister or a Consul General and his wife, accommodation at the minimum rate shall be obtained if available;

(e) when travel by air is specifically approved by the Department the cost of air transportation.

The type of accommodation authorized is based upon North American and trans-Atlantic standards and should be taken as a guide of the standard of accommodation that will be regarded as reasonable for travel elsewhere.

(9) When an officer is assigned to a post abroad, freight and shipping costs will only be paid by the most direct and economical route. Where it is not possible for an officer to take his furniture to his new post, the Department may pay for the costs of freight, shipping and insurance to his normal place of residence in Canada.

(10) Where, for any reason, it is not desirable to permit an officer to take all or any part of his furniture and personal effects to a post abroad, the Department may pay the storage charges that he necessarily incurs for such furniture and personal effects.

(11) The Department will not pay for the packing, insurance or freight of any article of a nature provided by the Department for the officer at the post abroad to which he is assigned or belonging to any person not a dependent member of his family. This regulation shall not prevent the Department from paying the costs of packing, insurance or freight of a reasonable quantity of personal effects, books, etc., of any officer.

(12) Where the cost involved in shipping an automobile to a new post is excessive in relation to the value of the automobile or to the cost of a similar automobile at the new post, the Department will not pay for such expense.

(13) The Department will normally only pay the cost of shipping any article shipped at the time of original departure for a new post except in cases where the shipment is delayed until suitable living accommodation can be found, where it is impossible for the dependent members of a family to accompany a member of the staff at the time of his transfer, where shipping difficulties prevent immediate shipment of furniture or household effects or under similar circumstances with the approval of the Under-Secretary.

(14) The Department will not pay the costs of packing, insurance or freight where the quantity of goods or the cost of their removal is above that normally required by a person of the rank of the member of the staff concerned, taking into consideration the number of dependent members of his family.

(15) Notwithstanding the foregoing regulations, all payments or advances for removal expenses will be regarded as accountable advances to the member of the staff subject to approval of Treasury Board. A statement of the expenses incurred will be submitted by the Department to Treasury Board and the member of the staff will personally meet expenses not approved by Treasury Board.

(16) When a member of the staff proceeds to a new post and there are no costs involved other than his normal transportation expenses, these may be dealt with under the travel regulations and need not receive specific approval from Treasury Board under the provisions of paragraph (15).

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(17) The provisions of these regulations may be varied and any discretion granted by these regulations may be exercised by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, provided that the approval of Treasury Board shall be obtained if any such variation would result in a payment not authorized by, or in excess of the amount authorized by, these regulations.

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XA/O

C163298

DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

Circular despatch sent to all Missions abroad

No._____ Ottawa, January 20th, 1945.

Sir,

Certain changes in the organization of the Department of External Affairs are being brought into effect as a result of the steadily growing volume of Departmental business and recent alterations in departmental personnel. .... I enclose for your information a copy of a chart which shows in outline the new organization of the Department and gives the names of the chiefs of division and other senior departmental officers.

2. The most important of the changes is the rearrangement of the political side of departmental activities in three divisions under the direction of the Associate Under Secretary. The notes appended to the chart indicate the general field of responsibility of each of these divisions. In addition certain special activities which have previously been discharged by the geographical divisions are being gradually transferred to other divisions. The principal changes in this respect are the transfer to the Economic Division from what now becomes the Third Political Division of immediate responsibility for dealing with questions of international civil aviation and the transfer from what is now the Second Political Division to the Information Division of immediate responsibility for questions of psychological or political warfare.

3. Questions relating to Newfoundland and Greenland which have hitherto been handled by the American and Far Eastern Division, will become the responsibility of the Second Political Division. Mr. C.S.A. Ritchie, who is being transferred from the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London to the Department, will take charge on his arrival of the newly created First Political Division.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

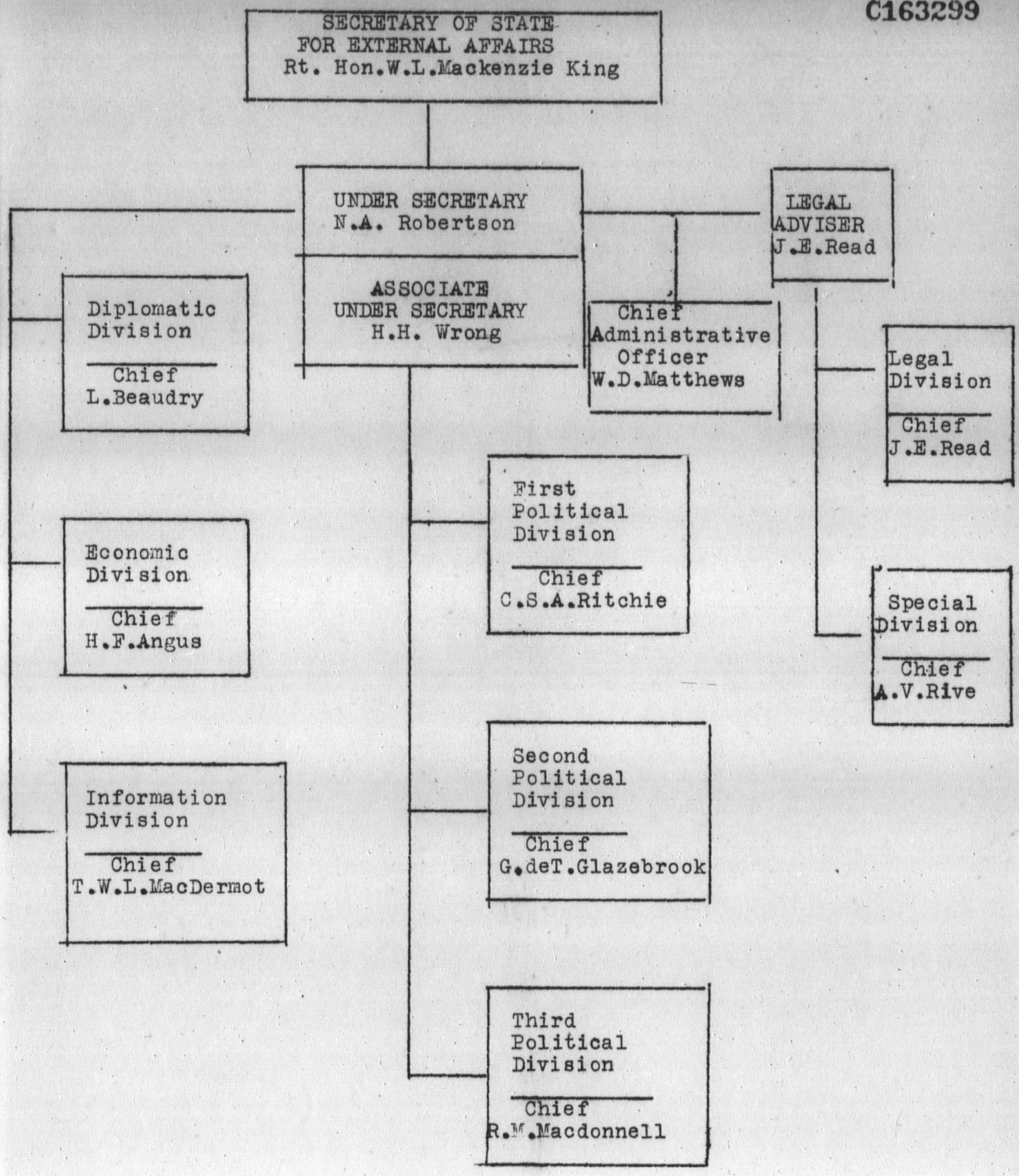
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CONFIDENTIAL

C163299

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



First Political Division: Special Political Affairs, including international organization and peace settlements.

Second Political Division: Political Affairs relating to British Commonwealth, Europe, Middle East and Africa.

Third Political Division: Political Affairs relating to United States, Latin America and Far East.

January 2nd, 1945.

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C163300

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

The following heads of Canadian missions abroad have acknowledged the special photograph sent to them last December:

(1) the Personnel for home
(2) the Corps for Legation in Luxembourg
please indicate (1) & (2)

✓ February 2 - Hugh D. Scully
Canadian Consulate General, New York

✓ February 8 - Maj.-Gen. G. P. Vanier
Ambassador to France

✓ February 12 - Scott Macdonald
High Commissioner to Newfoundland

✓ February 19 - Pierre Dupuy
Minister to the Netherlands

✓ February 19 - W. F. A. Turgeon
~~Minister~~ Secretary to Belgium

✓ February 20 - John D. Kearney
Minister to Norway

✓ March 11 - Dr. Henry Laureys
Ambassador to Peru

✓ March 22 - Jean Desy

✓ April 3 - W. F. Chipman
Ambassador to Argentine

✓ - H. L. Keenleyside
Ambassador to Mexico

Is anon the first
Mrs Ilsley still at Antrim Lodge?
17.4.46

Ottawa
April 15, 1946

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C163301

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

The following heads of Canadian missions abroad have acknowledged the official photograph sent to them last December:

W. F. Chipman	Ambassador to Argentine
Jean Desy	Ambassador to Brazil
Maj.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum	Ambassador to China
Maj.-Gen. G. P. Vanier	Ambassador to France
John D. Kearney	Minister-designate to Norway
Dr. H. Laureys	Ambassador to Peru
H. L. Keenleyside	Ambassador to Mexico
Merchant. M. Mahoney	High Commissioner [redacted] to Ireland
Vincent Massey	High Commissioner to United Kingdom

Still to be heard from as having received the official photograph are:

W. F. A. Turgeon	Ambassador to Belgium
E. Vaillancourt	Minister to Cuba
Maj.-Gen. L. R. LaFleche	Ambassador to Greece
P. Dupuy	Minister to the Netherlands
L. B. Pearson	Ambassador to United States
H. D. Scully	Consul General, New York
J. S. Macdonald	High Commissioner Newfoundland
W. A. Riddell	High Commissioner New Zealand
J. C. Macgillivray.	Acting High Com. for South Africa

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As the official photographs were despatched by the Department of External Affairs (under covering letter from the Under-Secretary), I assume the acknowledgments will be addressed to him. I shall report further when additional acknowledgments are received.

J. A. G.

April 17, 1946

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April 17, 1946

C163303

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

The following heads of Canadian missions abroad have acknowledged the personal photograph sent to them last December:

Hugh D. Scully
Canadian Consulate General, New York

Maj.-Gen. G. P. Vanier
Ambassador to France

Scott Macdonald
High Commissioner to Newfoundland

Pierre Dupuy
Minister to the Netherlands

W. F. A. Turgeon
Ambassador to Belgium

John D. Kearney
Minister to Norway

Dr. Henry Laureys
Ambassador to Peru

Jean Desy
Ambassador to Brazil

W. F. Chipman
Ambassador to Argentine

H. L. Keenleyside
Ambassador to Mexico

Still to be heard from as having received the personal photograph are:

Maj-General Victor W. Odlum
Ambassador to China

Maj.-Gen. L. R. LaFleche
Ambassador to Greece

Merchant M. Mahoney
High Commissioner-designate to Ireland

J.A.G.

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HC/A file

NAR/SR
18.4.45

C163304

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Middlemass, of the Office of the New Zealand High Commissioner, telephoned me on Tuesday, April 17th, about his Government's desir that T.C. Davis should be authorized to give evidence before the New Zealand Royal Commission which is investigating the control of the sale of liquor. I told him that I thought it would be undesirable for our High Commissioner, who was in this respect a diplomatic officer, to express opinions on a subject which always produced acute controversy in every country. I understood he had given the Attorney General of New Zealand the benefit of his experience in dealing with this question as Attorney General of Saskatchewan. This seemed to me as far as he could properly go.

We had procured for the New Zealand Royal Commission copies of the various Provincial laws and regulations on this subject, and I was sure that the Canadian Provinces would be glad to make their experience and advice available to any investigator that the New Zealand Government might wish to send to Canada.

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XA/O

NAR/GM.

SECRET AND PERSONAL.

May 14th, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C163305

There are a number of minor staff transfers which should probably be delt with during the next month. I had hoped to have an opportunity of taking them up with you here, but did not find it possible to get my suggestions in shape.

1. I think Paul Beaulieu, Acting Second Secretary in Washington, should be transferred to Paris soon. Vanier has had a rather heterogenous staff during the last six months, largely made up of temporary Civil Affairs officers assigned from the Army. We are releasing them to C.M.H.Q. I would like to add a good junior French Secretary to the Paris establishment in their place. Beaulieu seems to be the best suited and most available man for this assignment.

2. Frederic Hudd, who has been Acting Secretary at the Office of the High Commissioner in London as well as Senior Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom for the past four years, is not very well. Our Trade Commissioner work is increasing again and the dual appointment is becoming untenable. Hudd has been for all practical purposes our man in London ever since Pearson returned to Canada. He has done well there and would fill other senior diplomatic posts very satisfactorily; e.g., if it was convenient to move Scully from New York to another post, I think Hudd would make an admirable Consul General. In the circumstances, I should like to take up with him and with the Department of Trade and Commerce the question of his definitive transfer to External Affairs, with the rank of Senior Counsellor.

3. W.I.B. representation in Paris has not worked out very satisfactorily. The fault, I think, is partly Vanier's and partly Benoit's. Wrong, who was in Paris for three or four days at Easter, went over the Embassy set-up and thinks that they are tempermentally incapable of working very well together in the same post. With your approval, I should like to take up with Dunton the question of moving Benoit.

4. The question/

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4. The question of the appointment of a Press Attache to Brussels has been open for some months. I did not want to make any recommendation about it until we had the general question of the relationship of W.I.B. officers to External Affairs' missions satisfactorily cleared up, particularly the Paris position. Now that Turgeon is back in Canada, I think we can leave this matter open for a few weeks more.

5. I am sending a telegram to Burchell, thanking him for his letter suggesting that he might defer his resignation as High Commissioner to South Africa until July. This might be the post which Mahoney could fill very well.

6. As I told you this morning, I spoke to the Greek Foreign Minister on Friday about raising our mission in Athens to an Embassy and asked for an early informal indication of his government's attitude. In the meantime, I am asking the Department to prepare a submission to the King raising the status of the mission and naming Major General LaFleche as our representative there. We shall have to find a suitable and fairly experienced Secretary to accompany him to Greece.

Mar

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(JAG)
June 2, 1945

C163307

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION ABROAD

A) High Commissioners	United Kingdom Australia New Zealand South Africa Ireland Newfoundland	6	High Commissioners
B) Embassies	Belgium Brazil Chile China France Mexico Peru U.S.S.R. U.S.A.	9	Embassies
C) Legations GNPY	Allied Governments, London Argentina Cuba Netherlands Luxembourg	5	Legations
D) Consular Offices	New York Greenland	2	Consular Offices
		22	offices in all

REPRESENTATIVES IN CANADA

A) High Commissioners	United Kingdom, Australia New Zealand, South Africa Ireland	5	
B) Embassies	Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China France, Mexico, Peru, U.S.S.R., U.S.A.	9	
C) Legations	Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Greece Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden Turkey, Yugoslavia	9	
D) Consuls-General in Ottawa	Cuba, Haiti	2	
		25	in all

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: CA/F

NAR/ET
2 August, 1945

C163308

SECRET AND PERSONAL

I have not been very happy about the Paris staff position for some months. We have a small diplomatic staff there, but a large and not very well assimilated military establishment which was acquired in the days of Algiers and has tended to grow in Paris.

Vanier is a firstclass representative but a rather faint-hearted administrator. When Wrong was in Paris at Easter, Vanier told him that he recognized that the army establishment attached to the Embassy was somewhat inflated, and agreed that the work for which the Special Civil Affairs Assistants had been engaged was largely done. He has not, however, made any specific recommendation to us about the reduction of his establishment. I have therefore felt it necessary to take an initiative in the matter and have suggested to him that the personnel borrowed from the army for Embassy purposes should be returned by October 1st and replaced where needed by regularly recruited Canadian civilian personnel. At the same time I suggested that the Civil Affairs officers who were added to the Embassy staff to assist it in looking after distressed Canadians in liberated France, could now be allowed to return to other employments.

Noted

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XA/0 NAR/ET
2 August, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163309

I saw Colonel J.H.Tremblay this morning and was very favourably impressed by him. He has a very good technical training and background of practical agricultural experience in this country, and his work in the last three years with the Food and Agriculture Division of SHAEF has given him a special knowledge of the food and supply position of the countries in North Western Europe that I imagine no other Canadian has.

I think he would make a very good Agricultural Attache to the Embassy in Paris, with his services also available to our missions in Belgium and Holland.

However, before making any definite recommendation on these lines, which I know would be agreeable to the Department of Agriculture, I should like to straighten out with that Department and with the Department of Trade and Commerce the question of the demarcation of the field of responsibility in which an Agricultural Attache should work as distinct from that assigned to a Commercial Attache. As you know, there has been a lot of friction between those two Departments with regard to their respective representation in the United Kingdom. I think a good working line for division of functions could be drawn if the Department of Agriculture would recognize that the responsibility for promoting the export of Canadian products belongs to Trade and Commerce and that the duty of an Agricultural Attache would be primarily to study and report on developments in agricultural policies that were likely to affect the Canadian economy, paying special attention to production and marketing techniques which could be of interest and assistance to the people working in these fields in Canada.

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NAR/ET
24 August, 1945
SECRET AND PERSONAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163310

With your approval I think we should now proceed with arrangements for Kearney's appointment as Minister to Norway. The first step will be to get the King's informal approval of his nomination and then to ask the Norwegian Government for agrement. The question of his also representing Canada in Denmark can be taken up later. We should also move on Mahoney's appointment to succeed Kearney as High Commissioner in Dublin. Pearson will be back in Washington by the end of the month and Mahoney could make arrangements to leave Washington by October 1st.

Burchell is leaving South Africa this week. He is returning by way of London and will not be back in Canada until about the 1st October. MacGillivray, who has been Senior Trade Commissioner in South Africa attached to the High Commissioner's Office for the last two years, will carry on as Acting High Commissioner. MacGillivray is a very competent man and has done very well in South Africa. Alternatively and I think preferably, we might exchange MacGillivray and Scully, making the latter High Commissioner in South Africa and MacGillivray Consul General in New York. Scully has two or three years to go before he reaches the official retiring age and would I think make a very respectable representative of Canada in the Union. I think it would help cooperation between the External Affairs Service and the Trade Commissioner Service to appoint a really good Trade Commissioner as Consul General in an important post like New York, and from what I have heard about MacGillivray I think he would do the job very well.

When Massey was here we had a further word about Hudd's position in London. Hudd has been Acting Secretary of the Office of High Commissioner on loan from the Department of Trade and Commerce for the last four years. He is at the same time the senior Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and on return to more normal trading relations, this post will again become important and the double responsibility is more than Hudd could or should be asked to assume. I think he should definitely be taken over by our Service with the rank of a senior Counsellor. I spoke to Massey about calling him Deputy High Commissioner, the title that Sir Patrick Duff and Holmes have had at Earnscliffe during the last few years, and the second man in the Australian High Commissioner's Office in London has had for some time. I certainly think that "Secretary of the

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C163311

Office of the High Commissioner" is a rather confusing title when you have First, Second and Third Secretaries on the staff there. A less desirable alternative to describing him as Deputy High Commissioner would be to call him Counsellor.

Chipman arrived in Buenos Aires yesterday and will be presenting his credentials shortly. We plan to bring Kirkwood back to the Department as soon as Chipman is well established in Argentina, perhaps in three or four months. In the meantime we are sending down Jean Fournier to Argentina with the local rank of Second Secretary. Fournier had a very good Army record before he came into the Department about 18 months ago and his experience here has been largely in the Legal Division and as Secretary to delegations to Civil Aviation Conferences. Read speaks well of his capacity.

We are planning to bring back Ford, who is completing four years' service in Rio de Janeiro. He will need some home leave in Canada and perhaps a short spell in the Department. Then I should like to send him to Moscow with Wilgress. He is one of the few officers in our Service with a knowledge of Russian. Ford will be replaced in Rio by Chaput, whom you will remember as a member of our delegation in San Francisco. He worked closely with Chipman on International Court questions.

We are planning to send out a Third Secretary to Chungking very shortly to replace Collins, who will be assigned to the Washington Embassy staff after his return from home leave. It would be desirable to get a junior Secretary out to China quickly to help Odlum move the Embassy from Chungking to Nanking, and we are planning to send Campbell to China for this purpose by way of the Philippines, where he will help in the arrangements for the repatriation of Canadian civilians from the Far East. They, as you know, are being assembled in Manila before movement onward to Vancouver.

Madame LaFleche and her family, James George, the new Third Secretary to the Mission in Athens, and Major McLachlan, the Attache there, are sailing from New York on the Gripsholm, this week. They will be joined by General LaFleche in Naples and should reach Athens about the middle of September.

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We have received in recent weeks a number of quite likely recruits from the Army Services, and are waiting for the results of the most recent competitions which were held overseas and in Canada last month. I hope it will be possible to give them a good training in the Department before their assignment to posts abroad. Pressure on staff has been such, however, that we will probably find ourselves compelled to send them abroad sooner than would have been desirable.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

X A/O

Ottawa,..... C163313

To THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR INFORMATION

Circular despatch sent to all offices abroad

R.

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C163314

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

SECRET

No. _____ Ottawa, December 3rd, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, in view of the change from war to peace conditions and the re-establishment and opening of a large number of Missions, it has been decided to review the existing security measures both in the Department and in the various Missions abroad. Although it is realized that conditions vary from one Mission to another, it is desired to establish standard regulations and practice so far as local conditions permit.

With this end in view and at the risk of inviting some repetition on the part of certain Missions, it is requested that you inform us by despatch of the regulations, practice and procedure concerning security measures at present in force in your Mission, and of any special security problems involved.

The following points, all of which raise security problems, are of particular interest, although they are not necessarily exhaustive:-

1) Guarding of Premises

What arrangements are made for guarding the premises where the offices are situated, both during the hours of daylight and darkness?

2) Watchmen

Is there a night and/or day watchman?

3) Locking of Offices

Are offices locked at night? Do the doorlocks and window-fasteners afford adequate protection?

4) Night Duty

Where the Chancery is in a separate building, are any special precautions taken? (e.g., is a clerk, officer or other person always on duty or sleeping on the premises at night?)

5) Locks

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5) Locks

From what source have locks and padlocks for doors, security boxes, safes, etc., been obtained? Have these been obtained under security arrangements? (i.e., is any unauthorized person likely to have retained duplicate keys or taken impressions from which duplicates can be made?)

6) Safes

From what source have safes been obtained? If they are the combination-lock type, does the person from whom it was acquired know the combination? Do you consider the combination to be compromised in any way?

7) Installation of Electrical Equipment and Telephones

By whom were electrical equipment and telephones installed? Have technical tests ever been carried out to see if microphones have been installed in walls or tapping devices introduced into the telephone system? Are such possibilities considered likely, in view of the conditions in the country concerned?

8) Disposal of Waste Paper

What method is used for disposing of waste paper, in particular of waste bearing security markings? Who disposes of it? (e.g., casual local employees, stenographers, or officers?)

9) Hiring of Local Staff

What method is used for engaging local staff? What are the nationalities of the persons engaged locally and in what capacity are they employed? (e.g., as cooks, butlers, doorkeepers, translators, messengers, etc.?) What methods, if any, are used to ascertain that they have no police records and are unlikely to attempt to acquire information or documents for the benefit of a foreign power? Are any persons locally hired engaged in confidential or non-confidential clerical work? Are they in a position to acquire confidential information?

10) Charwomen

What arrangements are there for supervising charwomen during the hours when offices are being swept and cleaned?

11) Visitors

Is a visitors' book kept? What arrangements exist for admitting visitors, workmen, tradesmen and others to the Chancery building or offices?

12) Handling of Mail and Documents

How and by whom is incoming and outgoing mail handled? By whom are documents and files handled? (e.g., by Canadian stenographers, foreign service officers, or persons locally employed?)

13) Safekeeping

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13) Safekeeping of Documents, etc.

What arrangements exist for the safekeeping of documents, files, official seals, visa stamps, passports, etc., when not in use?

14) Safekeeping of Codes and Cyphers

What arrangements are made for the safekeeping of code and cypher books?

15) Handling of Diplomatic Bags

By whom are diplomatic bags opened and sealed? What arrangements exist for collecting and dispatching diplomatic bags? Are locally engaged staff used for this purpose? Are the arrangements considered satisfactory from a security point of view?

16) Is confidential material ever sent through the ordinary or registered mail service of the country concerned?

It would be appreciated if you would also submit your views as to the adequacy of your present measures. It is known that lack of appropriate supplies and man-power makes it difficult at some posts to ensure adequate precautions. It would accordingly be useful to inform us precisely what your difficulties and requirements are in order that steps may be taken to assist you so far as possible.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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XA/o

C163317

OFFICE OF THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
CANADA HOUSE,
LONDON,S.W.1.

No. A.584

23rd November, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 695 of June 29th, 1943, and to previous despatches concerning the ~~reform~~ of the British Foreign Service, and to recent correspondence on this subject between Mr. Holmes and Mr. Wrong. A statement on this subject has now been made in the House of Lords on November 7th on a motion introduced by the Earl of Drogheda asking the Government what progress had been made in implementing the proposals for the reform of the Foreign Service set out in the Command Paper presented by Mr. Eden in January 1943. I shall not endeavour to outline the points made by the three speakers who preceded the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, who replied for the Government. An amusing incident occurred when the Earl of Perth, who followed the Earl of Drogheda, congratulated the latter on his admirable maiden speech. The noble Lord intervened to correct him, saying that he had, in fact, addressed their Lordships' House thirty-two years ago.

2. The Lord Chancellor made it clear at the outset of his reply that the new Government adopted the proposals which were outlined in the White Paper of 1943 without any modification whatsoever. He emphasised the difference between the short term problem of bringing the Foreign Service staff up to an adequate size after the lack of new appointments during the war years, and the long term aspect of normal recruitment by competitive examination in the future.

3. One of the main reforms of the White Paper, he said, the amalgamation of the Foreign Office, and Commercial and Diplomatic Service, and the Consular Service, had been completed. To assist the process of amalgamation, and to remove even the basis of the former division into separate branches, combined Foreign Service regulations which would supersede the various regulations formerly applicable to the separate branches had

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The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
O t t a w a, Canada.

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been drafted, and were now in the final stages of discussion with the Treasury.

4. Recruitment for the Foreign Service during the reconstruction period as proposed in the White Paper was now under way. Examinations had been held by the Civil Service Commission, and some twenty young men were about to join the Service. It was hoped within the course of the next three years to get two hundred more. Because of the present desperate shortage of personnel, Lord Jowitt explained that the new recruits could only be given a brief preliminary training before being sent to posts abroad. This training included a course of lectures on the Foreign Service, and its work, and a special intensive course in French for those who needed it. Most of the new entrants appeared to have a knowledge of at least one foreign language already. As soon as the Foreign Service had been brought up to strength, and recruitment by open competition had been resumed, it was intended to inaugurate a six months training period for new recruits. It was suggested that a part of this time should be spent in London in unofficial rather than official circles, and the Lord Chancellor said that this idea would be sympathetically considered.

5. The Government also would like to enable members of the Foreign Service to make renewed contacts with their own country more frequently. There had, therefore, been introduced a system of refresher visits. Officers from abroad returning to the United Kingdom would be enabled to see what they liked, for instance to take tours around ports, or factories, and to study particular problems such as labour conditions, housing, hydro-electric schemes, education, and farming. Such tours were arranged by the Ministry of Information. Short summer courses had also been organised at Oxford to enable Foreign Service officers on leave in the United Kingdom to meet together and discuss under expert guidance such subjects as Commonwealth affairs, domestic reconstruction, and international trade. It was also hoped, as was suggested in the debate, that eventually posts abroad would be sufficiently well staffed to enable members of the service to spend more time in travel, and in studying the countries to which they were posted, and less time tied to their desks.

6. In answer to a question asked by Lord Simon, Lord Jowitt confirmed that under an Act passed in 1943 the Secretary of State was empowered

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to place on retirement with a pension certain officers who proved unsuitable for their posts or who, although they had rendered good service might not have the qualities necessary for the highest positions. Six officers, he said, had been retired in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

7. Lord Jowitt referred to the question of financial grants and allowances payable to officers of the Foreign Service on transfer and during tours of duty at the Foreign Office. (As Mr. Ashton-Gwatkin remarked in his lecture on the Foreign Service to the Scottish Branch of the Institute of International Affairs, of which a copy has been sent to Mr. Matthews, "Transfer to London can be a major financial disaster, and one of our worst 'distressed areas' has been found among the senior Second Secretaries in London.") The Lord Chancellor said that it was plainly necessary that officers should be able to live on their emoluments once they were in the Service, whether abroad or at home. The question of home service allowances was being discussed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was hoped that arrangements would be reached which would enable Foreign Service officers who possessed no private means to regard a transfer to the Foreign Office as a welcome opportunity to renew contact with his homeland and to maintain his effectiveness as an interpreter of British ideas abroad, without subjecting him to financial difficulties and stringency.

8. In this connection it is relevant to note that a question was asked in the House of Commons on November 19th whether steps were being taken to increase salaries of members of the Foreign Service to enable them more adequately to represent the country abroad and to meet the rising cost of living while serving at home. Mr. Noel Baker replied that certain revisions in the salary scales for the members of the Foreign Service were being introduced with effect from 1st August last. In addition allowances were made to meet expenditure for representation abroad. These allowances were constantly reviewed in the light of changing conditions, such as the cost of living. When they were serving at home Foreign Service officers received allowances to meet the rise in the cost of living. These allowances were on the same basis as those granted to the Home Civil Service. In the supplementary questions which followed Mr. W.J. Brown suggested that even the new rates of pay

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were grossly inadequate and he hoped the House would be given an opportunity to discuss them.

9. To return to the Lord Chancellor's speech; among administrative improvements he mentioned that an additional Under-Secretary had been appointed to relieve the Permanent Under-Secretary of administrative and non-political work. A Personnel Department had also been created. It was hoped that all administrative departments would eventually be concentrated in one building which would be the former German Embassy. At present the Foreign Office occupied nineteen different buildings in London. Lord Jowitt also said that the Intelligence Department had been set up, staffed very largely with officers formerly employed by the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The Economic Department was in the process of being formed. The extent to which the British Council or the Ministry of Information and their services should be integrated with the work of the Foreign Office had not yet been finally determined, but these problems were under consideration. The admission of women to the Service was at present being considered by a Committee, and when its report was completed a decision would be made.

10. Most of the information in this despatch was, I believe, communicated to Mr. Matthews by members of the Foreign Office when he was in London, but you may nevertheless find this public statement of interest.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) Vincent Massey

High Commissioner.

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XA/O

C163321

Ottawa, 19th November, 1945.

Dear Mr. Ronson: Your Reference: T. 293658 B.

I have your letter of November 14th regarding the proposed position of Special Advisor to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs at $6,000 per annum, to be used for the employment of Major Antoine Monette, whose duties would be to advise the Department concerning the acquisition of premises for the accommodation of diplomatic missions abroad as well as the purchasing of furniture and equipment for such buildings.

You will appreciate that, under war conditions, we have had to get along with rented premises for all our offices abroad. This has been unsatisfactory and expensive because when the Government rents premises, either for chancelleries or for official residences, it has to pay the full market rental including an element of rates and taxes from which we would be exempt if we were in a position to purchase outright.

I have been reluctant to recommend purchasing for permanent occupation on the sole advice of the Ambassador or High Commissioner who happens to be on the spot. This is a responsibility which can only be adequately handled by a really experienced man who can look over alternative properties, relate standards of accommodation in one post to what we may be able to provide in another, and generally take a more informed view of what the long-run interests of the Canadian diplomatic service will require. In addition to the question of from time to time purchasing or building quarters for our permanent representation abroad, there is the related question of furnishing them appropriately.

You will appreciate that these functions are different from those normally undertaken by the architectural staff of the Department of Public Works. The appointee to the position would have to travel extensively and be familiar

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not only with domestif architectural and interior decorating problems but with foreign conditions as well. Because of his international training and his Canadian and European experience, Major Monette is considered to be a very desirable appointee for this position.

This Department anticipates the need of spending from $6,000,000 to $7,000,000 in the next few years in acquiring and furnishing offices and residences for its overseas missions. It is, in my opinion, essential that the man selected to supervise and in some measure to standardize these purchases should come under the immediate control of this Department. Only then, could he give the necessary full-time study to our needs and be sent without any delay to posts requiring urgent attention in the matter of accommodation and furnishings.

For these reasons, it is considered justified to ask for the approval of this position on the establishment of this Department.

Yours very truly,

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

SDH/JEB

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SDH/JEB

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C163323

Ottawa, November 14th, 1945.

T. 293658 B.

H. H. Wrong, Esquire,
Acting Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, C a n a d a.

Dear Mr. Wrong:

The Treasury Board have had under consideration the recommendation to authorize creation of a temporary position of Special Advisor to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, at $6000 per annum.

This position is to be used for employment of Antoine Monette, whose duties will be to advise the Department concerning construction, purchasing and leasing of premises for the accommodation of diplomatic missions aborad, as well as the purchasing of furniture and equipment for such buildings.

In the opinion of the Treasury Board, it is in the public interest that services of this character be obtained through the Department of Public Works, which has a considerable architectural branch. I am directed to ask if you will be good enough to consider making an arrangement of this kind, instead of appointing a temporary architect in your own Department.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) W. C. Ronson

For Secretary.

COPY/

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CA / Chile

NAR/MM

January 7, 1946.

Memorandum to the Prime Minister

C163324

I am attaching a copy of a report by Mr. D. L. McCarthy, K. C., and Senator Lucien Moraud of their visit to the Fourth Meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association in Sentiago last October as representatives of the Canadian Bar. With the approval of the Minister of Justice, their expenses were paid by the Canadian Government.

You may be interested to note in the report the references to the need of an Embassy in Colombia, and their comments upon the assistance rendered to them by our missions in Peru, Chile, Brazil, and Argentina. There are as well some very flattering comments upon the good work which is being done by our representatives in Latin America.

At the close of the report the authors express the hope that it may be possible to talk with you personally of their experiences.

Mark

I doubt if it would be wise a table this report as permanent!

K

Noted

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Report to Dr. Norman A. Robertson,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Your representatives to the meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association held in Santiago last October left their respective cities on Sunday night, October 7th. We met in New York where we had to remain for a day verifying our seats on the plane to Miami, arranging for excess baggage, if necessary, and presenting our passports and other credentials at the Pan-American office.

We left LaGuardia Field by National Airlines at 11:20 a.m. on Tuesday, October 9th, and after a delay at Jacksonville of one hour we arrived in Miami at 8:30 p.m. We had to stop over a day in Miami, attending a Panagra, presenting our tickets and passports and attending the British Consul for visa to Cuba and Jamaica.

On Thursday, October 11th, we left Miami at 5:00 a.m. landing at Camaguey and Jamaica to re-fuel, arriving at Barranquilla at 5:00 p.m., where we learned we had missed our connection for Bogota and were compelled to remain overnight.

On Friday, October 12th, we left Barranquilla for Bogota at 5:00 a.m. arriving at Bogota at 7:30 a.m. where we spent the day. When at Bogota we had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Stewart, the Canadian Trade Commissioner, and a number of other Canadians and we had long and interesting discussions with them. They are very enthusiastic as to the possibilities of better and increased trade relations between Canada and Colombia and feel very strongly that we should have a Canadian Embassy established at Bogota, and even went so far as to suggest who the Ambassador should

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be. We discussed with Mr. Stewart and others the trade conditions in Colombia and they seemed convinced that if shipping facilities could be guaranteed them they would have no trouble in more than doubling the trade between Canada and Colombia. On the other hand, we gathered that the ship-owners take the position "show us the orders and we will supply the ships", with the result that there appears to be somewhat of a deadlock, which no doubt is capable of solution. Possibly a Trade Commission appointed by our country to investigate these matters might be helpful.

We also encountered the demon "inflation", which seemed to precede us day by day as we journeyed south. We were horrified at the prices charged in the hotels and restaurants, both in Barranquilla and Bogota. A single room overnight in a very modest hotel cost from $12.00 to $15.00 in U.S. funds, and the prices of food at hotels and restaurants were outrageous. House rents were on a scale which was unbelievable under the conditions in which they live in that country, and we could not help feeling that some consideration should be given to the present conditions in South American countries insofar as our representatives are concerned. From the limited enquiries and investigations we were able to make we are not in a position to make any recommendation as to the establishment of an Embassy in Colombia, but under the circumstances as disclosed to us it is a matter worthy of consideration by our Government.

As the result of our enquiries in the limited time at our disposal we learned that there were in Colombia about three hundred and fifty Canadians. The Royal Bank of Canada is also well represented and also some Insurance and Trust Companies, and one or two Manufacturers Agents representing substantial businesses in our country.

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On Saturday, October 13th, we left Bogota Airport at 6:10 a.m. on our way to Lima, stopping at Cali where we changed planes, arriving at Lima at 5:35 p.m. Here we were met by Dr. Laureys, our Ambassador, amd Messrs. Tovell and Stark. The President of the Republic also sent a representative to welcome us and we were taken to the Gran Bolivar Hotel, where rooms had been engaged for us. The British Ambassador and Mrs. Roberts graciously invited the Canadian Delegation to the Reception they were giving for the British Commonwealth Society of Peru at the British Embassy that night.

Sunday, October 14th, our Ambassador again took us in charge and we were taken to the Gala Races at the Hippodrome at San Felipe, the principal race being for the President's Cup (the President of course being present). Here we met all the chief dignitaries of Peru and were the guests of the President after the races in his special quarters, where we were royally entertained, and where we had pleasant conversations with many charming and distinguished people.

After the races our Ambassador took us for a drive along the Malecon, and at 8:30 we had the honour of dining at our beautiful Canadian Embassy. The Ambassador's house is quite unique. We were told it formerly belonged to a newspaperman who had been on the wrong side of politics in the last election and found it wiser to seek a residence elsewhere, and that Canada had been fortunate enough to secure a lease of the premises completely furnished. The gardens outside are very picturesque. The house appeared to us to be a little small for an Embassy, but at the present time it is ample for our requirements. Certainly no one could entertain with greater ease, dignity and graciousness than our Ambassador, Dr. Henry Laureys, and his charming wife.

On Monday, October 15th, our Ambassador again took us in hand and we called on The President of the Supreme Court of

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Peru, Senor Idelfonso Ballon; The Minister of Justice, Senor Ismael Bielich; The President of Peru, His Excellency Dr. Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero, and The President of the Colegio de Abogados, Dr. Matias Manaznilla, ending up the day by an informal reception at the Canadian Embassy at seven o'clock that night, where we met the representatives of all the other countries in Lima, a great many Canadians living there and many others who had come down from Talara, the headquarters of the International Petroleum Company, to greet us. It was really a most delightful evening and gave us an opportunity of meeting a great many interesting and distinguished people under the most delightful auspices.

We cannot speak too highly of the kindness of our Ambassador and his gracious wife who, from what we could see of their associations with the important in the country, are not only most distinguished representatives of Canada, but also live on very cordial terms with those persons of importance and distinction, to whom we had the pleasure and honour of being introduced. We might mention, incidentally, that there were nine delegates from the Peruvian Bar who were attending the Association's meetings at Santiago, all of whom we had the honour and pleasure of meeting in Lima, thanks to the kindness and thoughtfulness of our Ambassador.

On Tuesday, October 16th, we left Lima at 5:30 a.m., stopping at Arequipa, Arica and Antofagasta Airports, arriving at Santiago at 5;35 p.m., where we were met at the Airport by Mr. Leger and a delegation who took us to our hotel and was certainly most efficient and obliging in passing us through Customs and did everything possible to overcome the many difficulties we encountered in the Airports in the South American Republics, notwithstanding our diplomatic passports..

As we are sending you a copy of our report on the meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association, it is needless

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to give you an account of our activities in this report.

Again we were reminded of the curse of inflation, which we had hoped to avoid in Chile, but which seemed to have been exaggerated still further. Even the charges for the rooms we had engaged in our early reservations were most unjustly increased when we reached Santiago. Food is almost at a premium, so much so that we found it impossible to take our meals in the Carrera Hotel; fortunately, we were "put up" at the Union Club where food was reasonable and very good.

Our time in Santiago of course was entirely taken up with the meetings which extended over thirteen days, including the day spent at Vina del Mar and Valparaiso, so that we had not much time to ourselves because of the many official functions, dinners, luncheons, etc. which were given in honour of the visiting delegates.

We cannot speak too highly of the attention and kindness shown us by Mr. and Mrs. Leger, who were constantly in attendance upon us and with whom we had many pleasant meetings, and through whose kindness we had the opportunity of meeting many very distinguished and delightful Chileans.

At their suggestion it was decided to open the Canadian Embassy for a luncheon for the heads of the Delegations of the different countries, which I think we can say with pride was one of the events of the meeting. All the representatives of foreign countries attended. The Embassy itself was not in a condition to receive guests, but the gardens, where luncheon was held, which are quite beautiful, enabled Mrs. Leger, with her care and skill, to give us a most delightful entertainment, which was appreciated by all the delegates and the representatives of the different Embassies in Santiago. Mr. and Mrs. Leger deserve the greatest credit for the way this whole entertainment was managed, it was really superbly done, and with great dignity, and we as Canadians, were justly proud of it.

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We were somewhat disappointed at the Embassy itself, it is really a very small and undignified house. You could not seat with comfort any more than sixteen people at dinner. The kitchens were dirty and antiquated, and if an Embassy is to be continued in Chile, as we think it should be, we strongly advise the selection of a more dignified and spacious house for our Ambassador, whoever he may be.

At present Mr. and Mrs. Leger are labouring under great difficulties, but they are carrying on with cheerfulness and dignity under very trying conditions, because, as we have pointed out, inflation in Chile has not reached its limit, and it appears to be spreading all over South America.

Mr. Leger was kind enough to release the Ambassador's car for us for some of our more important trips in Santiago, which was a great boon where we had to attend meetings and functions of different kinds at different places far apart. In this connection it might be well to point out that the wreath for the Ceremonial for Don Andres Bello, which we attended, was paid for by Mr. Leger, costing 440 pesos, the flowers for the table for the luncheon on October 25th cost 320 pesos, and the gasoline for the car on our trip to Vina and Valparaiso and return cost him 150 pesos.

Santiago was described to us in the guide book for South America 1945, as "the poor man's paradise". As a matter of fact it is probably the poor man's way to paradise, because no poor man could live there for more than a month without starving to death.

We left Santiago on Tuesday, October 30th, and arrived at Buenos Aires at 5:30 p.m., where we were met by our Ambassador, Mr. Warwick Chipman, who took us to the Plaza Hotel, where rooms had been reserved for us, and we had the honour of dining with the Ambassador and Mrs. Chipman that evening.

The Ambassador and his wife and family are living at the Plaza Hotel in more or less discomfort, notwithstanding

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they did everything possible to make our visit to Buenos Aires both interesting and pleasant. We had the honour of meeting all the distinguished members of the Bench and Bar, but owing to the revolution there were no officials in office whom we could be presented to. We could not help feeling that the Ambassador and his family are living under great difficulties and stress under the present conditions, not to mention the expense they are put to in living at this most expensive hotel, but as we say, notwithstanding these handicaps we were certainly shown the greatest kindness and consideration, which we deeply appreciate.

We left Buenos Aires for Rio de Janeiro on Saturday, November 3rd, and were duly met by our dynamic Ambassador, Mr. Jean Desy, and taken to our reservations at the Hotel Gloria, where we dined that night.

On Sunday, November 4th, the Ambassador called for us and took us to luncheon to one of the famous restaurants on the mountain-side, where we had a lovely view of the mountain and harbour and we afterwards visited the Race Track and subsequently did the mountain drive, and that night dined at the Capa Cabano with some of our American friends.

Unfortunately, Madame Desy was too ill to do anything for us, which we all most deeply regretted, but that did not prevent our extraordinary and untiring Ambassador, Mr. Desy, from looking after us in every way, and although all his plans for our visit had been frustrated by reason of the change in government, we had the honour of meeting a great many distinguished persons, both in the new Government and of the Bench and Bar, where we god abundant evidence of the affection and respect which all members of the community have for Jean Desy.

One incident, which is very characteristic of Mr. Jean Desy, was called to our attention by the fact that during

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our visit was the first anniversary of the establishment of a school for small children in the poorer part of Rio, known as the "Canada School". We attended the anniversary celebration and the new Prefect (Mayor) of Rio was there - who by the way is a lawyer and was one of those who signed the first charter of the Inter-American Bar Association five years ago in Washington. The building was spotlessly clean, the children well dressed and apparently very happy and interested in their school. They sang for us their National Anthem and then sang "Oh, Canada" and parts of "Alouette". The "Quatuor Alouette" were also there and rendered some delightful numbers in their own inimitable way. We regard this as a great triumph for Mr. Desy and we think it would be a nice thing if some of the schools in this country could be induced to contribute books and other necessaries to the Canada School in Rio de Janeiro. They have an excellent two room shop for boys and we would like to suggest that it might be nice to take up a collection to give them a lathe, which seemed to be the only implement that was missing.

We left Rio on Wednesday, November 7th, stopped at Fortaleza that night, and the following day left on a long and tiresome thirty hour flight to Miami, where we arrived on Friday, November 9th, only to find our reservations on the plane had all been cancelled and we had great difficulty in getting transportation to New York. There was no hotel accommodation when we got to New York and one of us had to return to Toronto by day coach at night.

On the whole, we beg to report that the meetings at Santiago were a great success, as will be indicated by the report we are making to our Bar Association. At the different places we stopped the Canadians were welcomed with open arms. We have established many firm friendships, and although some

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of the delegates were men we had met at former meetings, we made many new friendships. Even if we failed to accomplish anything in our efforts to bring about a workable scheme of co-ordination in our legal systems and in our laws and procedure, I think we can say with confidence that we have established firm and lasting friendships on behalf of Canada. Everywhere we went and every person we met, the first question was "when are we going to have a meeting in Canada?" - that appeared to be uppermost in the mind of everyone and every Association. Quite frankly, they appear to have no desire to hold a meeting in the United States, but Canada seems to be the goal to which they all look forward, and they were bitterly disappointed that we were not in a position to ask them to be our guests next year. When we had to make this sad announcement, the reply always came back "how about 1947?"

We could of course go on and elaborate this report in much greater detail, but we both hope that within the not far distant future we shall have the honour of meeting the Prime Minister and your good self so we can tell you face to face of the many incidents which occurred, as indicating the good feeling which exists between the South American Republics and our own country, also the desire to increase our trade relations, and the great work our Ambassadors are doing in the South American Republics, in spite of what appeared to us to be almost insurmountable difficulties caused by the terrific inflation, which seems to have overridden the South Americas.

(sgd.) D. L. McCarthy

(sgd.) Lucien Moraud

For the lighter side of this trip we might refer you to Mrs. McCarthy's articles in The Toronto Daily Star.

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(JAE)
April 26, 1946.

C163334

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION ABROAD

A) High Commissioners	United Kingdom Australia New Zealand South Africa Ireland Newfoundland	6 High Commissioners
B) Embassies	Argentina Belgium Brazil Chile China France Greece Mexico Peru U.S.S.R. U.S.A.	11 Embassies
C) Legations	Cuba Denmark Netherlands Norway Luxembourg	5 Legations
D) Consular Offices	New York Greenland Portugal (Lisbon)	3 Consular Offices 25 offices in all

REPRESENTATIVES IN CANADA

A) High Commissioners	United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland	5
B) Embassies	Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Greece, Mexico, Peru, U.S.S.R., U.S.A.	11
C) Legations	Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turker, Yugoslavia	10
D) Consuls-General in Ottawa	Haiti, Dominican Republic	2
		28 in all.

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C163335

SECRET AND
PERSONAL
NAR/SR
14.6.46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

In present circumstances, our representation in Washington and London will probably depend on the decisions you take regarding the senior organization of the Department in Ottawa. If it should be decided to appoint a Minister, then I think Wrong or I could be assigned abroad, or both of us if it were thought desirable to bring Pearson back as Under-Secretary. Having in mind the job of work that has to be done in London during the next year or two, I am inclined to think that one of us three should be assigned there.

I have been thinking about the possibility of Wilgress for London, but feel that his best qualities are not those specially needed there now. He has shown himself in Moscow to be a wise and shrewd observer, and a first-class diplomatic reporter of conditions and attitudes of mind. In general, he is more effective on paper than in conversation. This would, I think, be a draw-back in London, where the urgent need is to have the general Canadian position in relation to the United Kingdom, the rest of the Commonwealth and the United States more clearly understood in policy making circles than it is now. On the other hand, if Pearson were to be sent to London and Wrong and I retained in Ottawa, then I think Wilgress should be considered as a possible replacement of Pearson in Washington.

(Some two or three months ago I wrote privately to Wilgress, asking him what his personal preferences about future employment would be, on the assumption that a three-year term in Moscow was about as long as anybody could be expected to stay under present conditions. I have not a copy of his reply with me, but my recollection is that his first choice would be that of Canadian representative to the United Nations, if such a post were necessary, and secondly he would like to succeed Odlum in China).

Mak

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CONFIDENTIAL

SENIOR APPOINTMENTS

C163336

I. Existing Vacancies Abroad.

1. High Commissioner, United Kingdom.
2. " " Australia (Mr. Davis available for transfer)
3. " " South Africa.
4. " " Ireland
5. Ambassador, Chile.

II. Prospective Vacancies Abroad this year.

6. Ambassador, U.S.S.R. (Mr. Wilgress available for transfer)
7. " Brazil (Mr. Desy " " ")
8. " China
9. " Belgium (Mr. Turgeon " " ")

III. Possible New Posts Abroad.

(a) In countries with diplomatic representation in Ottawa.

10. Minister, Poland.
11. " Czechoslovakia.
12. " Sweden.
13. " Switzerland.
14. " Yugoslavia.
15. " Turkey.

(b) In other countries, excluding any new Latin-American Posts.

16. High Commissioner, India.
17. Ambassador, Italy.

IV. Other Senior Appointments Abroad.

18. Deputy High Commissioner, United Kingdom.
19. Possibly Counsellor, Paris.
20. Charge d'Affaires, Denmark.
21. Permanent Representation at United Nations - New York.

V. Senior Vacancies in Department.

21. Deputy Under-Secretary.
22. Assistant Under-Secretary.

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TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF TRANSFERS

1. Turgeon from Belgium to Greece (as Ambassador).

2. LaFleche from Greece to Chile as Ambassador or South Africa as High Commissioner.

3. Desy from Brazil to Belgium as Ambassador.

4. Wilgress from U.S.S.R. to China as Ambassador or U.S.A. as Ambassador (if Pearson is transferred and not replaced by Wrong), or United Kingdom as High Commissioner.

5. Davis from Australia to U.S.S.R. as Ambassador or to China as Ambassador(if Wilgress does not replace Odlum).

6. Scully from New York - possibly to South Africa as High Commissioner or as Minister to one of the smaller European countries.

7. Stone should be given rank of Minister in Washington - and kept there as second man if Pearson is moved - otherwise he might replace Desy in Brazil.

8. Laureys would like to be transferred from Peru to a European post, but I do not think any action is necessary at this time.

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File

C163338 HW/AH
June 15th, 1946.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Opening of New Canadian Missions Abroad

It is evident that we must return a definite answer as soon as possible to some of the requests which we have received for the exchange of diplomatic missions. The attached telegram No. 98 of June 10th from the Dominions Office indicates that unless we make promptly a fairly encouraging and convincing reply to Venezuela we are incurring a real risk of harming Canadian interests in that country. The same situation prevails with respect to Colombia. We must however, in replying to individual countries consider the effect of our answers on our relations with a number of other countries. The following is a summary of the situation.

There are now in Ottawa diplomatic missions of six countries in which the Canadian Government has as yet been unable to establish Canadian missions. These are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. These countries, or nearly all of them, have a reasonable claim to priority over newcomers in the field. We have been approached in one way or another within the last year or two by eight Latin-American countries which wish to exchange diplomatic missions with us. These are Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, Ecuador, Bolivia, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, leaving only the five small Central American Republics and Paraguay as having shown to date no direct interest in exchanging diplomatic representation with Canada. In addition, in Europe we have accredited the Minister in Norway to Denmark but have not established an office in Copenhagen; we have received an Italian Representative who should, I think, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace be recognized as an Ambassador; and we have received requests for exchange of diplomatic representatives from Spain (clearly out of the question), Austria and Iceland. We have also been approached by Lebanon in the Middle East; we have stated publicly that we were ready to exchange High Commissioners with India in the early future; and it is becoming apparent that we shall have

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soon to open a United Nations office in New York.

In dealing with the more important requests for the opening of missions in Ottawa we have in one or two cases indicated our readiness to receive a Minister with the promise of early but not immediate reciprocity on our part. I think that we should clearly make the same offer to Venezuela which, in addition to this urgent appeal through the British Ambassador, has been pressing us through the Canadian Trade Commissioner, their Consul-General in Montreal and their Ambassador in Washington.

If we agree to deal with the more important requests in this manner, we should give as convincing evidence as possible of our difficulties in reciprocating at once. This might include a recital of the following facts:

1. that there are seven countries now represented by Ministers in Ottawa in which there are no Canadian missions;

2. that over a dozen other countries have expressed an interest in an early exchange of missions with Canada, and that a number of these requests must be considered together;

3. that between 1940 and the beginning of this year we established sixteen new Canadian missions abroad and reopened three in countries overrun by the Germans;

4. that participation in the United Nations, in other international organizations and in numerous conferences on special subjects has been a heavy added drain on our experienced personnel; and

5. that a number of Canadians who agreed temporarily to fill senior posts in the foreign service abroad and at home as a war duty have already returned or will shortly return to their previous occupations.

We should, I think, be sure that Colombia, Venezuela and Uruguay at least are treated in an identical manner and we should at the same time inform the Ambassador in Washington, the High Commissioner in London and our representatives in the Latin-American countries and in France of the line which they should take if they are approached on the matter by any representatives of countries in which we have no missions.

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J. A. C.
Sept.14,1946

CONFIDENTIAL

C163340

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re Senior Appointments,
Department of External Affairs

The records in my office files show the following vacancies, prospective vacancies and possible new posts abroad to be filled:

I. Existing Vacancies Abroad

1. High Commissioner, Australia
2. " " South Africa
3. " " Ireland
4. Ambassador, Chile.

II. Prospective Vacancies Abroad this year

5. Ambassador, U.S.S.R.
6. " Brazil
7. " China
8. " Belgium

III. Possible New Posts Abroad

(a) in countries with diplomatic representation in Ottawa

9. Minister, Poland
10. " Czechoslovakia
11. " Sweden
12. " Switzerland
13. " Yugoslavia
14. " Turkey

(b) in other countries, excluding any new Latin-American posts

15. High Commissioner, India
16. Ambassador, Italy

IV. Other Senior Appointments Abroad

17. Permanent Representation at United Nations - New York
18. Possibly Counsellor, Paris
19. Charge d'Affaires, Denmark
20. Deputy High Commissioner, United Kingdom

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V. Senior Vacancies in Department

21. Deputy Under-Secretary
22. Assistant Under-Secretary.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

C163342

Ottawa, 1-11-46

To Mr James Cabana (R.H.'s Office)

FOR INFORMATION

This revised list supersedes the list circulated in September 35

Mines Committee see / Dy

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C163343

GS/CR
Oct. 25th, 1946.

ADDRESSES OF CANADIAN MISSIONS ABROAD

In the Countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, UNITED KINGDOM

Residence:	Office:-
11 Albert Place, London W. 8, England.	Canada House, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W. 1, England.
Tel. Western 5902	Tel. Whitehall 9741.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, AUSTRALIA

Residence:-	Office:-
32 Mugga Way, Red Hill, Canberra.	State Circle, Canberra.
Tel. B-025.	Tel. 665 - 666

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, NEW ZEALAND

Residence:-	Office:-
	Government Life Insurance Bldg., Customs Quay, Wellington.
	Tel. 44- 480.

(Acting) HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Residence (of Acting High Commissioner)	Office:-
205 Troye Street, * Pretoria.	Barclays Bank Building, 206 Church Street, West, Pretoria.
Tel. 27958.	Tel. 24718

(Acting) HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, IRELAND

Official Residence of High Commissioner:-	Office:-
St. Brigid's, Clonskeagh, County Dublin.	92 Merrion Square West, Dublin, Ireland.
Tel. 91,938.	Tel. 62,247 - 65,268.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, NEWFOUNDLAND

Residence:-	Office:-
Newfoundland Hotel, St. John's, Newfoundland.	Circular Road, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Tel. 2400	Tel. 2788 - 2789

* Until January 1947 only.

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In Foreign Countries

CANADIAN EMBASSY, ARGENTINA

Temporary Residence ~~(of Chargé d'Affaires a.i.)~~
Hotel Plaza
~~Cerrito 1278,~~
Buenos Aires.
Tel. ~~44-8284~~. 31-5011

Chancery:-
Bartolome Mitre 478,
Buenos Aires.
Tel. 33-4018.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, BELGIUM

Residence:-
176 Ave. Brugmann,
Brussels.
Tel.

Chancery:-
34, avenue des Arts,
Brussels.
Tel.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, BRAZIL

Residence:-
Rua Murtinho Nobre, 93,
Rio de Janeiro.
Tel. 22-0835.

Chancery:-
Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165,
Seventh Floor,
Rio de Janeiro.
Tel. 42-4140.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, CHILE

Residence:-
Las Violetas 2088,
Santiago.
Tel. 41,927.

Chancery:-
Agustinas 1055,
Santiago.
Tel. 60,744.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, CHINA

Residence:-
3 Tien Chu Road,
Nanking.
Tel. 33178

Chancery:-
3 Tien Chu Road,
Nanking.
Tel. 33178

CANADIAN LEGATION, CUBA.

Residence:-
Banos 309, Vedado,
Havana.
Tel. F. 6784

Chancery:-
Avenida de Las Misiones 17,
Havana.
Tel. M 8288, 8289, 8280.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, FRANCE

Residence:-
5 Rue Dosne,
Paris. XVI
Tel. Kleber 24.18.

Chancery:-
72 Avenue Foch,
Paris. XVI
Tel. Kleber 57.35.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY, GREECE

Residence:-

31 Queen Sofia Blvd.,
Athens.

Tel. 01421.

Chancery:-

35 Queen Sofia Blvd.,
Athens.

Tel. 72340; 72450.

Summer Residence:-

Corner of Tatoiou Rd. and
Dellighianni St. Kifissia.

Tel. 01421.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, MEXICO

Residence:-

507 Avenida de los Cedros
Chapultepec, Morales,
Mexico City.

Tel. 28-60-10
J-16-15

Chancery:-

Edificio Internacional,
Paseo de la Reforma, No. 1,
Mexico City.

Tel. 10-05-97, 10-09-98
13-30-50, J-27-90
L-83-04

CANADIAN LEGATION, NETHERLANDS

Residence:-

Groot Haesebroekscheweg 44
Wassenaar,
The Hague.

Tel. Wassenaar 8577.

Chancery:-

Sophialaan 1A.,
The Hague.

Tel. 1159 and 64 and 65

CANADIAN LEGATION, NORWAY

Residence:-

Hofsjef Loevenskjoldsvei 45,
Oslo.

Tel. 57608.

Chancery:-

Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5,
Oslo.

Tel. 33080.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, PERU

Residence:-

Avenida Javier Prado 255,
Orrantia, Lima.

Tel. 16355.

Chancery:-

Edificio Boza,
Plaza San Martin,
Lima.

Tel. 39150.

CANADIAN EMBASSY, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Residence:-

23 Starokonyushny Pereulok,
Moscow.

Tel. 415442.

Chancery:-

23 Starokonyushny Pereulok,
Moscow.

Tel. 415142.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY, UNITED STA ES OF AMERICA

Residence:- (temporary)	Chancery:-
4926 Glenbrook Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.	1746 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington (6), D.C.
Tel. Emerson 6464	Tel. Decatur 1011.

CANADIAN CONSULATE GENERAL, NEW YORK

Residence of Consul General:-	Office (Consulate):-
550 Park Avenue, New York City.	620 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Tel. Regent 4-5347	Tel. Circle 7-7630.

CANADIAN CONSULATE GENERAL, LISBON, PORTUGAL.

Residence of Acting Consul General:-	Office (Consulate):-
Rua Rodrigo Fonseca 103-3º Lisbon.	Rua Rodrigo Fonseca 103-4º Lisbon.
Tel. 23117.	Tel. 23117 - 23118

CANADIAN CONS LATE GENERAL, CARACAS, VENEZUELA.

Residence of Acting Consul General:-	Office (Consulate):-
Quinta Vezul, Avenida Principal, Esquina Calle Altamira, Urbanizácion Country Club, Caracas.	Nº 805, Edificio America, Esquina Veroes, Caracas.
Tel. 29047.	Tel. 91646.

CANADIAN MILITARY MISSION TO ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION, GERMANY

Residence:-	Office:-
9 Machandelweg, Charlottenburg, Berlin.	Commonwealth House, 40 Johannesberger St., Wilmersdorf, Berlin.
Tel. 93-5904.	Tel. 86-4460.

CANADIAN LIAISON MISSION, JAPAN

Residence:-	Office:-
16 Omote-Machi 3-Chome Akasaka-Ku, Tokyo.	16 Omote-Machi, 3-Chome, Akasaka-Ku, Tokyo.
Tel. 48-0676	Tel. 48-1038 48-1072 48-1073 48-1074

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CANADIAN (HONOURARY) VICE-CONSULATE, PORTLAND, MAINE, U.S.A.

Office

Room 503,
120 Exchange Street,
Portland, Maine.

CANADIAN VICE-CONSULATE, SHANGHAI, CHINA

Office

27, The Bund,
Shanghai.

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister C163348

Ottawa, December 17/46

Return to J.A.G.

See enquiry at p. 2
para 2. / Jan. 11/1/47

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SECRET C163349

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Title and Status of Intra-Commonwealth Representatives

As you will recall in your press conference on November 7th, you observed that High Commissioner was not a completely satisfactory title for intra-Commonwealth representatives and that it might be desirable for some new term to be used such as "Representative of the Canadian Government". You emphasized the fact that the post of Ambassador was not in any sense superior to that of High Commissioner. In expressing dissatisfaction at the title High Commissioner, you said that it was a problem for all Commonwealth countries, hence it was felt unwise to make any unilateral change in title at the present time. You added that an opportunity would be sought to have the matter discussed at some time in the future.

Accordingly, the High Commissioner in London was asked on November 8th to explore with the United Kingdom authorities the possibility of holding informal discussions in London in the near future with Commonwealth representatives to discuss this whole question of the title and status of representatives of Commonwealth Governments in other Commonwealth countries. The Dominions Office have replied through Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, saying that they would be ready to participate in such conversations and asking to be informed as to the time and place which we propose for the meetings.

Mr. Robertson, in a telegram commenting on the proposed talks, says, "I have no doubts that our practice of encouraging the assimilation of diplomatic representatives into a single category is wise, but I doubt very much whether it would receive general endorsement in the Commonwealth at this time, certainly not at a Commonwealth meeting in London.

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"The Prime Minister has raised the general question in a form which has attracted a good deal of press attention over here. His statement will probably stimulate some more thinking and discussion about these questions of precedence and official styles which might make it easier to reach general agreement in a year or two. I would therefore be inclined to let things simmer a little longer before formally proposing a Commonwealth meeting to consider the matter."

My own view is that in the circumstances it might be desirable in the first instance to have an informal preliminary meeting in Ottawa of the Commonwealth High Commissioners and myself. This seems the more desirable as we have no very clear indication of where the Governments of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand stand in the matter.

It seems likely that the United Kingdom Government will resist the complete assimilation of intra-Commonwealth representatives to other diplomatic representatives while the Government of Eire would, no doubt, argue strongly in favour of such a development in the immediate future. We might find that the discussion had ceased to be a debate on the merits of certain common sense suggestions for changes of style and precedence and that a question of principle had arisen which might assume proportions out of keeping with its intrinsic importance.

For these reasons, I believe that an exploratory talk in Ottawa may be advisable before proceeding to the more formal talks in London.

Meanwhile, a further telegram has been received from the Dominions Office (D.465 of November 19th which you have already received. A copy is attached herewith) suggesting that the designation "His Excellency" might be adopted for High Commissioners and that this should be done as a result of concerted action by Commonwealth Governments.

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This proposal no doubt strikes the Dominions Office as a convenient way out of the situation as it would be hoped in this way to avert any decision in favour of a change of title. I do not myself think that the United Kingdom Government should be encouraged to think that the expedient of adopting the designation of "Your Excellency" for High Commissioners would solve the problem. Nor does it appear that it would be necessary for concerted action to be taken by Commonwealth Governments in the matter. Attached is a draft telegram in reply to the Dominions Office for your consideration.

I am further attaching a copy of a despatch from the Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland which gives an interesting account of the difficult position in which the new Australian High Commissioner in Dublin finds himself as the result of having arrived in Ireland without Letters of Credence.

Louis St. Laurent

Ottawa, December 9, 1946.

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COPY

C163352

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

London, November 19, 1946.
(Received November 26, 1946)

EN CLAIR / (BY BAG)

CIRCULAR D. 465 - SAVING

Circular D. 465. Saving. We have recently considered the question of the proper style to be accorded to High Commissioners representing one country of the British Commonwealth in another such country. Various suggestions have been made in the past but hitherto all have been felt to present certain difficulties.

We have now come to the conclusion that the best course would be to adopt for High Commissioners the designation "His Excellency the High Commissioner for....." which is now universally accorded to diplomatic Ambassadors and Ministers. The title "His Excellency" as applied to an Ambassador is of very long historical tradition and its application to Ministers of foreign countries also is a recent development for which the King's approval was obtained a few years ago. Its application to High Commissioners would, therefore, similarly be subject to His Majesty's approval.

We shall be very ready to take action accordingly so far as concerns High Commissioners in London, but in the first instance we should be glad to know the views of other British Commonwealth Governments on this suggestion. If it is generally regarded as acceptable, the best procedure for obtaining the King's approval would appear to be that each of His Majesty's Governments should submit for His Majesty's approval the style to be accorded to High Commissioners for other Commonwealth countries stationed at its capital.

The matter would seem to be one for concerted action, and it would therefore be desirable that no Government should take

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action of this kind until it has been ascertained that the proposal meets with general approval. We shall accordingly await the views of the other Governments concerned before taking any further steps.

.....

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

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C163354

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

Ottawa, December 9, 1946.

CODE

NO.

Your Circular D.465 - Saving - of November 19th.

We shall examine with interest the suggestion contained in your telegram under reference to the effect that His Majesty should be asked to approve the designation of "His Excellency" for High Commissioners. On first sight, however, it does not appear to us that this would necessarily be a matter of concerted action by Commonwealth nations. We should have thought that any Commonwealth Government which desired to accord this designation to one or all of its High Commissioners would be quite competent to do so subject to His Majesty's approval if circumstances seemed to make such a step appropriate.

In this eventuality their position might presumably be similar to that of Privy Councillors whose designation differs in London and Ottawa.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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CANADA

SECRET

C163355

Dublin, 14th November 1946.

Airmail

No.133

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your telegram No.76, of 8th November 1946, concerning the title and status of High Commissioners.

2. Mr. John Hearne had promptly informed the Irish Government of the Prime Minister's statement at the press conference at which recent Canadian diplomatic appointments were announced. That statement has been well received here: Mr. Leo McCauley, Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, personally made clear to me his pleasure with Mr. Mackenzie King's remarks. There is no doubt that the interested officials in Ireland. are delighted, and perhaps slightly surprised, to find that the Canadian Prime Minister stressed the view that the post of Ambassador is not in any sense superior to that of High Commissioner.

3. Mr. F. H. Boland, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, at a luncheon recently, spoke to me very frankly of the general situation with respect to Commonwealth Representatives. It was, he thought, a very good idea to send to Ireland this time a Canadian representative who was not of direct Irish race. His Government appreciated the courtesy of Canada in sending in the past three successive representatives to this country who were almost as Irish as the Irish themselves, but, said Mr. Boland, it would be a mistake to confine such appointments to persons of Irish race, and they therefore all the more welcomed a representative bearing the historic French-Canadian name of Turgeon.

4. I enquired as to the actual title used by the Irish Government in the case of the recently appointed representative in Australia, Doctor Kiernan. Mr. Boland confirmed the fact that Doctor Kiernan did not go to Australia as "High Commissioner" but is described in the Letter of Credence as "Minister Plenipotentiary, to represent Ireland in Australia." Mr. Boland was so kind as to send me the text of this Letter of Credence, but requested that it be regarded as "strictly confidential". I am attaching one copy of this interesting document. Mr. Boland told me that the Australia Department of External Affairs was "unofficially agreeable" to an exchange of "Ministers", and he wondered how soon all the nations of the Commonwealth would realise that diplomatists exchanged between each other should in fact precede in rank any foreign Ministers. "Indeed," said he, "I think Commonwealth representatives might even rank as Ambassadors." I have not been able to secure from Mr. Dignam, Australian High Commissioner to Ireland, confirmation of the alleged agreement on an exchange of Ministers, between Ireland and Australia.

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SECRET

C163355

Dublin, 14th November 1946.

Airmail

No.133

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your telegram No.76, of 8th November 1946, concerning the title and status of High Commissioners.

2. Mr. John Hearne had promptly informed the Irish Government of the Prime Minister's statement at the press conference at which recent Canadian diplomatic appointments were announced. That statement has been well received here: Mr. Leo McCauley, Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, personally made clear to me his pleasure with Mr. Mackenzie King's remarks. There is no doubt that the interested officials in Ireland. are delighted, and perhaps slightly surprised, to find that the Canadian Prime Minister stressed the view that the post of Ambassador is not in any sense superior to that of High Commissioner.

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5. Having promised to let me see a copy of the Letter of Credence given to Doctor Kiernan, Mr. Boland was at pains to make it clear that his Government's desire for an exchange of representatives having, at least, the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, arose neither from any anti-British source nor from any desire whatever to usurp or modify the position of the King, but simply because it was felt that the very sovereignty of Commonwealth States justified the change. Besides, he continued, the title "High Commissioner" has been too long associated with mere colonial appointments.

6. Mr. W. J. Dignam, the High Commissioner for Australia in Ireland (I use the title in the absence of definite information as to invalidity) has been in Dublin since last August. We have been in touch with each other and I have gladly given him any assistance he solicited. He has not yet, however, made any official calls other than on the President and Mr. de Valera. It is usual for the Irish Government to give a dinner for an arriving representative of another country very shortly following the representative's visit to the President and the Prime Minister. It is at such a dinner the newcomer meets the Ministers of State and his colleagues in the Corps. No such dinner has yet been held in Mr. Dignam's case. As tactfully as was possible, I enquired of Mr. Boland how soon we would all be meeting Mr. Dignam. Mr. Boland replied with frank bluntness "Just as soon as Mr. Dignam presents his Letter of Credence". Mr. Boland continued; now that peace has again come to the world, the Irish Government believe it desirable to resume full formalities in receiving diplomatists. He pointed out that they had, in the case of the Spanish Minister, and in the case of the Belgian Minister, who arrived subsequent to the end of the war, provided the Guard of Honour (The Blue Hussars) and the solemn ceremony at Dublin Castle at which the Letter of Credence is delivered. The flags of the newly arrived representatives were flown and the national anthems of their countries played. Mr. Boland then leaned closer to me and most firmly said that he did not see why representatives of Commonwealth States should not be welcomed with even more elaborate and richer ceremonial than that accorded, for example, to the Minister for Belgium. Nevertheless, this view, he emphasised, must in no way be regarded as raising, in so far as Ireland is concerned, any question of "disassociation", nor is it put forward for the purpose of winning points on the question of status. It is advanced because in Ireland it is sincerely felt that the present arrangement with regard to Commonwealth representatives and their title - High Commissioner - is below the dignity of the Commonwealth.

7. For a little time, Mr. Boland and I discussed, informally, the constitutional problems which might arise from such a change. He frankly saw none of any consequence. Needless to say, I gladly allowed him to do the talking, contenting myself with asking occasional questions. He ultimately reached the point where he

suggested....

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suggested that Canada might, at least, follow the example of the United Kingdom and adopt a title similar to that used by Sir John Maffey -"United Kingdom Representative to Eire." He said "we'd be happy to accept the title 'Representative of Canada, with the personal rank of Ambassador'".

8. I had a conversation (subsequent to my talks with Mr. Boland), with the Australian High Commissioner who had come to this office to talk over some of his problems. He told me that he felt himself to be in a very difficult position. That, perhaps unintentionally, the Irish authorities gave him the impression that he "had sort of slipped in" and that he did not feel he was "getting off to a good start". He said that he had not been given any Letter of Credence or Appointment: that he understood the usual inter-governmental agreement had been reached with regard to the exchange of representatives and was not aware anything further would be required. Now it seems the Irish wish him to present a formal Letter and have let him know that the usual reception dinner will be postponed until it arrives. Poor Mr. Dignam assures me he had not dreamed such a Letter would be necessary, yet he has, he says, been asked for it by both Mr. Boland and Mr. de Valera. Mr. Boland also informed Mr. Dignam of the Irish Government's desire to receive him at a formal ceremony at the Castle and to provide him with a guard of honour. Mr. Dignam telegraphed his Minister and has just received the Letter - I have seen this document; it meets Irish wishes in part, for Mr. Dignam is described as Australian Representative. Oddly enough, Canada comes into the picture. It appears that Mr. Boland, when discussing these matters with Mr. Dignam, told him that the late Canadian High Commissioner (Mr. Merchant Mahoney) had brought with him and presented here a formal Letter of Credence signed not only by the Canadian Minister for External Affairs but also by the Governor-General. It appears that Mr. Boland has this formal Letter, a parchment document, and Mr. Dignam sent a photostatic copy of it to Australia.

9. In the meantime, Mr. Dignam also consulted Sir John Maffey with regard to the Irish proposals, and position. He tells me that Sir John expressed the view that the changes proposed by Ireland were against the interests of the British Commonwealth and would weaken or destroy the links which bind its constituent nations together. Mr. Dignam did not like this comment of Sir John's, and thought it "extreme" and hardly complimentary to the Dominions in suggesting that their sense of common loyalty would be impaired by according each other higher diplomatic honours.

10. Mr. Dignam told me that the Irish Minister to Australia has been accepted as such, and accorded full diplomatic status.

11. There is some likelihood that the United Kingdom authorities may look upon the Irish proposals with suspicion and seek therein evidence of ulterior motives. This would, I think, be a mistake. That the Irish desire

widening...

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widening recognition of their sovereignty is beyond doubt. That they would see in the acceptance of the changes mentioned in this despatch a strengthening of that sovereignty is equally certain. Nevertheless, I feel that they sincerely dislike the title "High Commissioner" and, in particular, would never consent to receiving from the United Kingdom a representative bearing that title. To do so, in the opinion of the sensitive, would leave Ireland open to the charge, by foreigners, that she was not only not sovereign, but was only a colony of England.

12. I am informed that it is reasonably definite Mr. Dulanty will be the last Irish "High Commissioner" to London. His Successor will, I am now informed, bear some other designation. It must, in fairness, be admitted that the Irish Authorities attempt to practise what they preach and, while behaving with correctness to all representatives of other States in Ireland, have during the past six years been markedly attentive to Commonwealth Missions and most particularly to the person and office of Sir John Maffey. They have by their conduct done their utmost to accord Sir John a diplomatic status higher than that of his colleagues, or the heads of foreign Missions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

E.J.Garland,
Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa, Ontario,
CANADA.

EJG/HG

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COPY/JAG

T E L E G R A M

C163359

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

TO: ALL CANADIAN MISSIONS ABROAD (Circular Message)

CODE

Ottawa, December 21, 1946.

On my behalf and on behalf of the officers of the Department at Ottawa, I send to you and to all the members of your staff cordial greetings at this Christmas Season and every good wish for the New Year.

L. S. St.Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C163360

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

I attach a copy of the circular message of Christmas greeting sent by Mr. St.Laurent to the heads of all Canadian missions abroad.

On consulting my notes, I find that on December 12 I passed on to the Department of External Affairs, through the Diplomatic Division, your suggestion that as you had been Secretary of State for External Affairs for nine months during 1946, your greetings might be added to those of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I am informed that the Christmas messages sent out from the Department were in conformity with a memorandum approved by Mr. St.Laurent on Dec. 20.

J.A.G.

31 xii 46 Here is hardly room enough I would like to take note of and for Pearson & his key post. Meaning a memo in Jan 2nd. W.L.M.K.

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LBP/SR
2.1.47

C163361

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I have just ascertained that Mr. Gibson did, in fact, carry out to the letter your instructions to take up with Mr. St. Laurent and the Department the desirability of associating you with the Minister in Christmas messages sent out to our offices abroad. Most unfortunately, this memorandum from Mr. Gibson did not reach me, and was overlooked in the Division concerned. I apologize most sincerely for this matter, and I hope that it will not recur again. I also apologize for not having thought of the idea myself, because it would have been desirable, in every way, to have had our Christmas messages go out in your name as well as in that of Mr. St. Laurent.

I am wondering whether we might not rectify this omission by sending out a New Year's cable. If you agree, possibly the attached draft might be satisfactory. It would go to all of our Heads of Mission and our Consuls General.

approved with revision by PM and sent 2.45 pm 3/1/47 See attached

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C163362

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Dr Gibson:

Mr Pearson asked me
to send you the attached
copies, for the Prime Minister.

W. H. Measures
WHM.
Jan. 3, 1947.

Rec'd by PM
4 | 1 | 47

Ottawa,

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TELEGRAM

C163363

FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

TO: HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, LONDON, S.W.1.

NO.

CODE

Ottawa, January 3rd, 1947.

Following from the Prime Minister, Begins:

At the beginning of this new year I would like to convey to you my sincere appreciation of the competent discharge of the many official duties by yourself and the members of your Mission in the representation of Canada abroad during the past year, during most of which time I had the honour to preside over the Department of External Affairs. I send also my best wishes for the continued success of your mission during 1947.

W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Repeat same to: London ✓

Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Australia No.
~~Acting~~ High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand No.
Acting High Commissioner for Canada in South Africa No.
Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland ✓ No.
Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Newfoundland No.
Canadian Ambassador to Argentina No.
Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to Belgium No.
Canadian Ambassador to Brazil No.
Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to Chile No.
Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to China No.
Canadian Minister to Cuba No.
Canadian Ambassador to France ✓ No.
Canadian Ambassador to Greece No.
Canadian Ambassador to Mexico No.
Canadian Minister to the Netherlands No.
Canadian Minister to Norway and Denmark No.
Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to Peru No.
Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to the U.S.S.R. No.
Canadian Ambassador to the United States ✓ No.
Head of Canadian Military Mission in Berlin No.
Canadian ~~Military~~ Mission in Japan No.
Liaison

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FROM: SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

TO: CANADIAN CONSUL GENERAL, NEW YORK, N.Y.

NO.

CODE

Ottawa, January 3rd, 1947.

Following from the Prime Minister, Begins:

At the beginning of this new year I would like to convey to you my sincere appreciation of the competent discharge of the many official duties by yourself and the members of your staff in the representation of Canada abroad during the past year, during most of which time I had the honour to preside over the Department of External Affairs. I send also my best wishes for ~~the~~ continued success during 1947.

W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Repeat same to:

Acting Consul General in Portugal No.

Acting Consul General in Venezuela No.

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Ottawa, October 22, 1947.

C163365

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr. Wilgress to-day presented his Letter of Credence in Berne, and Mr. Garland his Letter of Credence in Oslo. Communications to those missions should now be addressed respectively to:

The Canadian Minister,
Canadian Legation,
Berne,
Switzerland.

The Canadian Minister,
Canadian Legation,
Oslo,
Norway.

M

Laurent Beaudry

23/10/18

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C163366

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 34 FOR RELEASE AT 11 A.M., THURSDAY, APRIL 29.

April 29, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs announced today the appointment of Harry A. Scott, now Commercial Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy at Washington, to be Consul General of Canada at San Francisco. In this appointment Mr. Scott will have consular responsibility in the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah.

It is anticipated that the San Francisco Consulate General will open on July 2.

Mr. Scott was born at Toronto, Ontario, on January 31, 1899. During the First World War he served with the Royal Naval Air Service in the United Kingdom in 1917 and with the Royal Canadian Navy in 1918. He graduated in 1922 from Queen's University in Kingston with the degree of B.A. and a gold medal in economics.

After a year in the Foreign Department of the Ford Motor Company, Windsor, Ontario, Mr. Scott entered the Trade Commissioner Service of Canada in 1924. He served successively in Liverpool, London, Buenos Aires, Shanghai and in Washington, where he has been Commercial Counsellor attached to the Canadian Embassy from 1941 to the present date.

He attended the Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa, 1932, as adviser to the Tariff Committee, the United Maritime Consultative Conference, Washington, October, 1946, and the International Whaling Conference, Washington, December, 1946, as a member of the Canadian delegation. In 1942 he served as secretary to the Supervisory Board of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, Ottawa, and the R.C.A.F. Council.

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

C163367

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 50

FOR RELEASE AT 11 A.M., JUNE 17.

June 17, 1948

The Department of External Affairs announced today the appointment of Charles Norman Senior as Consul in San Francisco.

Mr. Senior was born in Toronto on October 22, 1891. He enlisted in 1916 with the Divisional Signal Corps, C.E.F., and was later assigned to duties with the Military Hospitals Commission Command as publicity representative for the Department of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment. From 1908 to 1935 Mr. Senior was a newspaperman serving successively as reporter, city editor, editorial writer, political and Press Gallery correspondent for the Toronto Star, Toronto Mail and Empire, Victoria Times, Vancouver World, and finally the Vancouver Sun.

From 1935-1948 he was Private Secretary and Executive Assistant to the Right Honourable Ian Mackenzie, Minister of National Defence and later Minister of Pensions and National Health and of Veterans Affairs. In this capacity he attended the Imperial Conference in 1937 and on various occasions accompanied government missions dealing with repatriation. From 1943-1946 he was Secretary of the General Advisory Committee (Inter-Departmental) on Demobilization and Rehabilitation.

Mr. Senior is the author of the book "When the Boys Come Home" which was published in 1944. He joined the Department of External Affairs on April 19, 1948.

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C163368

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 59

FOR RELEASE 10 A.M.

July 13, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs announced today that arrangements have been completed for the appointment of T. F. M. Newton as Consul in Boston for the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. It is planned to open the Consulate on October 1. The Boston Consulate is to be under the general supervision of the Consulate General in New York.

Mr. Newton was born near Sarnia, Ontario, on July 15, 1903. He was educated at Sarnia Collegiate Institute and McGill University, graduating in 1925. He received his M. A. in English from McGill in 1927. Mr. Newton was with the English department of Harvard University from 1928 to 1937. During this time he also lectured at Harvard Summer School and Radcliffe College. He received two travelling fellowships in 1931 and 1935 from Harvard for research work in London, Oxford and Cambridge. In 1937 he went to McGill University as Associate Professor of English and Assistant Warden of Douglas Hall, men's residence at the University.

In April, 1943, Mr. Newton, on loan from McGill, joined the Wartime Information Board in Ottawa. He was transferred to New York in September, 1943, and became director of the office in July, 1945. During 1946 he was supervisor of the Canadian Information Service in the United States. Following the integration of C. I. S. in the Department of External Affairs, he was appointed to the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Newton was a member of the Canadian delegation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and the United Nations General Assembly from October to December, 1946.

Mr. Newton has published various studies on the reign of Queen Anne and the early history of English journalism. During 1926-28 he was a correspondent for the Montreal Star and Standard. He has contributed to several semi-popular and scholarly periodicals in the United States and Canada and has lectured and broadcasted widely in both countries.

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Material Received from the Department of External Affairs - August 5, 1948.

Status of High Commissioners -

Telegram No. D. 158 of August 4th from Prime Minister Attlee for the Prime Minister.

Mr. Attlee suggests that it is desirable to alter the United Kingdom table of precedence to give High Commissioners a status equal to that of foreign Ambassadors, and also to reduce somewhat the relative precedence accorded Ambassadors. If such a change is made in the United Kingdom it is hoped that other Commonwealth Governments would be prepared to accord United Kingdom High Commissioners corresponding treatment.

It is also suggested that visiting Commonwealth Ministers should rank with their opposite numbers in the United Kingdom Government. 7/1

R.L.G.R.

August 5, 1948.

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C163370

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR COUNCIL: October 3rd, 1941.

SUBJECT: Canadian Temperance Federation - request for reception of delegation.

REMARKS: Letter from Secretary, and fyle attached.

CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL: October 3rd, 1941.

ACTION TAKEN: Letter to be acknowledged on Prime Minister's behalf - has spoken of to colleagues in Council, will try to arrange meeting with Members of the Cabinet before Parliament resumes; Minister of National War Services to be advised so that arrangements can be made for suitable group of Ministers.

DISPOSED OF:

Sent to Mr. Pickersgill for disposition.

W R L. Henry

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

N.305-38-9

MEMORANDUM

T/MP
16.10.41

C163371

R-100-C

For the Prime Minister:

Mr. Thorson has arranged to meet the Canadian Temperance Federation at 11 a.m. on October 22nd. The place of meeting will not be fixed until the last minute, in case the Prime Minister finds it possible to be on hand, in which event the meeting might take place here.

If the Prime Minister has in mind any particular colleagues to be at the meeting, Mr. Thorson would appreciate being advised.

W. J. T.

Oct 20/41
Mr King wants Ballantyne meeting suggests room Railway Committee.
Mr Thorson informed

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FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO C163372

Mr. Pickersgill

Prime Minister said he had spoken of this in Council.

Make letter for Min. under Travel Bureau Dept. Immigration & Travel

25/xi/40 EH

(A)

C163373

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

BF

Ottawa, November 19th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

RE: Promotion of Tourist Business

Would the Prime Minister wish to take up in Council Mr. Claxton's suggestion that the appropriation for the encouragement of the tourist trade be increased. See Hansard extract attached.

J. W. P.

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T-5

C163374

No. 29—*Mr. Isnor*

November 13—1. What was the total appropriation and expenditure of the Canadian Travel Bureau for the fiscal year 1939-40?

2. How much was expended in (*a*) foreign magazine advertising; (*b*) foreign newspaper advertising?

3. What was the total expenditure in foreign advertising?

4. What amount of the said appropriation was expended in (*a*) salaries; (*b*) advertising counsel; (*c*) general office expenses; (*d*) travel expenses and entertainment; (*e*) work and supplies from printing bureau; (*f*) booklets and other supplies from Canadian firms; (*g*) other items to make up the total?

Unrevised Hansard
November 8, 1940, pages 11-12.

Mr. Claxton:

In Canada many of the essentials of war production do not exist in sufficient quantities. Machine tools are one example. We must get them from the United States and we must pay for them in United States dollars. I understand that in the first year of war we spent in the United States $220,000,000 more than we spent the previous year. Disregarding anything from Britain, the balance of payments against us may well run to a figure of $160,000,000. We may in part offset even larger balances to come by further increasing our exports, or by decreasing our imports of United States goods for civilian purposes. But the best way, as far as it goes, is to increase our tourist trade. With the increased friendly interest in Canada being shown in the United States I believe this can be done. It can be done if the Canadian people are made to realize its importance, and if all the agencies which can help to promote it are fully mobilized. I hope that the government will see its way clear to spend not less than a million dollars on the encouragement of this business. It would not only bring dividends of badly needed United States dollars but also mean the continuance and strengthening of normal friendly relations with our good neighbour; for the tourist trade is not only a sinew of war, it is a tie of friendship. It is a great human industry, a moving belt of common understanding running north and south, all the way along the line between the Pacific and the Atlantic seaboards.

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T-5

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Unrevised Hansard
November 8, 1940, pages 11-12.

Mr. Claxton:

In Canada many of the essentials of war production do not exist in sufficient quantities. Machine tools are one example. We must get them from the United States and we must pay for them in United States dollars. I understand that in the first year of war we spent in the United States $220,000,000 more than we spent the previous year. Disregarding anything from Britain, the balance of payments against us may well run to a figure of $160,000,000. We may in part offset even larger balances to come by further increasing our exports, or by decreasing our imports of United States goods for civilian purposes. But the best way, as far as it goes, is to increase our tourist trade. With the increased friendly interest in Canada being shown in the United States I believe this can be done. It can be done if the Canadian people are made to realize its importance, and if all the agencies which can help to promote it are fully mobilized. I hope that the government will see its way clear to spend not less than a million dollars on the encouragement of this business. It would not only bring dividends of badly needed United States dollars but also mean the continuance and strengthening of normal friendly relations with our good neighbour; for the tourist trade is not only a sinew of war, it is a tie of friendship. It is a great human industry, a moving belt of common understanding running north and south, all the way along the line between the Pacific and the Atlantic seaboards.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

~~A.G.K.~~ file

C163375

Attached is a draft reply to a letter from the President of the Canadian Welfare Council requesting your support for their application for an increase in their annual grant.

I understand from Dr. Davidson, the Deputy Minister of National Health and Welfare, that the grant was originally $10,000 per year but since 1933 has been $8,100. The Council is applying for an increase to $15,000. The Department recommended to Treasury Board that favourable consideration should be given to increasing the grant to $12,000. Treasury Board approved the basic grant of $8,100 but recommended that the question of the increase be withheld for further consideration when supplementary estimates are under review.

Be careful of wording

20-5-47 R.G. Robertson.

May 17th, 1947

original signed & mailed 24/5/47 Sy.

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C163376

G-252-2 1940 file

IMPORTANT

Ottawa, February 20th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Advisory Committee to Canadian Wheat Board

As directed by the Prime Minister, I informed the Minister of Justice, who presided at Council today, that it was the Prime Minister's wish that Council should consider the request of the Minister of Agriculture that it should be agreed and announced, that an Advisory Committee to the Canadian Wheat Board, including representation of producers, should be appointed, the personnel to be announced later.

The Minister of Finance informed me, after Council, that there had been strong opposition in the Cabinet to the appointment of such an Advisory Committee, on the grounds that a similar body had been abolished by this government, in 1935, and that the announcement of intention to appoint it would, if made, follow a similar statement by the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Ralston said that Council wished to discuss the proposal further, when the Prime Minister was present. Mr. Ralston also said that it would be appreciated if Council could be called for Thursday next, as there were several matters which would require to be discussed.

A. D. P. H.

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C163377

file
J-252-2
1940

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AH/R

A. D. P. H.

Instructed by P.M. to inform Mr. Gardiner.

Mr Gardiner informed by P.O. telephone to Kincardine, Ont. He will try to see Mr. Lecaine re w. West

Feb 21

A D P H

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G-252-2
1940

JAG/MS
20.2.40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163378

Re: Canadian Wheat Board Advisory Committee.

(1) Section 6 of the Canadian Wheat Board Act, 1935, provided for an Advisory Committee of not more than seven members of whom four should represent wheat producers. The members were to receive no salary, but were to be paid necessary travelling and living expenses, as well as an honorarium of $10.00 per day for each day of absence from their homes while travelling to, attending, and returning from meetings of the Committee.

(2) It was provided that the Minister might call meetings of the Committee to be held at any time and place which he might determine.

(3) By P.C. 2518 of August 14, 1935, the following were appointed to the Advisory Committee:

Robert McKee,	Vancouver, B.C.
Lew Hutchinson,	Duhamel, Alberta.
Louis G. Brouillette,	Regina, Sask.
Brooks Catton,	Hanley, Sask.
Sidney T. Smith,	Winnipeg, Man.
Paul F. Bredt,	Winnipeg, Man.
Charles H.G. Short,	Montreal, P.Q.

(4) These appointments were rescinded by P.C. 3758 of December 3, 1935.

A. D. P. H.

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G-252-2

C163379 1940

Ottawa, February 20th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAPOINTE:

Re: Advisory Committee to Canadian Wheat Board

The Minister of Agriculture communicated last evening, by telephone, with the Prime Minister, regarding the constitution of an Advisory Committee to the Canadian Wheat Board, the Advisory Committee to include representation of producers. Mr. Gardiner was most anxious that announcement should be made immediately of the government's intention to constitute such an Advisory Committee.

The Prime Minister has agreed to Mr. Gardiner's proposal, and wishes Council to consider the matter this afternoon, in order that an announcement may be made to the press after the meeting, stating simply that the government will appoint an Advisory Committee which will include representation of producers, the personnel to be appointed at a later date.

Mr. Gardiner, I understand, is particularly anxious to have this done, as Dr. Manion has already stated, publicly, that he would appoint such a body.

A. D. P. H.

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G-25-1-5
1941

P. C. 134/813

C163380

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Treasury Board, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 1st February, 1941.

TRADE AND COMMERCE:

The Board had under consideration the following memorandum from the Honourable the Minister of Trade and Commerce:

"The undersigned has the honour to report that under the provisions of the Canadian Wheat Board Act, Chapter 53 of the Statutes of 1935 as amended by Chapter 25 of the Statutes of 1940, providing for the imposition and collection of a processing levy on all wheat products intended for human consumption, regulations were issued by the Canadian Wheat Board and approved by Your Excellency in Council whereby the levy aforesaid was applied in the case of wheat products returned to a grower by the processor even though the wheat product is processed from the grower's own wheat;

The undersigned further reports that the effect of the said regulations is to apply the processing levy to wheat grown in certain provinces of Canada notwithstanding that wheat is not grown in large commercial quantities in such provinces and that the grower receives no benefits from the operation of the Canadian Wheat Board;

The undersigned having considered the said situation recommends that pursuant to the powers vested in Your Excellency in Council by section thirty-three of the Consolidated Revenue and Audit Act and by the War Measures Act or otherwise, such levy be remitted in the case of all wheat grown in the Provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and taken by the grower to any grist mill to be processed for consumption exclusively in the grower's home and that refunds be made by the Canadian Wheat Board accordingly.

The undersigned further recommends that such remission apply as well in the case of payments of levy already made as in the case of payments to be made in the future."

The Board concur in the above report and recommendation, and submit the same for favourable consideration.

Sgd. A.D.P.Heeney

Clerk of the Privy Council.

see also
W.30-34
1941

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R

WWII - Public Information
Canadians - Foreign-Born

P1

SFR/SR
3.11.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163381

A meeting of interested Departments was held in the Department of External Affairs on October 30th under the Chairmanship of Justice T.C. Davis to discuss the organization, under the Department of National War Services, of the new Section which will deal with the foreign-language communities in Canada.

Professor G.W. Simpson is to act as Chairman of the Committee, and will be assisted by an advisory group consisting of Mr. Robert England of the Department of Pensions and National Health, Professor Watson Kirkconnell of McMaster University, and Professor Dawson of McGill. It is probable that Mr. H.F. Angus, now with this Department, will also act on this Committee, dealing particularly with the Japanese-Canadian minority in British Columbia.

In order to maintain contact with these foreign-language groups, and to translate public policy into terms which they can understand and appreciate, it was agreed that a great deal could be done through the medium of the Bureau of Public Information, the foreign-language press, the National Film Board and the C.B.C. The proposed Committee will also make suggestions and recommendations with reference to actual problems and difficulties faced by these individuals and communities. Some of the topics mentioned in this regard were Naturalization procedure, the operation of the Defence of Canada Regulations, and instances of discrimination against the "foreign born" in the fields of industry, education, and national war service. The relationship between the proposed Committee and this Department was carefully defined.

All present were agreed that the Committee did not have as its object the preservation of group differences, but that it should seek to encourage individuals from these foreign-language groups to identify themselves as closely as possible with the rest of the Canadian community.

WLK

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NAR/ET
6 Dec.1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163382

Dr.Cankar, the Yugoslav Minister, telephoned last night to say goodbye and to thank us for the assistance which had been given him in getting bomber passage to the United Kingdom. He is leaving today and with luck hopes to be back by Christmas, after a short consultation with the members of his Government in London.

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Scat. DS/YS File (P.M.'s comments contained in memorandum from J.A.Ls. to N.A.R.)

NAR/SR
29.1.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163383

Dr. Cankar, the Yugoslav Minister, has talked to me two or three times recently, and was in again this afternoon. He is very worried about the position and policy of his Government, and uncertain as to where his private duty lies in a very difficult situation. He feels that the Yugoslav Government now in Cairo is completely out of touch with the country, and badly advising the young King. The Pan-Serb elements who dominate the present Yugoslav Government in Cairo have forced the Croat and Slovene members of the Cabinet into opposition, and in doing so have abandoned any pretence of representing a united Yugoslavia. They have put all their money on Mikhailovitch, who is now completely discredited, and have refused to come to any arrangements with the Partisans, whom Cankar reluctantly recognizes as the only real forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Furthermore, their intransigeance has alienated the sympathies of both the United Kingdom and Soviet Governments, whose benevolent interest is essential for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia.

Cankar, whom I like very much and who is, I think, an intelligent and honourable man, feels his personal predicament keenly. He feels his position here is false, and that he should not continue to represent and draw a salary from a Government which he cannot loyally respect and support. He has considered the possibility of submitting his views on Yugoslav policy to his Government, but feels they would receive no consideration and not reach the King. An alternative, to which he is inclined, is to tender his resignation as Minister, simply saying that he feels the Government's policies are prejudicial to the future of Yugoslavia and to the maintenance of the Royal House, and that he must, as far as he can, dissociate himself from them. Alternatively, he may make some public statement about the Yugoslav position, stressing the need for uniting all the forces of resistance, including the Partisans, and cooperating closely with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, and see what disciplinary action, if any, his Government would take.

His own position is not made any easier by the fact that he has a wife and daughter, and no private means.

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Ds/45

C163384

NAR/SR
23.2.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Cankar has asked me to let you know that he has submitted his resignation as Yugoslav Minister to Canada. In the light of developments in the Yugoslav situation leading up to Mr. Churchill's speech yesterday, he felt there was no other action he could take.

NAR

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DS/YS/ [illegible]

NAR/SR
17.11.44

C163385

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Madame Cankar told me last night that her husband had resigned his portfolio in the Yugoslav Government and, though remaining in London, now held no official post. He had accepted his Cabinet appointment with misgivings, in the hope that Dr. Subasic would be able to form a really representative Yugoslav Government, but he had not been able to secure the support of any representative Serbs.

Dr. Subasic had not been able to persuade Cankar to withdraw his resignation, but he had asked him to keep it secret, at least during his negotiations with Marshal Tito.

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(N.A. ROBERTSON TO W.L.M.K.) NWT/Canol Pyct

C163386

November 27, 1943.
HLK/MB

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

THE TRUMAN COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON THE CANOL PROJECT

The improvement in the Pacific war situation has brought about a modification of the United States views as to the necessity of secrecy in connection with the Canol Project. Special writers have been permitted to visit the defence projects north and west of Edmonton, and wide publicity has been given to feature articles, some of which contained a good deal of misleading information.

Almost a year ago we suggested, unofficially, to the United States that it would be desirable to publish the Exchanges of Notes covering both the Canol and the Supplementary Canol Projects. These were dated June 27-29 and August 14-15, 1942, respectively. This suggestion was not well received and an official proposal to the same effect was also turned down by Washington in July 1943.

When it was reported early in November that the Truman Committee would shortly be holding an open hearing on the Canol developments we immediately emphasized in representations to the State Department that the information about the project should be released before it was forced out by the Congressional investigation. To this Washington agreed, and a statement embodying the text of the two agreements was released to the press in Ottawa on November 19, three days before the Truman Committee opened public hearings on the subject in the United States capital.

The Truman hearings, November 22-24, brought into the open a smouldering argument between the War Department on the one hand and the Department of the Interior and the War Production Board on the other. The attack on the project was led by the Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and Petroleum Administrator for War. Mr. Ickes was supported in his opposition by his deputy, Mr. Ralph K. Davies, by Mr. Harold D. Smith, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and by Messrs. H. Leroy Whitney and E. A. Iocke, Technical Consultant and Assistant, respectively, to the Chairman of the War Production Board. Their principal criticisms may be summarized thus:

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(a) The Canol Project was launched by the Army without the approval of other interested departments (Department of the Interior and War Production Board) and continued despite their protests.

(b) The cost of the project (estimated at $134,000,000) is out of all proportion to its military value, which is negligible. It would be cheaper and better to transport oil from California via the Inland Passage to Skagway and thence by pipeline to storage at Whitehorse. (This plan, suggested by Mr. Ickes as an alternative to the Canol Project, was adopted by the War Department as supplementary to the original project. It accounts for $34,000,000 of the total of $134,000,000.)

(c) While Mr. Ickes has been unable to get the War Department to explore potential oil land in Alaska, the Army under the Canol Project has explored no less than 600,000 square miles of Canadian territory.

(d) It is highly probable that the project will have no commercial value after the war, and, in any event, the United States, despite its heavy expenditure, will have no post-war rights.

In conclusion Mr. Ickes recommended that the project should be discontinued immediately, while Mr. Smith served notice that the War Department would be expected to defend its contracts with the Canadian Government at hearings in January.

The War Department's case was presented to the Committee by Under Secretary of War Patterson, Brigadier General Walter B. Pyron, oil expert, and Dean James H. Graham, Adviser to the War Department on transport. While admitting that the project had been hastily conceived and was indefensible from an economic standpoint, these spokesmen argued that it was a military necessity which had more than fulfilled initial expectations. They pointed out that :

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(a) a rich continental resource of oil of from fifty to one hundred million barrels had been uncovered, with a daily production of twenty thousand barrels assured;

(b) the military situation in the spring of 1942 - the threat to the Pacific sealanes, the shortage of shipping, particularly tankers, the necessity of providing for the air defence of Alaska and for the maintenance of the Northwest Ferrying Route to Russia - and the dwindling oil reserves of the United States made it imperative to discover new sources near the major theatres of war. The exploratory programme is not confined to Canada. Similar operations are being conducted in New Zealand and Australia, where hopes thus far have not been realized, and in North Africa and India;

(c) the estimated cost of the project is admittedly high, but represents less than the cost of the war for one day;

(d) the project has been thoroughly reviewed, in the light of the improved military situation, by the United States Chiefs of Staff, who on October 26 recommended its completion as necessary to the war effort.

Patterson also said that discussions on the question of post-war use of the oil had been initiated with the State Department and with the Canadian Government, and it was hoped that some arrangement could be worked out "for the future use of the oil on a basis completely fair and equitable to both countries." (His reputation as an honest man was saved by a telephone call from Atherton to Keenleyside about fifteen minutes before the Truman hearings opened. United States representatives are coming to Ottawa next week to discuss the post-war angle.

Our policy has been to keep completely out of the quarrel in Washington. Canada was asked by the United States as a matter of urgent war necessity to give facilities for the Canol construction. We did as we were asked; we were not asked for an opinion and we gave no opinion. We helped in every way possible because the United States War Department said that the project was of the utmost urgency and our agreement was essential to their war effort. If the proposal was unsound, that is a problem for the United States War Department, not for the Canadian Government.

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With regard to the post-war disposition of the project the Notes are clear and specific. If the United States now want to change their terms, it is up to them to justify their new proposals.

A set of the papers which are being distributed to the Canadian officials who will take part in the discussions with the Americans is attached hereto for reference.

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THE UNITED STATES OIL PROGRAMME IN THE NORTHWEST

1. The Truman Committee hearings upon the Canol Project have focussed public attention upon the operations which are being conducted by the United States Army in the Canadian Northwest for the purpose of discovering and developing additional sources of petroleum. In view of the highly critical attitude of certain members of Congress and the trend of popular opinion, the United States Government apparently feels, and perhaps welcomes the fact, that this is the time to review the entire oil programme in the Northwest. On December 2nd officials of the War, Navy and State Departments will arrive in Ottawa for meetings with the Canadian authorities concerned, at which the United States post-war interest in the Northwestern oil developments will be the main topic of discussion.

2. As a background for these discussions it might be useful to outline the existing intergovernmental agreements covering the Canol and related projects. These may be summarized as follows :

A. The Canol Project

In an exchange of notes dated June 27-29, 1942 (Appendix A) the United States Government proposed and the Canadian Government approved:

(a) the construction of an oil pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse of a size sufficient to deliver 3,000 barrels of oil daily;

(b) the erection at Whitehorse of storage facilities and of a refinery with a capacity of 3,000 barrels per day;

(c) the drilling of additional wells in the vicinity of Norman Wells under contract with a Canadian company, the United States War Department providing the necessary equipment and purchasing the total flow of the new wells. (The wells themselves would remain part of the leasehold or property of the Canadian company.)

The United States Government undertook to pay the cost of the project, except that the Canadian Government would:

(a) provide the necessary land and rights-of-way;

(b) waive during the war import duties, sales taxes, territorial taxes, license fees or other similar charges on all equipment and supplies to be used in the execution or maintenance of the project and on the personal effects of construction personnel;

(c) remit during the war royalties on oil production and income taxes on the income of persons (and corporations) resident in the United States who are employed on the construction or maintenance of the project;

(d) facilitate the entry into Canada of construction and maintenance personnel.

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It was further agreed that the United States Government would retain ownership of the pipeline and refinery until the end of the war, at which time these facilities would be evaluated and offered for sale, with the Canadian Government being given prior right of purchase. Failing a satisfactory sale, their disposition would be referred to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The pipeline and refinery can only be dismantled upon recommendation of the Board.

B. Supplementary Canol Project

The Supplementary Canol Project, authorized by the exchange of notes of August 14-15, 1942 (Appendix B), involves the construction of a 4" pipeline from Skagway to Whitehorse and of suitable storage and loading facilities at Prince Rupert. The terms of the agreement on the Canol Project apply mutatis mutandis to the Skagway Project, subject to a number of specific provisions of which the most important is that "at the termination of hostilities the two governments agree that at the request of either government discussions between them shall be undertaken with a view to reaching an agreement in regard to the disposition of this pipeline and of the storage and loading facilities at Prince Rupert."

C. Exploratory Operations in the Northwest

The agreement covering wildcatting operations in the Yukon and Northwest Territories is contained in an exchange of notes of December 28, 1942 and January 13, 1943, supplemented by letters of January 18, February 17 and March 13, 1943 (Appendix C) defining more precisely the areas to be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States Government. The programme envisages exploratory operations, including the drilling of "wildcat wells" in an area bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the 112th Meridian, on the south by the 60th parallel and on the west by the Continental Divide and the Alaska-Canada border, for the purpose of discovering oil fields capable of producing 15,000 to 20,000 barrels per day to supplement the supply obtained from Norman Wells. These operations are to be carried out by contract with one or more companies, either Canadian or American, and the petroleum sources discovered are to be made available for the use of the United States Army.(1)

Under this arrangement the nominee of the United States Government is Imperial Oil. The United States Government is underwriting the direct expenses incurred by the company in developing the project, but this money is to be repaid through a reduction to 50 cents per barrel of the price of the crude oil purchased. This reduction commences after the United States Government has purchased 1,500,000 barrels at the regular price of $1.25 and will continue until it has been reimbursed for all outlays.

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(1) Although the exchange of notes specifies no definite period during which these oil resources are to be made available for United States use, the fact that the operations are stated to be subject to the provisions of the exchange of notes on the original Canol Project would indicate that it is merely for the duration of the war.

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The permits issued to Imperial Oil provide that at the termination of the war the company will have the right to obtain leases for only half of the areas developed by it under wartime permits and that the other half of the leases and of the plant equipment and structures will belong to the Canadian Government without compensation. It is further provided that the Minister of Mines and Resources may at any time assume possession and control of any location acquired under such permits, if in his opinion such action is necessary or advisable.

3. From the foregoing it will be seen that the only construction authorized by the exchanges of notes comprises :

(1) the pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse
(2) the pipeline from Skagway to Whitehorse
(3) the refinery and storage facilities at Whitehorse
(4) the loading and storage facilities at Prince Rupert
(5) the drilling of the necessary wells.

However, the United States authorities have undertaken considerable additional construction as incidental to the Canol development, including :

(1) landing strips for aircraft - main fields, equipped with radio ranges, at McMurray, Fort Smith, Simpson and Norman Wells, with emergency fields at Embarras, Resolution, Hay River, Providence, Wrigley, Waterways and Camp Canol

(2) weather stations at McMurray, Embarras Portage, Fort Smith, Resolution, Hay River, Providence, Wrigley, Simpson, Norman Wells, Ross River Post, Upper Hay River and Peace River

(3) Winter roads from Fort Nelson to Simpson and from Fort Smith to Norman Wells (via Hay River and Providence)
All weather road from Grimshaw to Hay River
Access road from Whitehorse to Norman Wells following the pipeline

(4) improvement of transportation and storage facilities along the Mackenzie River route
- 200 ton and 300 ton refrigerator storage at Waterways and Fort Smith respectively
- 500' timber wharf at Waterways, Fitzgerald, Fort Smith and Norman Wells
- small landings for mooring and servicing tugs at Resolution, Providence and Simpson
- storage and dispensing facilities for approximately 4,000 gallons of gasoline (motor) and 100,000 gallons of diesel oil at Camp Prairie, Fort Smith, Providence and Norman Wells
- improvement of the portage road between Fitzgerald and Fort Smith, and of the road to the waterfront at Fort Smith

Presumably the post-war disposition of these facilities will be determined according to the terms of the agreement reached in the exchange of notes of January 27, 1943 (Appendix D), covering the post-war disposition of United States defence projects, installations and facilities in Canada.

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4. The present demarche is symptomatic of the current preoccupation of certain elements in the United States with the oil question, as evidence of which may be cited the concern at the depletion of United States oil resources recently expressed by the Hon. Harold Ickes, Petroleum Administrator for War, and the allegations of the five globe-trotting senators that Great Britain has been hoarding her Middle East oil resources at the expense of the United States.

While the Truman investigation has undoubtedly precipitated matters, the issue of United States post-war interests in the Canol development would probably have been raised sooner or later in view of the approach made to the United Kingdom with regard to post-war use and disposition of United States oil installations in British territory. Early in July a memorandum was presented to the British Ambassador in Washington proposing the initiation of informal discussions "to bring about an arrangement to make these oil facilities, necessitated by the all out war effort of both our countries, freely available on a footing of complete equality of use to Nationals of both our countries, and that these works of war may thus be used in the general interest for extension in the post-war period of trade and commerce between nations upon which peace itself is so vitally dependent." Consideration of the question in the United Kingdom has been protracted owing to some uncertainty as to the exact scope of the United States proposals, but, after the statements made by Senators Mead and Lodge, Lord Halifax was instructed early in October to make an interim reply, expressing willingness to enter into discussions on the post-war <u>disposal</u> of oil installations constructed by United States agencies in the United Kingdom or in any part of the Colonial Empire. The United Kingdom Government does not feel, however, that the time is ripe for discussions of the question of post-war <u>use</u>.

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APPENDIX A

C163394

EXCHANGE OF NOTES (JUNE 27 AND 29, 1943) BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PIPELINE AND A REFINERY IN THE YUKON TERRITORY

I

The Minister of the United States to Canada
to the Secretary of State for External Affairs

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, Canada, June 27, 1942.

No. 710

Sir:

1. I have the honor to refer to recent conversations which have taken place with officials of the Department of External Affairs regarding the desire of the United States Government to take steps for extending the fuel supply for the United States Army in Canada and Alaska.

2. My Government, faced with the necessity of obtaining an increased fuel supply without delay, desires to propose the following project, to wit: that it:

(a) Make surveys and construct a pipeline either by United States Army Engineers or by contract, of a size sufficient to deliver three thousand barrels of oil daily from Norman Wells, Northwest Territories, Canada, to Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, Canada;

(b) Sign a contract with a Canadian company to drill additional wells, upon its leases obtained under the Petroleum and Natural Gas Regulations applicable to Dominion Lands or upon permits obtained by it under the Oil and Gas Regulations covering land in the vicinity of Norman Wells. Under this contract the United States War Department would provide the necessary equipment and would purchase the total flow of the additional wells during the war at an agreed price. The wells would remain part of the leasehold or permit property of the Canadian company and would be regarded as having been drilled under the provisions of the Dominion Regulations noted in this clause;

(c) Arrange for the establishment at Whitehorse of facilities for refining crude oil with a capacity of three thousand barrels per day under a contract awarded with a view to insuring the execution of the work in the shortest possible time without regard to whether the contractors are Canadian or American;

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(d) Contract with a company or companies to store for the future use of the United States Army, all of the gasoline which may be produced by the refinery at Norman Wells during the operating season of 1942 in excess of what is required for the maintenance of services and enterprises in the Mackenzie District, to operate the pipeline to Whitehorse and to operate the refinery there unless it is operated by the United States Government.

3. My Government further proposes that the pipeline and the refinery shall remain its property, and shall be operated under contracts with it or by its agents or representatives during the war. It further proposes that at the termination of hostilities the pipeline and refinery shall be valued by two valuers, of whom one shall be named by the United States and one by Canada, with power, if they disagree, to appoint an umpire. The valuation shall be based upon the then commercial value of the pipeline and the refinery, and the Canadian Government shall be given the first option to purchase at the amount of the valuation. If the option is not exercised within three months, they may be offered for sale by public tender, with the amount of the valuation as the reserve price. In the event that neither the Canadian Government nor any private company desires to purchase the pipeline and refinery at the agreed price, the disposition of both facilities shall be referred to the Permanent Joint Board on Defense for consideration and recommendation. Additionally, it is proposed that both Governments agree that they will not themselves order or allow the dismantling of either the pipeline or the refinery, nor will they allow any company which purchases them so to do, unless and until approval for dismantlement is recommended by the Permanent Joint Board on Defense. It is understood that if the pipeline and refinery are at any time used for commercial purposes they will be subject to such regulations and conditions as the Canadian Government may consider it necessary to impose in order to safeguard the public interest.

4. For its part, my Government asks the Canadian Government to agree:

(a) to acquire any essential land and necessary rights of way that may be involved in the projects (including the settlement of all local claims in this connection), title to remain in the Crown in the right of Canada;

(b) to waive during the war import duties, sales taxes, territorial taxes, license fees or other similar charges on all equipment and supplies to be used in the execution or maintenance of the project by the United States and all personal effects of the construction personnel;

(c) to remit during the war royalties on oil production, and income tax on the income of persons (including corporations) resident in the United States who are employed on the construction or maintenance of the project;

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(d) to take the necessary steps to facilitate the admission into Canada of such United States citizens as may be employed on the construction or maintenance of the project during the war, it being understood that the United States will undertake to repatriate at its expense any such persons if the contractors fail to do so.

5. If the Government of Canada agrees to the foregoing proposal for this project, it is suggested that any supplementary details involved in its execution be arranged directly between the appropriate governmental agencies subject, when desirable, to confirmation by subsequent exchange of notes.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

PIERREPONT MOFFAT

American Minister

II

The Secretary of State for External Affairs
to the Minister of the United States

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, June 29, 1942.

No. 98

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Note of June 27, 1942, No. 710, which made certain proposals in regard to the steps to be taken for the purpose of extending the fuel supply for the United States Army in Canada and Alaska.

The proposals made in your Note under reference have been examined by the appropriate authorities of the Canadian Government and it gives me pleasure to inform you that those proposals are accepted. So far as Canada is concerned the agreement which is effected by this exchange of Notes will be considered to have come into effect on this date.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

N. A. ROBERTSON

For the Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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APPENDIX B

C163397

EXCHANGE OF NOTES (AUGUST 14-15, 1942) BETWEEN CANADA AMD THE UNITED STATES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OIL SUPPLY LINE SUPPLEMENTARY TO THAT KNOWN AS THE CANOL PROJECT

I

The United States Minister to Canada
to the Secretary of State for External Affairs

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, August 14, 1942.

No. 738

Sir :

I have the honor to refer to my conversation with Mr. Keenleyside on June 26 last, in which on behalf of the Government of the United States I requested the approval of the Canadian Government for the establishment of an oil supply line which would be supplementary to that known as the Canol project which was dealt with in my note of June 27 and your reply of June 29, 1942.

As I pointed out, this supplementary project would involve the transportation in tank cars of gasoline destined for the use of the United States Army in Alaska to Prince Rupert, where authority was requested for the American Government to build by contract suitable storage and loading facilities, and thence by barge to Skagway, Alaska. From Skagway to Whitehorse a four-inch pipeline would be laid under contracts let by the American Government, and the authority of the Canadian Government was requested to lay that section of the pipeline within Canadian territory. At Whitehorse the gasoline would be stored in the facilities being built under the Canol project.

The Canadian Government was good enough to inform me orally on June 27 that it approved the establishment of the new supply line as outlined in the preceding paragraph.

My Government has instructed me to propose to the Canadian Government that the terms of the agreement reached in the exchange of notes of June 27 - June 29, 1942, on the Canol project shall apply also, mutatis mutandis, to the supplementary project outlined above in respect of any construction within Canadian territory except as hereafter set forth. My Government proposes that the pipeline from Skagway to Whitehorse and the storage and loading facilities at Prince Rupert shall remain its property and shall be operated under contracts with it or by its agents or representatives during the war. It further proposes that at the termination of the hostilities the two governments agree that at the request of either government discussions between them shall be undertaken with a view to reaching an agreement in regard to the disposition of this pipeline and of the storage and loading facilities at Prince Rupert. Additionally, it is proposed that both governments agree that they will not themselves order or allow the dismantlement of this pipeline or of the facilities mentioned, nor will they allow their dismantlement by any company which may purchase them unless and until approval for dismantlement is recommended by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

PIERREPONT MOFFAT

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II

The Secretary of State for External Affairs
to the United States Minister to Canada

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA, August 15, 1942.

No. 125

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of August 14, 1942, No. 738, in which you present certain proposals for the establishment of an oil supply line for the use of the United States Army in Alaska. It is understood that the proposed supply line will be supplementary to the scheme known as the Canol Project which was the subject of an exchange of notes dated June 27, 1942 and June 29, 1942.

After careful consideration the Canadian Government agrees to the proposals outlined in your note under reference, subject to the conditions therein set forth.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

N. A. ROBERTSON

(for the) Secretary of State
for External Affairs

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APPENDIX C

C163399

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, Canada, December 28, 1943.

No. 818

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29, 1942, regarding the desire of the United States Government to take steps for extending the fuel supply for the U. S. Army in Canada and Alaska. At that time the United States Government proposed, and the Canadian Government approved, the so-called Canol Project which included, inter alia, the drilling of wells in the vicinity of Norman Wells, and the laying of a pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse, capable of delivering 3,000 barrels of oil daily,

The developments of our joint war effort have in the opinion of my Government made it vitally necessary to discover additional sources of petroleum in northwestern Canada and Alaska, capable of producing from 15,000 to 20,000 barrels per day, to supplement the supply which will be obtained from Norman Wells. This will require the drilling of exploratory, or in oil parlance "wildcat" wells in this northern region. As such operations should be conducted in a number of widely separated locations in the Northwest Territories, where oil is believed to exist, it is suggested that the area in Canada within which such operations are authorized be bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the 112th meridian, on the south by the 60th parallel, on the west by the Continental Divide and the Alaska-Canadian Border.

The operations under immediate contemplation, - as a result of which, however, it may prove desirable to enlarge or expand the Canol Project - are for the sole purpose of discovering oil fields capable of producing the required 20,000 barrels per day. No plans have as yet been worked out covering the refineries, storage or distribution systems beyond those already authorized and approved by the Canadian Government.

In view of all the circumstances involved, and the increasingly urgent need of additional fuel for military purposes in the far north, the Government of the United States of America hopes that the Canadian Government will approve these exploratory operations with the understanding that the United States Army authorities be allowed during the war to drill through contract with one or more companies either Canadian or American, to develop through contract with one or more Canadian companies, and to make use of any petroleum sources that may be discovered, subject to Canadian regulations governing such operations and to the further understanding that operations would be subject to the provisions of our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29 above referred to, insofar as such provisions are not inconsistent with the provisions of this note and are capable, with necessary adaptations and modifications, of being applied to such operations. My Government will of course keep the Canadian Government fully informed of any future plans for carrying out these operations.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Minister :

LEWIS CLARK
Second Secretary of Legation.

The Right Honorable
The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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APPENDIX C

C163399

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, Canada, December 28, 1943.

No. 818

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29, 1942, regarding the desire of the United States Government to take steps for extending the fuel supply for the U. S. Army in Canada and Alaska. At that time the United States Government proposed, and the Canadian Government approved, the so-called Canol Project which included, inter alia, the drilling of wells in the vicinity of Norman Wells, and the laying of a pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse, capable of delivering 3,000 barrels of oil daily,

The developments of our joint war effort have in the opinion of my Government made it vitally necessary to discover additional sources of petroleum in northwestern Canada and Alaska, capable of producing from 15,000 to 20,000 barrels per day, to supplement the supply which will be obtained from Norman Wells. This will require the drilling of exploratory, or in oil parlance "wildcat" wells in this northern region. As such operations should be conducted in a number of widely separated locations in the Northwest Territories, where oil is believed to exist, it is suggested that the area in Canada within which such operations are authorized be bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the 112th meridian, on the south by the 60th parallel, on the west by the Continental Divide and the Alaska-Canadian Border.

The operations under immediate contemplation, - as a result of which, however, it may prove desirable to enlarge or expand the Canol Project - are for the sole purpose of discovering oil fields capable of producing the required 20,000 barrels per day. No plans have as yet been worked out covering the refineries, storage or distribution systems beyond those already authorized and approved by the Canadian Government.

In view of all the circumstances involved, and the increasingly urgent need of additional fuel for military purposes in the far north, the Government of the United States of America hopes that the Canadian Government will approve these exploratory operations with the understanding that the United States Army authorities be allowed during the war to drill through contract with one or more companies either Canadian or American, to develop through contract with one or more Canadian companies, and to make use of any petroleum sources that may be discovered, subject to Canadian regulations governing such operations and to the further understanding that operations would be subject to the provisions of our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29 above referred to, insofar as such provisions are not inconsistent with the provisions of this note and are capable, with necessary adaptations and modifications, of being applied to such operations. My Government will of course keep the Canadian Government fully informed of any future plans for carrying out these operations.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Minister :

LEWIS CLARK
Second Secretary of Legation.

The Right Honorable
The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, January 13, 1943.

No. 2

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government accepts the proposals set forth in your note of December 28, 1942, No. 818, concerning the drilling of exploratory oil wells in the Northwest Territories.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

N. A. ROBERTSON

(for the) Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The United States Minister to Canada,
The Legation of the United States of America,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

C163401

OTTAWA, January 18, 1943.

Dear Mr. Moffat :

I wish to refer again to your note of December 28, 1942, No. 818 on the proposals for drilling exploratory oil wells in the Northwest Territories. The question has arisen as to the best means of avoiding the possibility of the intervention of any one whose interest is not identical with that of the Canadian Government or of the United States Government, and who might make application for oil and gas rights in that part of the Northwest Territories under discussion.

It would facilitate the drafting of regulations if the United States authorities would indicate more definitely the particular districts, within the very large area described in your note No. 818, paragraph 2, which seem to be the most promising. These districts could then be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States Government.

Yours sincerely,

H. L. KEENLEYSIDE

Assistant Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

The Honourable Pierrepont Moffat,
United States Minister to Canada,
O t t a w a.

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LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OTTAWA, February 17, 1943.

Dear Mr. Keenleyside :

I sent to the State Department for its comments the text of your letter to Mr. Moffat of January 18, 1943, regarding a more strict delimitation of the districts in which wildcatting would be done in the Northwest Territories in order that such districts might be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States Government.

I have now received a reply to the effect that, while we are wholly in accord with your suggestion, it is nevertheless believed to be desirable that in any regulations which may be adopted there be nothing which would forbid operations anywhere within the broad general area mentioned in our note of December 28, 1942. I quote below, for your information, the pertinent parts of a letter of February 6, 1943, to the Secretary of State from the Secretary of War on this subject :

> "This office is wholly in accord with the suggestion contained in Dr. Keenleyside's letter of January 18, 1943, that certain areas should be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States in order to prevent the possible intervention of any one whose interest is not identical with that of the Canadian Government or of the United States Government.
>
> At the present time it is expected that the greater part of the wildcatting will be carried on in the district contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 25 miles each side thereof, and extending from Fort Wrigley on the south to Good Hope on the north. It is hoped that sufficient sources of oil to fulfill our requirements will be discovered within this area. However, there are under consideration and surveys are being made of two major districts which, on the basis of presently available geological data, are considered to be the most promising for oil exploration. These areas are defined as follows:
>
> a. District of Mackenzie - An area contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 75 miles each side thereof, and extending from Great Slave Lake on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north.
>
> b. Yukon Territory - All that portion of the Yukon Territory lying north of the 66th parallel.
>
> It is believed that, in accordance with the suggestion of the Canadian authorities, it would be advantageous to both governments to have the two major areas as described above reserved for oil exploration by the United States in connection with the Canol Project, to the exclusion of other interests.
>
> Although it is expected that our activities will be confined within these two areas it would be considered inadvisable to have them strictly limited thereto. It is therefore the desire of this department that any regulations which may be adopted be of such a nature as to permit operations anywhere within the broad general area described in our letter of November 18, 1942."

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS CLARK
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

H. L. Keenleyside, Esquire,
Assistant Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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C163403

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA, March 13, 1943.

Dear Mr. Clark :

With reference to your letter of February 17th, on the matter of a more strict delimitation of the districts in the Northwest Territories in which wild-catting rights might be reserved for nominees of the United States Government, I have now received a reply from the Department of Mines and Resources on the subject.

The two areas mentioned in your letter are contiguous, namely:

1. District of Mackenzie - An area contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 75 miles each side thereof, and extending from Fort Providence on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north. Within the delta of the Mackenzie River, the line of reference shall be the East Channel.

2. Yukon Territory - All that portion of the Yukon Territory lying north of the 66th parallel.

It is proposed to apply the same regulations in these two areas as were worked out for the three areas already reserved by Orders-in-Council P.C. 1138 dated 12th February 1943, and P.C. 4140 of May 18th, 1942, as a result of consultation between Mr. Sidney Paige, Consulting Geologist attached to the office of Colonel Wyman, and Dr. Camsell. These regulations were published in the Canada Gazette on February 20th, 1943, and provide :

First, (clause 1) that no one can prospect without first obtaining permission;

Second, (clause 14) that the Minister should have the right to refuse to issue a permit when, in his opinion, it might retard the search for and the development of the oil resources or interfere with the production of petroleum for the use of His Majesty or of any country associated or allied with His Majesty in the conduct of the present war.

This should afford ample protection against nuisance staking and ensure that any exploratory and development work that may be carried on by bona fide companies other than those nominated by the United States Government will be made available for our war needs.

I trust that this arrangement will be satisfactory to all parties.

Yours sincerely,
H. L. KEENLEYSIDE
Assistant Under Secretary of
State for External Affairs.

Lewis Clark, Esquire,
Chargé d'Affaires,
United States Legation,
O t t a w a.

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APPENDIX D C163404

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, January 27, 1943.

No. 827

Sir :

Under instructions from my Government, I have the honor to refer to conversations relating to the post-war disposition of various facilities being or to be constructed in Canada by the Government of the United States.

Although in many instances the Government of the United States of America and of Canada have reached specific agreements covering the post-war disposition of defense projects and installations which, in order more effectively to prosecute the war, the Government of the United States, with the consent and approval of the Canadian Government, has built or is building in Canada, nevertheless there seemed advantage in defining certain general principles which in the absence of special circumstances should serve as a guide to the two Governments in formulating any future agreements covering the post-war disposition of such projects or installations in Canada. The same general principles would of course apply reciprocally in the event of any project or installation being built by the Canadian Government in the United States territory.

The matter was referred to the Permanent Joint Board on Defense which after careful study adopted the following Recommendation on January 15, 1943.

> "The Board considered the question of the post-war disposition of the defence projects and installations which the Government of the United States has built or may build in Canada. The Board noted that the two Governments have already reached specific agreements for the post-war disposition of most of the projects and installations thus far undertaken. It considers that such agreements are desirable and should be made whenever possible.
>
> The Board recommends the approval of the following formula as a generally fair and equitable basis to be used by reference whenever appropriate in the making of agreements in the future and to cover such defence projects, if any, the post-war disposition of which has not previously been specifically provided for:
>
> "A: All immovable defense installations built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States shall within one year after the cessation of hostilities, unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments, be relinquished to the Crown either in the right of Canada or in the right of the province in which the same or any part thereof lies, as may be appropriate under Canadian law.

The Right Honorable
The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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"B: All movable facilities built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States shall within one year after the cessation of hostilities, unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments, at the option of the United States Government:

(1) be removed from Canada;

or

(2) be offered for sale to the Government of Canada, or with the approval of the Government of Canada, to the Government of the appropriate Province at a price to be fixed by a Board of two appraisers, one to be chosen by each country and with power to select a third in the case of disagreement.

"C: In the event that the United States Government has foregone its option as described in B(1), the Canadian Government or the Provincial Government decides to forego its option as described in B(2), the facility under consideration shall be offered for sale in the open market, any sale to be subject to the approval of both Governments.

"D: In the event of no sale being concluded the disposition of such facility shall be referred for recommendation to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence or to such other agency as the two Governments may designate.

"The principles outlined above shall reciprocally apply to any defense projects and installations which may be built in the United States by the Government of Canada.

"All of the foregoing provisions relate to the physical disposition and ownership of projects, installations, and facilities and are without prejudice to any agreement or agreements which may be reached between the Governments of the United States and Canada in regard to the post-war use of any of these projects, installations, and facilities."

I have today been directed to inform you that this Recommendation has been approved by the Government of the United States of America, which would welcome confirmation from you that it has likewise been approved by the Government of Canada.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

LEWIS CLARK
Charge d'Affaires ad interim

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C163406

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA, January 27, 1943.

No. 7

Sir :

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of January 27, 1943, No. 827, in which you referred to recent discussions relating to the post-war disposition of various defence projects, installations and facilities being or to be constructed in Canada by the Government of the United States with the consent and approval of the Government of Canada.

It is noted with satisfaction that the Government of the United States has approved the Twenty-Eighth Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence which dealt with this matter and which read as follows:

> "The Board considered the question of the post-war disposition of the defence projects and installations which the Government of the United States has built or may build in Canada. The Board noted that the two Governments have already reached specific agreements for the post-war disposition of most of the projects and installations thus far undertaken. It considers that such agreements are desirable and should be made whenever possible.
>
> "The Board recommends the approval of the following formula as a generally fair and equitable basis to be used by reference whenever appropriate in the making of agreements in the future and to cover such defence projects, if any, the post-war disposition of which has not previously been specifically provided for:
>
> "A: All immovable defence installations built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States shall within one year after the cessation of hostilities, unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments, be relinquished to the Crown either in the right of Canada or in the right of the province in which the same or any part thereof lies, as may be appropriate under Canadian law.
>
> "B: All movable facilities built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States shall within one year after the cessation of hostilities, unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments, at the option of the United States Government:
>
> (1) be removed from Canada;
>
> or
>
> (2) be offered for sale to the Government of Canada, or with the approval of the Government of Canada, to the Government of the appropriate Province at a price to be fixed by a Board of two appraisers, one to be chosen by each country and with power to select a third in the case of disagreement.

The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

United States Legation,

O t t a w a, Canada.

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"C: In the event that the United States Government has foregone its option as described in B(1), and the Canadian Government or the Provincial Government decides to forego its option as described in B(2), the facility under consideration shall be offered for sale in the open market, any sale to be subject to the approval of both Governments.

"D: In the event of no sale being concluded the disposition of such facility shall be referred for recommendation to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence or to such other agency as the two Governments may designate.

"The principles outlined above shall reciprocally apply to any defence projects and installations which may be built in the United States by the Government of Canada.

"All of the foregoing provisions relate to the physical disposition and ownership of projects, installations, and facilities and are without prejudice to any agreement or agreements which may be reached between the Governments of the United States and Canada in regard to the post-war use of any of these projects, installations, and facilities."

It gives me pleasure to inform you that the Canadian Government has also approved this Recommendation and has so informed the Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

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The following statement of the Honorable Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War, before the Special Committee investigating the National Defense Program, United States Senate, was released at 11 a.m. Tuesday, November 23, 1943.

THE CANOL PROJECT

The War Department is proud of Canol. That project comes from the vigorous efforts of the Army to produce a local supply of petroleum products along the land and air route to Alaska. Canol was a bold undertaking. The results so far have surpassed our hopes. We are confident that even greater success lies ahead.

I want to review briefly the situation that faced us in Alaska at the beginning of the war, the reasons for our decision to develop Canol, the obstacles we overcame, the success that has resulted from our efforts to date, and the outlook for the future.

The Army took bold and prompt action in the dark days of '42. We uncovered a rich continental resource of oil, far beyond the original target of 3,000 barrels a day. Twenty thousand barrels a day is now assured. We already have uncovered an estimated pool of fifty to one hundred million barrels. But for our action, this would not have been discovered. Had our endeavor been unsuccessful it would have been a setback to us. But we should not have been censured for having tried. Now that oil in large quantity has been discovered and can be put to use, our enemies are the ones to be discouraged.

This job of high strategic importance for carrying on the war has been approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. That should settle any doubts.

Description of the Project

The projects, grouped under the name "Canol", when completed will include :

1. The development of the oil fields near Fort Norman on the Mackenzie River in the Canadian Northwest Territories.
2. Construction of a pipeline to carry crude oil from the Norman field 600 miles to Whitehorse in the Yukon Territory, Canada, at the middle point on the Alaskan Highway.
3. Dismantling of a refinery in Texas and its re-erection (with additions) at Whitehorse, for the processing of aviation and motor gasoline and other petroleum products.
4. The construction of pipelines to carry gasoline and other petroleum products from Whitehorse to the port of Skagway, Alaska, at the head of the inland passage; to Fairbanks, Alaska, the terminus of the Alaskan Highway; and to Watson Lake, Canada, down the Highway toward the United States. The two pipelines last mentioned parallel the Highway and are for the purpose of fueling airfields and motor traffic along the Highway. The pipeline to Skagway may be operated in either direction to bring in fuel shipped by sea or to deliver at tidewater fuel produced at Whitehorse.

This Committee has been given access to our files covering details and costs of these projects. You have taken testimony at Whitehorse and at Washington in the executive session. Considerations of military secrecy changed when the Japanese were driven from the Aleutians. So we have made no objection to your making public all details except a few that have a direct bearing on possible future military operations.

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Petroleum Resources C163409

Military and essential civilian needs for oil exceed the production obtainable from continental United States. The depletion of our petroleum reserves has caused not only the armed services but American industry -- and the American automobile owner -- serious concern. It is a threat to both our economic and social system.

Five Senators, two from this Committee, after their recent trip around the world, expressed the view that United States petroleum should be conserved and, so far as practicable, oil should be obtained nearer the theaters of military operations. This, as well as the saving of ocean shipping, is why we sought to discover oil in New Zealand and Australia as well as in the region close to Alaska. Our hopes in those other regions thus far have not been realized. But our attempts should not be criticized. The Petroleum Administrator for War has indicated the declining production in the United States, particularly on the Pacific Coast, and the need of new discovery.

We entered the war dependent on dwindling United States reserves. In the previous five years 46,000 oil wells had been abandoned. New wells were being brought in at a decreasing rate. Crude oil stocks on the West Coast dropped 1,895,000 barrels in March, 1942. Hence it is beyond dispute that a petroleum supply for Alaska and its communications obtained in the vicinity, rather than through transportation from the United States, was and is of prime importance.

Situation in the Spring of 1942

The Canol projects were initiated by the Army in April, 1942. Pearl Harbor was only four months behind us. In the eastern Pacific, from Panama to the Aleutians, our shipping was vulnerable to Japanese attack. We had not yet won the Battle of Midway Island, a great victory which weakened the Japanese Navy. Corregidor, our remaining fortress in the Philippines, was beleaguered and about to surrender. The Allies had lost Shanghai, Guam and Hong Kong in December; Malaya in January, Singapore and many islands in February. One February day - the 27th - the Allies lost 14 ships of war. On the 16th, enemy submarines shelled an oil refinery in the West Indies, and we were rushing troops down there for protection of the refineries there. The oil of the Dutch East Indies was passing to Japanese control.

The Western and Southwestern Pacific were being lost. All available transport, especially oil tankers, were required to reinforce these and other theaters throughout the world. At the same time, German submarines in the North and South Atlantic and in the Gulf of Mexico were delivering heavy blows against our tankers. They were being sunk in great numbers. More than one million gross tons of tankers were sunk up to the end of April, 1942. Every tanker we owned was precious.

It is easy enough now to look back calmly on the first few months of the war and to apply the yardstick of hindsight to our efforts. But let us remember that we had no firm assurance that the continental United States was free from invasion. Japanese submarines operated within sight of our west coast. On February 23, 1942, they shelled a tank farm and refinery near Santa Barbara; and later they struck at Oregon.

General Marshall has said in his biennial report of July 1, 1943: "Since the Japanese attacks on the Pacific Fleet in Hawaii had uncovered the entire west coast of North America, the reinforcement of garrisons along the west coast, Panama, Hawaii and in Alaska was given first priority. The movement of air forces and anti-aircraft units was initiated immediately by flight and fast freight specials."

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Plans for Defence of Alaska

The defence of Alaska was paramount in the minds of the American people. Their concern was well founded. While the Japanese landing on Kiska and Attu and the bombing of Dutch Harbor did not occur until some weeks later, we had to make plans against the possibility of attacks along this short route from Tokyo. Had the Japanese been able to capture and hold bases on the Alaskan mainland, Canada and the United States would have been open to attack.

Because of the situation and vast extent of Alaska, it was determined that its defence, aside from naval action, was mainly dependent upon air power. Our combat planes, both bombers and fighters, had to reach their Alaskan bases. In addition to defending Alaska, it was then our plan, since consummated, to ferry combat planes to Fairbanks, there to be delivered to the Russians for use against Germany on the Russian front. This is the short Arctic route to Russia. The best available route for planes from this country to Alaska is to Edmonton, Alberta, and then along a line of airfields through Whitehorse to Fairbanks, and a large number of planes have been delivered to the Russians along this route and are still being delivered in undiminishing numbers. Our fighter planes, and to a lesser degree our bombers and cargo ships, required servicing en route. Emergency landings required additional service at intermediate points. The defense of Alaska, so important to the United States, thus depended upon our delivery of planes to the Alaskan theater and our maintaining and operating them there. A road, 1,600 miles long, from the railhead north of Edmonton, Alberta, to Fairbanks in the heart of Alaska, was necessary to connect and supply the airfields along the route. The location of this route was approved unanimously by the Secretaries of War, Navy and Interior. This projected highway passed through Whitehorse at about its middle point. The road also constituted an alternate route for the supply of Alaska, should the sea route be further endangered. Therefore the plans for the defense of Alaska, the construction of the Alaskan Highway and the furnishing of fuel for planes and vehicles on the Highway were all parts of one and the same military problem.

The Decision to use Norman Oil

Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic explorer, early in 1941 called our attention to oil wells near Norman on the Mackenzie River. He pointed out that oil had been discovered there in 1920 and that for a number of years Imperial Oil Limited, a Canadian subsidiary of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, had several producing wells and a small refinery serving the needs of the lower Mackenzie Valley where fuel requirements were relatively small. Stefansson, an expert on the Canadian North, whose knowledge has been of great assistance to the Army on Arctic problems, repeated his suggestions in 1942. He believed that the oilfield could be developed to greater capacity and that it was feasible to build pipelines to fuel the Highway. He pointed out the possibilities of transport of needed equipment along the Mackenzie River system to Norman. Although some details of Stefansson's plan were not followed, it was his vision and knowledge which fathered the project.

General Somervell, commanding the Army Service Forces, had been considering for some time the problem of supplying fuel on our route of communications. Colonel Graham, until the war Dean of Engineering at the University of Kentucky, a man of broad experience in construction and also in Army transport operations in France in the last war, was asked by General Somervell to look into oil possibilities. Colonel Graham was serving in the War Department as special consultant to General Somervell. Colonel

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Graham, among others, consulted General Pyron, General Carter and General Strett. General Pyron, formerly Vice-President of the Gulf Oil Company, was the Army's principal consultant on petroleum matters. General Carter, in addition to his West Point training and regular Army experience, had been in civilian life the senior partner of Haskins and Sells, public accountants, and had dealt with important business matters. General Strett, an able Air Force officer, was then a member of the Operations Division of the General Staff. All of these four gentlemen have testified before your Committee in executive session. All except General Strett will appear today. General Strett has been called to other important duty or he, too, would be here.

General Carter asked experts of Imperial Oil familiar with the Norman field to come to Washington for conference with himself, the others, and a representative of the Board of Economic Warfare. It was learned that the oil was of excellent grade for the manufacture of aviation and motor fuel and that it could be pumped through pipelines in extreme Arctic weather at 55 degrees below zero or lower. The Imperial representatives were conservative as to prospects for further oil discovery and did not urge the Army to undertake the project.

Time was short. To explore first for oil and to make complete engineering surveys of pipeline routes through the Arctic wastes before taking action would have consumed a year or more. In light of the actual production being obtained at Norman Wells and the geological data, the Army decided to proceed forthwith. The military necessity was great. Extensive investigations, practicable in commercial developments, could not be awaited. The Army started action at once. The battle has now been won, where a cautious approach would have left the campaign still in the planning stage.

Alternate Source of Fuel

This was a military project, not a commercial one. It was born of extreme urgency. Hence it is not decisive to compare the cost per barrel of petroleum products delivered through Canol with the cost of products refined in the United States and brought up by tanker or flown up along the Highway by airplane. I grant that the cost will be high. This was a war measure. One might as well criticize the cost of capturing the Salerno bridgehead by stating that the land was worth only a few dollars an acre. The ocean route was subject to interruption and, in any event, tankers were and are a scarce commodity as are tank cars which would be needed to augment our California supply. Transport airplanes can carry gasoline, but our planes are needed elsewhere. By any other method, the fuel would have come from declining United States reserves. Here was a new source near the scene.

Possibilities for oil production in Alaska, rather than Canada, were considered. There are petroleum indications in Alaska which I hope will eventually be developed. Up to now no successful production has been obtained. So we went after the oil that we knew was there on the Mackenzie. The Secretary of War is now co-operating with the Secretary of the Interior with a view to developing Alaskan oil resources. Such development, even if successful, will take time. There was no time in April, 1942.

It does not disturb me that most of this development is in Canadian territory instead of in Alaska. Canada is our friendly neighbor, united with us in this war. A contingent of Canadian troops, you will recall, took part with our forces in the operation to recover Kiska. The defense of Alaska, Canada and the United States is one problem, not several. Oil

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discovered in Canada will not be withheld from our use when needed for our joint defense.

Execution of the Project

Since the spring of 1942, courageous work has been done by the Corps of Engineers and its contractors. Transportation difficulties down the Mackenzie River system were overcome. Oil exploration proceeded with success and beyond expectations, as I have stated. The petroleum pipeline to Whitehorse will be in operation early in 1944; the refinery by spring. The Skagway-Whitehorse production line is in operation. So is the pipeline to Watson Lake. The one to Fairbanks will be open in a few weeks. The total estimated cost of the entire project, with necessary accessories and transportation as of November 1 was $134,000,000. I do not minimize this figure, but I do point out that it is less than one day's cost of the war. Of this, $34,000,000 is the cost of the distribution product pipelines which were needed in any event, even if the rest of Canol had not been conceived. If Canol shortens the war by a single day, it has been financially worthwhile, aside from its ultimate value as a source of oil. Mr. Frederick A. Delano, Chairman of the National Resources Planning Board, after an inspection trip last July reported: "The proposed delivery of crude oil to the Whitehorse refinery seems fully justified, and the distribution of gasoline from there is a natural and important sequence."

The Present Situation

I have tried to place before you the situation where the Army was in the spring of 1942, when the logistics problem for the supply of the route to Alaska had to be solved. Fortunately, in the year and one half that has since transpired the threat to Alaska has been relieved. Accordingly, last spring and early summer the need of completing the project was reviewed in light of our stronger position in Alaska and the Eastern Pacific. The War Department General Staff, in July, 1943, determined that world-wide oil and tanker shortages dictated that Alaska be made self-sufficient in so far as possible, that military necessity then existed for the provision of aviation gas to support a major air offensive against Japan and that the Canol project would be of potential aid to this offensive. The General Staff therefore determined that the Canol project, as now being carried oh, should be completed.

This fall the subject was reviewed again, being referred to General Marshall, Admiral King, General Arnold and Admiral Leahy, constituting the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and representing both Army and the Navy. After full consideration the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on October 26, determined that the completion and operation of the Canol project is necessary to the war effort. They accordingly directed that the project be completed and operated as soon as practicable and that consideration be given to exploration and development for a full recovery of the predicted reserves in the Norman field.

I am a civilian, military strategy is not my field, like most Americans I rely upon our General Staff and our Joint Chiefs of Staff.

But it must be apparent to all that the success of the Canol project may be the determining factor which will control the size and extent of an air offensive aimed at the heart of the Japanese Empire. The world-wide shortage of tankers and petroleum products is such that our offensive air operations might be measured by our capacity to produce and distribute petroleum products where needed and at the time required.

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A member of this Committee, Senator Burton, as long ago as October 3, 1942, after a tour of the Alaskan front, made this statement: "The direct route to the heart of Japan is obviously the Alaskan route. We are only 2,500 miles from Tokyo. The Japanese defenses to its north are far weaker than those to the south and the northern route is shorter for us. We must not lose one foot of it, nor neglect the opportunity we now have to open and prepare this route so that some day it will be suited to the needs of an irresistible avalanche by air, land and sea that will win our war against Japan".

It may be said that we constructed a pipeline and erected a refinery with a capacity of only 3,000 barrels a day, while we have proceeded with exploration at the oilfield to obtain a much larger production. If, in the spring of 1942, we had known all we know today, we should have provided a larger pipeline and refinery. It is not too late to increase the capacity for transportation and refining, if that seems advisable.

Sources of Supply Near the Fighting Fronts

The development of local sources of supply for our fighting forces in the various theaters of war has been pressed by the Army in every possible way. The importance of this cannot be emphasized too strongly. The long supply lines stretching from sources of production in this country to the far-flung battle lines have presented and still do present one of our most vexing problems. It has been our policy from the first to get our military supplies from sources as near as possible to the fighting forces. The development of production at those places renders our supply independent of interruptions due to hostile submarine activity against our shipping routes. It enables us to relieve to some extent the severe strain that is still felt on our merchant shipping.

It has been this policy that led us to procure in Australia and New Zealand food, clothing and other items for our troops serving in that theater. We did our best to find petroleum in New Zealand, but the holes we dug turned out to be dry. We are developing the same kind of program in North Africa and in India. If we could find it and refine it in the territory we control in the Southwest Pacific, the Japanese would soon feel the heavy hand of war right in their homeland. What we hope to accomplish there, we have accomplished for the Alaskan theater.

Post-War Uses

Our arrangements with Canada and Imperial Oil Limited permit us during the war to take, transport and refine all the oil we wish. The contracts and exchange of notes do not give us post-war rights in this respect. There are provisions whereby out of the price of the oil a part of our cost in developing the oilfield will be repaid. Canada has an option to acquire the refinery and pipeline at the end of the war at its then appraised value. If it does not exercise the option, it may be sold by public tender at not less than that price. If not so disposed of, disposition of the facilities are to be referred to the Permanent Joint Board on Defense of the United States and Canada. Both governments have agreed not to allow dismantling unless recommended by the Permanent Joint Board.

As I have told you, Canol was begun as a military installation. We were not concerned then with its commercial use. We were too busy staving off defeat.

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As we survey the project now, it is apparent that on the initiative of the United States and at our expense, and for military reasons affecting the joint defense of Canada and the United States, we have developed in Canada a valuable resource beyond their or our expectations. There is no substantial market for the oil at the field on the Mackenzie River. Its principal outlet is at the end of the pipelines, in or near Alaska. The value of the petroleum for the defense of Alaska and the Canadian Northwest in future years and for the further development of this vast, almost untouched territory, is great.

The War Department has already initiated discussions on this whole question with the State Department and the Canadian Government. As a result of these discussions I have every confidence that an arrangement will be worked out with the Canadian Government for the future use of this oil on a basis completely fair and equitable to both countries.

The Canol project, so far as I know, is the first major venture of the United States Government in oil production on foreign soil. After our experience with gasoline rationing and the serious depletion of our own crude oil reserves, I believe that the American people may favor similar ventures in the near future. This Committee in a recent report has suggested that we obtain oil rights in other countries. Our participation in oil reserves on foreign soil is necessary to our national welfare and our future defense. This applies especially to the defense of the North American continent. We cannot continuously expend our own reserves and expect to keep the wheels of our nation moving and our planes and shipping engaged in the traffic of the world. This important fact was recognized by the Secretary of War who, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy dated October 29, 1943, stated:

> "I am in agreement with you that, in the interest of the national defense, it is becoming increasingly important to provide more adequate military oil reserves both in this country and, if possible, abroad."

Conclusion

When we started Canol we were met by plenty of objections. It was said there wasn't any oil at Norman Wells. It was said that it was impossible to take equipment there to drill. It was said that a pipeline through the mountains to Whitehorse could never be completed. It was said that the weather was so severe that the oil would not flow in the lines. And so on. We are now disproving every one of them. The objections reminded me of the protests made when this nation acquired Alaska in 1867 through the action of Secretary of State Seward - "Seward's Folly" it was called.

I am fully convinced that what we have done so far is sound and that Canol will be a continuing benefit to our country in its peacetime economy, just as it is during this war.

I desired to appear before you to make this statement - not in defense of the project, but in a spirit of pride that the Army had the courage to meet this challenge of military necessity and prosecute it vigorously to a successful conclusion.

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Estimated Tankage installed by the United States in Canada

	No.	Size	Location
EDMONTON	6	10,000 gal. tanks	4 at north end and 2 at south end of hangar apron
	8	25,000 gal. tanks	4 along side of spur tracks
GRANDE PRAIRIE	2	25,000 gal. tanks	near south-east of parking area
	2	10,000 gal. tanks	
FORT ST. JOHN	1	10,000 bbl. (200,000 gals.)	not yet established - in north-east corner of building area
	4	10,000 gal. underground tanks	
FORT NELSON	2	10,000 barrel	to south-east of parking area
	4	10,000 gal. tanks	north of intersection NE-SW and NW-SE runways
WATSON LAKE	4	10,000 gal. tanks	to south (centre) of main taxi-strip
WHITEHORSE	24	10,000 barrel	dispersed near western boundary of the airport
	6	10,000 gal. tanks	
	2	4,800 barrel (temporary)	to the west of the entrance road
PRINCE GEORGE	2	25,000 gal. tanks	immediately south of the Shell Oil Company plant
REGINA	1	1,000 gal. tank	
GOOSE	1	1,000,000 gal. (steel and concrete tank)	
	4	10,000 barrel (fuel oil concrete tanks)	
	3	5,000 gal. (fuel oil tanks)	building area
	2	1,500 gal. tanks	building area

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(To NAR ?)

C163416

March 14, 1944.

Confidential

Memorandum

Re. CANOL Project

At the end of our conversation this afternoon, Mr. Atherton said to me in a sort of "off the record" way of speaking that the War Department were very anxious to get some final decision about one or two outstanding matters in the CANOL Project. I gathered that what he had in mind was some final disposition of the questions at issue, as soon as possible.

W.L.M.K.

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Ottawa, April 5th, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

You will remember that the U. S. Commanding General, Northwest Service Command, Brigadier General Worsham, addressed to you, some time ago, through General Foster, an invitation to attend the ceremony, later this month, to mark the completion of the Canol project. I replied on your behalf, saying that while the invitation was appreciated, it would not be possible for you to attend.

It was suggested that possibly you would be willing to have General Foster, who will be present representing the Canadian government, ~~to~~ convey a message on your behalf. I should not think there would be any objection to this and it would, I think, be very acceptable. Attached for your consideration are a few brief paragraphs which you might think suitable.

The ceremony is to take place toward the end of this month, at Whitehorse, Y.T.

A.D.P.H.

Many thanks will go if I can send the enclosed on unread
6-4-44

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Ottawa, April 5th, 1944.

I am grateful to Brigadier General Worsham for his invitation to attend these opening ceremonies and regret that pressure of public business prevented me from being present.

The Canol Project was undertaken as an emergency measure when enemy action threatened the lines of supply to United States forces in Alaska.

The history of our two countries has been marked by many great engineering achievements. Canol will now be included among the most arduous of these great projects. With skill and determination, you have ~~fought~~ won through in a manner that recalls the feats of the early pioneers of this Continent.

Canol stands as one more example of United States-Canadian cooperation. It has advanced by many years the time when the oil resources of the Canadian Northwest will be available ~~to the world~~ to meet ever growing needs.

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NAR/SR
18.12.44

C163419

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The United States Ambassador said this morning that the United States Government would be glad to send representatives of the War and State Departments to Ottawa in the near future, to discuss arrangements for post war disposition of some of the Canol facilities. I said I would get in touch with the Departments of Government concerned and let him know when the meeting he proposed could be arranged.

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RMM/MPB
January 26th, 1945

C163420

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Canol Discussion

The United States Government has asked for discussions to review the whole Canol situation and they are sending a delegation to Ottawa on January 29th consisting principally of War Department representatives. The talks are being kept confidential.

We do not know whether the United States have any definite proposals to make, but there are indications that they would like to withdraw from Canol and turn it over to Canada. We shall have to consider carefully whether there is any advantage in departing from the existing agreement which calls for appraisal of the pipeline and refinery after the war at their then commercial value.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD IN OTTAWA,
JANUARY 29, 1945.

1. A meeting of United States and Canadian representatives was held in Room 123, East Block, at 10 a.m., Monday, January 29, for the purpose of discussing certain modifications which the United States Government would like to make in the existing agreements covering the Canol Project. The following participated in the discussions :

United States

Hon. Ray Atherton, United States Ambassador to Canada
Mr. Lewis Clark, Counsellor, United States Embassy
Colonel F. J. Graling, Military Attaché, United States Embassy

Mr. J. G. Parsons, State Department

Brigadier General Stanley L. Scott, Planning Division, ASF
Brigadier General F. S. Strong, Officer Commanding, Northwest Service Command
Brigadier General Walter B. Pyron, Army-Navy Petroleum Board
Lt. Col. B. F. Hake, Fuels and Lubricants Division, OQMG
Lt. Col. C. G. Ingle, Planning Division, ASF
Major C. R. Lovitt, Northwest Service Command

Mr. Julius H. Amberg, Office of the Secretary of War

Mr. Edward B. Swanson, Petroleum Administration for War

Canada

Mr. N. A. Robertson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs
Mr. J.E. Read, Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs
Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Department of External Affairs
Miss B. M. Bridge, Department of External Affairs

Mr.A. D. P. Heeney, Secretary, Cabinet War Committee
Major General W.W. Foster, Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada
Major General M. A. Pope, Cabinet War Committee Secretariat
Wing Commander P. A. Cumyn, Secretary, Interdepartmental Panel on Joint Defence Projects

Dr. W. C. Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance.

Commander C. P. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Transport
Mr. M. C. Collins, Air Services Branch, Department of Transport
Mr. T. R. Moore, Air Services Branch, Department of Transport
Mr. J. R. Robertson, Chief Inspector of Airways, Department of Transport

Mr. J. H. Berry, Chairman, Crown Assets Allocation Committee

Mr. C. W. Jackson, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources
Mr. R. A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories
Mr. G. S. Hume, Bureau of Geology and Topography, Department of Mines and Resources
Dr. J. S. Stewart, Bureau of Geology and Topography, Department of Mines and Resources

Air Vice Marshal W. A. Curtis, Air Member for Air Staff, Department of National Defence for Air
Group Captain W. F. Hanna, Director of Plans, Department of National Defence for Air

Colonel J. H. Jenkins, Director of Military Operations and Plans, Department of National Defence

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2. Opening the discussion, General Scott stated that, since the disposition of the Canol Project presents so many complex problems which will be time-consuming in their solution, the United States authorities feel that it would be desirable for the two Governments to give consideration to them now rather than wait until after the termination of hostilities, as contemplated under present agreements. Specifically, the United States Government would like (1) to obtain Canada's consent to the revision of existing agreements so as to permit the modification or termination of the operation of the Canol Project in conformity with changing military requirements; (2) to begin the formulation of an agreement upon the manner of the disposition of the Canol products distribution pipelines; and (3) to secure Canadian agreement to the acceleration of appraisal of the Project.

He then outlined the provision made in the Exchange of Notes of June 27-29, 1942, with respect to the disposition of the refinery and crude oil pipeline, and in the Exchanges of Notes of August 14-15, 1942, and June 7, 1944, with respect to the Skagway-Whitehorse pipeline and the gasoline distribution lines to Watson Lake and Fairbanks. In connection with the latter, he said that, in its operating contract with the United States War Department, Standard Oil of California had inadvertently been given an option to buy the products and distribution pipelines within 90 days after the termination of the contract at a price and terms to be agreed upon. For another twelve months after the expiration of this 90 day period, if the United States Government should decide to sell the pipelines to a third party, Standard Oil would have the right for 30 days to buy at the same figure. Mr. Amberg explained that this clause had been embodied in the contract by an oversight and that it was not expected that Standard Oil would insist upon exercising its option, but that if they should, the United States would regard their obligation to Canada as binding. The United States Government would resist any attempt on the part of the Company to enforce the option. In any event, Standard Oil could do no more than seek damages and these, if proved, would be the entire responsibility of the United States. The terms of the Standard Oil contract could therefore be ignored in the intergovernmental consideration of the problem of disposition of the pipelines in question, but it was felt that the Canadian authorities should know exactly how matters stood.

General Scott then went on to explain that operation of the Canol Project was very uneconomical and could be justified only by the tight world petroleum supply situation and the tanker shortage. Should either or both of these conditions improve as a result, for instance, of the termination of hostilities in Europe, the future of the Project would become a matter for immediate attention. Mr. Amberg here pointed out that the War Department appropriation for Canol will expire on June 30, 1945, and it is not impossible, in view of the changing military picture in Europe and domestic political considerations, that Congress may refuse to provide funds for its continued operation, even though existing agreements provide for operation by the United States until the cessation of hostilities, which would include the Pacific War. In view of this uncertainty as to the duration of active operation of the project, the United States authorities felt that thought should be given now to the policy to be adopted upon the termination of operations. General Scott mentioned some of the factors which would have to be considered in determining this policy, such as (1) the maintenance of the air bases in the Northwest for continental defence, for regional economic development or as part of a trans-Pacific Trunk Air System, (2) the maintenance of the Alaska Highway as a measure for continental defence and for regional economic development, (3) the economic status of the Canol Project - crude oil system and pipeline system products, and (4) the post-war status of the project as a public utility under private operation, a private enterprise or as a government-owned and operated utility.

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General Scott pointed out that an official inspection of the installations was a prerequisite to any attempt at appraising their value. This could be much more easily accomplished while the facilities were in operation. Furthermore, the shorter the time lag between the shut-down of operations by the United States Army and the transfer to the purchaser, the smaller would be the expense of guarding and maintenance and the physical depreciation of the facilities.

He also called attention to the fact that one of the major problems of disposition will arise from the fact that the Skagway-Whitehorse pipeline is laid on the right-of-way of the White Pass and Yukon Railway and upon the return of the road to civilian management after the war, it will constitute a serious menace to the safety of railway operations. The cost of moving the pipeline to a new location near the railway right-of-way has been estimated at approximately $2,000,000. Alternatively, it might be routed along the Haines-Kluane cut-off at a cost somewhat in excess of this amount.

As an initial step in the solution of the numerous problems involved in the disposition of the Canol Project, General Scott proposed that the two Governments should agree to the immediate appointment of appraisers to evaluate the entire project as well as each of its component parts separately.

3. Commenting upon General Scott's statement of the United States position, Mr. Robertson said that there would be little disagreement about the desirability of completing a primary official inspection of the facilities while the project was in operation. This was an essential first step and basic to the final appraisal. However, appraisal in terms of the post-war commercial value of the project, as provided by existing agreements, would appear to be quite impracticable at this time when no policy decisions have been reached with respect to the various factors, enumerated by General Scott, upon which will depend the post-war demand for the products of the system. In the absence of guidance from the governments based upon such policy decisions, the appraisers would be set an almost impossible assignment. He felt, therefore, that the most sensible and perhaps the most ambitious course which could be recommended to the governments at this time would be to undertake a primary official inspection of the facilities and the preparation of an inventory and statement on maintenance costs and operating charges as an essential ingredient in subsequent consideration, but to leave appraisal in terms of post-war economic value until such time as government policy with respect to the future development of the Northwest has been decided.

4. In the discussion which followed, both in the general meeting and in the sub-committee delegated to give particular consideration to the question of appraisal, the United States representatives indicated that they attached a good deal of importance to the initial inspection being regarded as a first step in the process of appraisal. They felt that it was particularly desirable that the representatives appointed now to inspect the physical facilities should carry through to the final appraisal, not only because some duplication of effort might thereby be avoided but also because it would enable the governments to secure the services of representatives of higher calibre. They agreed that appraisal could not follow immediately upon the completion of the preliminary stock-taking but would have to wait until the governments had made the necessary policy decisions. The Canadian group, on the other hand, thought that inventory and appraisal could be two distinct and separate steps, with the results of the stock-taking being made available to the appraisers appointed to make the final evaluation. They pointed out, too, the physical difficulty of assigning individuals to a task such as this which might well extend over a very considerable period of time.

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5. After the noon recess, the United States representatives presented a draft note embodying the modifications in existing agreements to which the United States Government would like to have Canada's consent, namely :

(a) that the United States Government be permitted to terminate or modify operation of all facilities of the Canol Project when, in its opinion, military considerations make such a course desirable;

(b) that the products pipeline system be evaluated by the appraisers appointed for the evaluation of the crude oil system, but as an independent problem;

(c) that all the facilities of the Canol Project be valued at their commercial value as of the time of termination of operations rather than as of the time of cessation of hostilities;

(d) that the two Governments appoint representatives at an early date in order jointly to inspect the physical property, collect information and submit a preliminary report relating to evaluation as early as practicable and, if possible, prior to the termination of operations.

The Canadian representatives undertook to bring these representations immediately to the attention of the appropriate authorities of their Government and Mr. Robertson stated that he would communicate with Mr. Atherton as soon as a decision had been reached.

6. General Strong brought up the question of the use of surplus refinery products for commercial purposes and the possible utilization of the pipelines for their distribution. It was agreed that this was a matter which would have to be taken up with the Oil Controller.

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C163425

TREATY SERIES, 1945

No. 3

EXCHANGE OF NOTES

(February 26, 1945)

BETWEEN

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONSTITUTING AN

AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE CANOL PROJECT

IN FORCE FEBRUARY 26, 1945

OTTAWA
1945

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SUMMARY

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EXCHANGE OF NOTES (FEBRUARY 26, 1945) BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CONSTITUTING AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE CANOL PROJECT.

I

The United States Ambassador to Canada
to the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, February 26, 1945.

No.290

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to previous correspondence and specifically to the exchanges of notes of June 27 and 29, 1942, August 14 and 15, 1942, and June 7, 1944, as well as to recent discussions which have taken place with officials of your Government, all with regard to the Canol Project.

In the note of June 27, 1942, my Government proposed that the pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse and the refinery at Whitehorse should be operated under contracts with it or by its agents or representatives during the war. I am instructed now to propose that this shall not be construed as requiring that the United States shall continue to operate the pipeline and the refinery until the termination of hostilities, and further to seek the agreement of your Government that the United States may terminate or modify operation of any or all of the facilities of the Canol Project including the products pipeline system when, in its opinion, military considerations make such a course desirable. It is understood that the United States authorities will remain responsible for such care or maintenance of the facilities as they regard as necessary or desirable.

In the exchange of notes of August 14 and 15, 1942, it was provided that at the termination of hostilities discussions should be undertaken at the request of either Government with a view to reaching an agreement in regard to the disposition of the pipeline from Skagway to Whitehorse. Subsequently, by exchange of notes dated June 7, 1944, the two Governments agreed that the foregoing arrangements should apply also to the gasoline distribution lines from Carcross to Watson Lake and from Whitehorse to Fairbanks. My Government now desires to propose that the products pipeline system be evaluated by the appraisers appointed for the valuation of the crude oil system, but as an independent problem.

The exchange of notes of June 27 and 29, 1942, provides for valuation of the crude oil pipeline and refinery at the termination of hostilities at the then commercial value of these facilities. My Government now desires to propose that all the facilities of the Canol Project, including the products pipeline system, shall be valued at their commercial values as of the time or times of the completion of the appraisal, and in this connection it proposes that appraisal of the Canol Project should be initiated within a reasonable time following notice of the termination of operation of the project, or a major part thereof, and completed as soon as practicable.

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It therefore further proposes that the two Governments appoint representatives at an early date in order jointly to inspect the physical property, collect information and submit preliminary reports relating to evaluation as early as practicable and, if possible, prior to the termination of operations.

If your Government agrees to the proposals made herein it is suggested that this note and your reply indicating such agreement shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding of the two Governments on this matter.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

RAY ATHERTON.

II

The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada
to the United States Ambassador

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, February 26, 1945.

No.17

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge your note No.290 of February 26 in which you make certain proposals with regard to the Canol Project.

The proposals set forth in your note are acceptable to the Canadian Government, and it is agreed that your note and this reply shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between the two Governments on this matter.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING,

Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

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COPY.

As from Lambeth Palace, S.E.

August, 1944.

"Of course Christian folk who say that God is Love know quite well that they are stating a prodigious paradox, which is credible only because of Christ Himself - His teaching, His life and above all His death. It is emphatically not an inference from the experience of the human race which would point if anything in the opposite direction. And it does not mean (except very indirectly) that God is kind as we usually understand kindness. Rather it means that God is utterly self-giving, and knowing that this is the best way of life calls us to share that self-giving quality. (For the same reason just because He is Love, He is infinitely stern and severe against selfishness).

"From this point of view, we are here to learn how to become loving in the sense of self-forgetful in service of others, and the only real service is to help them also to become loving. There is room for all forms of sympathy and tenderness, but at its root it is an austere, not an indulgent, doctrine.

"Still from this point of view - He has made the world with a framework of fixed laws - Gravitation, Nemesis and so forth - in all departments, not physical only; because if we could have these laws suspended for our convenience, that would tend to make us self-centred again, when the whole purpose of life is escape from self-centredness. He can suspend those laws when that will promote His own great purpose, but we must expect this to be very rare. The events which we call "Accidents" are due to the operation of these laws when it cuts across our plans, hopes or desires; so each, though lamentable in itself, is yet a result of what is grounded in the love of God. And this may help us to see that nothing ever separates us from that Love. The sparrow falls to the ground, but not without the Father's care.

"Then when we see how our suffering can be something within the purpose of God's Love, though He does not specially inflict it, but allows it to happen, we can get on to see how it can become a means of closer fellowship with Our Lord; and if when we suffer we can suffer with Him, our suffering becomes, as St. Paul said, a filling up of His, a contribution to the redemption of the world.

"All this does not save hearts from nearly breaking; but it helps us to see that if our hearts break, God's breaks also, and it is through that heart-break (the Cross) that the way lies to the happiness of union with all whom we love from which all of self and the strains it makes is vanished.

"I know how cold and abstract and detached it is bound to seem when put in this generalised form. But you will know that I don't feel like that."

(Signed) William Cantuar:

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DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

C163430

OTTAWA, March 11, 19 46

Memorandum: Mr. Martin,
Office of the Prime Minister.

As requested, I attach a table of information on export credits, which you desired to have for Parliament. I also attach a couple of copies of Mr. Ilsley's speech on these credits last year in the House, in order that you may have the information he gave at that time in handy form.

There have been no withdrawals to date this month, so the figures are actually as of this date, although the table is marked "Commitments to February 28th".

RAB.

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TOTAL COMMITMENTS UNDER PART II, EXPORT CREDITS INSURANCE ACT TO FEBRUARY 28, 1946.

Country	Date of Agreement	Amount of Agreement	Repayable	Average Interest Rate	Amount of credit Advanced as at Feb. 28, 1946.	Additonal Commitments (3)
		$			$	$
Belgium	Oct. 1945	25,000,000	1947-1976	3%	25,000,000	--
China	Feb. 1946	60,000,000 (1)	1948-1977	3%	--	--
Czechoslovakia	March, 1945	19,000,000	1950-1954	2.5%	2,361,551	--
France	--	--	--	--	--	242,500,000
Netherlands	Feb. 1946	125,000,000 (2)	1950-1976	3.05%	24,967,075	
Netherlands East Indies	Oct. 1945	15,000,000	1950-1954	2.25%	1,500,000	50,000,000
Norway	June 1945	13,000,000	1951-1959	2.75%	8,595,000	17,000,000
Russia	Aug. 1945	3,000,000	1950-	2.0%	2,762,500	--

(1) This amount includes $25,000,000 for the purchase of supplies and equipment requested as Mutual Aid.

(2) This amount includes $25,000,000 loaned under agreement signed May 1, 1945.

(3) See Mr. Ilsley's speech in the House of Commons, December 3, 1945, on the extension of the lending powers under the Export Credits Insurance Act. Negotiations have not been completed in these cases.

3-11-46
mlg.

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TOTAL COMMITMENTS UNDER PART II, EXPORT CREDITS INSURANCE ACT TO FEBRUARY 28, 1946.

Country	Date of Agreement	Amount of Agreement	Repayable	Average Interest Rate	Amount of Credit Advanced as at Feb. 28, 1946.	Additional Commitments (3)
		$			$	
Belgium	Oct. 1945	25,000,000	1947-1976	3%	25,000,000	-
China	Feb. 1946	60,000,000 (1)	1948-1977	3%	-	-
Czechoslovakia	Mar. 1945	19,000,000	1950-1954	2.5%	2,361,551	-
France	-	-	-	-	-	242,500,000
Netherlands	Feb. 1946	125,000,000 (2)	1950-1976	3.05%	24,967,075	
Netherlands East Indies	Oct. 1945	15,000,000	1950-1954	2.25%	1,500,000	50,000,000
Norway	June 1945	13,000,000	1951-1959	2.75%	8,595,000	17,000,000
Russia	Aug. 1945	3,000,000	1950-	2.0%	2,762,500	-

(1) This amount includes $25,000,000 for the purchase of supplies and equipment requested as Mutual Aid.

(2) This amount includes $25,000,000 loaned under agreement signed May 1, 1945.

(3) See Mr. Ilsley's speech in the House of Commons, December 3, 1945, on the extension of the lending powers under the Export Credits Insurance Act. Negotiations have not been completed in these cases.

11/3/46

SECRET

file C163433 Fin-8

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Memorandum - 6-10-47

Re: Canadian shortage of U.S. dollars.

I have been very worried to learn that some of the officials concerned with measures to meet the shortage of U.S. dollars seem to be of opinion that the Foreign Exchange Control Act might be used to impose restrictions upon imports from the United States.

The question of using Foreign Exchange Control to restrict imports was raised explicitly in the House of Commons and in the Banking and Commerce Committees of both Houses. I have checked the record and it is filled with categorical assurances given on behalf of the government that Foreign Exchange Control was NOT for the purpose of restricting imports.

In explaining the proposed measure on June 17, 1946 (Unrevised Hansard, p. 2620) the then Minister of Finance, Mr. Ilsley, said:

> "We have no intention of using this exchange control legislation to restrict anything but certain types of capital movement. We expect to be able to avoid any interference with current account transactions."

and later in the same paragraph, he added:

> "It is for this reason that it is necessary to maintain our over-all machinery of control even though our intention is to place no restrictions on current account transactions."

The Proceedings of the House Committee are filled with assurances by the expert witness, backed up in some cases by Mr. Abbott who was acting for the Minister of Finance. The following passage from page 10 is a fair sample:

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"It was thought undesirable to give an administrative body such as the Foreign Exchange Control Board any authority to determine the character or volume of imports into Canada."

On the other hand, it might be argued that Mr. Abbott had reserved the position of the government in his statements to the Committee on page 196:

"No one can predict what the foreign exchange position will be in the future, however, and if the present measure is to be effective in accomplishing its purposes the government must be free to change any of its foreign exchange control policies to meet changing situations as and when they occur.

Accordingly, the government cannot accept amendments to the foreign exchange control bill of the character proposed by Mr. Macdonnell which would have the effect of limiting the government's ability to adapt its foreign exchange control policy in order to deal quickly and effectively with situations which may arise in the future."

and:

"Put it this way, that the government feels that in a matter of this kind it must retain freedom of action; that the exchange controls must be sufficiently flexible to allow continued relaxation, such as you suggest, if the circumstances warrant it, but which do not restrict the government in taking a necessary decision as to exchange policy."

A reading of the context of these passages, however, makes it clear that they refer to the object of the Bill VIZ. the control of exports of capital, and that they were not intended to leave the way open for the pursuit of a totally different object, VIZ. restriction of imports.

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It seems clear that if the government attempted to impose import restrictions under the Foreign Exchange Control Act it would be open to the charge of deceiving Parliament and of breaking faith.

But that is not the only objection to implementing by Order in Council a new and revolutionary policy which is certain to be unpopular with large sections of the country. Obviously I have not sufficient expert knowledge to have a useful opinion as to whether in fact import restrictions are essential or, if so, how soon they may be required. But granted import restrictions are required, surely it would be more prudent politically to call Parliament even if it should mean a short special session. To do so would be to confront the opposition parties with an emergency on which they would have to state their position and cast their votes immediately.

Even if, by a strained construction of the law, the government may have the legal power to act without Parliament, such a course would be not only contrary to Liberal principles, it would also provide the Opposition with two or three months in which to stir up public opinion, to take advantage of the unquestionably unpopular effects of the restrictions, and to prepare a campaign which would make the next regular session far more difficult; which, in view of the far-reaching implications of import restrictions, might ultimately pave the way for the defeat of the government.

Needless to add, I sincerely hope some way may be found to avoid the necessity for import restrictions, but in case they are necessary, I felt I should try to set out what seem to me the grave political dangers of proceeding in a way some of the officials seem to think is feasible.

To impose a wholly new policy of import restrictions by Order in Council would lend support to

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almost everything the Conservative Opposition has said about contempt of Parliament and about bureaucracy. To act through Parliament would, on the contrary, force all the opposition groups to state their own positions and to approve or disapprove by their votes a policy deemed necessary to meet an emergency. That has always been the kind of situation where the opposition has been weakest and the government strongest.

October 8, 1947.

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C163437

G-15-1
1945

R. J. DEACHMAN

MR. PHILPOTT HAS RAISED AN ISSUE.

N.S.#216.
3/10/45.

By

R. J. Deachman.

Read this little item first, then we will examine it together - test the reality of some of its statements:

> "The capitalistic system is based on keeping things scarce - and not making them plentiful. The manufacturers of refrigerators do not want service camp refrigerators sold to the nearest householder. The motor manufacturers do not want farmers to get cheap jeeps. The blanket manufacturer does not want second-hand army blankets swamping the price of his future sales."

This was written by Elmore Philpott, a good fellow despite his mistaken views. It is in sorrow I now direct to your attention, some obvious errors in this brief quotation.

So the capitalist system is based on keeping things scarce! Let us look at the facts. Production of manufactured goods, per worker in Canadian industry, was valued, at the factory door in 1910 at $2,263; compensation of employees averaged $466. By 1939 production had risen to $5,280 - average earnings $1,121. Manufacturing is not the only form in which production has increased. The change was equally great in transportation, in road construction, in building, in agriculture and in almost every other form of effort. Why? Capitalism is a dynamic system. It lives by scrapping the inefficient - it does it only when the "new" offers a chance for greater production than the "old". Capitalism has given us a wider range of goods for a steadily declining amount of effort.

CAPITALISM AND PLENTY.

Not long ago a distinguished economist* wrote these words:

> "It is the cheap cloth, the cheap cotton and rayon fabric, boots, motorcars and so on that are

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> the typical achievements of capitalist production, and not as a rule improvements that would mean much to the rich man. Queen Elizabeth owned silk stockings. The capitalist achievement does not typically consist in providing more silk stockings for queens but in bringing them within the reach of factory girls in return for steadily decreasing amounts of effort."

This statement reflects the genius of the system. Capitalism means mass production, a capitalist system could not exist on scarcity. If there is still a lingering doubt think over the countries where capital is scarce and dear, tell us if there's plenty in those lands.

LABOR AND RESTRICTION.

Now for the balance of the first quoted paragraph: Would the workers in a Canadian woollen factory welcome the dumping upon the market of millions of pairs of blankets? I wonder if the workers in Windsor would welcome a free distribution of jeeps to the farmers? Has Mr. Philpott ever read the proposals of organized labor before the Committee on Re-construction and Re-establishment? These suggestions, if applied, would cut production almost in two.

The liquidation of those surplus commodities, if carried out with ordinary care, should injure no one. I am not now suggesting that they should be thrust on the market, disturbing existing plants, throwing men and women temporarily out of work. Neither do I think Mr. Philpott holds that point of view. Some of these products could be offered on land-lease or on long term payments at low interest rates. The shock of this liquidation, if felt at all, would not be of long duration. It is true that many fear abundance but that nightmare is not alone the pet of capitalism it is the driving force behind organized labor. The facts are obvious.

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COFFEE, COTTON AND CORN.

Then there is another section of Mr. Philpott's story:

> "The same considerations which resulted in the burning of coffee, plowing under of cotton, and subsidization of non-productive wheat land - in the depths of the dirty thirties, when there was poverty and distress over half the world - these are now operating again. The people themselves must end them."

"The people themselves must end them"! This is a joke, it cannot be taken seriously. The people demand them. These things were done because the people wanted them done - in response to that demand the government paid for doing them.

When this happened the world feared war. Nations were closing their gates against each other, the United States leading the way to self-immolation. If the world really wants guns and planes and submarines instead of wheat, meat and fruit, why continue to produce these things? If value has gone out of certain products, in a mad world, then their production ceases to be important. Only the hope that the madness would pass could justify continued production.

... .

As I finished this story the mail came in. Among other things was a brief note which ended with this sentence:

> "In all discussions of the problems of the day how is it that no one suggests that we apply the principle of Christianity to the tasks before us."

That may be the answer - strange isn't it that it has so seldom been tried.

* Joseph A. Schumpeter,
author of Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.

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C163440

PART II

- THE MOBILIZATION ACT -

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But it happens that the pledge had, in the meantime, become embodied in a Statute. "The National Resources Mobilization Act" of June, 1940, conferred upon the Government very wide powers of compulsion in the matter of mobilizing the country's human and material rescources for the prosecution of the War.

Section 3 of that Act limited these powers consistently with the anti-Conscription pledge by declaring that the powers conferred by the Act should not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the Military, Naval or Air Forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

It is only fitting, when the people have freed the Government from its pledge in this regard, that the statutory limitation should immediately be removed; otherwise the Plebiscite would be meaningless.

"The National Resources Mobilization Act," which we are today amending, was introduced by the Prime Minister on June 17th, 1940, immediately following the fall of France, at one of the gravest moments in the history of the War.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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As the Prime Minister said in his statement on the War situation which preceded the introduction of the Bill:

Hansard - June 17, 1940, Page 853 -

"The plain facts are that the defeat of France has brought the War much nearer home to Canada. The British Isles are threatened with invasion, not as a remote possibility, but as an impending actuality. It is now wholly apparent that additional measures both for the assistance of Britain and for the defence of Canada are an essential."

Hansard - June 18, 1940, Page 898 -

"At this very time, France lies under the iron heel of Germany. And with what result? With the result that also between ourselves and the enemy there is no longer a single country. There are the waters of the English Channel, and the waters of the Atlantic, but that is all there is between Germany and the British Isles and ourselves."

.....

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On the same day, the Leader of the Opposition said, with regard to the proposed Bill:

Hansard

Hansard - June 18, 1940 - Page 858.

"This country may be invaded by a ruthless enemy within a short time. What position are we in to defend ourselves ? None whatever... The responsibility is the Government's, and the Government's alone. It has not the power today effectively to defend Canada. I hope it will have that power when this bill is introduced and passes this House."

It is desirable that we recall by these revealing utterances the spirit and the mood of this House and of the country when the Mobilization Act was put through in three short days. At that moment -- with the collapse of France -- we did not know but what the enemy would strike his next blow at our territory.

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The Prime Minister --

Hansard - June 18, 1940 - p. 854

"A Bill will be introduced in the House at once to confer upon the Government special emergency powers to mobilize all our human and material resources for the defence of Canada....

"The Bill is intended to remove any doubt as to the power of the Government and the will of Parliament that the whole material resources of the country should be available whenever they are required to meet the needs of the War. The operation of the measure will be confined to the period of the war."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C163445

The Prime Minister -

Hansard - June 19th, 1940 - Page 920

"This bill does not touch conscription overseas, beyond setting forth that its provisions shall not be applicable to conscription for overseas service. That is a most important distinction to be kept in mind in any comparison which may be made between legislation with respect to conscription passed during the last War, and the measure before us. It is altogether a mistake to designate this measure as primarily a conscription measure. It is a measure with respect to the mobilization of human and material resources."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C163446

The Prime Minister -

Hansard - June 20, 1940 - Page 958

"So far as the Government is concerned and its interpretation of this measure, it stands for equality of sacrifice with respect to human resources and material resources. If there is a possibility of choice between the two, material resources will have to serve the needs of human resources rather than the human resources be obliged to serve the ends of any material resources."

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C163447

The Honourable R. B. Hanson - Hansard - June 18, 1940 - P. 858

"It is the immediate future that demands our attention. The Government must give leadership, and to give leadership it must be armed with authority which, in my view, it does not at present possess. Today it is taking authority in large measure in regard to the particular matters to which I referred, and we shall help the Government. We all rejoice that they have gone as far as they have. The responsibility is theirs alone. We offer our wholehearted cooperation, but the lead must come from the Government."

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C163448

Coldwell

Mr. M.J. Coldwell -

Hansard - June 18, 1940 - Page 860

"I submit that, if we are going to ask young Canadians to lay down their lives in the defence of our country, we should predicate that request upon a demand that owners of large volumes of wealth and of property should first place that wealth and property on the altar of Canadian sacrifice."

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The Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Hansard - June 18, 1940 - P. 877

"Mr. Chairman, we often read in the newspaper appeals in favour of conscription. But they always call for the conscription of manpower. The newspapers, which represent the financial interests of the country, take care not to mention conscription of their property and of their wealth. This Bill aims at equalizing sacrifices. The Government will have the right to ask sacrifices not only from our young people who have to run personal risks for the defence of the country, it will also force those who are in possession of capital, those who are the most able to help in the defence of Canada, to contribute their share should they not come forward voluntarily."

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C163450

Hon. P.J.A. Cardin -

Hansard - June 18, 1940 - Page 894.

"I contend that the Bill now before the House, Mr. Speaker, goes further than any similar measure taken in the whole British Empire and even in Britain herself. This Bill confers on the Government unlimited powers over Canadian citizens and Canadian property. Whenever the present Government or any other Government shall decide to apply this measure, they will have power to take every action that is now being taken in Britain with regard to conscription of men, wealth, finance and economic resources.

"Every possible authority is given there in comprehensive terms and this Bill covers conscription of wealth just as much as that of man-power. And, when it is suggested that finance should be enlisted to fight along with the soldiers, I wish to state that, under the Bill now before the House, the Government is authorized to request finance to keep step with the soldiers in their fight for our liberty. The Bill now being submitted to the House could not be worded in more general terms. This Bill covers everything."

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C163451

The Hon. P.J.A. Cardin - Hansard - June 18, 1940 - P. 895.

"The people of my Province possessed enough vision, enough intelligence to realize that, by restricting their participation to the defence of the Canadian soil only, their participation should prove of no avail, that it would prove fruitless whenever Britain and France were crushed. At such a time, rhetorical, high-sounding speeches and empty words concerning the defence of Canada shall partake only of the theatrical and shall be devoid of any quality of true patriotism to be found among men whose main preoccupation is to forestall possible threatening dangers and to prepare, as intelligent men, for the defence of the country.....

"What will be the value of our petty chattels and even of our great assets, what will become of our accumulated wealth if Germany succeeds in crushing under her blood-stained boot the combined strength of France and England? What will become of our savings, and of the money deposited in the banks or invested in industrial plants if the military power of France and England is annihilated? Our so-called wealth will be worth as much as that of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, our so-called assets will have just the value that those of Holland, Norway and Belgium have today.

.....

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"That is how the problem should be faced. During the last election I stated many times in the Province of Quebec something which I am not afraid to maintain before the people, before every one of my fellow-citizens: Money is of no importance when the freedom of a Nation is at stake."

Page 896 -

"The right-thinking people of Quebec are with the Government; they are in favour of our participating in the war to the extent of our ability and they are ready to defend Canada with the greatest energy. That is the view of the people of Quebec and it is well-known. To consult them on that subject would be to express a doubt, to entertain fears as to their state of mind.....

"Mr. Speaker, everyone seems to admit that there is danger or, at least, that there may be danger. But those who oppose this measure say: 'Let us wait a little longer; it may be dangerous to do so, but let us wait to prepare ourselves until the danger is at our gates.' It will then be too late to defend ourselves.

.....

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"A handful of men, ten or eleven million of a population on an immense territory like that of Canada, we would be unable to defend our country when the might of England and of France have gone under. It would be too late. The time to act is now, before the enemy seeking to invade our territory appears at our gates."

Page 897

"The time for action is not tomorrow; the time for action is today. Together we must make use of all those forces which Canada is able to mobilize in order to prepare ourselves for the defence of Canada. If it does not become necessary to defend ourselves, so much the better; but, if it does, it will at least be a consolation for us to think that we have seen to it in time and that we have made preparations when it was still time to do so, instead of waiting until the last minute to put up a stage fight."

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Page 897-8

"Doubtless we can help the cause of liberty and democracy by supplying arms to England and her Allies; doubtless we can help them by sending them as much as possible in the way of munitions and foodstuffs; but I ask those who bring forward this argument: Do you not in your heart feel a bit ashamed of thinking only in terms of money while abandoning to your neighbours the protection of your life, of your possessions and of your rights !

"Mr. Speaker, I spurn that theory. I do not want it to be said in the country that we are trying to hide behind the Monroe doctrine."

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Looking back briefly over the Debate which took place in this House on the National Resources Mobilization Act -- we find that the overwhelming concern of all parties was the imminent danger to Canada arising from the fall of France.

It was considered essential that immediate emergency measures be made for the direct defence of Canada.

There was agreement that recruiting for overseas service should continue-- and that the production of war equipment and food supplies for Great Britain was of even greater urgency than prior to France's defeat.

Since the element of compulsion was to be introduced -- all parties agreed that there must be regard for equality of sacrifice -- that the material resources of the wealthy -- and the earnings of great corporations must be drafted into the service of the nation equally with the lives of our young men.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C163456

MEMORANDUM (2) WJT/MS
24.10.41

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr. Cardin's secretary telephoned to say that Mr. Cardin is anxious to have a word with you whenever you may be in Montreal. His doctors have told him that he can make the journey from Sorel without any impairment of his growing strength, but that for the time being a trip to Ottawa is not altogether desirable.

I did not tell Mr. Dufour of your plans for a trip south but you might wish to see Mr. Cardin when you pass through Montreal next Friday night. Some advance word would naturally have to be given to him.

W. J. T.

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Resignation of Mr. Cardin

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Comment on the resignation of Mr. Cardin was in general quite mild. The outstanding exception to the general rule was an editorial in the Montreal Gazette of May the 12th from which the following extracts are given:

.....

.....**"Unwept, unhonored, the Minister of Transport and Public Works became once more the private Member for Richelieu-Vercheres, and thus relieved the Government of a burden which in recent months had grown past bearing".**

.....

"There spoke the real Cardin. There spoke the man who, a quarter-century later, led Quebec's 'Yes' campaign in a fashion so calamitously inept as to have the effect of sabotage". .....

....."refusal by a majority of French-Canadians to grant the request he so feebly and faintly put before them, has created a genuine dilemma for many who fought more faithfully than he. Many a French-Canadian M.P. personally convinced that the Government should have full power to wage war, feels that the plebiscite has left him the alternative of voting against personal conviction or resigning his seat..... We may have faith, we do have faith, in their honesty and loyalty, in their earnest will to act honorably toward their constituents and their country".

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More representative of the comment in the English Canadian press is the following extract from the Regina Leader Post of May the 12th:

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"Departure of Mr. Cardin should pave the way for a new approach to the Quebec problem. It is perhaps just as well that no saving formula was found to gloss over the split in the ministry. Despite his undoubted gifts Mr. Cardin was a dubious asset in the King government, half-convinced as he was by the isolationist argument and half-defeatist in his attitude towards the people of his own province. It is to be hoped that the prime minister will be able to fill the Quebec vacancy in the cabinet with a colleague of comparable intellectual attainments, in closer touch with the masses of French Canada, and possessing a sterner realization of Quebec's wartime responsibilities and the relation of that province to the rest of Canada."

Extract from Regina Leader-Post.
May 12th, 1942.

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The Winnipeg Free Press in its editorials of April the 28th and May the 13th in commenting upon Mr. Cardin's resignation drew attention to a valuable possible result. The Free Press suggested that the retirement of Mr. Cardin should open the way to an educational campaign in the Province of Quebec to which he had been an obstacle. As to the need of such a campaign the following extract from the Free Press of April the 28th is typical:

.....

"Having however said so much in endorsation of the course followed by Mr. King, it is necessary to add certain remarks of the sharpest criticism. The issue involved in the plebiscite was so simple and clear-cut - that issue of course being the major issue in the war, the choice between freedom and slavery - that the only possible explanation of the large 'NO' vote is that those who returned a negative answer simply could not have had any clear understanding of the problem at stake".

.....

"For this the whole Government is to blame, but that blame rests with special weight upon the shoulders of Mr. King and his French Canadian colleagues in the cabinet since war broke out, with the single exception of Mr. St. Laurent whose advent into the Government is so recent and whose attitude toward the war has been always so clear

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that he must be wholly absolved. The responsibility for this lack of understanding in Quebec rests upon Mr. King, upon the late Mr. Lapointe, the late Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin"......"Yet, it is apparent today that not only during the plebiscite campaign itself but for many, many months before it, indeed ever since the fall of France, no sustained and vigorous effort has been made to bring home to the French Canadian citizens of this country as a whole the tragic consequences to them and to us all of defeat".

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Comment in the French papers on the resignation of Mr. Cardin was prevailingly mild and suggested the atmosphere of watchful waiting to see what position Mr. Cardin would take up.

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Mr. Cardin has told us:

"Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a peace treaty not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others."

Does Mr. Cardin think we will be repaying our debt to the Soviets by deciding to suspend everything while we talk over the methods of deciding whether John Jones or Jack Smith shall serve in the Army.

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Let us accept Mr. Cardin's proposition that we devote ourselves to raising food and making munitions of war.

We could bring home every Canadian, soldier, sailor and airman and put them to work on the land and in the factories.

We could, perhaps, double our production.

But would this do our Allies any good?

No! It would not because:

(1) We can only send food and armaments to Britain and the Soviets if we defeat the U-boat and maintain the island fortress of Britain as a base of operations against the Nazis.

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(2) We can send food and supplies to China only after we have hit Japan hard and opened the way to China.

(3) Neither our Allies nor the oppressed peoples of Europe can be assisted if the fighting fronts against the Nazi armies are weakened.

(4) Whether Mr. Cardin likes it or not we all have to tighten our belts until victory is won.

(5) Our Allies in both China and Russia have made it plain that what they want is not only food and guns but action on our part against the enemy.

Does Cardin know better than Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek?

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(6) In any case it is nonsense to talk about men as an alternative to food and armaments.

Canada is already supplying <u>armed</u> men, <u>arms</u> and <u>food</u> to our Allies.

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C163468

Unrevised Hansard
February 9, 1943
Pages 298-9

MR. CARDIN

Let us base our participation in the war upon reason; let us see that what we can do best is done first and not second, even if it is a source of pride for us that certain of our men are fighting gallantly at one point or another. We must sustain them, and we must help to sustain Russia, China, and Britain and other parts of the British empire.

Munitions also are necessary, they are most important. The United States are thinking of fixing and limiting their man-power to 7,500,000 men. It is about time that we ourselves think of placing a limit—as high as possible, I admit—on our man-power overseas, and try to feed those who are in need of being fed. In north Africa people are dying, and the political and military heads there to-day say that what has been provided up to the present in the form of arms and food is only a drop in the bucket and that unless something more is done in regard to food and armaments we shall not succeed and thousands upon thousands of the population will die. The same situation prevails in China. China is threatened with famine, and she has not the armaments she needs to carry on her fight. Dear old China, that we love so much to-day, that we praise so much to-day and proclaim to be one of the first peoples in the world! For years she was fighting the Japanese on her own territory without our help, but to-day, what a change! We have discovered that she is a great country, a country that deserves our praise and support. We have modified our views; we have become a little more courageous and ready to help China now, as well as Russia. Let us give them what they need most, not men but food and armaments. That is what they want to enable them to carry on the struggle. As a matter of fact they are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for their country.

If we have some success to-day, who has achieved that success? The Russians. Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

What are we to do? I am going to be bold, not afraid to express my thoughts. I regret that the government at the present time has not seen fit to suspend the mobilization act of 1940 until at least a survey has been made of the whole situation in order to ascertain the most pressing needs of Canada as well as of the united nations. We ought to make such

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a survey, instead of trying to attain the same end by a circular letter to be sent from time to time to the boards or to the committees that decide whether or not a man essential to the farm or to an industry should be given a military postponement. I hope we do not establish in this country, for the coming generation, a practice by which the authority is going to tell the judges and those who have been sworn to interpret the law what they ought to do and how they ought to interpret that law. I trust we have not reached that depth. If the law is not good, let us change it, but while the law is there, let us observe it in the letter and in the spirit. What this letter purports to do is to tell the boards that they should interpret the law according to what the authority thinks it is important to do at a given time. If that is what we are fighting for on the battlefield, we had better cease. If we are fighting for principles like those; if the law is to be changed according to the will of the government, according to the will of a superior officer, according to the will of a military authority, I do not know where it is going to end.

That is my suggestion, and I am not afraid to make it. I may be accused of not being alive to the situation, of not taking cognizance of the facts as they exist in the world to-day. To those who may be inclined to attack me and to be unjust I wish to say only this. To-day Irishmen are proud of Ireland even, though their country is neutral. The Australian people are also proud of their country, though they have limited the extent of the field in which they are going to fight. They are still part of the British empire and of the British commonwealth. South Africa is still a member of the commonwealth and its people are still proud to be citizens of that country, although they have also limited the field of their activities in this war. The United States are looking after themselves and their interests first. They are helping to defend what we call liberty, democracy, etcetera; but I have not seen anything in the press nor have I heard a speech by any politician in that country stating that they were ready to give second place to their rights, principles, advantages and interests. Russia is fighting for herself, too. No public man to-day would deny that statement. Why can we not be Canadians, though participating in the war? Why do we not see our war effort through our Canadianism? In doing all we reasonably can to help win the war, we should not try to surpass, for vainglory or vain pride, the efforts of other countries who are more vitally and directly interested in the conflict than Canada?

One further word and I shall conclude. I have lived long enough to remember that one man, at one time very powerful in the United Kingdom and who was a close personal friend of our Prime Minister—I refer to the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—was not in full accord with the government of his country in 1914-18. He was not in favour of England going into the war as deeply as she did in those years. Who would say that Ramsay MacDonald was not a good British citizen and a great man? A few years later he became Prime Minister of Great Britain, and we acclaimed him here in Canada when he paid us the honour of a visit. Perhaps that might answer those who may be inclined to criticize me too severely.

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Feb. 23/43

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Vote on Cardin Sub-amendment

(Quebec Members)

C163470

Membership:	Non-Liberals	6
	Liberals	57
	Not sitting	1
	Vacant	1

Vote for sub-amendment:

	Non-Liberals	5 ≠ one paired
	Liberals	10

Vote against sub-amendment:

	French speaking	30 ≠ one paired
	English "	10

Liberals absent from vote: 6

Ferland
Hallé
Laflamme
Lapointe, A. J.
Lapointe, Hugues
Sylvestre

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PAGE BARBOUILLEE

Cardin sub-amendment and Plebiscite

11 Liberals opposed the plebiscite, of whom 3 have withdrawn from the party. The 8 remaining are:

Bertrand (Terrebonne)
Bourget
Crète
D'Anjou
La Croix (Montmorency)
Lizotte
Parent
Pouliot

Of the 8 Liberals who opposed the plebiscite, 2, Bourget and Parent, supported the government on the Cardin amendment.

4 Liberals who did not oppose the plebiscite voted against the government on the Cardin amendment. They are:

Cardin
Dubois
Dubuc
Fournier (Maisonneuve-Rosemount)

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C163472 E-201 1945

For the Prime Minister:

Elections - Gen. Elec. 1945 - Candidates

At 10:45 p.m. Mr. Edouard Simard telephoned from New York to say that Cardin was abandoning his political movements; that he might not even run in his own constituency. Simard seemed elated at the news and said he had been hoping for some such developments and working towards this.

WJT

W. J. TURNBULL

San Francisco
May 7, 1945

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FORM 6102-R

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

W. M. ARMSTRONG, GENERAL MANAGER
TORONTO

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
FULL RATE MESSAGE	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT MESSAGE	
NIGHT LETTER	
EVENING & SUNDAY	

PLACE X OPPOSITE SERVICE DESIRED

CHECK	RECEIVERS NO.	TIME FILED	CHARGE TO DEPT. OR ADDRESS

Veuillez expedier la dépêche suivante aux conditions mentionnées au verso auxquelles je consens par les présentes
Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

C163473

Ottawa, January 14, 1946

Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, M.P.,
Sorel, P. Q.

My dear Cardin: I notice by this morning's paper that your dear mother has passed away at the great age of 92. Please accept the expression of my very sincere sympathy in your bereavement. The great age to which your mother attained is in itself a benediction upon her life.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

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DRAFT

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR USE ONLY IN EVENT OF THE DEATH
OF HON. P. J. ARTHUR CARDIN

C163474

With the passing of the Honourable P.J. Arthur Cardin, Canada loses a notable public figure, ~~and the House of Commons is deprived of one of its outstanding and veteran members.~~ ~~Mr. Cardin rendered long and valuable service to his country as a~~ member of the Federal Government, first as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, later as Minister of Public Works, with which office he combined, in the early years of the war, the arduous duties of Minister of Transport. The high regard in which Mr. Cardin was held in his own constituency could have no better proof than the fact that he was ~~the victor~~ at every general election from 1911 to 1945 inclusive.

Mr. Cardin's death will be widely mourned, especially in the Province of Quebec where he had been for so long one of the leaders of political thought. I personally regret greatly the passing of one who was, through many years b[redacted]r, a valued friend and colleague.

October 7, 1946.

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C163475

[illegible] his [illegible] resignation from office [illegible] affected our personal relations [illegible] I felt I understood his position [illegible] at the time of his resignation and he reciprocated in equal measure my different [illegible] feelings. The years of our association in Government and in Parliament had created a bond of friendship which [illegible] differences [illegible] formulate [illegible] homes & peace. I shall [illegible] forever, I believe, affectionately [illegible] Canada in helping to preserve Canadian unity and [illegible] support. [illegible] Canada's [illegible] entry into the war. [illegible] such differences of opinion as developed were based on sincere conviction on [illegible] he owed it to his colleagues [illegible] to support the administration which he had previously taken such a share in forming & for which he had been largely responsible.

[illegible] The record of his passing [illegible] occasioned [illegible] feelings. The deepest regret [illegible] loss of the one also at the time of his resignation from the Government was an ardent admirer, and who ever [illegible] veteran member of the House of Commons. I regret [illegible] an engagement made some time ago to be present with the Canadian delegation at the opening meeting of the United Nations Assembly at New York on Wednesday of this week prevent me from being present at the funeral ceremonies in Ottawa on the morning of [illegible] but for this, I should [illegible] the last tribute of respect & affection [illegible]

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Notes re deceased Member (1) Hon.P.J.A. Cardin, M.P.

Biographical Data
(See Can.Parl.Guide)

B. June 28, 1879 at Sorel, Que.

S. of Joseph Cardin and Virginie Ferron (both Fr. Can.)

Educ. Sorel Commercial College and private teachers.
Studied law at Laval Univ. Montreal

M. 1909 to Rosa dau. of J.B.M.E. Casavant, of Sorel, P.Q.

Lawyer Batonnier of Richelieu Bar section during two terms.

Hon.Pres. of Rural Bar Ass'n. of Quebec.

First el. to H. of C. g.e. 1911
re.el. g.e. 1917, g.e. 1921.

Apptd. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Jan. 30, 1924.

Re.el. by acclam. after assuming office Feb. 27, 1924.

Re.el at g.e. 1925

Resigned portfolio with King cabinet, June 28, 1926.

Re apptd. Min. Marine & Fisheries Sep. 28, 1926.

Re.el. after assuming office, also at g.e. 1930.

Resigned portfolio with King Administration Aug. 7, 1930.

Re.el at g.e. 1935, 1940 and June 11, 1945.

Sworn in as Min. of Pub. Works Oct. 23, 1935.

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Sworn in as Min. of Pub. Works after g.e. of Mar. 26, 1940, also Min. of Transport, July 8, 1940.

Res. from Cabinet 1942.

(Died: October 20th, 1946)

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C163478 above from

Notes re deceased Member (2) W.C. Macdonald, M.P.

Biographical Data (See Can.Parl.Guide) William Chisholm Macdonald, K.C., B.A., LL.B.

B. Bailey's Brook, Pictou County, N.S. — born when?

S. of Donald D. Macdonald and Mary Chisholm (both Can.)

Educ. at St. Francois Xavier College, Dalhousie Law School and Harvard Law School.

M. to Sheila dau. of P. L. Smyth of Ottawa.

Lawyer Mem. Macdonald, McInnes, MacQuarrie & Cooper.

Pres. Nova Scotia Barrister's Society 1933-1935.

Served in France and Belgium, 1917-1918, as Lieut. with 248th Siege Battery R.A. and 3rd Can. Siege Battery.

Club Kiwanis

First el. to H. of C. at g.e. 1940
Re-el. 1945.

Rel. Catholic

Was Parliamentary Asst. to Min. of Nat'l Defence, later, Parl. Asst. for Naval Services.

(Died: Nov. 19th, 1946)

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3PN111 C163479

CARDIN

SOREL, QUEBEC--A FORMER MEMBER OF THE DOMINION CABINET HAS RECEIVED THE LAST RITES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

P.J.A. CARDIN, ONE-TIME PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER IN THE KING GOVERNMENT, SUFFERED A HEART ATTACK AT HIS HOME IN SOREL, QUEBEC, ON SUNDAY. HIS PHYSICIAN SAYS HE PASSED A GOOD NIGHT BUT IS NOT YET OUT OF DANGER.

MR. CARDIN, SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS OLD, IS STILL A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT. HE REPRESENTS RICHELIEU-VERCHERES AS AN INDEPENDENT.

EB525P

1943

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C163480

The Late Hon. P.J.A. Cardin, M.P.

The Honourable P.J. Arthur Cardin, the member for Richelieu-Vercheres, passed away on October 20th last, at the age of 67 years. Mr. Cardin was, in years of ~~service~~ membership, the oldest member of the House of Commons. I do not need to remind honourable members how able Mr. Cardin was as a parliamentarian and how effective he was as a public speaker.

The high regard in which Mr. Cardin was held in his own constituency and the confidence he inspired among those he represented in Parliament is apparent from the fact that he was returned by the electors to the House of Commons at every general election, and at every by-election in his constituency, from 1911 to 1945 inclusive.

For over thirteen years, Mr. Cardin was a member of the Federal Government, first as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, later as Minister of Public Works, with which office he combined, in the early years of the war, the arduous duties of Minister of Transport. As a private member and later as a Minister, Mr. Cardin rendered long and valuable service to our country.

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As I have said, Mr. Cardin sat with me in the Cabinet for thirteen years. Those years included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada owe a vast debt of gratitude to Mr. Cardin and to his colleagues in the Ministry from the Province of Quebec for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, in the critical weeks preceding and following the outbreak of war. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, had their leadership been less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the recent war would have been vastly different.

As honourable members will recall, Mr. Cardin resigned his portfolio in 1942 over the question of removing the restrictions on conscription from the National Resources Mobilization Act. Such differences of opinion as developed between us were based on the conviction, on his part, that he owed it to the stand he had previously taken, not to support the administration in a step which he believed to be at variance with the pledges which he had previously given.

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I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry but I never questioned his motives. I felt I understood his position at the time of resignation and he respected, in equal measure, my differences of view. The years of our association in the Government and in Parliament had created a bond of friendship and respect which political differences were, fortunately, without power to sever.

Mr. Cardin's memory will long be honoured, especially in the Province of Quebec where he was so long one of the leaders of political thought.

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Prime Minister's Office

Press Release October 21, 1946.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, gave the following statement to the Press:

With the passing of the Honourable P.J. Arthur Cardin, Canada loses a notable public figure and one who for some time past has been, in years of service, its oldest member in the House of Commons. Mr. Cardin was, as well, one of Canada's ablest parliamentarians and most eloquent and effective public speakers.

As a member of the Federal Government, first as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, later as Minister of Public Works, with which office he combined, in the early years of the war, the arduous duties of Minister of Transport, Mr. Cardin rendered long and valuable service to our country.

The high regard in which Mr. Cardin was held in his own constituency and the confidence he inspired among those whom he represented in Parliament is apparent from the fact that he was returned by his electors to the House of Commons at every General Election from 1911 to 1945 inclusive. Mr. Cardin was a member of the Government for over 13 years. As will be recalled, he resigned his Portfolio in 1942 over the question of removing the restriction on service from the National Resources Mobilization Act. He did not, however, cease to support Liberal principles and policies though he maintained in the House of Commons thereafter, on certain questions, a more or less independent attitude. Few, if any, I believe appreciated more fully than myself the great service Mr. Cardin rendered Canada in helping to preserve Canadian unity through giving powerful support to Canada's entry into the war. Such differences of opinion as later developed were based on the conviction, on his part, that he owed it to the stand he had previously taken, not to support the administration in a step which he believed to be at variance with pledges which he had previously given.

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Mr. Cardin's resignation from office never affected our personal relations. I felt I understood his position at the time of his resignation and he respected, in equal measure, my differences of view. The years of our association in the Government, and in Parliament, had created a bond of friendship and respect which political differences were, fortunately, without power to sever.

Mr. Cardin's death will be widely mourned, especially in the Province of Quebec where he had been for so long one of the leaders of political thought. His death means to me the loss of one who, at the time of his resignation from the Ministry, was my oldest colleague and who, until yesterday, was the veteran member of the House of Commons. I regret that an engagement made some time ago, to be present with the Canadian Delegation at the opening meeting of the United Nations Assembly at New York on Wednesday of this week, will prevent me from being present at the funeral ceremonies in Sorel on the following morning. But for this I should certainly have paid this last tribute of respect to the memory of an erstwhile colleague in the Government and one who, over all the years of our acquaintance, was a deeply valued personal friend.

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Tribute to the Memory of

Hon. P. J. A. Cardin
and
Mr. W. C. Macdonald, M.P.

Since the last session of Parliament, this House of Commons has experienced a severe loss in its membership in the passing of two of its best known Members: the Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, Member for Richelieu-Vercheres, whose death at the age of 67 occurred on October 20, 1946, and Mr. William Chisholm Macdonald, K.C., Member for Halifax, whose death occurred on November 19, 1946. The passing of these two well known Members is a loss to the Parliament of Canada, to our country, and I need not say a very great loss to the Liberal party.

The Honourable Mr. Cardin, in years of service, was the oldest Member of the House of Commons. He was first returned to the House of Commons at the general election of 1911, and was re-elected at all subsequent elections and by-elections, including the election of 1945. Each in itself was a real distinction. To have been a Member of this House continuously from 1911 to 1946 - 35 years in all - is a record that has seldom been equalled in the history of politics in Canada. To have enjoyed the

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unbroken confidence of the electors of the constituency in which he was born and lived his entire life is evidence of high regard and esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best. To have served the same constituency for so long a period of time is also a record of public service which has seldom been equalled in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Cardin's life was given largely, in fact over a condiserable time almost entirely, to politics. As a young man, he began practice as a lawyer in Sorel and at an early age made a distinct mark in his profession. Had he given his time exclusively to the practice of law, he would undoubtedly have risen to a foremost position at the Bar and, had he so desired, in the Judiciary. However, like not a few of the members of the legal profession who have entered political life, he found there the opportunities of public service which appealed most strongly to him and, as I have said, most of his time was given to promoting the interests of his constituents in Parliament and to public business and affairs.

I need not remind honourable members how able Mr. Cardin was as a parliamentarian, nor how effective and eloquent he was as a speaker in both languages, both in parliament and on the platform.

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In his own province of Quebec, there was, in his day, no man who exercised a greater influence over his audience than Mr. Cardin. He was a man of deep and sincere convictions with an intense love for the people and enjoyed nothing quite so much as the advocacy of causes which he believed would serve to enlarge their opportunities and to improve their condition. He, himself, was so humble minded and unassuming that the latent fire which displayed itself in many of his public utterances often came as a surprise even to those with whom he was associating from day to day. He had a special love for the people of his own province and was immensely jealous of its rights and interests.

For over 15 years, Mr. Cardin was a member of the government, holding for some years the portfolio of Minister of Marine and Fisheries and later the portfolio of Minister of Public Works with which, during the early years of the war, was combined the portfolio of transport.

In all of those years, Mr. Cardin and I were colleagues at the Council table. We shared together years of prosperity and adversity. It was a fortunate thing for Canada and for Canadian unity that Mr. Cardin was an member of the Ministry in the years immediately preceding and in the early years of the Great War.

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I doubt if the people of Canada will ever know the extent of the service rendered our country in keeping its provinces united at that time of crisis in world affairs. Had Mr. Cardin's leadership and that of the late Ernest Lapointe been less courageous, less farsighted, or less patriotic than it was, the story of Canada's war effort and her contribution to victory might have been very different from what it was.

It is true that in 1942, Mr. Cardin felt it necessary to resign from the Ministry because of the government's policy of removing certain restrictions regarding military service from the National Resources Mobilization Act. At the time I did my best to persuade Mr. Cardin to remain in the Ministry, but he felt that he owed it to pledges given some time before not to continue in the Ministry so long as any measure of conscription, however slight, might be possible. I never questioned Mr. Cardin's motives or sincerity in tendering his resignation, nor did he question mine, in taking the position I did in the light of the world situation as it then existed and threatened to become. Mr. Cardin himself was the most chivalrous of men. I sometimes have felt that had a like measure of understanding been extended to him, which he was prepared to extend to others, and had his health been more vigorous than it was at the time, he might have seen his way to remain in office. This is not the time, however, to weigh

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these matters, but what I am anxious the House should know is that such political differences as may have arisen at the time made no difference whatever in the personal friendship, which, born of many years of membership in Parliament and years of intimate association in the Cabinet, exited between us. He remained, for me, throughout his life, a close and deeply valued personal friend.

In the few years following his resignation from the Ministry, Mr. Cardin continued to occupy a seat on this side of the House and to give the government his support on most occasions. It is true his attitude was more or less independent and that it was as an Independent Liberal that he contested and was returned to Parliament at the last general election. My one regret for Members who were not present in former sessions of this Parliament is that they had not the privilege of sharing Mr. Cardin's oratory as we who were with him in previous Parliaments were privileged to do.

May I say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that in the third of a century during which Mr. Cardin occupied a seat in this House of Commons, he left upon its Members the impression of a man of great industry and integrity, high attainments of character and ability.

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DS/ Chile

Dr. Jas. Gibson

C163490

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATELY

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PRESS RELEASE

No. 16 Ottawa, June 5, 1947.

General Arnaldo Carrasco, this morning presented to His Excellency the Governor General at Government House, his Letter of Credence, accrediting him as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Chile, and the Letter of Recall of his predecessor, Mr. Pedro Castelblanco.

General Carrasco had held important posts in the Chilean Army and was Minister of National Defence prior to assuming his new appointment.

Present at the ceremony were the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Howard Measures, Chief of Protocol, Department of External Affairs, who presented General Carrasco to the Governor General. The Ambassador was accompanied by Mr. Carlos Crohare, Secretary of the Chilean Embassy.

The new Ambassador delivered a short address to which His Excellency the Governor General replied.

(Copies of the Ambassador's address and the Governor General's reply are attached.)

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Address of General Arnaldo Carrasco when presenting his letter of Credence as Ambassador of Chile to His Excellency the Governor General, June 5, 1947.

I have the honour to present to Your Excellency the Letter which accredits me as Ambassador of Chile to Canada before His Majesty the King.

I also have the honour to present the Letter of Recall of my predecessor, Mr. Pedro Castelblanco.

It is with deep pleasure and honour that I appear before Your Excellency as a representative of the Republic of Chile. Canada and Chile have remained united by ties of a friendship which has lasted many years and our peoples are happy that it has been so fortunate and is strengthening every day. I have great hopes, Your Excellency, that in the not too far distant future, more solid economic and cultural ties will be established between Canada and Chile.

I shall spare no effort to accomplish this and I am certain that our closer relations will greatly benefit our two countries.

Chile wishes and needs to increase her commercial trade with Canada in order to complement her economy. Interpreting my country's wishes, I shall endeavour to serve them as much as I can and, by my work, help consolidate the cultural and economic union between the two extremes of the American continent.

I sincerely hope and trust that Your Excellency will grant me every facility and help to render successful the ties uniting Chile and your great country which is called upon to play a great role in America by its exemplary organization and political, economic and democratic experience.

The President of Chile requested that I present to Your Excellency his most fervent wishes for your personal happiness and for the welfare of the people of Canada.

May I be permitted, Your Excellency, to express the hope that the great nation of Canada will continue in its path of prosperity and progress. May I also wish Your Excellency good health and happiness.

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Reply by His Excellency the Governor General to General Arnaldo Carrasco, Ambassador of Chile, upon presentation of his Letter of Credence at Government House, Thursday, June 5th, 1947.

Mr. Ambassador,

I am greatly pleased to receive in the name of His Majesty the King, the Letter of Credence by which His Excellency the President of Chile accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Canada.

I thank you for placing in my hands at the same time the Letter of Recall of your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Castelblanco, who, during the period of his mission here, was held in high esteem.

I extend to you on this occasion a very cordial welcome to Canada. I am gratified by your kind reference to the Canadian people, and by your desire to contribute by your mission to the development and strengthening of the cultural, economic and political relations which exist between Canada and Chile. I can assure you that these sentiments are fully shared by the Government and people of Canada.

I desire to express my personal appreciation of the very kind message which you bring to me from His Excellency the President of Chile. I warmly reciprocate his good wishes.

In carrying out your important mission here, you may rely, Mr. Ambassador, upon my cordial assistance as well as the wholehearted cooperation of the Canadian Government.

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C

"Rough" draft.

C163493

Men in public life are expected to be men that can be trusted - whose word is as good as their bond.

Such is what the people of Grey North had been accustomed to. There were those great upholders of truth and decency - the two great Liberals, the Telfords - father and son who were many years in the House, and many remember the fine contribution to public life of Conservative members, W. S. Middlebro and Victor Porteous ex-M.P. who sat in the House - all from Grey North.

The people of Grey North for 40 years have had the best of both sides of politics to represent them; men who were a credit to public life, whose utterances were clean, truthful and dependable.

In their recent Grey North election something new has been added. The part that first drew my attention to it was the repeated attacks on the people of Quebec. They were of such nature that one could not believe public men would make them.

So we began to investigate who the gallant men were who were so unfair to the people of my Province.

One was the new, untried and said to be unwanted leader of the Progressive-Conservative Party who was offered a seat without opposition but who cannot be coached or pushed into this House. In other words The Zombie Leader of the once great Conservative party gives us the greatest example of "duty shirking" that has ever been seen in Canadian politics.

His recent statements have brought his political utterances on a par with his actions of the past two years. "Honest John" will never be known by anything else now than by "Zombie John."

When he comes to the polls at the next election the people of will no doubt tell him to continue his travelling.

The other person is the newly elected member from Grey North.

May it be said again that public life in Canada must give the example for integrity and decency, and in this regard my investigation would indicate one of the most diabolical efforts to deceive the electors of that riding and to smear the good name of the people of Quebec and the Canadian army in general.

First of all, here are two forms of advertising which flooded the electors - a booklet "Case the Man" and a large newspaper ad that appeared in all the local papers.

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It says - "Case served 2 years with the Royal Flying Corps in the First Great War."

Here's the score -

This member claims and prints in his life history that he was born in 1899 - to deceive the public that he was under age for voluntary military service in the first Great War.

This is not so, he was born September 23, 1896 - not 1899 and if he had had the "guts" could have gone with the first contingent in 1914.

Here's his birth certificate, issued by the Ontario Government and it says he was born September 23, 1896 in North York.

He was conscripted on May 18, 1918 - 22 years of age. He was number 3,038,570.

He's the man who will tell Quebec ar any other Province how to behave in a national crisis. He, the Zombie in 1918 still a Zombie to-day.

After being conscripted he found he didn't like the Infantry, its dirty, tough slugging so in less than a month, one June 3, 1918 he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps, still the conscript; still the Zombie

He didn't serve much as he was, according to his own story, hurt in a motor car accident in Leaside and spent 7½ months in hospital; discharged March 1919. The accident therefore would be in August 1918 - so his service was from June to August.

That's the man who would tell Quebec what is right and fair. I am sure every returned man in the House joins me in branding him our "unpleasant, and untruthful Zombie of the first Great War" and that he's from North York, not from North Grey.

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FORM NO. C-4 75M-7-44

B 111652
C163495

'C'

THE VITAL STATISTICS ACT
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO DOMINION OF CANADA

Birth Certificate

This is to Certify THAT THE FOLLOWING DETAILS ARE ON RECORD IN THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL OF ONTARIO.

NAME OF CHILD: WILFRID GARFIELD CASE

DATE OF BIRTH: SEPTEMBER-23-1896 SEX: M

PLACE OF BIRTH: EAST GWILLIMBURY TWP. COUNTY (or District): YORK

NAME OF FATHER: WILLIAM CASE

ADDRESS OF FATHER: -- OCCUPATION: FARMER

MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER: JENNIE CRANDALL

DATE OF REGISTRATION: NOV-19-1896.

Given UNDER MY HAND AND THE SEAL OF THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL AT THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, CITY OF TORONTO, THIS 17 JANUARY-1945.

REGISTRAR-GENERAL

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WARNING: ANY ALTERATION INVALIDATES THIS CERTIFICATE AND IS SEVERELY PUNISHABLE BY LAW.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Pickersgill.

C163496

-- Herewith is the Case dossier.

For reasons which you know, this was not used in the House, however, the Federation might be able to make use of it in the Grey North campaign.

W.L.M.K.

14th April, 1945.

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C163497

Born - Sept. 23, 1896 - not 1899

Conscripted May 18, 1918

No. 3,038,570 - aged nearly 22

Transferred R. A. F. - June 3, 1918

D

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C163498

NAR/SR
26.3.42

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Attached is an interesting telegram from Odlum, giving some additional personal + political background to Evatt's mission and Casey's appointment. The telegram has not been circulated or put on file.

this refers to Odlum No 43

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CANADA

R)

CONFIDENTIAL & Personal

Casey
NNBI

NAR/SR
28.3.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163499

The following personal telegram from Casey to a friend in Australia, giving his own confidential account of the negotiations which led up to his appointment to Cairo has been recorded by our Cable Censorship in transmission:

"Personal. I am exceedingly anxious that Australian public and Parliament should not have misunderstanding about my accepting new job. Facts are:

(1) New phase has arrived with Macarthur's Brett's appointments in that they are strongly representing Australia's defence needs to American Administration in infinitely more compelling way than Australian Government or I could possibly do. I have been told in highest quarters here that anything that I now submit to American Government is telegraphed to MacArthur, Brett for comment and confirmation and I tend to become office boy.

(2) It has become increasingly obvious to me that individual of one political party cannot satisfactorily represent Government of another political party in overseas post in which complete mutual confidence is essential. Practically every proposal of consequence that I have made for months has been rejected. I have been divorced entirely from munitions, supply functions here by Prime Minister and this is almost most important aspect now.

(3) Whereas I am widely told here that I have performed useful task in representing Australia here to American Government and people, I believe this phase ended firstly, Pearl Harbour, secondly, MacArthur's, Brett's appointments and I believe for above reasons my usefulness here largely ended.

Privately I did not ask Winston for any job but said that I believed eventually possibly shortly present Australian Government on own initiative would replace me by their own nominee and that when this happened but not before I wished perform useful militant service in war. I very deeply resent suggestion that I am letting Australia down which is quite untrue in circumstances. Position is that in light above facts which known to all senior members American Administration I was compellingly advised in highest quarters to accept Churchill's offer in general Allied interests. Most confidentially not for publication I consulted Evatt on arrival

WLK

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California before deciding and he advised my accepting. Telegram urgently if my telegrams to Curtin have been published in Australia and what is general feeling and if I should make further statement. Unfortunately I cannot make full statement as above without repercussions on others which undesirable.

Casey. "

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P.C. 603

P-45-1
1940

C163501

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Administrator on the 12th FEBRUARY 1940

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, submits for Your Excellency's pleasure that Pierre François Casgrain, Esquire, K.C., B.A., LL.M., Speaker of the House of Commons during the 18th Parliament, be a member of the King's Privy Council for Canada.

A. D. P. Heeney

Acting Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable
The Prime Minister.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Handy:

C163502

The Department of External Affairs has provided the following information with regard to Professor Rene Cassin, who is Chief Justice of France (President du Conseil d'Etat), and who is to see the Prime Minister this afternoon:

"Professor Cassin is an eminent professor of law and Membre de l'Institut. He and the Prime Minister are members of the Academie des Sciences morales et politiques. In 1940 he joined General de Gaulle in London as Vice President of the Comite national francais. He became Commissaire a la Justice of the Gouvrement provisoire in London and Algiers. Professor Cassin was the legal organizer of "France Libre" from 1940 to 1943. Through the Liberation and at the re-organization of France he was General de Gaulle's Legal Adviser. He became Vice-President du Conseil d'Etat and at the end of the war Minister of Justice. He is an Officier de la Legion d'Honneur and has received the Croix de la Liberation."

M. G.

Come for tea 4 pm.

29th May, 1948. May 29/48

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DS/Chile

C163503

W.H.M.
30.v.45

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

The Charge d'Affaires of Chile at Ottawa has communicated to us a request for agrement to the appointment of Mr. Pedro Castelblanco as Ambassador of Chile in Canada, to succeed Dr. Grove.

Mr. Castelblanco called on you when he visited Ottawa in 1943, at which time he was President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies. He presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador to Mexico on August 24th, 1944.

Mr. Castelblanco made a very good impression during his 1943 visit and reports we have of him indicate that he would be quite acceptable as Chilean Ambassador here.

If you approve, we will ask the Governor General to transmit to the Palace a request for the informal approval of the King.

Approved 13-6-45

Noted

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C163504

Embassy of CHILE

Pedro CASTELBLANCO, Ambassador

(presented letter of credence August 13/45)

previously Ambassador of Chile to MEXICO

for some years Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies in Chile, and in this capacity visited Ottawa in 194) in the course of a visit to the legislatures of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

- - -

Mrs. Castelblanco,

Miss Cecilia Castelblance

- - -

President RIOS of Chile visited Ottawa in October, 1945, and you were present at a reception in his honour at the Chateau Laurier. We have since been informed, confidentially by the Canadian Charge d'Affaires at Santiago that the President has had to retire because of continued ill-health. The political situation at the moment remains unstable.

Dr. Juan FERNANDEZ, Foreign Minister, visited Ottawa in 1943. He was accompanied by Dr. Felix NIETE DEL RIO. Both of these gentlemen you met again in San Francisco last April. It is understood it was Dr. FERNANDEZ who proposed the resolution of the Chapultapec Conference commending the war effort of Canada.

J.A.G.

1/11/46

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C163505

MR. BRACKEN:

Criticism: Embargo on Export of Cattle to U.S.A.

Reference: Regina Leader-Post November 10, 1947.

Removal of the federal embargo, at least in part, to permit the sale of Canadian cattle in the United States was urged by John Bracken, national leader of the Progressive Conservative party.

Suggested Reply:

Does Mr Bracken want to demand that Canada buy meat and make it even more difficult than it is to meet the targets set in our meat contracts with the U.K.

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C163506

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P. arm

A-204
offprint

P-306
v. 1

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Cattle Marketing to the United States.

The Premier of Manitoba telephoned me this morning to find out if the government would see any objection to the publication of his correspondence with you regarding this question.

I told him I felt reasonably sure that there could be no objection, but he said he was very anxious not to embarrass the government in any way, so I undertook to make what enquiries I could, and let him have word within an hour, as he was very anxious to get the correspondence to the newspapers in time for the afternoon editions. I was unfortunately unable to get in touch with you, as you were absent from Laurier House at the time, but I spoke to Mr. Ilsley and, at his request, to Mr. Donald Gordon. Both of them agreed that there would be no reasonable grounds on which we should or could object to the publication of the correspondence, particularly as Mr. Garson was quite entitled to publish it in any case. I therefore took the responsibility of sending him a telegram, of which a copy is attached. I thought, however, you would wish to know of Mr. Garson's consideration in this matter.

J.W.P

Thanks
2-10-44

31st October, 1944.

what was decision?

Mr. Garson telephoned on Nov 7th and informed [illegible] intern a final complications by
J.W.P

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28th March, 1944.

SECRET

C163507

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

We have had further talks on the question of the Directorate of Censorship. Colonel Biggar, although he is making a very good recovery, feels that he will definitely not be able to take up this responsibility again.

We have now come to the conclusion that it would be advisable to appoint Wilfred Eggleston to this post instead of someone without experience in the censorship field. Eggleston's name had occurred to us three months ago. There was no doubt in our minds as to the value to censorship of his experience and generally wise approach to the problems which arise. We felt, however, that there was a question as to whether he carried in himself sufficient authority to direct the whole organization.

Since Colonel Biggar's illness, Eggleston has, in fact, been acting Director. Dr. Johnston has turned over to him in practice the responsibility of running the organization. During this time he has had two rather important conferences with United States Censorship authorities and he has dealt with several rather knotty problems in the organization here. He has handled all of these matters very well indeed and I would now recommend that he be appointed Director.

I understand that the Minister of National War Services is agreeable to this appointment and has, in fact, prepared a submission which includes the nomination of Fulgence Charpentier as deputy Director. Charpentier is at present one of the chief Censors of Publications and is a first rate fellow. In view of the fact that there are to be important discussions next week with representatives of the United Kingdom Censorship, there would be an advantage in putting through these appointments at once.

I approve. WLMK 28-3-44

noted

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J.A.G./MAC
26.2.41.

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

V

1941 Census

C163508

I have, as you requested some days ago, set
-- out, in the attached papers, the arguments for and against the taking of the Census.

I have taken account of the points which you mentioned, and have analysed the newspaper comments, which have come into my hands. The chief opponents of a 1941 Census are the Montreal Gazette, Ottawa Citizen and Windsor Star.

There is no doubt that none of the critics have taken account of the long-term complications of not taking the Census this year as required under the British North America Act. Postponement would at best be questionable, because the duration of hostilities cannot be forecast, and no postponement will alter the fact that the money will have to be appropriated at some time or other. It is not a case of duplicating information gathered under the National Registration of August 1940, since what the Census requires is at once more complete and more specialized. The details of that Registration are of importance for purposes of the National Resources Mobilization Act, but they were not assembled with the needs of nation-wide post-war rehabilitation in view; and short of the particulars which the Census will collect and classify, I see no prospect of dealing effectually with a problem of first national importance. None of the critics seem to take this point into consideration.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is, I believe, the best statistical organization in the world, and its Census analyses are models which have been widely copied. The cumulative value of their comparative studies will be largely lost if the Census is not taken at the present ten-yearly interval.

Jag.

J.A.G.

-- I attach a memorandum prepared for the Minister of Trade and Commerce by Mr. Wilgress; also the Hansard references of the last few days.

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CENSUS -- 1941

C163509

Arguments for	Comments
1) The constitutional provisions: Section 8 B.N.A. Act (Decennial Census) 1941 is a census year Section 51 B.N.A. Act (Periodic readjustment of Parliamentary representation)	In complying with these sections the Government is not "hiding behind a statute" (Montreal Gazette, Jan.28) but is carrying out essential provisions of the Canadian Constitution.
2) Practical need of providing comprehensive factual information on many subjects and comparison with previous censuses.	A chief value of census compilation lies in comparing the census in any one year with all previous similar ennumerations. Censuses have been taken in Canada at intervals since 1666, and at ten-yearly intervals since 1871.
3) Long-term Governmental interests: Failure or postponement would: a) impair principle of representation by population b) statistical basis for determining provincial subsidies	Not an answer to say that the figures could be "guessed at." (Windsor Star, Feb.12). Unreasonable to expect that adjustments of this kind should be made on basis other than strictest accuracy.
4) Widening of field: 1941 Census contemplates detailed information never previously asked for Unemployment periodicity local incidence previous experience Education relationship to income " " employment Housing home owners home renters adequacy Public Health Transportation Natural Resources	This information is only of value if collected systematically and completely over the whole country. No other agency of Government can do the work more efficiently. No new agency could do it better.

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CENSUS -- 1941

C163510

Arguments against	Comments
1) Large expenditure of money unjustified in wartime.	Cost will be spread over total of four fiscal years. 1940-41 estimates $ 73,585. 1941-42 " 2,750,000.
2) Employment of large numbers of people at a moment when we are faced with a possible shortage of labour for vital industries	Census proposed to be taken by women, and by men too old for combattant or skilled industrial service.
3) Unnecessary in view of national registration (August, 1940)	National registration was never regarded as equivalent to a census. Information asked for was not as complete. No one under sixteen was counted. Persons <u>were not</u> required to register in place of domicile. On questions of: (citizenship, race, education, occupation) Greater accuracy and completeness required; more careful recording.
In practice census will extend to: primary industries (labour costs, productive yields, funded debt) population movements; industrial changes racial origin, religion, et cetera	
4) Not helping the war effort	No hope of undertaking post-war rehabilitation effectively on a national scale without the basic factual information which the census will provide.
5) Postponement now would offer employment to demobilized service men during transitional post-war period.	Special training required for census enumerators; must be recruited in advance.

for PM

Brief re taking of census

C163511

in spite duration of war

strong statement re War Constitution

Postmasters in rural areas
very
economical in taking

Reconstruction

Reds taken

National needs

kept by BNA Act.

Money will have to
come out of Public
Treasury anyway

copy to JWP

& even in a yr
or two.

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Extracts from Hansard:

Hon. R. B. Hanson
February 19th, 1941
page 913

To take an isolated example, why is it necessary to spend a sum in excess of $2,800,000 in taking the decennial census this year? I am quite aware that, under the provisions of the British North America Act, the government is required to have the census taken. But Canada is at war. The taking of the census is a purely peace-time activity. It can and must be postponed. As a matter of fact, it ought to be postponed without our having to ask for this. The cost of this elaborate counting and compilation of the population is something that is not absolutely necessary; and if we are to ask the Canadian people, as they have been asked by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) and by others who have spoken to them in connection with Canada's war effort and lending programme, to tighten their belts, then every honest effort ought to be made to avoid this expenditure, and expenditures of a like character.

Mr. A. M. Nicholson
Hon. R. B. Hanson
February 21, 1941 p. 983

DECENNIAL CENSUS

INQUIRY AS TO DECISION TO PROCEED IN 1941 AND APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. A. M. NICHOLSON (Mackenzie): I should like to direct a question to the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. MacKinnon). Has it been definitely decided by the government to proceed with the two million dollar expenditure in connection with the taking of the 1941 census? If so, when will parliament be advised as to the names of the commissioners for the various constituencies?

Hon. J. A. MacKINNON (Minister of Trade and Commerce): The hon. member for Mackenzie has just sent me notice that he proposed to ask this question this afternoon. Preliminary arrangements have been made for taking the census this year. I understand that census commissioners have been appointed.

I may say that if the census is proceeded with, enumerators will be selected from all parties, returned men in all cases where available, and women where practicable.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): There is much virtue in an "if," but what about the "if"? We should have a statement of policy from the government now.

Mr. MacKINNON (Edmonton West): I think I have answered the question as fully as I can at the present moment.

Mr. Hazen
February 24, 1941
page 1057

A glaring example of political patronage and partisanship may be found in the manner in which the government proposes to conduct the census this year, at a cost of $2,800,000. This undertaking is not to be conducted on a non-partisan basis. The workers employed to take that census, the men and women, will be employed on the recommendation of supporters of the government and of defeated candidates in the last election.

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Form A.64. A.

File No. C. 1445

MEMORANDUM LDW/FP

C163513

To Hon. James A. MacKinnon, M.P., DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

Minister of Trade and Commerce. Ottawa February 4, 1941.

Taking of Census in 1941.

With regard to the newspaper criticism against the taking of the Census in 1941, the amount which is included for this purpose in our Estimates for the next fiscal year is $2,750,000. This is in addition to an amount of $73,585 provided for preparation of the Census in the fiscal year now drawing to a close. The cost of taking the Census will be spread over a total of four fiscal years.

The chief argument against postponing the Census until after the war is that the taking of the Census decennially is a constitutional necessity in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act.

Section 8 of the British North America Act reads as follows:-

> "In the general Census of the Population of Canada which is hereby required to be taken in the Year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in every Tenth Year thereafter, the respective Populations of the Four Provinces shall be distinguished."

Section 51 of the British North America Act refers to the Census as follows:-

> "On the Completion of the Census in the Year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and of each subsequent decennial Census, the Representation of the Four Provinces shall be readjusted by such Authority, in such Manner, and from such Time, as the Parliament of Canada from Time to Time provides."

Similar provisions were provided for in the Acts of the Canadian Parliament establishing the other Provinces of Canada.

In taking the Census in 1941 the Government is not hiding behind a Statute of the Canadian Parliament, as stated in the Montreal "Gazette" editorial of January 28, but is carrying out a provision of the Canadian Constitution -- the alteration of which would require amendment of the British North America Act.

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Form A.64. A.

File No.....

MEMORANDUM

C163514

To..... DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

..... Ottawa.....19.....

The postponement of taking the Census until after the war is over would lead to difficulties and confusion in the future. The Census is on a decennial basis and failure to take a Census in the year in which it is due would make difficult comparisons with previous Censuses and would complicate comparisons of future Censuses with past Censuses.

Three of the chief reasons why it is considered necessary to proceed with the taking of the Census in 1941 are the following:-

1. Failure to take a Census or postponement of the Census would impair the working of the principle of representation by population.

2. The taking of the Census is necessary for the purpose of determining Provincial subsidies.

3. It fulfils a practical need of providing comprehensive factual information on innumerable subjects required by all Canadian Governments -- Dominion and Provincial.

The argument is used that the National Registration taken in 1940 obviates the need for taking the Census in 1941. The National Registration, however, was not the equivalent of a Census. The population under the age of 16 years was not required to register. Persons were not required to register in their districts of domicile, so that no check on the complete registration is possible. Instances have been noted of multiple registrations as well as of omissions. As direct instruction of the 100,000 Assistant Registrars could not be undertaken, the information on difficult points such as citizenship, race, education, occupation, etc. is imperfect in some areas and the number of blanks on the cards is rather high. Finally, the Registration did not embrace all of the information required in connection with the taking and compilation of the Census.

If the Government were to seek authority to postpone the Census until after the war this step would be regretted for a long time in the future, because those seeking to chart Canada's progress in any particular field of endeavour would not have available data for the year 1941, which they could compare with the data disclosed in the 1931 and previous decennial Censuses.

(Sgd.) L. D. Wilgress,

Deputy Minister.

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C163515

TOP SECRET

June 6th, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Ceylon: request for immediate grant of full independence within Commonwealth. Should Canadian Government offer comments?

You have seen the two telegrams on this subject, ... Circular D.428 of May 1 and D.441 of May 8. Copies are attached for reference. D.441 concludes: "If your Government have any comments to offer, it would be helpful to us if we could receive them as soon as possible."

2. The request made by the leader of the principal political party in Ceylon, that the programme for establishment of complete internal self-government during this summer and fall should be at once changed to provide as well for complete external self-government within the Commonwealth, raises a very difficult problem for the United Kingdom, in which they may have to choose between retaining the friendship of the predominating sections of the Ceylon legislature and attempting to maintain strategic arrangements which would be of great value in any future war which followed normal lines. The grant of independence to India and Burma will make it very difficult to keep Ceylon as a British naval and air base without the consent of the Ceylonese, and will at the same time raise a question as to how far any agreement now reached with them might be considered by some future Government of Ceylon as binding it, if war broke out and especially if India did not participate, to subordinate the vital interests of Ceylon to those of the Commonwealth in general.

3. The final meeting of the Ceylon State Council (a peculiar body with both legislative and executive functions, consisting of 61 members, of whom 50 are elected) opened on May 13, and the Council will be dissolved on July 10. Elections are to take place on August 30 for a two-chamber Parliament of the normal type, with a cabinet of ministers responsible to it; this Parliament should assemble about October, 1947.

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4. Senanayake, who is leader of the United National Party in addition to being Leader of the State Council and Minister of Agriculture, and who has in the past been more cooperative with the United Kingdom Government than most other Ceylonese political leaders were during the negotiations for constitutional reform, has informed the Colonial Secretary that unless self-government in external affairs along Indian and Burmese lines can be conceded he expects strong attacks by his political opponents and widespread agitation during the present session of the Council and the election campaign which is to follow.

5. Ceylon has a complicated minority problem which has for many years been a source of difficulty in constitutional negotiations. Besides the Sinhalese, who form the majority of the population and are Buddhists, and whose number is about 4,000,000, there are about 1,500,000 Tamils of two varieties: Ceylon Tamils, who have been in the country for perhaps as long as the Sinhalese (they began coming in the third century B.C.), and Indian Tamils, mainly labourers on the plantations, who began to be imported only in 1837 A.D. and who in normal times move to and from India in a continuous stream. (A ban was, however, imposed by the Government of India in 1939 on further emigration of Indian unskilled workers to Ceylon.) The Tamils have remained Hindu in religion. In addition, there are about 400,000 Muslims; 30,000 Burghers (descendants of seventeenth-century Dutch settlers); and 10,000 Europeans. These minorities have all shown considerable distrust of the Sinhalese majority and concern over what their position will be when the establishment of self-government puts it in complete control.

6. The opposition to Senanayake consists mainly of supporters of the Indian Congress Party and of Communists of several varieties; it is these two parties which he fears will agitate against acceptance by the Government of the present constitutional plan.

7. The question of whether or not any particular territory over which the United Kingdom now exercises control is ready for self-government is one upon which the United Kingdom Government is best able to pronounce. The question of what action will be most likely to safeguard Commonwealth strategic interests is one which the United Kingdom, Australian, and New Zealand Governments are doubtless best able to estimate, in the light of their special opportunities for studying the situation in the Indian Ocean. It appears that Canada's main

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interest in the problem would be constitutional.

8. It is to the interest of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to safeguard their international status. It therefore appears desirable that in future no country which is not completely self-governing should be entitled to be called a member of the Commonwealth.

9. As the Senanayake proposals for Ceylon include negotiation of agreements with the United Kingdom for safeguards in respect of Commonwealth defence and external affairs, which are at present reserved subjects, there may be some doubt as to how far such agreements would result in the United Kingdom Government retaining a measure of control over the Government of Ceylon in these respects. Unless Ceylon obtains and keeps the same powers of self-government as the present Commonwealth members have in defence and external affairs, it might prejudice the international position of the present members if Ceylon were accepted as a member.

10. There are two theories about the addition of new members to the Commonwealth. On the one hand, it is urged that the Commonwealth is something in the nature of a club, and that before a new member is admitted the consent of all the other members should be obtained. On the other hand, it is contended that "the British Commonwealth of Nations" is simply a term which has been invented to meet the need for some name which would be generally understood as referring to all such countries owing allegiance to His Majesty as are in no way subordinate in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs; and that any country whose constitution fulfils these two conditions is, therefore, as a matter of fact one of the members of the Commonwealth. Upholders of the first theory urge the need for making it clear that the United Kingdom alone cannot grant Commonwealth membership; upholders of the second view contend that there is no way of withholding membership, as if all United Kingdom control is removed a country ipso facto becomes a Commonwealth member unless it throws off allegiance to His Majesty.

11. It is perhaps not necessary at present to decide between these two theories. What seems to be needed at the moment is a decision between the two possible lines of action suggested by Mr. Wrong:

(1) To make no comment.

...4

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(2) To reserve our position on the question of recognizing Ceylon as a member of the Commonwealth until the terms of the proposed agreements with the United Kingdom are known.

12. If the latter alternative is adopted, consideration should also be given to the question of whether or not we should add that "until then we could not commit ourselves to support the admission of Ceylon to the United Nations".

read WLK

despatches attached and read K

4-8-47

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TOP SECRET

Misc

June 18, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Status of Ceylon

C163519

1. The question of whether or not Canada should comment on the United Kingdom negotiations with Ceylon has been under discussion within the Department. It raises problems of Commonwealth relations which are not easy to decide upon without further consideration, and which are outlined in the attached memorandum of June 6. Since this was prepared four more telegrams on Ceylon have arrived, giving the texts of a communication to Mr. Senanayake and a brief communique which was to be issued on June 11, but has now been postponed. Copies of these are attached for convenience, together with a set of telegrams on Burma which have also come in recently and which include a statement to be made to Aung San by the Governor of Burma defining in some detail the advantages of membership in the Commonwealth.

2. With regard to paragraph 9 of the memorandum of June 6 it might be added that our interest in the agreement on external affairs would, from the constitutional standpoint, be greater than our interest in the agreement on defence. If, either before or after attainment of independence, a defence agreement was signed with some provision for termination on notice, this should not affect the international standing of Ceylon. The nature of the agreement on external affairs would require very careful consideration. Whether it was

18.6.37

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signed before or after independence might be of significance, and also whether it was a condition of independence, or agreed to and desired by the majority of the Ceylonese.

3. As, with the exception of Newfoundland, members of the Commonwealth have all been members also of the League of Nations and of the United Nations, the admission of a new member to the Commonwealth is likely to raise sooner or later the question of its admissibility to the United Nations. The stand taken by Canada in November, 1946, on the application of Trans-Jordan for admission to the United Nations is relevant here; it will be recalled that the Canadian statement of Nov. 5 to the Political Committee reserved Canada's position on Transjordan, pointing out that "a principal factor in our view is that the state concerned should possess a sufficient degree of sovereignty to enable it to carry out the obligations imposed by the Charter. The degree of dependence of an applicant upon another state, therefore, is relevant to the enquiry".

4. My own view is that no comment on this matter is necessary at the present time, and therefore no reply is required to Dominions Office telegram No.441. If, however, it is desired to make any comment, a draft telegram to Dominions

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Office is attached for your consideration.

5. You may wish to discuss this matter with the Prime Minister, to whom I have sent copies of this memorandum as well as the earlier one of June 6th.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C163522

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Beaudry,
Acting Under Secretary of
State for External Affairs.

The Prime Minister directed that the attached should be returned to you with the indication that he felt that this was a matter that should be decided by Mr. St. Laurent. In the rush of matters before his departure Mr. King did not indicate any preference or guidance in the matter whatever.

If you feel that there is anything further that should be sent to the Prime Minister after a decision is taken, I shall be forwarding material to Mr. King from time to time by Air Bag.

R. G. Robertson.

October 31, 1947.
IM

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

The Prime Minister: C163523

Mr. Beaudry feels that, should the Canadian Government refrain from commenting on the procedure proposed for the admission of Ceylon to the British Commonwealth, this failure to comment might be mistakenly interpreted as concurrence. He therefore suggests that our position should be stated in writing, and attaches two draft letters to the U.K. High Commissioner -

(a) a brief letter stating simply that lack of comment from the Canadian government should not be taken as an endorsement of the proposed agreements between the U.K. Government and Ceylon on matters of defence and external affairs, but saying nothing of the Canadian position;

(b) a longer letter, setting forth in some detail the Canadian attitude towards the procedure to be adopted with regard to Ceylon's admission to the Commonwealth.

Mr. Beaudry requests an indication from you as to -

(a) whether or not a letter should be sent;

(b) if so, which one of the attached drafts do you prefer?

30/10/47

A.E.H.

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January 13, 1948.

C163524

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

1. Under the Ceylon Independence Act, which received the Royal Assent on December 12, Ceylon attains fully responsible status within the Commonwealth on February 4, 1948. Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are visiting Ceylon shortly thereafter to open a new session of the Parliament of Ceylon, on behalf of the King.

2. The United Kingdom High Commissioner has informed us that the Governor of Ceylon has asked that the other Commonwealth Governments may be informed that an invitation to attend the celebrations in Ceylon, from February 8 to February 17, and in particular the opening of Parliament on February 10, will shortly be received by them. The Ceylon Government greatly hope that other Commonwealth Governments will be able to be represented, and have it in mind that they might well wish to appoint one of their representatives in a country close to Ceylon to attend.

3. If it is not possible to send a representative, the Government of Ceylon would much welcome a message of goodwill.

4. It has been arranged that Mr. Kearney will return to India by air via the United Kingdom, leaving Montreal on January 26 and reaching New Delhi on February 5. He thinks it would be a good thing if Canada could send a representative to the Ceylon celebrations, and I think he might like to go himself.

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If anything should occur to prevent this, the Acting High Commissioner, Mr. Morley Scott, might perhaps be spared from New Delhi for the three or four days which I suppose would be needed to make the trip, attend the opening of Parliament, and return.

5. I would recommend, therefore, that we should ask Mr. Kearney if he would be prepared to represent Canada at the ceremony of February 10.

6. A message of greeting to Ceylon will be prepared for your consideration.

7. A letter has just been received from the United Kingdom High Commissioner transmitting the invitation from the Governor of Ceylon. A copy is attached for your information.

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Ceylon

C163526 January 14, 1948.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

1. As you will have noted from your copy of the memorandum sent yesterday to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ceylon is holding its independence celebrations in February and has invited Canada to send a representative to them.

Feb. 4 - 17

2. In any case, a message of greeting should be sent. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is expected to send a message to the Prime Minister of Ceylon on or about February 4, the date on which, under the Ceylon Independence Act, Ceylon attains fully responsible status within the Commonwealth. It has been suggested that other Commonwealth Governments should arrange for similar messages.

3. A draft message is attached for your consideration.

C M Pearson

14.1.34(U.S.)

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The attainment by Ceylon of fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations is an even of happy and historic significance. The Canadian Government and people join in wishing the Government and people of Ceylon success and prosperity in the years of self-government which lie ahead.

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Ceylon

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

C163528

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 14 FOR RELEASE AT 10 P.M., FEBRUARY 3.

February 3, 1948

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, has sent a message of greeting to the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Ceylon, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, on the occasion of the coming into effect of the Ceylon Independence Act on February 4, 1948. The message is as follows:

"The attainment by Ceylon of fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations is an event of happy and historic significance. The Canadian Government and people join in wishing the Government and people of Ceylon success and prosperity in the years of self-government which lie ahead.

W. L. Mackenzie King."

The Ceylon Independence Act which was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom received royal assent on December 10, 1947, and comes into effect on February 4, 1948. The event will be celebrated from February 10 to 17, with the opening of the Parliament of Ceylon on February 10, under the Independence Act, by H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, acting on behalf of His Majesty the King.

The Canadian Government will be represented at the ceremonies by Mr. J. D. Kearney, High Commissioner for Canada in India.

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C-47

BC/M. McKenzie
February 20, 1948

C163529

Memorandum for Mr. R. G. Robertson, Prime Minister's Office

Under your covering memorandum of February 13 you sent Mr. Pearson a despatch from the Governor of Ceylon, addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada, requesting that arrangements should be made for the publication in Canada, at the expense of the Government of Ceylon, of an advertisement of vacancies in the senior engineering grades of the Ceylon Department of Irrigation.

You suggested that, as the letter came from the Governor, the Prime Minister might wish to send some reply personally, or to have one sent on his behalf.

As Ceylon had only colonial status until February 4, 1948, the Governor was its official channel of communication with other countries until then. The Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs has replaced him as the channel of communication since that date. The despatch is dated February 2. It is in no sense a personal communication from the Governor, but an official request from the Government of Ceylon, of a more or less routine nature. While it is unusual for other governments to request that posts in their civil service should be advertised in Canada, it is not unprecedented.

I am sending you herewith a copy of the Governor's despatch for your files, together with a copy of a letter which has been sent to the Department of Labour asking them if they can make the arrangements requested. When we know what can be done we can inform the Government of Ceylon. In view of the routine nature of the communication, I should not think it would be desirable to have any special acknowledgement sent by the Prime Minister.

R A MacKay

Noted & agreed WLMK 24/2/48

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C163530

Ottawa, February 20, 1948.

To
Deputy Minister of Labour.

I enclose three copies of a despatch of February 2 from the Governor of Ceylon, transmitting a request from the Government of Ceylon that arrangements should be made for the publication in Canada of an advertisement of vacancies in senior engineering grades in the Ceylon Department of Irrigation. It is stated, in the memorandum from the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands which is attached to the despatch, that the cost of the advertisements will be met by the Government of Ceylon.

It seems to me that the arrangements for advertising these posts in Canada could most conveniently be made through the machinery of the Department of Labour. I should be obliged if you could let me know whether you can make the arrangements requested, including the suggested designation of an officer or officers to whom applications should be addressed.

The Government of Ceylon has not suggested any particular closing date for receipt of applications, but has left that date to be filled in according to the judgement of the Canadian authorities. As Ceylon is no doubt advertising these posts in other countries as well as in Canada, it might be advisable to make the closing date as early as is consistent with giving applicants a fair opportunity to see the advertisement and reply to it after due consideration.

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs

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(COPY)

NO. M/AL- AG.21

Ceylon, 2nd February 1948.

C163531

Sir,

I have the honour to forward, at the request of the Prime Minister, the accompanying memorandum dated 27th January 1948 relating to vacancies in the Department of Irrigation, Ceylon, and to request that arrangements be made for the publication in Canada of the advertisement referred to therein.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd) Henry Moore

GOVERNOR

The Right Honourable
The Prime Minister
of Canada.

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No. A.G. 21. C163532

M E M O R A N D U M.

VACANCIES FOR ENGINEERS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF IRRIGATION, CEYLON.

There are a number of vacancies in the Senior Engineering Grades of the Department of Irrigation, Ceylon. This Government desires to recruit qualified officers from abroad to fill these posts.

2. A schedule setting out the relevant particulars of the posts - qualifications, duties, salary, allowances and other concessions is annexed together with draft advertisements in respect of each of the posts.

3. This Government will be grateful if :-

(a) these advertisements are published in suitable newspapers and/or other publications after filling the blanks in the draft advertisements relating to the designation of the officer to whom it should be addressed and the closing date,

(b) the applications received are forwarded with any comments, if possible, on the applicants.

4. The cost of the advertisements will be met by this Government.

.....00000.....

Ministry of Agriculture and Lands,
Secretariat,
Colombo 1, CEYLON.
27th January, 1948.

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The Government of CEYLON invites applications for the post of Chief Construction Engineer, Irrigation Department, CEYLON.

2. AGE. Normally selection will be confined to candidates between the ages of 40 and 50 years, but men outside these age limits may be considered if they have exceptional qualifications and experience.

3. QUALIFICATIONS. Candidates must be Corporate Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers and have had wide experience in the investigation, design and construction of Irrigation, Water Supply, and Drainage Projects. The Officer will be in charge of several Construction Engineers and administrative experience is therefore absolutely essential.

4. SALARY. The appointment will be made on agreement for five years. Salary £900 to £1,200 by 7 annual increments of £40 and one of £20. (£1-Rs.15/-). A salary higher than the initial of the scale will be offered to candidates on account of special qualifications and experience.

5. HOUSING, ACCOMMODATION AND ALLOWANCES. Unfurnished Government quarters, if available, will be provided on payment of 6% of salary. If Government quarters are not available, rent allowance at 15% (7½% if unmarried) of salary is payable. Travelling allowance, cost of living allowance, leave and passages will be granted in accordance with Ceylon Government Regulations.

6. APPLY by letter to ..... before .....

------00000-------

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CANADA

The Government of CEYLON invites applications for posts of Construction Engineers, Irrigation Department, CEYLON.

2. AGE. Normally selection will be confined to candidates between the ages of 38 and 45, but men outside these age limits may be considered if they have exceptional qualifications and experience.

3. QUALIFICATIONS. The applicants must be holders of a Civil Engineering Degree, or Corporate Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or have equivalent Civil Engineering qualifications, and have considerable experience in responsible charge of the investigation, design and construction of irrigation and drainage projects and preferably experience in Public Works construction. They must be able to carry approved schemes to contract stage producing with such assistance as necessary all working drawings, bills of quantities, specifications and other contract documents with the minimum supervision.

4. SALARY. The appointment will be on agreement for three years in the first instance. Salary £700 to £900 a year by annual increments of £40. A salary higher than the initial of the scale may be offered to candidates in consideration of age or special qualifications.

5. HOUSING, ACCOMMODATION AND ALLOWANCES. Free unfurnished quarters or rent allowance, cost of living allowance, travelling allowance, leave and passages will be granted in accordance with Ceylon Government Regulations.

6. APPLY by letter to .....

before .....

----00000----

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The Government of CEYLON invites applications for posts of Irrigation Engineers in the Irrigation Department, CEYLON.

2. AGE. Normally selection will be confined to candidates between the ages of 27 and 35, but men outside these age limits may be considered if they have exceptional qualifications and experience.

3. QUALIFICATIONS. Applicants must be holders of a Civil Engineering Degree, or Corporate Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers or have equivalent Civil Engineering qualifications and have experience in responsible charge of the investigation, design and construction of Irrigation and/or drainage projects, and preferably experience in Public Works construction. Applicants should be capable of undertaking the preliminary designs and estimates for a wide range of Civil Engineering works, including heavy earth works, masonry and concrete retaining walls, foundations and reinforced concrete structures.

4. SALARY. The appointment will be on agreement for three years in the first instance. Salary £600 rising to £960 a year by 12 annual increments of £30. A salary higher than the minimum may be offered to candidates in consideration of experience and special qualifications.

5. HOUSING, ACCOMMODATION AND ALLOWANCES. Free unfurnished quarters or rent allowance, cost of living allowance, travelling allowance, leave and passages will be granted in accordance with Ceylon Government Regulations.

6. APPLY by letter to..... before.....

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GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON

DEPARTMENT OF IRRIGATION

C163536

Post	Qualifications	Duties	Salary Scale (Exclusive of Allowance)	Rent allowance payable.	Housing Accomo-dation.	Cost of Living Allowance	Other Concessions.
Chief Construction Engineer.	Co-operate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers. Must have wide experience in the investigation, design and construction of Irrigation, Water Supply and Drainage projects.	Supervision of the various construction works in charge of the construction Engineers.	£.900 -£.40 & £. 20 -£.1200	15% of salary for married officers, and 7½% of salary for single officers -or free quarters		(varies monthly) Oct.1947 Rs.75.00	Passage on 1st appointment, return, and once in 4 years-for self, wife and 4 children.
Construction Engineers	Engineering Degree with practical experience on large Irrigation, Drainage and Water Works.	In charge of the investigation, design and execution of large Irrigation Works.	£.700-£.40-£900	15% of salary for married officers, and 7½% of salary for single officers-or free quarters.		(varies monthly) Oct.1947 Rs.75.00	Passage on 1st appointment, return, and once in 4 years-for self, wife and 4 children.
Irrigation Engineers	5 years practical experience with an engineering degree of a recognised University or A.M.I.C.E.	In charge of a territorial sub-division which comprises of several completed major irrigation works, their maintenance and improvements.	£.600-£.30-£960	15% of salary for married officers, and 7½% of salary for single officers-or free quarters.		(varies monthly) Oct.1947 Rs.75.00	Passage on 1st appointment, return, and once in 4 years-for self, wife and 4 children.

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MESSAGES AND REFERENCES TO RT. HON. N. CHAMBERLAIN BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN RECENT YEARS.

		EXHIBIT
Sept.13,1938	Press statement	1.
" 27,1938	Press statement	2.
" 29,1938	Personal telegram to Mr. Chamberlain -	3.
Mar. 30,1939	Personal tribute in House of Commons (Unrevised Hansard p. 2665)	4.
Jan. 9,1940	Telegram of congratulation on the occasion of Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the Mansion House -	5.
Feb. 24,1940	Telegram of congratulation on occasion of Mr. Chamberlain's speech in Birmingham -	6.
May 10,1940	Telegram at time of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation as Prime Minister -	7.
Oct. 4,1940	Telegram at time of resignation of office -	8.

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C163538

(5)

Ottawa, 9th January, 1940.

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister. Begins.

Personal. Your Mansion House address, heard perfectly in Canada, has not been surpassed, if indeed equalled, by any public utterance since the outbreak of war. I believe just the right thing said for this continent, ourselves and our neighbors. Warmest regards. Mackenzie King. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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C163539

file

S-119
pu 1939

Ottawa, January 9th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. SKELTON:

The Prime Minister dictated the following telegram to me, by telephone, a few minutes ago:

"Personal. Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain. Your Mansion House address, heard perfectly in Canada, has not been surpassed, if indeed equalled, by any public utterance since the outbreak of war. ~~Publicity~~ I believe just the right thing said for this continent, ourselves and our neighbours. ~~Publicity~~. Warmest regards.

Mackenzie King."

I assume Mr. King intended to have the message sent through the regular Departmental channels, although he did not specifically say so.

J. W. P.

JWP/R

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C163540

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Rush

Ottawa, February 24, 1940.

Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain,
The Prime Minister,
Birmingham,

The soul and strength of the allied cause was never more searchingly set forth than in the noble words to which the world has just been listening in your address of today. That you, yourself, have soul and courage in so great measure gives added heart and courage to all. Nothing at this time could possibly have been better. Warmest regards.

(Sgd.) Mackenzie King.

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CHAMBERLAIN:

"Confidence ten times greater
than at beginning of war."

April 4, 1940.

See European War, 1940, Vol. IX, Exhibit 647.

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(C O P Y) C163542

(1)

Ottawa, May 10, 1940

Cable - straight message - rush

Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain,
10 Downing Street,
London, (England)

Personal. I was proud to be at your side the day you assumed office as Prime Minister. I am equally proud, though separated by an ocean, to be again at your side this afternoon as you lay down the burdens of that office. I shall always be grateful that it has been my privilege to give to you such support and assistance as it was within my power to give throughout the anxious days and months and years that have intervened. My admiration and understanding sympathy are yours in fullest measure at this hour.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

Charge:
Prime Minister's Office.

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(C O P Y) C163542

Ottawa, May 10, 1940

Cable - straight message - rush

Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain,
10 Downing Street,
London, (England)

Personal. I was proud to be at your side the day you assumed office as Prime Minister. I am equally proud, though separated by an ocean, to be again at your side this afternoon as you lay down the burdens of that office. I shall always be grateful that it has been my privilege to give to you such support and assistance as it was within my power to give throughout the anxious days and months and years that have intervened. My admiration and understanding sympathy are yours in fullest measure at this hour.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

Charge:
Prime Minister's Office.

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C163543

(8)

CANADIAN PACIFIC TELEGRAPHS

Ottawa, October 4, 1940.

Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain,
London,
England.

At this moment of your release from the heavy responsibilities you have so ably and so bravely borne through the most exciting times in British history may I say how sincerely I hope that you may be spared to enjoy, for years to come, the serenity of mind and heart to which your labours for peace and later for victory so richly entitle you. To Mrs. Chamberlain and yourself I send as always my warmest, kindest and very best of wishes.

(Sgd.) W. L. Mackenzie King.

(COPY)

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Nov 9-'40

C163544

The Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain

Honourable members have learned with deep regret of the death of the Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain. It is fitting that I should place upon the records of this House some few words in honour of his memory.

Mr. Chamberlain left the scenes of his labours in circumstances made especially poignant by the sufferings of his closing days. Canada will not soon forget the fortitude with which he faced, and met, and endured, the terrors and horrors of war; nor, in the preceding years, his long and earnest fight for peace - a peace which he once described as one which will enable mankind "to live their lives without fear, and to devote their energies and their gifts to the development of their culture, the pursuit of their ideals, and the improvement of their material prosperity".

With the permission of the House, I would like to repeat within these walls the substance of a public tribute I have already paid to his memory.

As the tragedy of Europe and the world began to unfold, Mr Chamberlain as the Prime Minister of his country, ~~Mr. Chamberlain~~ bore the greatest burden of all. He found himself the victim

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of conditions which he did not create, and of circumstances which he could not control. In a world rushing headlong to war, for which Britain was not prepared, peace had been placed in his keeping. From the compelling burdens of those conditions he did not flinch. He fought these circumstances with all the virtues of his race and, above all, with what has been called the greatest of all the virtues - unwavering patience. The judgment of time will determine the responsibility for the conditions and the circumstances which he inherited. It is no less certain that as those who follow us, gaze in retrospect upon these tragic scenes, they will see in the late Prime Minister of Great Britain a forthright, fearless, honest, Christian gentleman, who laboured for peace because he loved his fellow-men, and who led his country into war as the only means left to preserve their freedom.

When the testing time came at Munich in 1938, he, hating war, found himself opposed by men who were determined to wage it. Whatever may be the present opinion of the Pact of Munich held by some, at the time when it was made it was hailed with joy in Britain, in France, in Canada, in the United States, and also by the people in Italy and in Germany.

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In fact, the world sighed with profound relief as Mr. Chamberlain gave to the hearts of mankind a new lease of hope. Today, the memory of Munich has no doubt been embittered by the apparent failure to fulfill its promise. That was not the fault of Mr. Chamberlain.

Many men in public life have suffered, often undeservedly, from the fickleness of public opinion, and the forgetfulness of public gratitude; but few men have had the experience of these vicissitudes of fortune crowded more dramatically into so short a period of time. Mr. Chamberlain enjoyed prosperity in humility, and suffered adversity with silent dignity. He moved steadfastly towards peace, when peace was possible. He did not flinch from war, when war was inevitable. He bore praise with modesty, and censure without complaint.

History will, I believe, pay his memory these tributes. His passion for peace and his patient search for it gave to the cause of Britain a moral strength in the eyes of the world, invaluable in a struggle between good and evil.

The temporary peace which his patience gained, gave mankind a year free from the horrors of war, unmasked the true character of the new tyranny, and strengthened the preparations of free nations to meet the threat to the Christian civilization which they cherished.

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In the midst of danger, discouragement and defeat, Mr. Chamberlain never despaired of his country or of her great cause in the world of men. Canada, today, joins with the other nations of the British Commonwealth in honouring a faithful servant of humanity.

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PRESS RELEASE

C163548

It is with deep sorrow that I have learned of the passing of the Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain.

~~On behalf of the government and people of Canada~~ I have sent to Mrs Chamberlain a message of deepest sympathy ~~to his~~ ~~Chamberlain~~ ~~widow and family.~~ on behalf of the Government and people of Canada.

Canadians will never forget Mr. Chamberlain's labours for peace, his inspiring leadership at the outbreak of war and the dignity and patience with which he bore the great burdens of his public life.

~~When the House of Commons meets, I hope, to place upon its records some appreciation of the greatness of his character and the measure of his achievement.~~ I intend tomorrow to ask leave to move a resolution for this purpose.

It is one of the many tragedies of ~~our day~~ that the times through which we are passing Mr. Chamberlain, who saw the destruction of the peace which he did so much to preserve, should not have been spared to see the victory in the war to which he brought a united and resolute nation.

Without him peace would have been impossible from September 1938 to September 1939. Without him the unity of the British Commonwealth might have been impossible since September 1939. Its peoples will ever hold his name in honour.

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November 10, 1940

Statement for the press from the Prime Minister of Canada on the passing of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain C163549

It is with deep sorrow that I have learned of the passing of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain. His death will be mourned by the peoples of Britain and of the British Commonwealth with a sorrow that has been deepened by a knowledge of his sufferings during the last few months.

Mr. Chamberlain will be personally remembered by many Canadians who came to know him in England and at the time of his visit to Ottawa when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he represented the United Kingdom at the Economic Conference of 1932. On that occasion his simplicity, his directness and his kindliness made for him many admiring friends.

At different conferences in London I was fortunate in sharing with him a growing intimacy, understanding and friendship. In 1937 when he presided over the Imperial Conference, after succeeding Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister, he made upon that gathering a profound impression. His common sense, his frankness, his directness of speech and his considerate courtesy, were then, as always, the hallmarks of his sterling character. He was an ideal Chairman, possessing as he did a complete appreciation of the strength and the nature of the fabric of the British Commonwealth and the duties and responsibilities of each member of it in relation to the other.

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As the tragedy of Europe and the world began to unfold, Mr. Chamberlain bore the greatest burden of all. He found himself the victim of conditions which he did not create and of circumstances which he could not control. In a world rushing headlong to war for which Britain was not prepared, peace had been placed in his keeping. From the compelling burdens of those conditions he did not flinch. He fought these circumstances with all the virtues of his race and, above all, with what has been called the greatest of all the virtues - unwavering patience. The judgment of time will determine the responsibility for the conditions and the circumstances which he inherited. It is no less certain that as those who follow us, gaze in retrospect upon these tragic scenes, they will see in the late Prime Minister of Great Britain a plain, forthright, honest, Christian gentleman who loved his fellow-men and the ways of peace.

When the testing time came at Munich in 1938, he, hating war, found himself opposed by men who were determined to wage it. Whatever may be the present opinion of the Pact of Munich held by some, at the time when it was made it was hailed with joy in Britain, in France, in Canada, in the United States, in Italy and in Germany and by millions of plain, peace-loving men and women. In fact, the world sighed with profound relief as Mr. Chamberlain gave to the hearts of mankind a new lease of hope. Today, the memory of Munich has no doubt been embittered by the apparent failure to fulfil its promise. That was not the fault

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History will, I believe, pay Mr. Chamberlain's memory these tributes. His passion for peace and his patient search for it gave to the cause of Britain a moral strength in the eyes of the world, invaluable in a struggle between good and evil.

The temporary peace which his patience gained, gave mankind a year free from the horrors of war, unmasked the true character of the new tyranny, and strengthened the preparations of free nations to meet the threat to the Christian civilization which they cherished.

In the midst of danger, discouragement and defeat, Mr. Chamberlain never despaired of his country or of her great cause in the world of men. Canadians and Britons, alike, will join in honouring a faithful servant of humanity.

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C163552 10.11.40

The flag of this House has flown at half-mast for the last three days in honour of the memory of the Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain and in grief for his passing. His death is mourned by the peoples of Britain and of the British Commonwealth with a sorrow that has been deepened by a knowledge of his sufferings during the last few months. He will be personally remembered by many Canadians from his visit to Ottawa when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he represented the United Kingdom at the Economic Conference. On that occasion his simplicity, his directness and his kindliness, made for him many admiring friends.

It was my pleasure to meet him then and thereafter, on terms of growing intimacy, understanding and friendship. On the first occasion when he presided over the Imperial Conference, he followed the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin as an untried and, to most of us, a comparatively unknown man. It was not long before he made upon that gathering a profound impression. His common sense, his frankness, his directness of speech and his considerate courtesy, were then, as always, the hallmarks of his sterling character. He was an ideal Chairman, possessing as he did a complete appreciation of the strength and the nature of the fabric of the British Commonwealth and the duties and responsibilities of each member of it in relation to the other.

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The flag of this House has flown at half-mast for the last three days in honour of the memory of the Right Honourable Neville Chamberlain and in grief for his passing. His death will be mourned by the peoples of Britain and of the British Commonwealth with a sorrow that has been deepened by a knowledge of his sufferings during the last few months. Mr. Chamberlain will be personally remembered by many Canadians who came to know him in England and at the time of his visit to Ottawa when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he represented the United Kingdom at the Economic Conference of 1932. On that occasion his simplicity, his directness and his kindliness, made for him many admiring friends.

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When the testing time came at Munich in 1938, he, hating war, found himself opposed by men who were determined to wage it. ~~He trusted for once, but for once only, men who knew in their own hearts that they would shrink from no deceit, from no dishonour and no violence to break the peace of Europe when and how they willed it.~~ Whatever may be the present opinion of the Pact of Munich held by some, at the time when it was made it was hailed with joy in Britain, in France, in Canada, in the United States, in Italy and in

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Germany and by millions of plain, peace-loving men and women. In fact, the world sighed with profound relief as Mr. Chamberlain gave to the hearts of mankind a new lease of hope. To-day, the memory of Munich has no doubt been embittered by the apparent failure to fulfil its promise, ~~of hope~~. That was not the fault of Mr. Chamberlain.

Many men in public life have suffered, often undeservedly, from the fickleness of public opinion and the forgetfulness of public gratitude, but few men have had the experience of these vicissitudes of fortune crowded more dramatically into a short period of time. In prosperity and adversity, whether he was acclaimed as a savior or assailed as a betrayer, Mr. Chamberlain moved steadfastly towards peace, when peace was possible. He prepared for war when war was inevitable. He bore praise with modesty and censure without complaint.

It was my duty and privilege, as Prime Minister of Canada, to thank him on September 29, 1938, in the name of the people of Canada, for the success of his unremitting and unselfish efforts at Munich. We all heard with pride the noble words he spoke when Britain declared war upon the tyrant whose word he had once trusted.

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When he laid down the burdens of his office I interpreted the heart of this country when I telegraphed to him an expression of the fullest measure of my admiration, understanding and sympathy for him in the days of his labour and the hour of his retirement.

History will, I believe, pay Mr. Chamberlain's memory these tributes. His passion for peace and his patient search for it gave to the cause of Britain a moral strength in the eyes of the world, invaluable in a struggle between good and evil.

The temporary peace which his patience gained, gave mankind a year free from the horrors of war, unmasked the true character of the new tyranny, and strengthened the preparations of free nations to meet the threat to the Christian civilization which they cherished.

In the midst of danger, discouragement and defeat, Mr. Chamberlain never despaired of his country or of her great cause in the world of men. Canadians and Britons, alike, will join in honouring a faithful servant of humanity.

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Press Release from Prime Minister's Office, Sunday, Nov.10,1940

Text of message sent to Mrs. Neville Chamberlain by the Prime Minister, on behalf of government and people of Canada:

"The Government and people of Canada send you heartfelt sympathy. We share your sorrow and your proud memories. Mr. Chamberlain's name will live in the hearts of all who love freedom. They will always gratefully remember his courage, his loyalty, his devotion to duty and his services to the British Commonwealth alike in times of peace and war."

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Mr. Mackenzie King likewise sent a formal expression of sympathy to the Right Honourable Winston Churchill and the Cabinet of the United Kingdom.

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November 10, 1940

C163557

Statement for the press from the Prime Minister of Canada on the passing of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain

It is with deep sorrow that I have learned of the passing of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain. His death will be mourned by the peoples of Britain and of the British Commonwealth with a sorrow that has been deepened by a knowledge of his sufferings during the last few months.

Mr. Chamberlain will be personally remembered by many Canadians who came to know him in England and at the time of his visit to Ottawa when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he represented the United Kingdom at the Economic Conference of 1932. On that occasion his simplicity, his directness and his kindliness made for him many admiring friends.

At different conferences in London I was fortunate in sharing with him a growing intimacy, understanding and friendship. In 1937 when he presided over the Imperial Conference, after succeeding Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister, he made upon that gathering a profound impression. His common sense, his frankness, his directness of speech and his considerate courtesy, were then, as always, the hallmarks of his sterling character. He was an ideal Chairman, possessing as he did a complete appreciation of the strength and the nature of the fabric of the British Commonwealth and the duties and responsibilities of each member of it in relation to the other.

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As the tragedy of Europe and the world began to unfold, Mr. Chamberlain bore the greatest burden of all. He found himself the victim of conditions which he did not create and of circumstances which he could not control. In a world rushing headlong to war for which Britain was not prepared, peace had been placed in his keeping. From the compelling burdens of those conditions he did not flinch. He fought these circumstances with all the virtues of his race and, above all, with what has been called the greatest of all the virtues - unwavering patience. The judgment of time will determine the responsibility for the conditions and the circumstances which he inherited. It is no less certain that as those who follow us, gaze in retrospect upon these tragic scenes, they will see in the late Prime Minister of Great Britain a plain, forthright, honest, Christian gentleman who loved his fellow-men and the ways of peace.

When the testing time came at Munich in 1938, he, hating war, found himself opposed by men who were determined to wage it. Whatever may be the present opinion of the Pact of Munich held by some, at the time when it was made it was hailed with joy in Britain, in France, in Canada, in the United States, in Italy and in Germany and by millions of plain, peace-loving men and women. In fact, the world sighed with profound relief as Mr. Chamberlain gave to the hearts of mankind a new base of hope. Today, the memory of Munich has no doubt been embittered by the apparent failure to fulfil its promise. That was not the fault

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of Mr. Chamberlain.

History will, I believe, pay Mr. Chamberlain's memory these tributes. His passion for peace and his patient search for it gave to the cause of Britain a moral strength in the eyes of the world, invaluable in a struggle between good and evil.

The temporary peace which his patience gained, gave mankind a year free from the horrors of war, unmasked the true character of the new tyranny, and strengthened the preparations of free nations to meet the threat to the Christian civilization which they cherished.

In the midst of danger, discouragement and defeat, Mr. Chamberlain never despaired of his country or of her great cause in the world of men. Canadians andBritons, alike, will join in honouring a faithful servant of humanity.

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FROM: THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CANADIAN CONSULATE GENERAL, NEW YORK CITY

EN CLAIR

TELETYPE OTTAWA, October 24th, 1946

NO. 18.

No. 18. Following for the Prime Minister from Pearson, Begins:

Reference to your telephone message regarding General Chang Chun. You will no doubt wish us to proceed with arrangements at once for luncheon Thursday, October 31st, at 1.15 p.m., at Country Club. Reservation has been made there. I should be glad to receive your instructions as to the following proposed invitation list:

Chang Chun,
Yourself,
Rt. Hon. J.L. Ilsley,
Rt. Hon. C.D. Howe,
Colonel Colin Gibson,
Hon. Ian Mackenzie,
Hon. Ernest Bertrand,
Chinese Ambassador, (if here), and General Odlum,
First Secretary, Military Attache, and the
Assistant Air Attache of the Chinese Embassy,
The Chief of the General Staff,
Myself,
Dr. Patterson, (who is going as Counsellor
to our Embassy in China),
Menzies and Measures of External Affairs.

I am sending you a separate telegram regarding the Barrington Wards. Ends.

ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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ARM:DH
October 30/46

C163561

Notes for Address of Welcome to Governor Chang Ch'un

at luncheon being tendered by the Prime Minister at the Country Club, Ottawa 1:15 p.m. October 31.

Welcome:

a) General Chang Ch'un (pronounced Jahng Chwin) Chairman of the Provincial Government of Szechwan

b) Major General Victor W. Odlum
Canadian Ambassador to China

c) Mr. Lu Tso-fu (pronounced Loo Dzo-foo)
President of the Ming Sung Industrial Corporation in Ottawa to complete arrangements for a guaranteed credit to build ships in Canada for his firm.

Recall:

a) Establishment of Canadian Embassy in Chungking early in 1943 at a time when

b) Szechwan Province was the Fortress of Free China mobilization of the great human and natural resources of the province to resist Japanese aggression.

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c) Leadership of Chiang Kai-shek whose 59th birthday was celebrated yesterday, October 30.

d) General Chang Ch'un close associate of Generalissimo distinguished record of public service to China as military man, mayor of Shanghai, Governor of Hupeh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, Chairman of the Provincial Government of Szechwan

e) His association with Canadians as Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of West China Union University, and friend of the Canadian Ambassador to China, General Odlum.

f) His interest in reconstruction of Szechwan General Odlum has sent us reports concerning the many reconstruction projects General Chang has in view and in which he hopes to have Canadian cooperation.

g) Mr. Lu arranging to have ships built in Canada

h) Hope it may be possible to cooperate in other reconstruction projects in Szechwan and elsewhere in China

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Conclusion:

a) Glad to welcome this distinguished Chinese official and friend of Canada

b) Send greetings through him to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and people of China

c) Express confidence in future of China as one of leaders of United Nations and growth of Sino-Canadian friendship

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C163564

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Visit of General Chang Ch'un Governor of Szechwan

Attached are the following notes:

(1) Biography of General Chang Ch'un

(2) Szechwan Province - geography

(3) Szechwan history

(4) Canadian interests in Szechwan

(5) Reconstruction projects of interest to Canada in Szechwan

(6) Draft remarks at luncheon on October 31

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SZECHWAN PROVINCE - GEOGRAPHY

Szechwan means "four rivers," referring to the four important tributaries that enter the upper Yangtze in this province. It has an area of 156,000 square miles, a population of 53 million, a frost-free growing season of 325 days, average rainfall of 40 inches, rich soil and mineral deposits, and the best water power resources in China.

The Szechwan Basin grows a greater variety of crops than elsewhere, with both the wheat, millet and corn of the north and the rice and sugar cane of the south. Rice is the usual summer crop wherever water is available for irrigation. Water wheels line the swifter streams and lift water to the terraced fields as they are turned by the current. At Kwanhsien (pronounced Gwan-see-en) there is an historic irrigation dam built over two thousand years ago which supplies irrigation water for the plain around the capital city of Chengtu. Silk, tea, citrus fruits and tung oil are other important products. The famous salt wells at Tze-liu-ching (pronounced Dz-leeoh-jing), with their two thousand year old system of bamboo cables and buckets, supply salt to Szechwan and the neighbouring provinces. There is coal, some iron, copper and gold, and probably oil. Industries to exploit these resources are just in their infancy. There were really none there before the wartime capital was moved to Chungking and Szechwan became the fortress of Free China.

Perhaps the greatest problem of Szechwan has been difficult transportation, both internally and especially with the rest of China. To enter Szechwan by the Yangtze River route one must negotiate the difficult Yangtze Gorges below Chungking. There are no railways, and roads are still elementary. Most domestic freight still moves by river boat.

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HISTORY OF SZECHWAN

Because of its economic self-sufficiency the Szechwan Basin was one of the earliest culture centres of China. Archaeologists have found evidences of palaeolithic and neolithic cultures there, but this work of exploration is just beginning. Because of the isolation of the province its history has not been closely integrated with that of the rest of China, recorded in the great dynastic histories. The kingdom of Shu was the first recorded in Szechwan and this name is often still applied to the province. However the real foundations of permanent agricultural prosperity were laid under the aegis of the state of Ch'in, about 300 B.C. when Li Ping constructed the Tuchiang dam at Kwanhsien, northwest of Chengtu. By dividing the Min River into two systems whose controlled flow eventually spread through thousands of branching channels over the entire Red Earth Basin, Li and his son ensured the province against the recurrent floods and famines which have been the scourge of China through the centuries. It was this which enabled the Ch'in, using Szechwan as their economic base, to knock out their rivals among the warring feudal states at the end of the long Chou period, and found the first Chinese Empire under Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in 221 B.C.

Since that time, although Szechwan was too remote from the main centres of development to occupy a leading role in the rise and fall of dynasties, it has acted as one of the key economic areas of China. Without it no dynasty could feel secure; and here often revolt first flared up against a decaying dynasty. Indeed, Szechwanese will tell you that they were the first to revolt against the Manchus in 1911. Certainly, disturbances arising out of the misappropriation of funds in the Szechwan Railway scandal of that time unsettled the toppling imperial regime in Peking and facilitated the revolutionary coup of the Republican forces.

Up to the time that the wartime capital was moved to Chungking in 1938, Szechwan was governed by a group of contending warlords. Szechwan provides three main sources of wealth to the successful parasite: the prosperous agricultural area of the Chengtu Plain, where the land may either be appropriated at low rates or taxed at high; the salt revenues from the famous fields at Tzeliuching which is about halfway between the two main cities, Chengtu and Chungking; and the tolls levied on river traffic principally at Chungking. Many and sanguinary were the battles fought over these prizes during the first three decades of the Republic.

The warlord system began to break down after 1935 when the Central Government sent its own troops into the province to assist in driving out the Chinese Communist armies which entered the province in their historic long march from Kiangsi to Shensi. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

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made one of his dramatic flights to Chungking in the summer of 1935 to impress on the local warlords the necessity of cooperating with the Central Government.

During the war Central Government control over Szechwan was further strengthened. In this, General Chang Ch'un, a native of the province and intimate friend of the Generalissimo, played an important part. The National Military Academy was set up in Chengtu, and this gave the Central Government an opportunity to move in some of its troops for training purposes. The old warlords were divided and bought off. Marshall Teng Hsi-hou, the best of the lot, was appointed Pacification Commissioner for Szechwan and the border province of Sikang. General Liu Wen-Hui was recognized as Governor of Sikang where he takes a toll on all trade with Tibet. General P'an Wen-hua, the least reliable, was named titular commander of the Eighteenth Group Army. Some suggest that these old warlords are just biding their time, waiting to see if the Central Government gets into trouble. Others, having in mind the wartime achievements of the Central Government in Szechwan, believe the province will remain effectively integrated with the rest of the National Government territory and may look forward to an era of prosperous economic development.

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C163568

CANADIAN INTERESTS IN SZECHWAN

West China Union University was in origin largely a Canadian missionary undertaking. Its School of Medicine under Dr. Leslie Kilborn, School of Dentistry under Drs. Agnew and Mullett and its agricultural experimentation work under Dr. Dickinson have had a profound effect on the development of Szechwan Province. General Chang Ch'un has been a Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of West China Union University.

Canadian missionaries in Szechwan province have built for Canada an excellent reputation in that part of the world. Quite a number of Chinese students have come to study at Canadian universities at their instigation.

The Canadian Embassy in Chungking, established early in 1943 by General Odlum, has also made Canada well known in West China. General Odlum cultivated friends for Canada among officials, military men, business men and educators. He aroused the interest of Chinese in Canada by telling them of this country's war effort and great industrial development in the war period.

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CANADA

ARM:DH
Oct. 30/46

C163569

RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS OF INTEREST TO CANADA IN SZECHWAN

Ming Sung Industrial Corporation

A guaranteed credit in the neighbourhood of 15 million dollars has been arranged to enable this company to build ships in Canada. Mr. Lu Tso-fu is here to sign the papers. Ming Sung is one of the two principal shipping companies on the Yangtze River and has other extensive holdings in Szechwan Province.

Lung Chi Ho Electric Power Development Project

This project calls for the completion and extension of a power site on a small tributary of the Yangtze just below Chungking. It would supply electricity to the Chungking area. A good survey has been made of this site by an American engineer, Mr. J. S. Cotton. The development would require the extension of guaranteed credit of about $5,000,000 to the National Resources Commission of the Chinese Government.

Kwanhsien Electric Power and Irrigation Project

A modern dam or series of dams to replace the cumbersome but effective Tuchiang dam at Kwanhsien has been suggested. A representative of the Montreal Engineering Company, Mr. J. K. Sexton, visited this site in August in company with Mr. Ho Peh-hen, Szechwan Commissioner of Reconstruction. He thought it would be difficult to build a good dam there because of the width of the river bed and the gravel base, but did not rule it out altogether.

Other Hydro-electric Projects

The representative of the Montreal Engineering Company and Brigadier Bostock, Military Attache of the Canadian Embassy in China, visited four other sites in Szechwan province in August where hydro-electric power might be effectively obtained.

Szechwan Salt Administration

Consideration has been given to obtaining in Canada equipment that would enable the Szechwan Salt Administration to modernize its salt industry at Tzeliching. They also require ships to transport the salt. Some correspondence has been exchanged concerning utilizing the services of Mr. John S. Danner, a Canadian salt engineer, to make a survey. Officials of the Szechwan Salt Administration are expected to visit Canada and the United States shortly to study modern methods.

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Chungking Bridge Project

Preliminary work has been begun to prepare a site for a steel bridge over the Yangtze River at Chungking. When this work is more advanced the Municipality of Chungking may seek steel from Canada to build the bridge.

Szechwan Sericulture Corporation Limited

This concern is interested in procuring machinery in Canada. In exchange it hopes to find a market in Canada for Szechwan silk. Because of the problems of standards, and grading which the Chinese have not coped with satisfactorily yet, there has been some difficulty in interesting Canadian concerns in purchasing silk direct from Szechwan.

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ENGAGEMENT C163571

DATE— Thursday
October 31, 1946

HOUR— 1.15 p.m.

EVENT— Luncheon

NAME— Prime Minister on behalf of Government of Canada

PLACE— Country Club

PHONE No.— 2-4867

REMARKS—

In honour of General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, China.

Car ordered for 12.45 p.m.

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CANADA

C163572

Luncheon given by Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in honour of General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, Thursday, October 31st, 1946, at The Ottawa Country Club.

Hon. Ian Mackenzie,
Minister of Veterans Affairs

Mr. Lu Tso-fu, Ming Sung Industrial Corporation	Mr. W.K. Chow, Director, Chinese Govern- ment Supply Agency
Mr. A.R. Menzies, Dept. of External Affairs	Mr. R.B. Bryce, Department of Finance
Mr. Daniel Lew, Secretary to General Chang	Mr. Harold Robertson, West China Union University
Mr. W.H. Measures, Dept. of External Affairs	Mr. L.B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs
Major Chow Sik-Nin, Assistant Air Attache, Chinese Embassy	Mr. Tien Pao-Sheng, First Secretary, Chinese Embassy
Maj.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum, Canadian Ambassador to China	Rt.Hon. C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction and Supply
H.E. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Ambassador of China	General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan

Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada

ENTRANCE

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CANADA

C163573

Government Luncheon
in honour of General Chang Chun
Governor of Szechwan Province, China
October 31, 1946

Particular pleasure to welcome to capital of Canada so distinguished a representative of China.

recall that during wartime many leaders in Chinese government
war effort
industry
& finance
visited Canada

delighted to think that these visits can be continued under conditions of peace and in important period of reconstruction.

A friendly approach has characterized attitude to a number of problems between Canada and China for which co-operative settlement has been achieved.

hope very much that General Chang will take back to his own country and to his province, favourable impressions of Canada and of Ottawa as the capital.

- -

Glad to have present today General Odlum Ambassador to China - a pioneer in Sino-Canadian relations

Dr.George Patterson - shortly returning to Nanking.

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C163574

Luncheon given by Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in honour of General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, Thursday, October 31st, 1946, at The Ottawa Country Club.

Hon. Ian Mackenzie,
Minister of Veterans Affairs

Mr. Lu Tso-fu, Ming Sung Industrial Corporation		Mr. W.K. Chow, Director, Chinese Government Supply Agency
Mr. A.R. Menzies, Dept. of External Affairs		Mr. R.B. Bryce, Department of Finance
Mr. Daniel Lew, Secretary to General Chang		Mr. Harold Robertson, West China Union University
Mr. W.H. Measures, Dept. of External Affairs		Mr. L.B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs
Major Chow Sik-Nin, Assistant Air Attache, Chinese Embassy		Mr. Tien Pao-Sheng, First Secretary, Chinese Embassy
Maj.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum, Canadian Ambassador to China		Rt.Hon. C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction and Supply
H.E. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Ambassador of China		General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan

Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada

ENTRANCE

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CANADA

file C163575

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR COUNCIL: February 9th, 1940.

(2nd)

SUBJECT: Canadian Legion War Services Inc.

REMARKS: Message for Appeal, signed by the Prime Minister, attached.

CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL: February 9th, 1940.

ACTION TAKEN: Draft revised.

DISPOSED OF: February 10th. Message as signed sent to Colonel Edwards.

A.D.P.H.

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CANADA

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C163576 30-6
N-305
1940
R-1000
1940

Ottawa, February 8, 1940.

In connection with the war effort of Canada, the Government has been much gratified to have the active co-operation of many national organizations. Among these, the Canadian Legion War Services have had a prominent place. The attention which their officers are giving to educational and personal services, with a view to facilitating the eventual return of enlisted men to civilian pursuits and equally, to the increasing of their opportunities for useful service in war as well as in peace, deserves the fullest commendation. I hope that the appeal for financial support which will shortly be launched may have a ready and generous response throughout the Dominion.

JAG/MS

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W.G. GUNN TO WLMK.

C163577 D1-30-2
WWII - Canada's War Effort

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OF CANADA

THE WAR CHARITIES ACT.

JUNE 28, 1940.

Memorandum for the Honourable the Prime Minister.

During the course of the administration of The War Charities Act up to June 26th, 1940, a total of 504 different organizations have applied for and obtained registration of Funds for their purposes. In addition, there have been registered 707 Branch Funds for organizations which have chosen to carry on their activities through the agency of their branches.

Of these organizations only a few have indicated a Dominion-wide field of operations; the most important of these would, perhaps, be the following,-

1. The Canadian Red Cross Society Fund,
   621 Jarvis St., Toronto 5, Ontario.

A

2. Canadian Legion War Services Fund,
   158 Sparks St., Ottawa.

3. Knights of Columbus Canadian Army Huts Fund,
   161 Holmwood Ave., Ottawa.

4. The Salvation Army Red Shield War Services Fund,
   306 Drummond Building, Montreal, P.Q.

5. Canadian Y.M.C.A.'s War Services Fund,
   215 St. James Street West, Montreal, P.Q.

6. I.O.D.E. War Service Fund (and Branches).

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DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OF CANADA

7. The Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem Fund,
63 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

8. Navy League of Canada Fund,
115 Sterling Road, Toronto, Ont.

A nation-wide campaign has been held by each of the first five of the above-mentioned Funds. The stated financial objective of each campaign and the amount actually obtained by each of these organizations during the said campaign may be briefly set out in round figures, as follows;-

The Canadian Red Cross Society Fund,-
The financial objective was $3,000,000 which was stated to include $1,000,000 necessary for the continuation of peacetime services. The receipts, as shown by a statement dated December 31st,1939, amounted to $4,896,000.

Canadian Legion War Services Fund,-
The financial objective was $500,000. The receipts as at the 31st March,1940, were $496,000.

Knights of Columbus Canadian Army Huts Fund,-
The objective was $200,000. Receipts as at the 31st March,1940, were $203,000.

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OF CANADA

The Salvation Army Red Shield War Services Fund,- The objective was $1,000,000. As to the receipts, it may be said that this organization did not get its campaign launched until near the end of the annual accounting period (March 31st,1940) and to date no financial statements have been filed.

Canadian Y.M.C.A.'s War Services Fund,- The objective was $1,000,000. As to the receipts, the same remarks apply as in the case of The Salvation Army Fund.

Of the remaining three organizations it may be said that the Imperial Order Daughters of Empire has been active through its constituent Chapters throughout the country holding money-raising projects of various kinds. Figures for the total amount of money so raised are not yet available. The same remarks would apply in the case of the Fund for The Venerable Order of St. John of Jerusalem which has a stated objective of $500,000. In this case, however, this Fund did not become registered until most of the national campaigns for monies had been completed. With regard to The Navy League of Canada, it may be stated that as at the end of

the ...

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the accounting period provided by the Regulations (March 31st,1940) the records show that this organization had not taken steps to launch a campaign, although its stated objective is $500,000.

The vast majority of the remaining registered Funds are established by organizations such as Service Clubs, Women's organizations, Fraternal organizations of all kinds, Church auxiliaries, and community organizations, all having some peculiar local patriotic motive or object, or, perhaps, engaged in collecting monies by various means which may be paid over to some of the larger national Funds. Statements are submitted from time to time by these organizations showing the results of their money-making activities and these are available for public inspection.

W. G. Gunn

for Under Secretary of State.
(War Charities Branch).

Ottawa, June 28th,1940.

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ODS/AH

August 15th,1940.

Dr Skelton

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C163581

R-901
v. 4
R-309
1940 (Long)

I have had an enquiry from Mr. Philip Fisher, President of the Canadian Welfare Council, and Miss Whitton regarding a national appeal by Community Chests and local community services in Canada between the middle of October and November 4th. A simultaneous appeal will be made in the United States for similar services.

The Council realizes that with war conditions the task of raising funds and holding together the services carried on by the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, the Y.W.C.A., the Children's Aid Societies and all charitable and benevolent institutions, family welfare organizations, playgrounds groups, and not least neighbourhood and settlement houses, will not be easy and that a greater measure of cooperative effort will be required than ever before.

On Sunday, October 13th, a great national broadcast of all United States systems will be sent out at 10.30 p.m. E.S.T., opened by President Roosevelt.

On the following Sunday, October 20th, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will carry Canada's national program from 10 p.m. to 11 p.m. E.S.T.

for words to you
J.L.I.

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It is desired to place before the Prime Minister the following proposals:

1. The United States services would like an address from Princess Alice immediately after President Roosevelt's speech. Before taking this matter up with Her Royal Highness it is desired to know whether this would be acceptable to the Canadian Government.

2. For the Canadian broadcast on Sunday evening, October 20th, it is desired to have a broadcast or transcript either from Her Majesty the Queen Mother, who is Head of the Charity Organization Society in the United Kingdom, or if she is not available from the Duke of Kent, who is President of the National Council for Social Services. Only a two minute greeting is required. The question is whether this request could be transmitted through the High Commissioner in London.

3. On the Canadian broadcast it is desired to have Mrs. Roosevelt speak. Mr. Moffat would apparently be prepared to take this up.

4. The Welfare Council would like to include Her Royal Highness the Princess Juliana, for a couple of words of greeting in the Canadian broadcast. Would it be alright to approach the

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Netherlands Minister?

5. For the highlight on our own Canadian program they would like to have the privilege of a few words from the Right Honourable the Prime Minister of Canada, whose own experience and knowledge of social and industrial welfare in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada make such a greeting from him particularly acceptable in all three countries.

The broadcasting officials have asked that the dates which they are holding should be confirmed within the next few days.

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NWS

C163584

NAR/SR
3.3.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dept of National War Services

I have received a note this morning from General LaFleche, transmitting a copy of a report from the National War Services Advisory Committee, which is very worried about the effect which the prolongation of the Aid for Russia drive may have on the Red Cross fund raising campaign.

As you will remember, the Aid to Russia campaign was supposed to be kept within the month of January and was to aim at an objective of $1,000,000. It has been extremely successful and collected over $2,000,000, but is not yet finally wound up.

The War Charities Advisory Board of the Department of National War Services feel that the continuance of the Aid to Russia fund beyond the agreed date is becoming most embarrassing to the Red Cross and may possibly have a detrimental effect on the campaign of that Society. The administrators of the Aid to Russia fund have assured the Board that they will adhere to the agreement but that they have been unable to terminate the activities on behalf of the fund of the Toronto Daily Star and other newspapers.

The suggestion of certain members of the Board, which General LaFleche has transmitted to me, is that you might be willing to have a private word on the telephone with Mr. Joseph Atkinson, congratulating him on the success of the fund, to which he and his paper have made a great contribution, but suggesting that the time has now come when they should stop collecting monies for this purpose.

I might add that, apart from the embarrassment which the continuation of the Aid to Russia appeals may cause the Red Cross campaign, there is also the question of the Chinese War Relief Fund, which has been languishing badly, largely I think through lack of proper top direction. If some of the leading citizens who have done such a successful job in organizing aid for Russia could put their shoulders to the Aid for China fund later in the year when the Red Cross campaign is successfully concluded, I think they could do a very useful piece of work.

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CANADA

file

C163585

W-307-12

W-212

Re Special Campaign Drives

Mr. McConnell rang up from Montreal at 1 o'clock today to speak of the possibility of having money taken from the Mutual Aid Fund to be contributed through different countries for relief purposes, thereby rendering unnecessary special drives for "Aid to Russia", aid to other countries, thereby interfering with the success of the Victory Loan Drives; also with the Red Cross special drive which will come at the beginning of the New Year.

Mr. McConnell had spoken of this sometime ago. I explained that we had had difficulty in getting together on the matter but would take it up this afternoon.

W. L. M. K.

October 19, 1943

Taken up at War Committee Oct. 21, 1943. Agreed to have one drive for all national charitable purposes, instead of several drives - excepting Red Cross - if latter can be made to agree to have theirs included, so much the better. Lafleche to take up and report next week. Question of method of allotment of funds secured to be considered later.

22-X-43 K.

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CANADA

C163586

DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

IN HONOUR OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE REGENT OF BELGIUM

AT

THE COUNTRY CLUB, OTTAWA

FRIDAY, APRIL SIXTEENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT

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C163587

Mr. W. H. Measures
Department of External Affairs

Mr. John Watkins
Department of External Affairs

Mr. M. W. Mackenzie
Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce

General H. D. G. Crerar

Mr. Louis Couvreur
Counsellor, Belgian Embassy

Mr. Arnold Heeney
Clerk of the Privy Council

Mr. Pavle Lukin
Chargé d'Affaires of Yugoslavia

Vice Admiral H. T. W. Grant
Chief of the Naval Staff

H.E. Count di Cossato
Minister of Italy

Hon. Gaspard Fauteux
Speaker of the House of Commons

H.E. Daniel Steen
Minister of Norway

Mr. Andre de Staercke
Secretary to the
Prince Regent of Belgium

Hon. Joseph Jean
Solicitor General

H.E. P. Villa Michel
Ambassador of Mexico

Hon. Humphrey Mitchell
Minister of Labour

H.E. C. Sakellaropoulos
Ambassador of Greece

Right Hon. L. S. St. Laurent
Secretary of State for External Affairs

H.E. Paul Henri Spaak
Prime Minister and Minister of
Foreign Affairs of Belgium

ENTRANCE

Right Hon. J. L. Ilsley
Minister of Justice

His Royal Highness
The Prince Regent of Belgium

Right Hon. C. D. Howe
Minister of Trade and Commerce

H.E. A. Paternotte de la Vaillée
Ambassador of Belgium

Colonel the Hon. Colin Gibson
Secretary of State of Canada

H.E. Dr. J. H. van Roijen
Ambassador of The Netherlands

Hon. Lionel Chevrier
Minister of Transport

Colonel J. P. van Nerom
Principal A.D.C. to the
Prince Regent of Belgium

Hon. Dr. J. J. McCann
Minister of National Revenue

H.E. Per Wijkman
Minister of Sweden

Mr. John Bracken
Leader of the Opposition

H.E. César Montero
Minister of Uruguay

Hon. James Thorn
High Commissioner for New Zealand

Air Vice Marshal A. L. Morfee
Acting Chief of the Air Staff

Major J. A. Ducq
Military and Air Attaché
Belgian Embassy

Dr. E. H. Coleman
Under Secretary of State

Commander C. H. Little
Honorary Aide-de-Camp

Mr. Reginald Hardy
President, Parliamentary Press Gallery

Mr. Marcel Cadieux
Department of External Affairs

Mr. Paul Paradis
Secretary, Parliamentary Press Gallery

Colonel A. G. Cherrier
Honorary Aide-de-Camp

Mr. J. W. Pickersgill
Special Assistant to the
Prime Minister of Canada

Dr. Clifford Clark
Deputy Minister of Finance

Sardar the Hon. Hardit Singh Malik
High Commissioner for India

Mr. L. B. Pearson
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

Sir Alexander Clutterbuck
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom

Mr. Jean Basdevant
Chargé d'Affaires of France

Mr. M. J. Coldwell
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

H.E. G. B. Holler
Minister of Denmark

Senator Hon. W. McL. Robertson
Leader of the Government in the Senate

Mr. Roger Ockrent
Chef de Cabinet of the
Prime Minister of Belgium

Hon. Douglas Abbott
Minister of Finance

H.E. Liu Chieh
Ambassador of China

Hon. Ernest Bertrand
Postmaster General

H.E. Dr. J. C. Rodriguez
Ambassador of Argentina

Right Hon. J. G. Gardiner
Minister of Agriculture

Mr. Paul de Groote
Minister of Economic Co-operation of Belgium

Right Hon. T. Rinfret
Deputy Governor General and
Chief Justice of Canada

H.E. Honourable Ray Atherton
Ambassador of the United States of America

Hon. J. A. MacKinnon
Minister of Fisheries

H.E. Dr. Acyr Paes
Ambassador of Brazil

Hon. Brooke Claxton
Minister of National Defence

H.E. General A. Carrasco
Ambassador of Chile

Hon. Paul Martin
Minister of National Health and Welfare

H.E. Muzaffer Göker
Ambassador of Turkey

Senator Hon. Dr. J. H. King
Speaker of the Senate

H.E. Dr. Victor Nef
Minister of Switzerland

H.E. Urho Toivola
Minister of Finland

Lieut.-General Charles Foulkes
Chief of the General Staff

Mr. N. D. Belokhvostikov
Chargé d'Affaires of the Soviet Union

His Worship The Mayor of Ottawa

Hon. John Hearne
High Commissioner for Ireland

Major General H. F. G. Letson
Secretary to the Governor General

Mr. Jean Querton
Consul General of Belgium, Montreal

Mr. Escott Reid
Assistant Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Wing Commander J. H. L. Lecomte
Honorary Aide-de-Camp

Mr. G. Beaudry
Department of External Affairs

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CANADA

C163588

DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

IN HONOUR OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT OF BELGIUM

AT

THE COUNTRY CLUB, OTTAWA

FRIDAY, THE 16TH APRIL

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT

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HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA

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MENU

C163590

CONSOMMÉ

FILET OF SOLE

ROAST SPRING LAMB

OR

LOBSTER NEWBURG

PEAR SALAD

MOUSSE À LA CANADIENNE

CANAPÉ ANCHOVY

COFFEE

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C163591

TOASTS

THE KING

THE PRINCE REGENT OF BELGIUM

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Dinner in honour of H.R.H. The Prince Regent
of Belgium, - Laurier House, Ottawa, Apr. 17,1948

His Royal Highness
The Prince Regent of Belgium

His Excellency
Paul Henri Spaak,
Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium

The Honourable
Max Paul de Groote,
Minister of Economic Co-operation of Belgium

His Excellency
A. Paternotte de la Vaillee,
Ambassador of Belgium

The Right Honourable
W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada

The Right Honourable
L. S. St.Laurent
Secretary of State for External Affairs

The Right Honourable
Jas. G. Gardiner,
Minister of Agriculture

The Honourable James A. MacKinnon,
Minister of Fisheries

The Honourable D. C. Abbott,
Minister of Finance

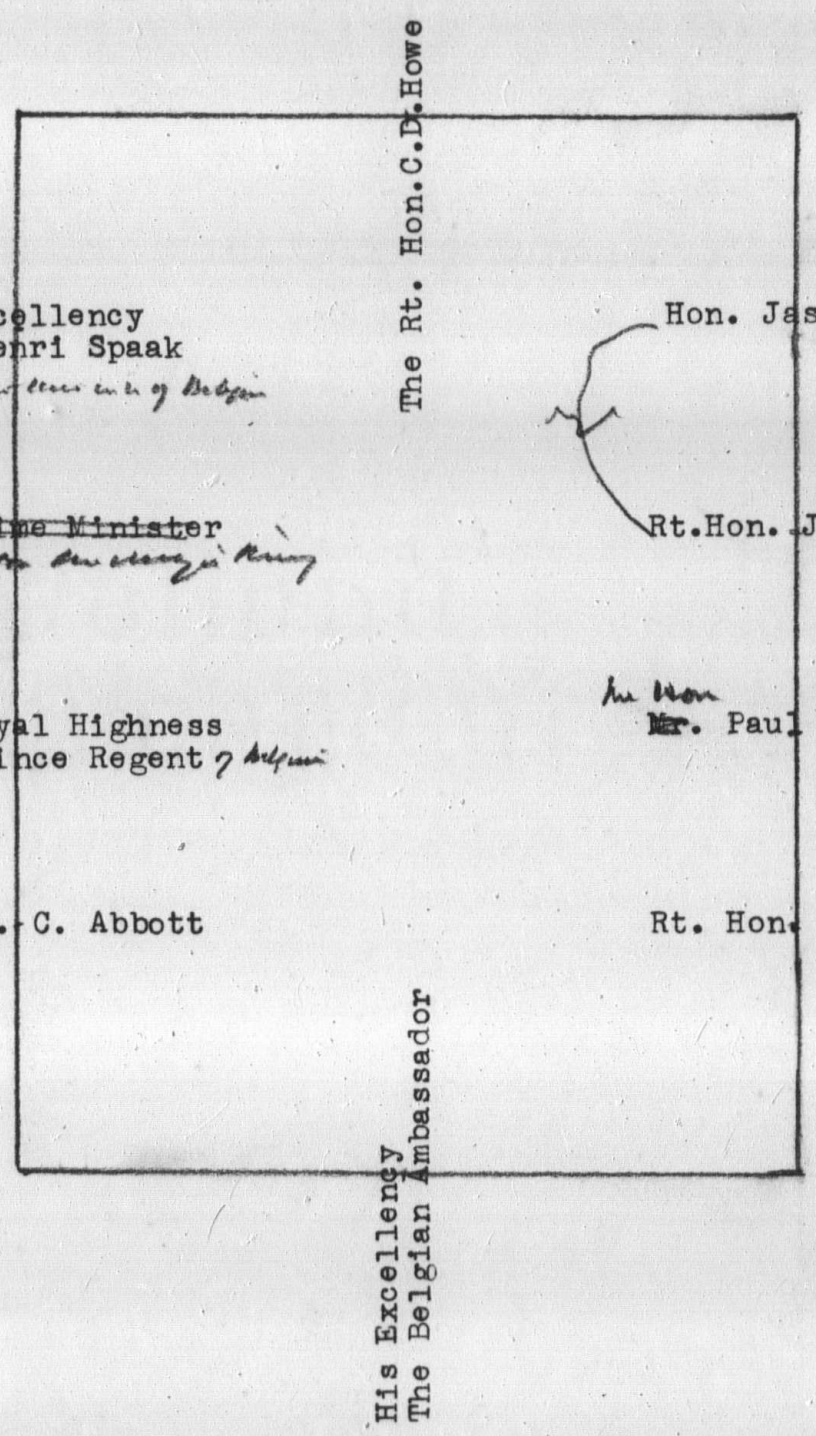
The Right Honourable
C. D. Howe,
Minister of Trade and Commerce and
Minister of Reconstruction and Supply

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Dinner by the Prime Minister of Canada in honour
of His Royal Highness The Prince Regent of Belgium

Laurier House, Ottawa
Saturday, April 17, 1948
6.45 p.m.



ENTRANCE

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C163594

Office of the Prime Minister

Press Release Ottawa, April 19, 1948.

Before leaving Canada, on his return trip to Belgium, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent sent to the Prime Minister by telegram an exceedingly kind message conveying his thanks for the cordial reception extended to him by the citizens of the Capital, and expressing his gratitude to the members of the government and others who had made his stay so agreeable.

In his message, Prince Charles says:

"Our meetings have strengthened still further a friendship to which I attach great value. I hope that the hours which I passed in your country will bind ever closer the ties which exist between Canada and Belgium. I extend my most sincere wishes for the prosperity of Canada."

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DEPARTMENT OF

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

C163595

CIRCULAR DOCUMENT

NO. B.85

Ottawa, May 6 1948.

Sir:

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the document listed below.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. S. Heneker

for Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

To the Heads of

Canadian Posts Abroad.

No. of copies..1...

SUBJECT

Despatch No. 315 of April 30 to Belgium concerning the visit to Ottawa of the Prince Regent of Belgium.

(The enclosures referred to in paragraph 54 are not circulated herewith.)

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Ottawa, April 30, 1948.

No. 315

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you the following report of the visit to Ottawa of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent and of the Prime Minister of Belgium.

2. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, having been informed of the intention of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium to visit the United States in April, renewed the invitation to visit Canada which he extended to His Royal Highness when the Prime Minister was in Brussels last year. The Prince Regent accepted this invitation and it was arranged that His Royal Highness's visit to Ottawa would take place at the conclusion of his visit to Washington.

3. The Prince Regent arrived in Ottawa on April 16 at 11.30 a.m., accompanied by Mr. Paul Henri Spaak, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Mr. Paul de Groote, Minister of Economic Cooperation, Colonel J.P. van Nerom, Principal Aide-de-Camp, Mr. André de Staercke, Secretary to the Prince Regent, and Mr. Roger Ockrent, Chef de Cabinet of the Prime Minister.

4. The Prince Regent and his Party travelled from Washington to Ottawa in the Sabena Airline aircraft which was used for the journey from Belgium to North America and return.

5. On the eve of the arrival in Ottawa of His Royal Highness and his Party the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, was unfortunately indisposed and was prevented from participating in some of the events of the programme.

6. The Prince Regent's party was welcomed at the Rockcliffe Airport by the Deputy Governor General, the Rt. Hon. T. Rinfret, and by Rt. Hon. J.L. Ilsley, on behalf of the Prime Minister, who was assisted by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Rt. Hon. L.S. St. Laurent, and by the Minister of National Defence, Hon. Brooke Claxton. Mr. Ilsley introduced to His Royal Highness the Deputy Governor General and the three Canadian Honorary Aides-de-Camp appointed to attend His Royal Highness during his stay in Ottawa. The three Canadian Honorary Aides-de-Camp were: Commander C.H. Little, R.C.N., (Navy), Colonel A.G. Cherrier, O.B.E., E.D., (Army), and Wing Commander J.H. Lecomte, D.F.C., (R.C.A.F.). The Belgian Ambassador, His Excellency Paternotte de la Vaillée and his Staff were present.

7. A Guard of Honour composed of R.C.A.F. personnel and commanded by Flight Lieutenant A.W. Appleby, D.F.C., B.E.M., gave the Royal Salute.

The Canadian Ambassador,
Brussels,
Belgium.

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8. As the Guard presented arms, the R.C.A.F. band played the Belgian National Anthem and the 30th Field Regiment, R.C.A., under Captain D.W. Green, fired a 21-gun Royal Salute.

9. A detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was on duty at the airfield.

10. His Royal Highness inspected the Guard of Honour, but this inspection and arrangements for some presentations were curtailed by the Prince Regent in order to proceed without delay to the Chateau Laurier Hotel where His Royal Highness and his Party were guests of the Government of Canada during their visit.

11. The arrival of the Sabena aircraft was scheduled for 11.30 a.m. However, due to a strong following wind the aircraft appeared over the airfield at 11.20. As the welcoming party was not yet in readiness the R.C.A.F. control requested the aircraft to stay aloft until 11.30 precisely, at which time the aircraft landed and approached the reception point flying the Prince Regent's standard. A group of news photographers took pictures of the arrival.

12. His Royal Highness remarked to Mr. St. Laurent on the smart appearance of the Guard of Honour and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and told the Secretary of State for External Affairs that he had had a pleasant voyage from Washington.

13. The Royal Party then left the airfield in official Canadian Government automobiles which had been provided for the period of the visit by the Department of National Defence. His Royal Highness, Mr. Ilsley, Colonel van Nerom and Mr. Measures, Chief of Protocol, were in the first car, which flew the Belgian national flag. Mr. Spaak and other members of the Party took their places in the other cars and were all accompanied in the various automobiles by an Aide-de-Camp or a representative of the Department of External Affairs. Motorcycle escorts of Royal Canadian Mounted Police in scarlet uniform and of Ottawa City Police were provided for the journey from the airfield to the Chateau Laurier Hotel, and they accompanied the Prince Regent during the whole period of the visit. The R.C.M.P. also arranged uniformed and plain clothes personnel to ensure protection.

14. The members of the Party were escorted to their rooms in the Chateau Laurier Hotel and a few minutes later His Royal Highness, Mr. Spaak, Mr. de Groote, the Belgian Ambassador, Colonel van Nerom, Mr. Howe, Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Claxton and Mr. Measures were guests at an informal luncheon at which Mr. Ilsley presided, in the absence of the Prime Minister, in Suite 396 at the hotel.

15. Mr. de Staercke, Mr. Ockrent, Mr. Couvreur, Counsellor at the Belgian Embassy, the three Canadian Honorary Aides-de-Camp and Mr. Guy Beaudry were guests at an informal luncheon by Mr. Escott Reid, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs at the hotel. After luncheon, the members of the Party retired to their rooms for a short rest before a visit to the Parliament Buildings.

16. The members of the Party of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent all expressed great satisfaction for the arrangements made in the programme providing them with sufficient free time between various functions.

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17. At 3.45 p.m. on April 16 the Prince Regent's Party proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. St. Laurent, to the Parliament Buildings, where they were received at the Main Entrance by Hon. Gaspard Fauteux, Speaker of the House of Commons, and by Senator the Hon. J.H. King, M.D., Speaker of the Senate, and conducted to the Chambers of the Speaker of the House of Commons. The Prince Regent, accompanied by Dr. Fauteux, made a tour of the Parliament Buildings, while Mr. Spaak and the other members of the Party went to Room Sixteen where Mr. Spaak was introduced to the Press by Mr. St. Laurent.

18. Mr. Spaak said that this Press Conference afforded him an excellent opportunity to express the great gratitude felt by the people of Belgium toward Canada. They would never forget that twice in a lifetime they were liberated by the valour of Canadian fighting men. They were also very grateful for the help given by Canada since the end of the war.

19. Asked whether the Western European Union would be extended to include other countries, Mr. Spaak said that the agreement was very flexible and that it would be open to other countries if they wanted to participate. It was possible that after the Italian election, Italy might want to join; also perhaps the Scandinavian countries. So far, however, no country had specifically asked to become a member.

20. Mr. Spaak was asked whether he visualized the Brussels pact developing into an Atlantic Union. He said he felt very strongly that the first thing to be done was to establish a working union in western Europe. This was a question of life or death for the present Western European Union countries. It was necessary for them to have some clearly defined method of co-operation in the military and particularly in the economic field. Thinking of the future, however, it was wise not to limit agreements and alliances to western Europe, as certain military problems could only be solved by agreement between the European and American continents. But before any extension could take place in reality, it was necessary to infuse life into the Western European Union as presently constituted. Mr. Spaak emphasized that it was not easy for countries to come together in this way when they had lived for centuries as strangers, sometimes as enemies.

21. Mr. Spaak said that great progress had been made in the recovery of Belgium and that, were it not for the external trade situation, the situation would be reasonably good. The greatest difficulties were psychological. It was hard for a country to carry out a programme of reconstruction when its people feared a third world war. Men who had had all their property destroyed were naturally hesitant about rebuilding when an atmosphere of fear prevailed.

22. Speaking of the dollar situation, M. Spaak said Belgium, as most other countries, had a large trade deficit with the United States. It also faced difficulties in its trading relations with its principal clients - the United Kingdom and France. This was not because of lack of production or too high production costs, but because Belgian exports could not be paid for in the currency which Belgium needed. He mentioned that Belgium had been carrying on its own little Marshall-type plan in Europe and had extended to its neighbours credits amounting to 12,000,000,000 francs. The limit had been reached, however, as far as continuing such aid. Because the prosperity of Belgium in the past depended on foreign trade, it was of first importance

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to rebuild that trade. He added that it was important to remember that not only Belgium and the Western democracies, but all countries were undergoing great difficulties at this time.

23. Asked whether Belgium was menaced by Communists, Mr. Spaak said that in Belgium they were not strong. He thought that all western European countries were capable of resisting the spread of Communism and mentioned that Communist strength was on the decline. In Europe the only way to fight Communism was to have a progressive economic and social policy. To achieve this, United States help was necessary. Without E.R.P. Europe would be entering into an even more difficult period. The Communists knew that if E.R.P. succeeded they would be defeated and for that reason were attacking it so strongly.

24. Mr. Spaak thought that, regardless of political likes and dislikes, western Europe needed to have trade relations with eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. After the present tension was relieved, there was good hope that trading relations would be resumed. While it was difficult to say whether Russian expansion had been halted, he thought the present western policy of firmness with the Soviet was a good one, and the only possible one.

25. Mr. Spaak was asked for his opinion on the success of the United Nations. He said that up to now it had not been a great success, nor did he think it ever would be while the present regulations concerning the use of the veto remained. But he thought that discouragement about progress up to now should not prevent member nations from trying to improve the United Nations and to make it work as, once the foundations of peace were established, some such organization would be indispensable.

26. On the question of Germany, Mr. Spaak said the "German problem" had undergone considerable evolution since the end of the war; it was now the "western German problem". The speed of this evolution was evident from the fact that in the discussions by the 16 western European countries on co-operation for reconstruction in connection with the Marshall Plan, the admission of western Germany was agreed to without discussion. This would have been inconceivable two years ago.

27. Mr. Spaak was asked whether he regarded Franco Spain as a problem. Certainly, he said, it was a problem, and had caused him many headaches. The situation was difficult as Spain was logically a part of western Europe and was needed by the "Union" countries, but it was not possible at the moment for the democracies to allow fascist Spain's participation in the Union.

28. Asked what he thought of the prospect of a third world war, Mr. Spaak said he personally was an optimist. While it was possible that some accident might happen to bring on a war, neither in public nor in private life should plans be based on the supposition that such an accident would happen. If the policy now under way in western Europe were well conducted, then he thought a third war would probably be prevented.

29. Replying to questions about his government's attitude regarding the King, Mr. Spaak said that the one thing on which both parties in his coalition government agreed was that there was no agreement on the "royal" question.

30. After the Press Conference, Mr. Spaak rejoined His Royal Highness in the Chambers of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and all members of the Party went to the Chambers of

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the Speaker of the Senate for tea. Here an interesting and informal conversation took place between Mr. Spaak and Mr. St. Laurent on parliamentary procedure.

31. After tea the Party retired to the Chateau Laurier for a short period of rest before the Dinner given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada, at which, owing to the Prime Minister's indisposition, Mr. Ilsley presided.

32. The guests at the Dinner, as can be seen by the attached seating plan, included, in addition to the staff of the Prince Regent and of the Belgian Embassy, the Deputy Governor General, Members of the Canadian Cabinet, foreign diplomatic representatives and High Commissioners in Canada, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, the Chiefs of Staff or their representatives, the Mayor of Ottawa and several members of the Department of External Affairs.

33. At 8.10 p.m. the Prince Regent's Party arrived at the Country Club. Mr. Ilsley presented the guests to His Royal Highness. Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Claxton presented the guests to Mr. Spaak and Mr. de Groote.

34. At the conclusion of the Dinner, the Prince Regent proposed the toast THE KING, and Mr. Ilsley, in the absence of the Prime Minister, responded by proposing the toast THE PRINCE REGENT OF BELGIUM. There were no speeches.

35. After Dinner the guests retired into the lounge of the Country Club where His Royal Highness had brief conversations with them.

36. There were no official engagements on the morning of Saturday, April 17.

37. His Royal Highness, having expressed the desire to do a little shopping, left the Chateau Laurier incognito in civilian clothes and on foot, accompanied by Commander Little, Canadian Honorary Aide-de-Camp. The Prince Regent having served in the British Navy and Belgian Navy, found many subjects of common interest with Commander Little, R.C.N. Followed at a distance by two plain clothes men of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they visited a few shops in Ottawa. His Royal Highness fully realized his wish to move about Ottawa inconspicuously, and was able, in these free hours to mingle among the crowd, see the people, and go to different shops, a freedom which he said was very seldom accorded him elsewhere because he usually was surrounded by guards and officials. Among the purchases he made in different shops were a box of Laura Secord's chocolates, a few ties and a dressing gown. He also purchased a few books, in particular a simple illustrated history of Canada.

38. He was very interested in Laurier and Macdonald, in the history of the Rideau Canal and in comparing the systems of education in Canada and Belgium.

39. His Royal Highness returned to the Chateau Laurier whence he went to Laurier House to call upon the Prime Minister. Mr. King met His Royal Highness at the door and conducted him to the library where they enjoyed a quiet conversation alone.

40. The Prince Regent returned to the Chateau Laurier in time to change into military uniform and to proceed with Mr. Spaak to the National War Memorial to lay a wreath at 1.00 p.m. April 17. The Honourable Milton Gregg, V.C., Minister of Veterans Affairs, accompanied His Royal Highness to the Memorial.

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41. On arrival at the Memorial the Prince Regent was greeted by Mr. Ilsley, Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Claxton, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police band played the Belgian national anthem. Red-coated R.C.M.P. personnel lined the sides of the monument square. The Prince Regent placed a wreath of yellow roses and bright red carnations with a ribbon in the national colours of Belgium bearing the words: CHARLES PRINCE REGENT. Having laid the wreath, His Royal Highness remained for a few moments at salute. During the ceremony the R.C.M.P. band played "Abide With Me", and the proceedings were concluded by the playing of "O Canada" and "God Save The King".

42. His Royal Highness then left for the Belgian Embassy where he was host at a Luncheon at which were present the Deputy Governor General, representatives of the Canadian Government and personnel of the Belgian Embassy. A copy of the table seating plan is attached.

43. In the afternoon of April 17 there were no official engagements. Once again His Royal Highness, accompanied by Colonel van Nerom, Commander Little and followed at a distance by two R.C.M.P. plain clothes men, went for a walk incognito, visiting a few shops.

44. On Saturday afternoon Mr. Spaak made a personal call on the Prime Minister at Laurier House. Mr. King presented to Mr. Spaak a copy of his book "Industry and Humanity".

45. In the evening of April 17 at 6.45, His Royal Highness, Mr. Spaak, Mr. de Groote, the Belgian Ambassador, Mr. Howe, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. Abbott were guests of the Prime Minister at an informal dinner at Laurier House. The Prime Minister, notwithstanding his indisposition, received his guests.

46. At the same time the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, were co-hosts at Dinner in Suite 396 at the Chateau Laurier to Colonel van Nerom, Mr. de Staercke, Mr. Ockrent, Mr. Louis Couvreur, Mr. Measures and Mr. Marcel Cadieux.

47. After Dinner Mr. King's guests attended the Minto Follies 23rd Annual Skating Carnival performed by members of the Minto Skating Club at the Ottawa Auditorium. In the absence of the Prime Minister Mr. St. Laurent was host to the Prince Regent's Party at the Follies.

48. The guests of Mr. Pearson and Mr. Pickersgill also went to the Minto Follies.

49. During the intermission Miss Barbara Ann Scott was introduced to His Royal Highness by the President of the Minto Skating Club, Mr. Donald B. Cruikshank. The Prince Regent and the members of his Party were impressed by the skill and ingenuity of the members of the Club and by the group movements simulating the ballet, and in particular by the performance of large numbers of very young children ranging in age from four years up. A copy of the programme is attached.

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50. After the Minto Follies the whole Party returned to Suite 396 at the Chateau Laurier for refreshments where they were joined by Mr. Pearson, Mr. Pickersgill and other guests.

51. The departure of the Prince Regent's Party took place at 8.30 a.m. Sunday morning, April 18. The Deputy Governor General, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Claxton, Mr. Howe and other members of the Canadian Government were at the airfield to bid His Royal Highness and Mr. Spaak bon voyage. The Prince Regent took this opportunity to shake hands with all the Canadian officials and to express to them his appreciation of the arrangements made for his visit.

52. Special arrangements were made during the period of the visit by a Committee of the Royal Canadian Air Force for the entertainment of the members of the crew of the Prince Regent's aircraft, composed of Captain Marc Hanson, Mr. Marcel Vanderren, Mr. André Fonck, Mr. Albert Hemblenne, Mr. Gaston Pottier, Miss Marie-Jeanne Vanderwarren and Mr. Jean Baillon. They all expressed very warm thanks to the Canadian authorities for the arrangements which this Committee so efficiently organized.

53. The visit of the Prince Regent of Belgium and his Party was organized by the Protocol Division under the supervision of the Prime Minister. The Information Division organized press arrangements including Mr. Spaak's Press Conference in the Parliament Buildings.

54. I attach a set of clippings from the local newspapers.

55. Reports by Representatives of the Canadian Press, British United Press and the three local newspapers ensured full news coverage. A large number of press photographers were present at the arrival at Rockcliffe Airport, photographers of the National Film Board recorded the visit, and the Associated Screen News took motion pictures of the public events on the first day of the visit.

56. Photographs of the National Film Board on all public events were distributed by Information Division to New York, London, Brussels and Paris for editorial use.

57. I will be sending you soon an album of the best photographs of the visit for presentation to His Royal Highness.

58. The Prince Regent expressed the desire to award decorations to the three Canadian Honorary Aides-de-Camp and to the Officer commanding the Guard of Honour. In view of the Canadian Government policy restricting the acceptance of foreign decorations, the Belgian Ambassador was informed that, though we appreciated the spirit which prompted this gesture on the part of His Royal Highness, permission to accept the decorations could not be granted.

59. By direction of the Prince Regent the Belgian Embassy arranged for gratuities to be distributed to the Canadian Army personnel who drove the automobiles provided by the Department of National Defence, and to the Chateau Laurier Hotel employees who served the Party.

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60. The Prince Regent also directed the distribution by the Belgian Ambassador of six commemorative medallions to personnel of the hotel.

61. The Belgian Ambassador was asked by cable from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to extend his most cordial appreciation and thanks to everyone who had a part in the organization of the visit.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) W.H. Measures

for Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

C163604

The P. M. to see

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Protocol/W.H.Measures/LF
May 19, 1948.

C163605

Memorandum for
MR. J. W. PICKERSGILL

You may wish to have for your file the attached copy of a report to the Canadian Ambassador in Brussels of the recent visit to Canada of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium and of Mr. Paul Henri Spaak, Prime Minister of Belgium.

W. H. Measures

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C163606

Prime Minister's Office

Press Release September 19th, 1946.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, announced to-day that the following appointment has been approved by His Excellency, the Governor General:

Mr. Jean Chauvin of Montreal to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada.

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Mr. Jean Chauvin has been for fifteen years Director of Poirier, Bessette and Company, 975 de Bullion Street, Montreal, one of the most important printing and publishing firms in the Province of Quebec.

Mr. Chauvin is a veteran of the First World War, in which he served with the French Foreign Legion. He received the Croix de Guerre.

In the present war, from 1939 to 1945, Mr. Chauvin rendered important service on various publicity committees in connection with National War Finance, Canadian Red Cross, etc.

Mr. Chauvin is a recognized authority on Canadian art and has written numerous articles on the subject, which have appeared in English and French periodicals. He is the author of several books, one of which "Ateliers" is recognized as a particularly valuable study of Canadian art.

Mr. Chauvin is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

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MORAL RE-ARMAMENT, THE MEETING POINT OF EAST AND WEST

By Dr. Chen Li-fu

C163608

June 10, 1948 Riverside, California

Only a few days ago when we were celebrating Dr. Buchman's seventieth birthday in Los Angeles, I quoted the following words from a Chinese sage, and presented him with a little gift:

> "Wisdom, benevolence and courage are the three grand virtues of the world. The wise will not doubt; the benevolent will not worry; the courageous will not fear. Therefore, the virtuous must have fame and enjoy longevity."

It seemed to me at the time that you, ladies and gentlemen, all agreed with the sentiment expressed in the last clause that the virtuous must, of necessity, enjoy longevity. I wonder if my impression was right.

What I want to tell you now is this: if a family is composed of virtuous individuals, the life of that family must be well-ordered and long-enduring. If a country is composed of virtuous families, the life of that country must be peaceful andlong-enduring. If the world is composed of virtuous countries, the life of the world will be profoundly tranquil and long-enduring. These are some of the most fundamental concepts in Chinese wisdom. All of these leads me to the conclusion that a long-enduring country must be one built upon the solid foundation of morality.

China is a country of 460,000,000 people with a continuous cultural tradition of some five thousand years. She is a great and long-enduring nation. But, owing to differences of language between her and the West, she has been little understood by the rest of the world. She has been an object of aggression for fully 100 years, and became a subject people under the Great Powers. Now, as a result of World War II, and following the guidance laid down first by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Republic, and later by President Chiang Kai-shek, she is able to rally round a common faith, the so-called three principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and livelihood. Furthermore, in the spirit of MRA --- Change, Unite, Fight --- China seeks to put that spirit into practice. Today she is standing in the front battleline and waging a life-and-death struggle with totalitarianism and materialism. The Present struggle may be likened to the one which she waged alone in 1937 with very little outside assistance. After eleven years of unceasing warfare she is rather tired and weary. Whether she succeeds or fails in her efforts will profoundly influence world peace in the future. Of that, more later.

For the present I shall content myself with a short summary of the moral traditions of China which have given her longevity.

Today we are confronted with the paradoxical situation that, while everyone is praying for peace, many believe that another war may be inevitable. How can we account for this?

First of all, what do we mean by peace? The Chinese term for peace is a compound noun meaning "harmony and equality". The principle by which like entities are attracted to each other and opposites respect each other is "harmony". And "equality" obtains if the strong do not bully the weak and the many do not oppress the few.

This typically Chinese conception of "harmony and equality" enables us, through purely moral channels, to co-exist with our fellow beings and to make common progress with them. Many there are today who would try to impose their idea of peace on others, by the use of money or by force. But we must know that money cannot make people equal, nor can force make them harmonious. What is worse, if any country should impose its own particular brand of ideology upon another, or if it threatens to bully the weak or persecute the few by the employment of military, political, economic, or organizational methods, that is in direct contravention to the true spirit of peace. And peace can never be attained in that way.

Going into the matter a step further, we find that the Chinese term for "morality" is composed of two characters, named TAO and TEH. TAO is the road to collective existence among men, while TEH is the march, step by step, on the road to attain the grand objective of collective existence.

Taken all in all, there are five such roads or relationships, namely, the relationship between parents and children, between brothers or sisters, between husband and wife, between ruler and subject, and between friends. The first three pairs of relationships constitute the family; the latter two constitute society and the nation. If we take the case of any individual, he has parents above him and children below him; he has elder brothers or sisters who precede him and

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younger ones who follow behind; and he has a wife, euphemistically called his better half, by his side. These three relationships form the core or inner sphere of his life, while its outer sphere is formed by his relations with ruler or subject, as the case may be, and with friends.

C163609

If everyone shows love to all with whom he comes into relationship and forgets himself in a state of perfect bliss, that we may call by the name "benevolence". "Benevolence" in Chinese is composed of two characters meaning "two men", from which is derived the idea of love between man and man. To understand benevolence is wisdom; to put benevolence into practice is courage. Benevolence, wisdom and courage taken together constitute TEH.

This is the Confucian conception of what morality, or TAO TEH, is. It is a principle of conduct which the Chinese people have been practising for the last 2,400 years, and which both Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, and President Chiang Kai-shek have elaborated.

Confucius further insisted that in order to carry morality into actual practice a prime motive force is necessary, and that is found in "faith". "Faith", according to him, means the choice of what one considers to be best, and genuine belief in its truthfulness, never swerving for one moment from the course which it sets for him. Anyone who is able to persist in this way will be in a position to confer untold benefits on his fellow creatures through the love which he showers on them.

This view, it seems to me, is essentially the same as the teaching of Christianity, judging from what I know of Christianity through attending church services in America when I was a student here.

Coming down to actualities, what do we find today? We find that family love -- parental, brotherly, and marital -- is daily on the decline. That being so, how could we hope to maintain a healthy family life? If close blood-relations are unable to serve as a cementing force, no wonder that the distance between friends, or between ruler and subject, tends to widen. Now if all these relationships or roads between man and man are cut off, the net result is so many isolated individuals, each standing along in this wide, wide world where, in the absence of the gentle passions of human love, he worships no other god but money with which he indulges in material comforts and enjoyments, to the exclusion of all moral and spiritual needs.

Under such conditions, one and all tend to be materialists and to have no vision for the future. The first to suffer from these evil influences will be the family, in which the so-called "life-companions" will break up on the smallest excuse and leave their children, the future blood of the nation, to live or die as they may. Parenthetically I might add that many couples do not even care to have any children at all. In view of this situation, those lofty ideals of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love which we cherish so dearly are all scattered to the winds. Now, if the family should be without them, where could we find any honest, pure, unselfish, and loving relations between nation and nation?

Those countries in which such conditions obtain must be lacking both in neighborly love for other countries externally, and in unity internally. In order to achieve some semblance of internal unity and to draw people's attention elsewhere, such a country will be forced to adopt a policy of appeasement in domestic politics and one of aggression in foreign relations.

That is why we see so much deceit, violence, deliberate falsehood, threats, underhand dealing, and the sowing of discord. When people go to such lengths without any scruples, how could world peace avoid becoming hopeless?

Now if we wish to avert another world catastrophe we must proceed from the bottom up. We must love our parents and learn to love others' parents. We must take loving care of our own children and learn to do the same to others' children. We must sow the seeds of the tree of love and plant them deep in the soil, so that relations between man and man may revert to the normal pattern, a pattern of benevolence and love; and so that relations between nation and nation may also revert to their normal pattern, a pattern of mutual trust. It is only on these conditions that man can enjoy real liberty and equality, and the world can be saved from receding to a new Dark Age.

Scientific developments have resulted in a richer material life for man. That is the proper course for human civilization, which no one in his proper senses would ever think of criticizing. Creative activities on the part of scientists have made it possible for them to develop the maximum amount of energy through the employment of the minimum amount of materials; and also to cover the largest expanse of space within the shortest unit of time. These achievements enable man to make the most economical use of his precious life to the best possible advantage.

If, in view of the increasingly frequent contacts between man and his fellows, as well as the constriction of the earth due to the perfection of quicker and

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quicker means of communication --- if, in view of all these facts, man's soul cannot keep pace with the march of events and become broader, or if the field of human affection and love cannot extend to meet the requirements of the age, then all those responsible for allowing this situation to obtain will be regarded by posterity as good-for-nothing and as having placed obstacles in the path of human progress. Human life will become lopsided and therefore abnormal, if a balance is not struck between material culture and things of the spirit. For such a deplorable state of affairs scientists cannot be held responsible. But the burden of responsibility will have to be borne by all to whom morality is the main concern.

Let all religiously minded individuals of the world unite to disseminate the heavenly truth! Let all educational and cultural workers of the world bestir themselves to give concrete expression to the real meaning of morality! Let all statesmen of the world give up the practice of saying what they do not mean and of not doing what they say, and let them, on the contrary, set a good example for their people to follow! Let all social workers of the world, in the course of their field work, illustrate the truthfulness of the theory that morality is the soul of social organization, so that those conditions which are indispensable to collective existence may arise when they are called for; so that the foundations of family and social life may be firmly laid! Let all scientists of the world unite and give timely warning to those ambitious few who would abuse the many scientific inventions, originally intended to promote human welfare, and turn them into weapons of destruction! Then, and only then, will the world see light again and men will enjoy the fruits of science undisturbed.

Now let me quote a passage from "The Great Learning", and in doing so, wish the work of MRA every success:

"The first emphasis of statesmen must be on morality. It is only with morality that the co-existence of human beings has been possible. It is only with morality that men possess the earth. It is only by the possession of the land by moral beings that wealth in the form of material products is secured. It is only wealth in the form of material products, produced under the conditions specified above, that can be useful to man. Morality is the foundation, while wealth in the form of material products is the super-structure. If the foundation and super-structure are placed in reverse positions, human beings will be led to mutual robbery and predatory practices which will finally end in war."

Finally, I wish to tell you the reasons which have impelled me to come to the United States. The meetings in the last few days make me realize that my determination to come is the result of Providential guidance.

Furthermore, I have found to my great delight and encouragement that the principles for which my colleagues and I have struggled in past years are being reaffirmed and emphasized with great effectiveness by leaders of American society and that the moral values you stress in your program coincide with the ideas and ideals that have guided our work in China. I recall that when I was the Minister of Social Affairs in 1937 I had laid down the broad principles of cooperation between capital and labor, had formed the Chinese Labor Federation, and had incorporated those principles in the Labor Law and Industrial Law promulgated later on. These measures had enabled labor and management to live in peaceful harmony and had angered the Communists and fellow-travellers who took revenge by calling me reactionary.

Again when I was Minister of Education from 1937 to 1944 I had added ethics as a required subject of study in Chinese colleges and universities and had instituted the tutorial system in middle schools, and colleges and universities -- all of which earned for me the reputation, in the eyes of the Communists, of being a "controler of thought."

Furthermore, it was because I had helped missionary schools and colleges in the enemy-occupied areas and in Free China in the years of war and had made it possible for them to carry on and even to expand, that the Catholic Fordham University of New York conferred on me the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and that Dr. Leighton Stuart, American Ambassador to China, became one of my best friends. And it was precisely because of these facts that the Communists lost the chance to defraud Chinese youth, and so they called me by the title of die-hard. It was because I had formed a group of American-and-British-returned students to study the theory and practice of Communism in order to deal it a deadly blow that they gave me the leadership of the so-called "C.C.Clique". It was because I had converted 23,500 young Communits in a period of five years, by the employment of moral and patriotic persuasion into good and loyal citizens, that I earned their hatred, and my name was placed at the head of the black list. May I suggest to this group of moral leaders active in an ideological war against totalitarianism and materialism that it is not at all improbable that some of you may also become targets of attack and may also be conferred such titles as I have been honored with.

I am today Minister of Organization of the Kuomintang which has a membership of over eight millions, Secretary-General of the Central Political Council, the

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highest policy-making organ of the Kuomintang, and Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, now in session. I should at present be busy with my official duties and can hardly spare time for any conference here. But, in spite of all that, I am actually standing before you. I must thank God for allowing me this opportunity to appeal to you who are working for the cause of Moral Re-Armament throughout the world, and to address you on this topic of "Moral Re-Armament, the Meeting Point of East and West".

This is indeed one of the happiest days in my life. I thank you for your kind attention.

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C163612 July 7, 1948

Notes for Possible Remarks at the Luncheon for Dr. Chen Li-fu

Welcome to Dr. Chen Li-fu,

- Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan of China
- a close associate of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for 25 years in the building of the new Chinese Republic
- Minister of Education during the war years (1938-44) - foresight and courage in maintaining educational facilities and number of students enrolled in the face of a national emergency.

Recall long traditions of Sino-Canadian friendship

- Canadian missionaries, doctors and educators in China for 75 years.
- Mutually advantageous pre-war trade.
- Wartime alliance against Japan.

- Establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1943

China's first Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Liu Shih-shun, did much to establish a strong bond of friendship between Canada and China

- has recently been appointed Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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Dr. Liu Chieh, the present Ambassador, also doing a fine job.

- Member of various Chinese delegations to United Nations conferences.
- recently elected President of the Trusteeship Council.

General Odlum, Canada's first Ambassador to China, often wrote of lucid explanations of China's problems by Dr. Chen.

Mr. T. C. Davis, during his year in China, has formed a warm friendship for the Chinese people.

Canada and China have common constructive objective in United Nations.

Both countries seek a peaceful and stable world.

- Ask Dr. Chen to convey greetings from Government and people of Canada to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as he deals with prodigious internal and external problems that face China to-day.
- and to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, whose visit to Ottawa is warmly recalled.

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Luncheon given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada
in honour of
Hon. Dr. Chen Li-fu, Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan of China
Wednesday, July 7, 1948, at the Ottawa Country Club

Mr. Arthur Menzies
Department of External Affairs

Mr. David Johnson
Department of External Affairs

Hon. J. A. MacKinnon
Minister of Mines & Resources

His Excellency Liu Chieh
Ambassador of China

Entrance from Lounge

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Hon. Dr. Chen Li-fu
Vice President of the
Legislative Yuan of China

Rt. Hon. L. S. St. Laurent
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Dr. Clifford Clark
Deputy Minister of Finance

Mr. M. W. Mackenzie
Deputy Minister of Trade & Commerce

Hon. Douglas Abbott
Minister of Finance

Mr. Y. T. Hsiung
Consul General of China, Toronto

Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe
Minister of Trade and Commerce

Dr. Huang Ting Young
Counsellor, Chinese Embassy

Senator Norman Lambert

Mr. Escott Reid
Assistant Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Mr. Howard Measures
Chief of Protocol

9-2344

Entrance from Bowling Green

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Mr. J. E. Cherrier

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar P. Cherrier

Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Cherrier

acknowledge with deep appreciation

your kind expression of sympathy

Cornwall, February 1945

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CONFIDENTIAL

C163616

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

(Note on Confidential Despatch No. 12, dated January 10, 1945, from the Canadian Embassy in Chungking, China.)

Commenting on the President's New Year's message, Dr. Patterson says that Chiang's frank reference to mistakes of the past may indicate an apparent official determination not to maintain any longer that all is well when it is not. Chiang blames the community at large for its failure to respond to the mobilization orders issued by the Government. He also appeals to Government officials "to be kind to the people and not subject them to illegal extortion and ill treatment."

In this address Chiang makes known his intention to propose to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that it prepare this year to convene a People's Congress for the adopting of a constitution. This is made conditional upon the stabilization of the military situation.

Dr. Patterson says that while the President's message sounds like the statement of a sincere man who understands the seriousness of the national situation, judgment must be reserved until we have an opportunity to see what practical measures are taken to implement the statement. He sees no signs yet of any radical approach to the military situation, which foreign military experts continue to regard with pessimism. He quotes the Communist representative in Chungking as stating that the President's proposal to convene the People's Congress was made only as a result of strong public pressure. There are numerous indications of deterioration in public confidence in the Government, which may suggest that the President's New Year's message offered too little too late.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY

No. 12

CHUNGKING, China,
January 10, 1945.

Sir,

The President's New Year Message

Reports of the prominence given in the foreign press to the New Year's message broadcast by President Chiang Kai-shek give assurance that you will have been informed, by that means, of at least the most important points. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the full text which was released to the press here with the notation that it covered the essential points of the message.

2. The President's specific and frank reference to the mistakes of the past would seem to be in keeping with what I have suggested in despatch No. 7 dated Jan. 5 to be an apparent official determination to maintain no longer that all is well when it is not, but to bring to light the ills which exist, perhaps as a first step in remedial treatment. An over-eagerness to avoid an increase of the hardships of the people and a hesitancy to ask them to shoulder heavier burdens have resulted, the President says, in a lack of provision for officers and men.

> "The community at large failed to respond to the order for general mobilization or to cooperate closely with the army, as is shown in the refusal of the rich to give money and in the reluctance of educated youths to join the army." (This latter condition, he says, has recently been changed.)

3. The President calls on the people "to give everything for the war, for the redemption of past failures and for the speeding up of victory .... This will necessitate a reshaping of military administration, reforms in conscription, the improvement of transportation, amelioration in the treatment of officers and men, and the enforcement of discipline. And what is of special importance is to mobilize more fully our manpower and material resources."

4. The second and outstanding feature of the address was the declaration of his intention to propose the convening of a People's Congress, for the adopting of a constitution, even within the present year. True, it was made conditional, but only upon such stabilization of the military situation as would make possible the launching of counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory.

5. The Organic Law of the People's National Assembly and the law governing the election of its members were both promulgated by the National Government, you will

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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recall, in 1936. According to a statement by the Government spokesman:

> "There ought to be 1200 delegates in all, of whom 655 are to be chosen on a regional occupation basis, 380 on an occupational representative basis, and 155 including members representing the four Northeastern provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and Overseas Chinese on the basis of what is called Special Election. Of the 380 delegates to be chosen on an occupational basis, 322 are to represent farmers societies, labour unions and Chambers of Commerce and 58 the liberal professions such as law, medicine, accountancy, education and the press. Before the outbreak of war in 1937, 950 of the 1200 delegates had already been elected."

It was stated that at this stage it is impossible to tell whether a full election will be held or only one to choose delegates to supplement those already elected and intact.

6. In a second address before Government officials, the President reiterated most of the points contained in his broadcast message. Three matters were given special emphasis: first, all administrative procedures should be simplified and speeded up to meet military requirements; secondly, all Government orders should be carefully examined and strictly enforced; and thirdly, Government employees should be kind to the people and humble in accepting well-intentioned criticisms. Dwelling on the third point, the President recalled the fundamental principles laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen that the people are the foundation of the nation.

> "Our people who have been carrying the heavy burden of war for eight years should not be subjected to illegal extortion or other forms of ill-treatment."

Public opinion, he said, must be respected and regarded as guidance for public administration.

7. These sound like statements of a sincere man who understands the seriousness of the national situation and who has boldly set forth in general terms the mistakes of the past and the efforts required for the future. Two questions arise.

8. A message of this kind is not the appropriate medium for setting forth details and techniques regarding administrative reform. Yet one cannot but record the reservation that it is on the setting up and carrying out of these practical measures rather than on the statement of the desired program that judgment ws to the significance of the message must be based. Certain reforms in conscription are being instituted; some slight improvements have

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been introduced in the treatment of the fighting forces; the newly organized war production board and war transport board offer hope of definite progress in these areas. I am told on the authority of a foreign official of the Government who has known Dr. T.V. Soong for many years, who has great confidence in his ability and driving power and who has had to confer with him recently on several occasions, that he is throwing himself into his work with energy and is tackling important problems.

These are positive, if slight, indications of progress. Nevertheless, one is unable to see signs yet of any such radical approach to the military situation as is required to meet its appalling needs. I hope to despatch in a few weeks a comprehensive statement on the recruiting, the training and the objectives of the "student army of 100,000" to which the Generalissimo refers. The general impression now is that its aims as well as its training program are too ambiguous to warrant any hope that it may be the first step towards an orderly and rapid rehabilitation of China's fighting forces. Military experts continue to be most pessimistic regarding the possibility of creating a compact inspirited Chinese army in time to be of use as a striking force.

9. Similarly, while feeling extremely reluctant to discount "the awakening of the people" to which the Generalissimo refers, one has to record his fear that it may be just at this point of failing to harness up the illimitable powers of the common people that the present Government may lose all. A world of meaning must be read into the President's appeal to Government officials "to be kind to the people and not subject them to illegal extortion and ill treatment". I should not be fairly reporting the popular mood if I did not say again that travellers from various parts of the country, most of whom are genuine friends of China, are unanimous in their statements that the people of the country are steadily losing confidence in the Central Government. Radical treatment is required, but as yet there is no sign in Government appointments, in official actions, or in moves towards a coalition government that would indicate a turning by the authorities to the masses of the people. More than one thoughtful Chinese has told us that a fatal weakness is what they believe to be the Leader's unwillingness to trust the people. It is greatly to be hoped that the President's move to expedite the calling of the People's Congress may turn out to be the definite sign of a determined move in this direction. For the time being the question must be raised as to whether even this, added to what has recently occurred, will prove to be enough and in time -- or whether in retrospect it will be seen to have been too little and too late.

.....

10. Since writing the above I have had the opportunity to talk with Mr. Wang Jo-fei who came from Yenan to Chungking last summer with Mr. Lin Tsu-han, the delegate sent by the Communists to conduct negotiations with the Central Government. Mr. Wang succeeded Mr. Tung Pi-wu as senior representative of the Communists in Chungking when the latter returned to Yenan with Mr. Lin.

11. When I asked Mr. Wang what he thought of the President's message, he said: "It was bad". He criticized it at length on two points. He said the

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President blamed the people for the mistakes of the past whereas it was the people who had produced the soldiers and had done the best they could. When I suggested that it was the refusal of the rich to give money and the reluctance of educated youth to enlist which the President had criticized, Mr. Wang replied that it was society in general on which he had placed the blame whereas he (Mr. Wang) believed the entire blame should be laid at the Government's door.

12. Mr. Wang said, in the second place, that the President's proposal to convene the People's Congress had been made as a result of the pressure of public opinion. When he criticized the proposal itself, I asked if it was not somewhat inconsistent to say that a proposal which was said to be so unsatisfactory to the public could at the same time be attributed to the pressure which had been exerted by the public. His reply was that the President had only acted at all because he felt something must be done but what he had done would not bring any satisfaction. The proposal had been made conditional upon the establishment of a satisfactory military situation. This was unlikely to occur. The delays in convening the congress which had been justified so often since 1933 (sic) had convinced the people that the Kuomintang did not wish to end the period of tutelage. Mr. Wang felt the Congress might have been convened at many points during the past ten years. Moreover, he said, if and when delegates are chosen for the Congress, the process will be completely under the control of the Kuomintang so that the Congress itself will consist only of Party supporters.

13. Mr. Wang's argument may not be impressive for its logic or its cogency. It may appear that he had determined, first of all to be perverse and had then marshalled arguments with which to attack one point and then another as each in itself might prove to be defensible. It is, however, the general attitude which he and many other "Mr. Wangs" are assuming which is more significant than the merit of any particular proposal from the Government. It is the reported growing and widespread critical mood of the country and the unchecked deterioration in the confidence which the populace places in the Government, to which reference is made in paragraph 9, against which the efficacy of government reforms must be measured today. Evidence will be awaited with interest that may indicate whether the President's New Year's message will establish itself as the symbol of a change in government policy that will reinvigorate the country or whether it will meet only the apathy with which dispirited people tend to view a morsel when they need a feast.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd) Geo. S. Patterson,

Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

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Enclosure No. 1
Despatch No. 12
Dated Jan. 10, 1945

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

Jan. 1, 1945.

President Chiang Kai-shek, in a New Year Message to the nation issued last night, urges the people and the army to exert their joint efforts to recover the lost territory, bring solace to those who have laid down their lives in the war and make themselves worthy of the aid given them by their Allies.

The following are the essential points of the message:

The year just concluded was for our nation a year of great trial and danger. At no time since the battles of Wuchang and Hankow in 1938, has so much territory been lost to the enemy, have our people suffered such hardship and misery, as during the past 8 months. I now call upon you all to examine closely the mistakes we have made in the past and to consider how our efforts in the future should be directed.

At the end of 1943, I predicted that for China the following year would be extremely critical, if, in the meantime, the United Nations could not find it possible to co-ordinate their land offensive strategy with ours, and if the enemy blockade of China could not be lifted.

The enemy knows full well that he cannot escape final doom. His only hope is to prevent China from achieving a clear-cut victory, thereby rendering the triumph of the United Nations incomplete and indecisive, and winning for himself a chance to resume aggressive warfare.

With this object in mind, the enemy took full advantage of the all-out Allied offensive and preoccupation in Europe to drive boldly into interior China, in the hope of knocking out our striking power and bringing about our collapse. But today we are still secure on our feet and the entire nation remains solidly behind the policy of fighting to the end. The foundation of our war effort has in no way been shaken.

There is no doubt that the enemy will continue his struggle this year. We should be prepared for even more violent attacks. We should strengthen our forces, seize the initiative and fight back in co-ordination with our Allies. All our officers and men should understand their mission and fight with confidence.

Our troops are truly hardy and courageous. Their records in western Yunnan and northern Burma in the past year show that, given proper equipment and the co-operation of the people, they can distinguish themselves in pitched battles and reduce strong points and cities held by the enemy.

The first emphasis, in our efforts in 1945, must be placed upon military affairs. We must give everything for the war, for the redemption of past failures and for the speeding up of victory. We must be prepared to meet and surmount all dangers and difficulties. Above all, we must adapt all our political and economic programs to meet our military needs.

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To enable you all to exert yourselves in the same directions, let me mention a few measures which I believe should be taken this year.

We must reorganize our existing armed forces and build up new ones. This will necessitate a reshaping of military administration, reforms in conscription, the improvement of transportation, amelioration in the treatment of officers and men, and the enforcement of discipline. And what is of special importance is to mobilize more fully our manpower and material resources.

In the matter of wartime administration we have not been thorough going. We might have been too eager to avoid increasing the hardships of the people, and too hesitant to ask them to shoulder heavier burdens. As a result we lacked the means to make adequate provision for our officers and soldiers. The community at large failed to respond to the order for general mobilization or to co-operate closely with the army, as is shown in the refusal of the rich to give money and in the reluctance of educated youths to join the army. Henceforth we must do what we can and offer what we have to further the war effort. In order to heighten our fighting power, we must replenish the armed units and increase their supplies. We must not shrink from sacrifices of manpower and resources, no matter how heavy they may be. Lately there has been however an awakening among the people. The number of educated young men to join the army has already exceeded the requirement of 100,000 recruits. Still we are far short of our needs for a final triumph. I urge our people to work harder and give more to the war; I ask the landowners and other wealthy families not to miss the last chance for national service.

In regard to political matters, we must prepare for the convening of a People's Congress within this year, to adopt and promulgate a constitution. The delay in our establishment of a constitutional government was caused by the enemy's war of aggression. Even before 1930, it had been decided to terminate the period of political tutelage in 1935. Unfortunately there was the Mukden outrage on September 18, 1931 which threw the entire nation into preparation for war and we were unable to give this matter our undivided attention. The drafting of a constitution and preparations for calling a people's congress still continued, and it was then decided to convene a people's congress not later than November, 1937.

Then came the full-fledged war on July 1937. As a result of the war conditions then existing, it was decided further to postpone the convening of a people's congress. It is one of our greatest regrets that we have not been able to adopt a constitution and introduce a constitutional government. I feel that a revolutionist should lay emphasis on work and not on talk. Therefore I usually do not vainly talk much about democracy. But I have not for one single day forgotten the need for the realization of constitutional democracy. I hold that, so long as political democracy, as provided for in Three People's Principles, and constitutionalism, as provided for in the Quintuple-Power Constitution, are not put into effect, the revolutionary work of our National Father remains incomplete, and I have not fulfilled my duty towards the nation.

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As a result of nearly eight years of armed resistance, the Three People's Principles have sunk into the hearts of the people generally and their sense of civic responsibilities has been much heightened. Therefore I do not feel that it is necessary to wait until the end of the war to call a people's congress. I am ready immediately to propose to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that as soon as the military situation has become so stabilized as to enable us to launch counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory, we should convene a People's Congress to adopt a constitution, which would enable the Kuomintang to transfer the power of the Government to the people. Therefore we must in this year employ our entire strength to beat back the enemy, and also to introduce a constitutional government, with the entire nation solidly bound together. Only thus can we realize the Principle of Political Democracy and the Ten-year Plan for economic reconstruction, in accordance with the Principle of the People's Livelihood. We should exert our efforts together to accomplish the dual task of achieving victory and of setting up a constitutional government at the same time.

On this New Year's Day we should recall the original purpose of our armed resistance. Although we are sure that eventually Japan will be defeated, yet we must continue to exert our utmost to win. When so much of our sacred territory has been ravaged by the enemy, when so many of our fellow-countrymen are still trampled under the steel hoofs of the enemy, we know that our responsibility has not been discharged. We must recover the lost territory, bring solace to those who laid down their lives in the war, and make ourselves worthy of the aid given to us by our allies. May our people and army exert their efforts to that end.

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PS / China

C163624

May 26, 1948

Memorandum to the Prime Minister

I attach a copy of the note of May 25 from the Chinese Ambassador conveying an acknowledgment from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the message of greetings which you sent him on the occasion of his inauguration as President of the Republic of China on May 20. I also attach a copy of the note of May 19 which we sent to the Chinese Ambassador informing him of your message.

L B Pearson

27.5.14 (US)

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CANADA

C163625

COPY

EMBASSY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

37-A-288

May 25th, 1948.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your note of May 19th, in which you were good enough to inform me that the Canadian Ambassador to China had been requested to convey a message from the Prime Minister to Generalissimo Chian Kai Shek upon his inauguration as President of the Republic of China, and also to proffer the congratulations of the Government of Canada to General Li Tsung Jen on his induction as Vice-President of the Republic.

I am now instructed to transmit to the Prime Minister the following message from President Chiang:

> "I am deeply appreciative of your kind message on occasion of my inauguration as President of the Republic of China. Please be assured that your cordial sentiments are warmly reciprocated and that goodwill and friendship between China and Canada will ever deepen in the days to come.
>
> Chian Kaishek".

I have also been asked to convey the sincere appreciations of Vice-President Li Tsung Jen for the message of congratulations which was conveyed to him by the Canadian Ambassador in China.

I shall be obliged if you will be so good to have the above messages transmitted to their high destination.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Liu Chieh

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,

OTTAWA.

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C
O
P
Y

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

C163626

Ottawa, May 19, 1948

NO. 15

Excellency:

I have the honour to acknowledge your note No. 37-A-247 of May 11 informing me that the inauguration of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as President of the Republic of China and of General Li Tsung-jen as Vice-President under the new Constitution will take place on May 20, 1948.

2. The Canadian Ambassador to China has been requested to convey to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, on the occasion of his inauguration, the following message from the Prime Minister:

"The election by the National Assembly of a President of the Republic of China under the new Constitution will be a source of satisfaction and pride in all countries where representative government is cherished. I send hearty congratulations to Your Excellency upon being elected as the first President of the Republic, and cordial greetings and warmest of good wishes to you on behalf of the Government and people of Canada on the occasion of Your Excellency's inauguration."

3. The Canadian Ambassador has also been requested to proffer the congratulations of the Government of Canada to General Li Tsung-jen on his induction as Vice-President of the Republic.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

David M. Johnson

for the Secretary of State
for External Affairs

His Excellency Liu Chieh,
Chinese Ambassador to Canada,
410 Besserer Street,
O t t a w a.

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China

NAR/SR
19.12.42

C163627

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I was wondering whether you had said anything to the President or Mrs. Roosevelt about inviting Madame Chiang Kai-shek to visit Canada. There was a note from Pearson yesterday, reporting that when a member of the Chinese Embassy was asked the other evening in Washington whether Madame Chiang Kai-shek was going to Canada, he replied that she had not been invited. The impression received was that such an invitation, if extended, would be accepted. If she were to be asked, I suppose the invitation would probably be extended through the Chinese Minister here. I imagine the Governor General and Princess Alice would like to have her stay with them at Government House.

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DS/ Canada

NAR/SR
11.1.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163628

Redfern had a letter this morning from the Chinese Minister, whom he had asked some ten days ago to find out whether Madame Chiang Kai-shek would be able to accept an invitation to Government House. Dr. Liu's letter indicated that Madame Chiang Kai-shek is still very much under her doctors' care, and likely to be for some weeks to come. Her doctors did not wish to raise with her the question of coming to Canada until she was much better. As soon as she is able to make plans, they will let her know of the invitation which the Governor General and Princess Alice wish to extend.

Thanks WLMK
11-1-43

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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DS/China

NAR/ET
25 Feb.,1943

C163629

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I had a word this afternoon with the Chinese Minister, who is leaving for Washington today to see Madame Chiang Kai-shek and make definite arrangements for her visit to Canada. He does not expect that she will be here before the first week of April, and she will only make one speech while she is in Canada.

I told him that we hoped she might be able to address the Members of Parliament and Diplomatic Corps in the way that Winston Churchill had done when he was in Ottawa, i.e. speak in the House of Commons Chamber to an audience which would include a good many more than the Members of the House of Commons. If the meeting were arranged at an hour when the House was not in session, her address could be broadcast without raising the question of broadcasting parliamentary proceedings.

I told Dr.Liu that the Canadian Red Cross Society were very anxious to arrange a meeting for Mme.Chiang Kai-shek in Toronto, and hoped such a meeting could be held before the close of their campaign which is scheduled to end on March 20th. I told him that I did not think she would be expected to speak for more than fifteen or twenty minutes on either occasion.

Dr.Liu will bring back definitive plans and dates for the visit when he returns from Washington.

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DS/China

NAR/SR
9.3.43

C163630

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Liu telephoned this afternoon to say that he had just been advised that Madame Chiang Kai-shek's doctors had ordered her to take a fortnight's complete rest after her journey to the Pacific Coast and before her trip to Canada. He has not yet had definite word as to when she can be expected here, but assumed from this message that it could not be before the middle of April.

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10/3/43
PA/IF

C163631

Biographical notes

re Madame Chiang Kai-Shek

Born in China, 1898, one of the three Soong sisters, daughters of the late Charles Jones Soong, who had studied theology in U. S. A. and returned to China as a Southern Methodist Episcopal Missionary. (Charles Jones Soong also printed Chinese bibles, out of which he made a fortune.) All his daughters were educated in America.

Although reference is often made to "the three Soong sisters", and seldom to "the six Soong children", Charles Jones Soong had three sons as well as three daughters. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, is one of the sons.

The eldest Soong daughter married H. H. Kung, now Vice-premier of China. (Mr. Kung is a lineal descendant of Confucius).

The second daugher married Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Republic of China.

His youngest daughter Mei-Ling ("Beautiful Life") is now Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek.

Mei-Ling Soong (Mme. Chiang) spent the ten most formative years of her life, from 9 to 19, in the U.S.A. First at Macon High School, Macon, Georgia, then at Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

She graduated from Wellesley with honours, in 1917.
Favourite subject - Arthurian Romance.
Swam and played tennis. Made Tau Zeta Epsilon.

Married Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek in 1927. (He was converted to Christianity later).

First Chinese woman appointed member Child Labour Committee.

Inaugurated Moral Endeavour Association.

Has always shown intense interest in Chinese co-operatives.

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1928 to 1932, Member of the Legislative Yuan.
China has five Yuan (Branches of Government)
The Legislative Yuan is a sort of council dealing with legislative affairs.

Since 1929,
(still continuing) Principal of School for Orphans of Revolution.
(This was originally at Nanking, but has been moved to interior since the war.)

Since 1934
(Still continuing) Director-General of the Women's Advisory Council of the New Life Movement.
This movement carries on social, educational and war work in every city and on every front in free China. In particular, it continues to turn out thousands of war-workers.

From 1935 to 1938 Secretary-General of the Chinese Commission on Aeronautical Affairs.
(In this position, she has been described by newspaper writers as "virtually head of the Chinese air corps." It is stated she was extremely successful in her work of smoothing out relations between Chinese and foreigners in the corps.)

When her husband was captured by the rebel general, Chang Hseuh-liang, at Sian in December 1936, Mme Chiang flew to his side, a heroic attempt at rescue which looked suicidal but proved successful.

Founder, National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief and Refugee Relief.

She has done much to care for Chinese children orphaned in war.

Has frequently accompanied her husband on military missions.

She is reported to be described by others as "A.D.C." and "right-hand man" to her husband.

It is said (N.Y.Times) that her husband has described her as "worth twenty divisions" to him.

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C163633

Books by Madame Chiang:

Sian - Un Coup d'Etat	1938
Messages in War and Peace	1938
This is Our China	1940
China Shall Rise Again	1941
Little Sister Su	1942
We Chinese Women	1943

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Gen/China

Dictated by the Prime Minister
March 11, 1943

C163634

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TURNBULL:

Re: Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Notes sent by Mr. Acland, a good beginning but hardly adequate for speech which I will have to make on introducing Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Canada over the radio from the House of Commons. Something along the line of introduction given Churchill will be needed. Acland's notes helpful for dinner which Canadian Government may give Madame Chiang Kai-shek but here, too, room for additional material.

If possible, I should like to have assembled a few magazine articles on Madame Kai-shek; also the speech she made before Congress and other speeches made on this side with significant paragraphs marked. Something in the nature of large appreciation of her character; of China's contribution to the war; of her place in the post-war world, etc. is what is needed.

Copies of communications between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and myself and communications exchanged between the governments of China and Canada over Legations here and in Chungking would also be of service. All this material should be brought together and used as basis for speech material.

W. L. M. K.

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DS/china/CKS

NAR/ET
8 April,1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163635

Visit to Canada of Mme.Chiang Kai-shek.

As you may have seen from the newspapers, Madame Chiang Kai-shek has found her engagements at the West Coast too strenuous and has had to postpone indefinitely her Eastern appointments. The Chinese Minister has no definite word about her plans. He knows that the Governor-General and Princess Alice are going to be away all May. Her coming to Ottawa is therefore,I think, very indefinite. Presumably it will not now be before June.

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DS/China.

NAR/SR
15.5.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163636

Dr. Liu has been asked by the Chinese Embassy in Washington to ascertain whether the address which Madame Chiang Kai-shek will deliver in Parliament, if and when she comes to Canada, can be broadcast. I told him I thought that if she spoke in the House of Commons at a regular sitting of the House, as Mr. Eden did, it would not be feasible to have her speech broadcast, but that if she spoke at a time when the House was not regularly in session, e.g., on a Saturday or at 12 noon, special arrangements might be made for broadcasting.

I told him these were my own first reactions to the enquiry and that I would have to consult you before giving a definite answer.

Yes - I agree that broadcast is preferable to Parliament

15.5.43.

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Ds/China.

NAR/SR
15.5.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163636

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I told him these were my own first reactions to the enquiry and that I would have to consult you before giving a definite answer.

Yes - I agree that broadcast would not be feasible if speech is delivered in Parliament

10.5.43.

Noted WLMK

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C163637 NAR/SR 15.5.43

C-750 v. 8 (a)

P-650 1943

P-901 v. 1

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

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I told him these were my own first reactions to the enquiry and that I would have to consult you before giving a definite answer.

(N. A. ROBERTSON)

16 Aug. 43
On can P.M. indicate
whether necessary will
Broadcast negotiations O.K.

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C163638

NAR/SR
4.6.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. McCarthy has returned to Washington from New York, where he attended the big China Relief dinner, with the report that there is a very serious rift dividing the Chinese in the United States. He said that Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Willkie and Mr. Grew, who had all been scheduled to attend this dinner, had found themselves unable to be present at the last moment. Dr. Soong, who was also expected to be there, left New York for Washington the day before the dinner. The gossip in Washington is that the breach is between Dr. Soong and his sister, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and that Soong is anxious to get Madame Chiang back to China as quickly as possible. I told the Legation that Madame Chiang's visit to Ottawa had now been definitely fixed for June 15th to 17th.

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C163639 W.H.M. 10.6.43

Visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Proposed Detailed Arrangements Confidential

Monday, June 14

8.55 p.m. - Leave New York, Penn. Station
Madame Chiang Kai-shek and 5 others in railway car provided by C.N.R. New York to Ottawa.
11 members of Secretariat, Dr. Keenleyside and 4 U.S. detectives in pullman.

Tuesday, June 15

7.15 a.m. - Train arrives St.Armand, Que.
R.C.M.P. board train and accompany to Ottawa providing protection en route.

8.55 a.m. - Arrive Montreal, Bonaventure Station
R.C.M.P. place guard on station platform.

9.30 a.m. - Leave Montreal, Bonaventure Station

12.45 p.m. - Arrive Ottawa

Arrangements at Station

Railway cars are detached from train outside Ottawa and brought in to special temporary platform in station on track No. .

R.C.M.P. police guard on station platform.

Guard of honour of Canadian Women's Army Corps, Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service and Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division in concourse. Band on platform.

Red carpet on arrival platform and to reception place in concourse.

Shields and Canadian flags on station pillars; Chinese flags between shields and Canadian flags over both entrance and exit to concourse, and over Besserer Street exit.

2 parallel barriers, one for the public and one for 100 representatives of Chinese Communities, separating reception place in concourse and leading to Besserer St. exit and to point of departure at curb.

Band plays 6 bars of the National Anthem when Governor General arrives at station.

The Governor General and Princess Alice and the Prime Minister meet Madame Chiang when she leaves railway car, ~~(and a Cabinet Ministers wife offers~~ a bouquet.) Band plays Chinese National Anthem.

Prime Minister conducts Madame Chiang to concourse.

Prime Minister presents members of his Cabinet, the speakers of both Houses of Parliament, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, the Mayor of Ottawa, and their wives.

Chinese Minister introduces members of Chinese Legation.

Motion pictures with moderate lights and news pictures of reception.

Governor General and Princess Alice conduct Madame Chiang to Government House. Dr. K'ung and Miss K'ung accompanied by Sir Shuldham Redfern follow.

Dr. Tong, Hon. Liu Chieh and General Chu are conducted by Dr. H.L. Keenleyside, and 11 other members of party are conducted by Mr. E.H. Norman, on foot to Chateau Laurier to stay as guests of the Government of Canada.

3.45. p.m. - Presentation to Madame Chiang Kai-shek at Government House by Mr. Jackson Dodds, O.B.E., Chairman of the Red Cross Central Council, of cheque for $100,000. and by Margaret Driscoll of Immaculate High School on behalf of Junior Red Cross of Canada, of cheque for $10,000.

(Motion pictures and still pictures)

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Tuesday, June 15 Cont'd.

4.00 p.m. - Press Conference at Government House; Dr. Keenleyside presides.
Mr. R.K. Carnegie, President, Parliamentary Press Gallery in Charge and will issue credentials. Mr. David Lu of Chinese News Agency assists.
(Motion pictures and still pictures)

5.00 p.m. - Madame Chiang arrives at Laurier House for private conversation with the Prime Minister.

8.15 p.m. - Dinner at Government House.
Prime Minister is present.

Wednesday, June 16

10.55 a.m. - Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrives at main entrance (if weather fine, at steps in front of Peace Tower) of Parliament Buildings. Motion and still pictures of arrival at main entrance.
Madame Chiang is met by the Prime Minister and by the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament and conducted to Chambers of the Speaker of the House of Commons.
The Prime Minister conducts Madame Chiang to House of Commons Chamber.

11.00 a.m. - Prime Minister introduces Madame Chiang.
Madame Chiang Kai-shek addresses the Senators and Members.
Motion pictures without glare lights.
Speaker of The Senate, Hon. Thomas Vien thanks Madame Chiang in French.
Speaker of the House of Commons, Hon. J.A. Glen thanks Madame Chiang in English.
Portrait by Karsh (in Room 16.)
Prime Minister, accompanied by the two Speakers, conducts Madame Chiang to main entrance where they say goodbye.

1.00 p.m. - Madame Chiang Kai-shek is guest of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands at luncheon.

5.30 p.m. - Reception by Hon. Liu Shih Shun, Minister of the Chinese Republic, at the Chateau Laurier. Ballroom Entrance.

8.30 p.m. - Dinner by the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government of Canada, at the Country Club. Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrives at 8.40 p.m.
The Prime Minister presents a bouquet
The guests are presented to Madame Chiang in the lounge.
The Union Jack and the Chinese Flags are facing the guest of honour.

Toasts: The King
The President of the Republic of China.

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Thursday, June 17

1.15 p.m. - Luncheon by H.R.H. Princess Alice at Government House.

4.00 p.m. - Departure by train.
Prime Minister and Members of Cabinet and wives, and Chinese Legation say goodbye. Dr. Keenleyside accompanies Madame Chiang to border.

R.C.M.P. accompany to border, and precautions are taken for protection by R.C.M.P. en route and at Montreal.

7.10 p.m. - Arrive Montreal, Bonaventure Station

9.00 p.m. - Leave Montreal, Bonaventure Station

10.20 p.m. - Arrive St.Armand, Que.

10.52 p.m. - Arrive St.Albans, Vt.

Friday, June 18

8.15 a.m. - Arrive New York, Penn. Station

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C163642

J. A. G.
10.6.43

Introduction of Madame Chiang Kai-shek
June 16, 1943

The people of Canada, and especially the citizens of Ottawa, are proud to welcome to the nation's capital today one of the greatest personages of the modern world. Madame Chiang Kai-shek speaks today for the highest aspirations of a courageous people as it has been given to few individuals in all history to speak. She comes to Canada at a moment when the fighting men and women of China have attained new victories against the enemy - an enemy which China has been fighting for more than ten years. She speaks in our midst fully mindful of the burdens of toil and of sacrifice which she has shared with all of the valiant defenders of China. She voices, by her presence among us here today, the hope which animates the spirit and resolution of the defenders of freedom everywhere throughout the world - the hope of a better world than we have known until now and in which the right and duty of each shall be the lot of all.

We are proud to remember that within the expanding circle of the United Nations we have built stronger friendships through the exchange of Ministers between Canada and China. For what assistance we have been able to provide to China during wartime, we are glad; and it is our hope that ways may be found to give still greater help and support to the effort of China. It is our wish that ties of friendship and admiration, forged under the stress of war, may become still brighter links

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in a crowning achievement of peace.

No words that I might say today will add to the warmth of the welcome which we extend to Madame Chiang Kai-shek; no recital of her great qualities of mind and heart will augment the respect and the gratitude with which we receive her here today. I would only ask her to carry away from this place, as from the hearts of all of the people of Canada, the assurance of our feeling for her and for her distinguished husband, the Generalissimo, and for the people of China of whom she stands today so worthy a representative.

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C163644 JAG/
12:vi:43

GOVERNMENT DINNER
Madame Chiang Kai-shek
Wednesday, June 16, ~~1943~~

WELCOME to The First Lady of China

special honour to Canada that she should visit Ottawa at present moment

one of the great persons of the modern world

in herself one of the most eloquent representatives of the titanic struggle for freedom -

the defence of freedom anywhere in the world

is part of the common struggle of the United Nations

among the United Nations
China fighting longer than any of the others

OUR GUEST

as a world figure

significant as showing the part the women of the world are taking in

war effort
social and humanitarian progress
planning for a better future

: as a figure in her own land

interpreting China to the world, and especially to North America

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(this adds honour and interest to her present visit to Capital of Canada);

interpreting the thought of this hemisphere to China

then, merging the two interpretations - an unanswerable case and a strong plea for co-operation understanding

CANADA and CHINA

connections which go far back into history

- early explorers of France, seeking China arrived at La Chine (rapids on the St. Lawrence)

- during later years of 18th Century, extensive trade in furs from Pacific Coast to China Sea

- then the era of clipper ships (tea), giving place to steam navigation

- latest development of relations in exchange of Ministers (Canada took initiative in proposing

- look ahead to relations in The World After 1945

on our part, appreciating the ancient civilization of China at its true worth -

- dignity of personality and courage in a whole people
- devotion to native earth

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- tenacity of purpose in a long and destructive war

RECOGNITION OF CHINA

- not an accident that China ranks with United Kingdom, United States, Soviet Union as foremost in the councils of the United Nations

- a recognition not only of

determined resistance in the past

but of

the place dgf of China in the world after today.

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C163647 12.6.43.

Revised Invitation List

	Men	Ladies
Prime Minister	1	
Madame Chiang		1
Madame Chiang's Party	3	1
Governor General	1	1
Cabinet	19	17
Chinese Minister and Legation	3	2
Diplomatic Corps	12	10
High Commissioners	5	5
Chief Justice	1	1
Speakers and Graydon	3	3
Robertson, Keenleyside	2	2
Redfern, Miss Grenfell	1	2
Turnbull, Measures	2	
	53	45

98

Mrs Groenman? + Princess Juliana ~~100~~
Ballantine
Blackmore
Coldwell Greenway 108

Can invitations be sent out to above? 109

What can be done at the Canada Club if Dominion Elections included — 12

WLM.

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C163648 WHM
12.6.43.

Detailed Programme

Points on which instructions are requested

1. Should a bouquet be presented to Madame Chiang

(a) on arrival at Ottawa station

by the Prime Minister? or,

by a Cabinet Minister's wife - Mrs. Crerar?

(If a government person does not do this, the Chinese Legation desire to do it)

(b) at the Prime Minister's dinner by the Prime Minister?

2. Motion pictures for Canadian, U.S. and Chinese distribution.

Can moderate special lighting be placed in

(a) railway station on arrival
(b) House of Commons for speeches by
Mr. King
Madame Chiang Kai-shek

(Lights were used when she addressed Congress)

3. Portrait by Karsh

Can Karsh take a portrait of Madame Chiang and Mr. King Wednesday morning after speech at House?

4. Minister of Defence of New Zealand

Hon. Frederick Jones, M.P., Minister of National Defence and of Pensions of New Zealand will be in Ottawa from Monday to Thursday morning. Should he be invited to Prime Minister's dinner?

5. Mrs Groenman, wife of Netherlands minister

Mr Groenman is ill. Should Mrs Groenman be invited; she could come with Mr van Karnebeek

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C163649 W.H.M. 12.6.43.

Visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Dinner by The Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada
Wednesday, June 16, 1943
8.30 p.m. Country Club Dress: Dinner Jacket

Revised Invitation List

Host:
Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Guest of Honour
Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Madame Chiang's Party
Hon. L.K. K'ung, Secretary General
Miss L.T. K'ung, Private Secretary
Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information
Hon. Liu Chieh, Minister-Counsellor, Chinese Embassy at Washington
Maj.-General Chu Shih-ming, Military Attache to Chinese Embassy at Washington

Governor General
His Excellency The Governor General
Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone

Cabinet
Hon. T.A. Crerar, M.P., Minister of Mines and Resources
Mrs. T.A. Crerar — 207 Clemow Avenue
Senator Hon. J.H. King, M.D., Leader of the Government in the Senate
Mrs. King — Chateau Laurier
Col.Hon. J.L. Ralston, M.P., Minister of National Defence
Mrs. Ralston — Mayfair Apartments
Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P., Minister of Pensions and National Health — Mayfair Apartments
Major Hon. C.G. Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air
Mrs. Power — 157 Daly Avenue
Hon. J.L. Ilsley, M.P., Minister of Finance
Mrs. Ilsley — 24 Russell Avenue
Hon. J.E. Michaud, M.P., Minister of Transport
Madame Michaud — 169 Daly Avenue
Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Munitions and Supply
Mrs. Howe — 7 Crescent Road, Rockcliffe
Hon. J.G. Gardiner, M.P., Minister of Agriculture
Mrs. Gardiner — 211 Clemow Avenue
Hon. N.A. McLarty, M.P., Secretary of State of Canada
Mrs. McLarty — 153 Gilmour Street
Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce
Mrs. MacKinnon — The Mayfair Apartments
Hon. W.P. Mulock, M.P., Postmaster General
Mrs. Mulock — Chateau Laurier
Col.Hon. Colin Gibson, M.P., Minister of National Revenue
Mrs. Gibson — The Roxborough
Hon. Angus Macdonald, M.P., Minister of National Defence Naval Services
Mrs. Macdonald — 227 Clemow Avenue
Hon. L.S. St.Laurent, M.P., Minister of Justice
Madame St. Laurent(may be in Quebec) — The Roxborough
Hon. H. Mitchell, M.P., Minister of Labour
Mrs. Mitchell — 332 Island Park Drive
Hon. A. Fournier, M.P., Minister of Public Works
Madame Fournier — 195 Laurier Ave., Hull
Hon. E. Bertrand, M.P., Minister of Fisheries — Chateau Laurier
Maj.-General L.R. LaFleche, Minister of National War Services
Madame LaFleche — 325 Daly Avenue

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Chinese Legation

Hon. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Minister of the Republic of China
201 Wurtemburg Street
Mr. Li Chao Counsellor, Chinese Legation
Mr. Bing-shuey Lee First Secretary, Chinese Legation
Mrs. Bing-shuey-Lee
Miss Lucy Tou Attache, Chinese Legation

Diplomatic Corps

Hon. Baron Silvercruys, Minister of Belgium
395 Laurier Ave., East
Hon. Victor Podoski, Minister of Poland
333 Chapel Street
Hon. Daniel Steen, Minister of Norway
Mrs. Steen 1410 Stanley Street,
Montreal.

Hon. Dr. Izidor Cankar, Minister of Yugoslavia
Mrs. Cankar 292 Laurier Ave., East

Hon. George Depasta, Minister of Greece
Mrs. Depasta Chateau Laurier
Hon. Dr. Frantisek Pavlasek, Minister of Czechoslovakia
Mrs. Pavlasek 171 Clemow Avenue
Hon. Caio de Mello Franco, Minister of Brazil
Mrs. de Mello Franco 400 Wilbrod Street
Hon. Dr. Eduardo Grove, Minister of Chile
Mrs. Grove 480 Manor Road, Rockcliffe
Hon. Feodor Gousev, Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Mrs. Gouseva 285 Charlotte Street
Dr. Raul R. Araya, Charges d'Affaires of Argentina
Mrs. Araya 177 Wilbrod Street
Mr. Lewis Clark, Charges d'Affaires of the United States of America,
Mrs. Clark 180 Howick Road, Rockcliffe
Jonkheer J.D. van Karnebeek, Charge d'Affaires of the Netherlands
Mrs Groenman

High Commissioners

Rt.Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., High Commissioner for United Kingdom
Miss MacDonald Earnscliffe
Maj.-Gen.Hon. Sir William Glasgow, K.C.B., High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia
Lady Glasgow 407 Wilbrod Street
Hon. D. deWaal Meyer, Accredited Representative of the Union of South Africa
Mrs. Meyer 494 Lansdowne Rd., Rockcliffe
Hon. John J. Hearne, High Commissioner for Ireland
Mrs. Hearne 415 Wilbrod Street
Mr. R.M. Firth, Acting High Commissioner for New Zealand
Mrs. Firth 105 Wurtemburg

Chief Justice of Canada

Rt.Hon. Sir Lyman P. Duff, P.C., G.C.M.G.
Miss Duff 488 Wilbrod Street

Parliament

Col.Hon. Thomas Vien, Speaker of the Senate
Madame Vien Speaker's Chambers, The Senate
Hon. J.A. Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons,
Mrs. Glen Speaker's Chambers,
The House of Commons
Mr. Gordon Graydon, Leader of the Opposition
Mrs. Graydon House of Commons

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Others:

Mr. Norman Robertson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Mrs. Robertson — 188 Lisgar Rd., Rockcliffe

Sir Shuldham Redfern (if G.G.comes) — Secretary to the Governor General
Lady Redfern — Rideau Cottage, Government House

Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Mrs. Keenleyside — 39 Madawaska Drive

Miss Vera Grenfell, Lady-in-Waiting to Princess Alice

Mr. Walter Turnbull

Mr. Howard Measures

W.H.M.
12.6.43

Invitation List

OMITTED

Parliament

Senator and Mrs. Ballantyne

Mr. and Mrs. Blackmore

Mr. and Mrs. Coldwell

~~Mr. and Mrs. Hanson~~

~~Mr. and Mrs. Stirling~~

Chiefs of Staff

Admiral and Mrs. Nelles

General and Mrs. Stuart

Air Marshall and Mrs. Breadner

Others

Mr. and Mrs. Heeney

~~Dr. and Mrs. Clifford Clark~~

~~Mayor and Mrs. Lewis~~

~~Mr. and Mrs. Bowman~~ (as chiefs of Staff are omitted)

Mrs. H.D.G. Crerar

Mrs. Patrick Hennessy

Mrs. J.K. Lawson

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LHM
13.6.43

Visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Detailed Arrangements

Confidential

Monday, June 14

8.55 p.m. - Leave New York, Penn. Station
Madame Chiang Kai-shek and 5 others in railway car provided by C.N.R. New York to Ottawa.
11 members of Secretariat, Dr. Keenleyside and one U.S. detective in pullman.

Tuesday, June 15

7.15 a.m. - Train arrives St.Armand, Que.
R.C.M.P. board train and accompany to Ottawa, providing protection en route.

8.55 a.m. - Arrive Montreal, Bonaventure Station
R.C.M.P. place guard on station platform.

9.30 a.m. - Leave Montreal, Bonaventure Station.

12.55 p.m. - Arrive Ottawa.

Arrangements at Station

Railway cars are detached from train outside Ottawa and brought in to special temporary platform in station on track No. 5.

R.C.M.P. police guard on station platform.

Guard of honour of Canadian Women's Army Corps, Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service and Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division, and band in concourse.

Red carpet on arrival platform and to reception place in concourse.

Shields and Canadian flags on station pillars; Chinese flags between shields and Canadian flags over both entrance and exit to concourse, and over Besserer Street exit.

2 parallel barriers, one for the public and one for 100 representatives of Chinese Communities, separating reception place in concourse and leading to Besserer St. exit and to point of departure at curb.

Governor General arrives at Besserer St. entrance of station, and Band plays 6 bars of the National Anthem

The Governor General and Princess Alice and the Prime Minister meet Madame Chiang when she leaves railway car. Bouquet is presented by member of Chinese Legation.

The Governor General conducts Madame Chiang to concourse.

Band plays the Chinese National Anthem.

The Prime Minister presents members of his Cabinet, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Mayor of Ottawa, and their wives.

Chinese Minister introduces members of Chinese Legation.

Motion pictures with moderate lights and news pictures of reception.

Governor General and Princess Alice conduct Madame Chiang to Government House, accompanied by Dr. K'ung and Miss K'ung.

Dr. Tong, Hon. Liu Chieh and General Chu are conducted by Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, and 11 other members of party are conducted by Mr. E.H. Norman and Mr. A.R. Menzies, on foot to Chateau Laurier to stay as guests of the Government of Canada.

3.45 p.m. - Presentation to Madame Chiang Kai-shek at Government House by Mr. Jackson Dodds, O.B.E., Chairman of the Red Cross Central Council, of cheque for $100,000. and by Margaret Driscoll of Immaculata High School on behalf of Junior Red Cross of Canada, of cheque for $10,000.
(Motion pictures and still pictures)

4.30 p.m. - Madame Chiang, accompanied by the Chinese Minister to Canada, arrives at Laurier House for private conversation with the Prime Minister.

8.15 p.m. - Dinner at Government House.
Prime Minister is present.

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Wednesday, June 16

10.50 a.m. - Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrives at main entrance (if weather fine, at steps in front of Peace Tower) of Parliament Buildings. Motion and still pictures of arrival at main entrance.
(carillon to play from 10.45 to 10.55 a.m.)
Madame Chiang is met by the Prime Minister and by the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament and conducted to Chambers of the Speaker of the House of Commons.
The Prime Minister conducts Madame Chiang to House of Commons Chamber.

11.00 a.m. - Prime Minister introduces Madame Chiang to Senators and Members.
Madame Chiang Kai-shek addresses the Senators and Members. Motion pictures, without glare lights, of beginning of speech only. No flash pictures.
Speaker of the House of Commons, Hon. J. A. Glen thanks Madame Chiang in English.
Speaker of the Senate, Hon. Thomas Vien thanks Madame Chiang in French.
Prime Minister, accompanied by the two Speakers, conducts Madame Chiang to main entrance where Madame Chiang makes an appearance on steps in front of Peace Tower. Carillon to play; motion pictures and still pictures.

1.00 p.m. - Madame Chiang Kai-shek is guest of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands at luncheon at 541 Acacia Avenue, Rockcliffe.

5.00 p.m. - Reception by Hon. Liu Shih Shun, Minister of the Chinese Republic, at the Chateau Laurier. Ballroom Entrance.

8.15 p.m. - Dinner by the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government of Canada, at the Country Club. Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrives at 8.25 p.m.
Mrs. T. A. Crerar presents a bouquet.
The guests are introduced to Madame Chiang by the Prime Minister.
Toasts: The King
The President of the Republic of China.

Thursday, June 17

11.30 a.m. - Press Conference in Room Sixteen in Parliament Bldgs. The Prime Minister presides.
Mr. D. Dunton, Wartime Information Board, in co-operation with Mr. R. K. Carnegie, President, Parliamentary Press Gallery, in charge of arrangements for conference, and will issue credentials. Mr. David Lu of Chinese News Agency assists.

1.15 p.m. - Luncheon by H.R.H. Princess Alice at Government House.

4.00 p.m. - Leave Ottawa by train.
Prime Minister and Members of Cabinet and wives, and Chinese Legation say goodbye.
Dr. Keenleyside accompanies Madame Chiang to border.
R.C.M.P. accompany to border, and precautions are taken for protection by R.C.M.P. en route and at Montreal.

7.10 p.m. - Arrive Montreal, Bonaventure Station

9.00 p.m. - Leave Montreal, Bonaventure Station

10.20 p.m. - Arrive St. Armand, Que.

10.52 p.m. - Arrive St. Albans, Vt.

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C163654

Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Party

To stay at Government House

Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Hon. L. K. K'ung,
Secretary General
Miss L. T. K'ung,
Private Secretary

To stay at Chateau Laurier Hotel
as guests of Canadian Government

Dr. Hollington K. Tong,
Vice-Minister of Information
Hon. Liu Chieh,
Minister-Counsellor, Chinese Embassy, Washington
Major-General Chu Shih-ming,
Military Attache to Chinese Embassy, Washington

Secretariat

Dr. H. L. Wen
Mr. F. C. Wu
Mr. C. F. Chion
Mr. Dachin Yih
Mr. J. Z. Huang
Mr. V. K. Kwong
Mr. K. Y. Tsai
Miss Ethel Berhman, nurse
Miss Dorothy Carvey, nurse
Mrs. Ethel Huang
Mrs. Mable Kwong

Mr. S. Callaghan, U.S. detective

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Mr. Speaker of the Senate,
Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons,
Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament:

Our country is honoured today by the presence in its Capital of a gracious lady who is one of the great personages of the world.

To Madame Chiang Kai-shek, I extend the sincerest of welcomes on behalf of the government, the parliament and the people of Canada. We welcome Madame Chiang for what she is in herself. We welcome her as the devoted wife of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the great leader of the Republic of China. And we welcome her as the interpreter of the needs and the virtues of the patient and heroic people of China, the first great power to resist axis aggression.

I should like to thank Madame Chiang anew for having promised, some little time ago, to visit Canada before her return to China; and for having consented, while in Ottawa, to address the members of Canada's Parliament from the floor of its House of Commons. Madame Chiang was obliged to postpone her return to her homeland for some weeks in order that her health might permit her to fulfil the promise she had made. We are deeply conscious of her kindness in so doing.

Madame Chiang speaks today, as it has been given to few individuals in all history to speak. She speaks

for the struggles

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unreservedly determined to join with him and with you in putting forth their utmost effort to destroy the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Please tell the brave men and women of China how unbounded is our admiration of their unswerving fortitude. Their uncomplaining courage has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Tell them that Canada, in common with all the United Nations, is becoming increasingly conscious of the magnitude of the debt that freedom owes to their unconquerable spirit. ‡

~~It is the earnest hope of~~ All Canadians, earnestly hope Madame Chiang, that you and your brave husband may be granted the good health and the Divine guidance which will enable you both to continue your lastingly magnificent work for your beloved country.

Our prayers are joined with yours for that day which we hope ~~that the day~~ may not be far distant when China shall again be free, ~~and the benefits of her ancient culture once more flow out to all mankind.~~ and when she may take a rightful place among the free nations now so greatly in her debt, and when the heritage of her ancient culture shall once again flow out to all mankind. ×

‡ They may be sure that, with other of the United Nations, Canada will continue to contribute whatever material aid she can. × And that, in common with all nations which admire the spirit and example of China, Canada will look forward with ~~ardour~~ bright hope to the day when a free China, united and strong, ~~to take~~ ~~which shall~~ take a rightful place among the free nations of the world

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We are proud to along a time remember that within the expanding circle of the United Nations, we have already built stronger friendships through the exchange of Ministers between Canada and China. For what assistance we have been able to provide to China during war-time, we are glad. It is our hope that ways may be found to give still greater help and support to the effort of your people. ~~It is our wish that the ties of friendship and admiration forged under the stress of war may become still brighter links in the crowning achievement of peace.~~

It is the earnest hope of all Canadians, Madame Chiang, that you and your brave husband may be granted the good health and the Divine guidance which will enable you both to continue ~~for a long time to come~~, your tireless magnificent work for your beloved country.

I speak for all the members of the Parliament of Canada and for the Canadian people as a whole when I ask you to carry back to the people of China, the message that it is our inflexible resolve to do all that lies within our power to aid your country in its struggles against our common enemies. Our prayers ~~will be~~ joined with yours that the day is not far distant when China shall again be free, and the benefits of her ancient culture once more flow out to all mankind.

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15-VI-43

C163658

Mr. Speaker:

Our country is honoured today by the presence in its Capital of a gracious lady who is one of the outstanding personages ~~in~~ of the ~~modern~~ world.

To Madame Chiang Kai-shek, I extend the sincerest of welcomes on behalf of the government, the parliament and the people of Canada. I should like also ~~to~~ to thank Madame Chiang anew for having arranged to ~~come to~~ visit Canada before her return to China, and for having so kindly consented, while in Ottawa, to address the members of Canada's Parliament from the floor of ~~the~~ its House of Commons.

We welcome Madame Chiang Kai-shek for what she is in herself. We welcome her as the devoted wife of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the great leader of the Republic of China, ~~the first of the great powers to resist Axis aggression,~~ and we welcome her as the interpreter of the needs and ~~of~~ the virtues of the patient and heroic people of China.

Not take down

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Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Madame Chiang Kai-shek speaks today, as it has been given to few individuals in all history to speak, ~~for the struggles and sufferings and equally for the highest aspirations of an ancient and very courageous people.~~ She speaks for the struggles and sufferings, and equally for the highest aspirations of an ancient race and an immemorial culture. Combining dignity and grace, and spiritual courage, she speaks in our midst fully mindful of the burdens of toil and sacrifice which, over many ~~cruel~~ cruel years, she has shared with the valiant defenders of China. She voices and exemplifies the spirit which animates the defenders of freedom everywhere.

No recital of the noble qualities of her mind and heart could ~~augment~~ add to the respect and admiration with which we receive her in our halls of parliament today.

The inspired leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his brilliant wife personifies the spirit of China's fight for freedom. It is not freedom from aggression ~~alone~~, but freedom against all the forces of evil. ~~It is~~ Moreover it is not a freedom for ~~themselves alone~~, but a freedom which ~~seeks~~ aims at the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

a fight alone for
it is a fight for
from
it is
only China & her people
for which ~~China fights~~ today
by co-operation and mutual aid among men and nations

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unreservedly determined to join with him and with you in putting forth their utmost effort to destroy the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Please tell the brave men and women of China how unbounded is our admiration of their unswerving fortitude. Their uncomplaining courage has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Tell them that Canada, in common with all the United Nations, is becoming increasingly conscious of the magnitude of the debt that freedom owes to their unconquerable spirit. They may be sure that, with other of the United Nations, Canada will continue to contribute whatever material aid she can.

All Canadians earnestly hope Madame Chiang that you and your brave husband may be granted the good health and the Divine guidance which will enable you both to continue your lastingly magnificent work for your beloved country.

Our prayers are joined with yours for that day - which we hope may not be far distant - when China shall again be free, when she may take a rightful place among the free nations now so greatly in her debt, and when the heritage of her ancient culture shall once again flow out to all mankind.

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We are proud today to recall that within the expanding circle of the United Nations we have already, through the exchange of Ministers, been able to build stronger friendship between Canada and China.

C163661

We would ask you, Madame Chiang, to take back to the Generalissimo, the expression of our highest regard for him; ~~and~~ also the assurance that the Canadian people are unreservedly determined to join with him and with you in putting forth their utmost effort ~~until the day of ultimate triumph over~~ to destroy the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Please tell the brave men and women of China how unbounded is our admiration of their unswerving fortitude. Their uncomplaining courage has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Tell them that Canada, in common with all the United Nations, is becoming increasingly conscious of the magnitude of the debt that freedom owes to their unconquerable spirit, ~~and~~ they may be sure that, with other of the United Nations, Canada will continue to lend what aid lies within her power till China is restored.

+ 1

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WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD C163662
OTTAWA

WEDNESDAY
16th June, 1943

H O U S E D I G E S T

Historic Address to Parliament by Madame Chiang Kai-shek

At 11 a.m. on the floor of the House of Commons, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the Chinese Generalissimo, addressed the members of both Houses of Parliament.

For six years, she said, her country has hung like a millstone around the neck of the Japanese military and has prevented Japan from using millions of her armed forces and workers in other parts of the world. The armies of China, ill-equipped, and virtually without air support, have fought on "with small arms, flesh and blood, and the will to battle." Japan has carried off about 100-million tons of raw materials from occupied areas and continues to consolidate her position as a vicious world threat. Madame Chiang warned that the magnificent will to resist of the Chinese people and army, with inadequate fighting material, must not be strained beyond human endurance.

Of the value of the democratic government and way of life, she said that the right of discussion which examines and weighs all ideas in the deepest recesses of the human mind is "a method that produces a better average of humanity than the most scientific of despotism."

In the speech of introduction by the Prime Minister and speeches by the Speakers of both Houses, thanking Canada's distinguished guest for her address, tribute was paid to the inspired leadership given by the Generalissimo and his brilliant wife, and the unconquerable spirit of the Chinese people in China's fight for freedom.

3 o'clock:

On motion of the PRIME MINISTER, seconded by MR. GRAYDON, the address of Madame Chiang, and the record of the morning's proceedings, were included in the House of Commons debates, thus forming part of the records of Parliament.

NEW WARTIME TRANS-ATLANTIC AIR SERVICE:

MR. HOWE announced that a new trans-Atlantic air service would be established immediately. Its object is to carry mail to and from Canadian Armed Forces in Britain, to transport members of the Canadian Armed Forces and of Canadian government departments, as well as technicians engaged in the production of war materials. The new service is to be neither commercial nor permanent. There will be no fare-

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paying passengers. The growing strength of Canada's Armed Forces overseas have necessitated the establishment of this quick and effective means of communication. The initial flight will be early in July.

Recreational Facilities for War Workers

Q: G. K. FRASER (C - Peterborough West) in relation to recreational facilities to war-workers:

MR. MITCHELL: We shall be communicating with provincial governments almost immediately, asking for their co-operation in the promotion of recreational facilities for war-workers on a shareable cost basis. The provinces where the need is urgent, will be first approached.

WAR APPROPRIATION BILL:
Munitions & Supply Estimates

Reason for Selecting Oil Instead of Alcohol for Synthetic Rubber

MR. HOWE: The rubber crisis came very suddenly. When Singapore fell, we had fairly large stocks on hand, and about 21,000 tons in Singapore and Penang. Most of the latter ultimately arrived in this country after having been given up for lost. However, Canada had to take immediate steps to find a substitute for natural rubber. The United States was in the same position, and the best technical men from each country, after consultation, decided that the only satisfactory substitute is a type known as Buna S rubber, which is a compound of butadiene and styrene. It was the combined judgment of the two countries that petroleum as a base for butadiene would be the cheapest and most satisfactory. Canada was given full benefit of the processes involved in the production of butadiene in the U.S. - Canadian plants are duplicates of the corresponding U.S. plants. Canada decided to erect a plant capable of producing 34,000 long tons of Buna S per annum. The ingredients of butadiene could be produced from either an alcohol or a petroleum base. Surveys showed that:

(a) The total facilities for the production of alcohol in Canada would produce less than one-third of the alcohol needed

(b) Additional facilities would cost more than the building of a plant capable of producing a similar quantity of butadiene from oil

(c) In the use of oil, other materials necessary to the manufacture of rubber could be extracted and that the 34,000 tons of Buna rubber and 7,000 tons of Butyl rubber could be produced without materially detracting from our normal gasoline and oil supplies.

The plant to manufacture rubber from oil could be placed close to one of the largest refineries in Canada, and not far from the plant of the Canadian rubber industry engaged in producing tires. From tests, it is held that Buna S rubber, with nylon fabric, will make a tire about 95% as long-lived as the best tire from natural rubber.

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Production of butadiene from petroleum did not shut out the possibility of using an alcohol base later on, if it were found economical or advisable to do so, but the cost of production is at present too high. With grain at 80¢ per bushel, industrial alcohol from grain would cost from 50¢ to 60¢ per gallon. To equalize the costs of rubber produced from oil, and that produced from grain, the purchase price of grain would have to be from 25¢ to 30¢ per bushel.

The government owns and controls the plant investment of the Synthetic Rubber Project, the operation of the plants and their products and by-products. There are no private strings on the polymer plant at Sarnia, which is owned by the government. The Buna rubber should begin to be manufactured by the end of August and the plant will be in full operation by November 1. This plant at Sarnia is expected to meet the full war demands of Canada. The government's investment in production of artificial rubber is between $40-million and $45-million.

J. G. DIEFENBAKER (C - Lake Centre): What proposals or schemes are there for the disposal of the Sarnia plant after the war? Does the government intend to turn these plants over to private industry or to operate them as government enterprizes after the war?

Government Will Continue to Operate Rubber Plant After War

MR. HOWE: The plant at Sarnia will be operated by the government of Canada, and its products sold in the interests of the government of Canada. As far as he knew, that situation would continue indefinitely, but of course, governments and their policies changed.

Answering question - S. H. KNOWLES (CCF - Winnipeg N.C.) Mr. Howe explained that oil technicians are needed in the manufacture of butadiene and the Imperial Oil Co. is represented on the board of a company subsidiary to polymer. These technicians are employed by the government. The Dow Chemical Company, through its experts, assists in a similar way in styrene operations. A number of young scientists from universities are being trained as technicians.

MR. COLDWELL assumed that the training of these technicians would make available a competent staff to run the operation, apart from Imperial Oil or Dow Chemical Company.

MR. HOWE stated that all the patents for the manufacture of synthetic rubber have been pooled with the United States government and Canada shares in the rights to use these patents.

J. R. MACNICOL (C - Davenport) suggested that the plant at Sarnia will be very important for peacetime as the Japanese, before they are driven from Malaya, may destroy a great deal of the rubber forests.

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C163665

DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PRIME MINISTER

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

IN HONOUR OF

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

AT

THE COUNTRY CLUB, OTTAWA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE SIXTEENTH

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE

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C163666

Mr. Howard Measures,
Department of External Affairs

Hon. Alphonse Fournier, Minister of Public Works
Mrs. John Hearne

Hon. Dr. Eduardo Grove, Chilean Minister to Canada
Mrs. Humphrey Mitchell

Col. Hon. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Revenue
Mrs. F. Gouseva

Hon. F. Pavlasek, Czechoslovak Minister to Canada
Mrs. N. A. McLarty

Hon. I. Cankar, Yugoslav Minister to Canada
Madame J. E. Michaud

Hon. Victor Podoski, Polish Minister to Canada
Mrs. C. G. Power

Hon. Frederick Jones, Minister of Defence and Pensions of New Zealand
Mrs. J. L. Ralston

Hon. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Chinese Minister to Canada
Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone

ENTRANCE FROM LOUNGE

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources
Miss K'ung

Hon. J. E. Michaud, Minister of Transport
Mrs. George Depasta

Hon. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply
Mrs. de Mello Franco

Hon. J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture
Mrs. Eduardo Grove

Hon. N. A. McLarty, Secretary of State of Canada
Mrs. R. R. Araya

Hon. W. P. Mulock, Postmaster General
Madame LaFleche

Hon. Angus Macdonald, Minister of National Defence for Naval Services
Lady Glasgow

Hon. E. Bertrand, Minister of Fisheries
Madame Vien

Mr. Lewis Clark, Charge d'Affaires of United States
Mrs. Graydon

Maj.-Gen. Hon. Sir William Glasgow, Australian High Commissioner
Miss Duff

Maj.-Gen. Chu Shih-ming, Military Attache to the Chinese Embassy, Washington
Mrs. Stuart

Senator Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Leader of the Opposition in The Senate
Lady Redfern

Mr. R. M. Firth, New Zealand Acting High Commissioner
Miss Grenfell, Lady-in-waiting to H.R.H. Princess Alice

Mr. J. H. Blackmore, New Democracy (S.C.)
Mrs. Keenleyside

Sir Shuldham Redfern, Secretary to the Governor General

Vice Admiral P. W. Nelles, Chief of the Naval Staff

Mr. Bing-shuey Lee, First Secretary, Chinese Legation

Air Marshal L. S. Breadner, Chief of the Air Staff

Mrs. Bing-shuey Lee
Major-General L. R. LaFleche, Minister of National War Services

Mrs. R. M. Firth
Hon. J. A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce

Mrs. D. de Waal Meyer
Hon. C. de Mello Franco, Brazilian Minister to Canada

Mrs. Lewis Clark
Hon. George Depasta, Greek Minister to Canada

Mrs. Angus Macdonald,
Hon. Liu Chieh, Minister-Counsellor, Chinese Embassy, Washington

Mrs. C. D. Howe,
Baron Silvercruys, Belgian Minister to Canada

Mrs. J. L. Ilsley
Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information

Her Royal Highness The Princess Juliana of the Netherlands
Hon. L. K. K'ung, Secretary General to Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Mrs. T. A. Crerar

His Excellency the Governor General

Madame Wei Tao-ming
Senator Hon. J. H. King, Leader of the Government in the Senate

Mrs. Chu Shih-ming
Col. Hon. J. L. Ralston, Minister of National Defence

Mrs. I. Cankar
Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health

Mrs. F. Pavlasek
Rt. Hon. Sir Lyman P. Duff, Chief Justice of Canada

Mrs. J. A. MacKinnon
Hon. Feodor Gousev, Soviet Minister to Canada

Mrs. Colin Gibson
Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, United Kingdom High Commissioner

Madame Fournier
Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour

Miss Sheila MacDonald,
Col. the Hon. Thomas Vien, Speaker of the Senate

Mrs. Glen
Hon. D. de Waal Meyer, South African Accredited Representative

Mrs. Robertson
Hon. John J. Hearne, Irish High Commissioner

Mrs. Nelles
Hon. J. A. Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons

Mrs. Breadner
Jonkheer J. D. van Karnebeek, Netherlands Charge d'Affaires

Miss Tou, Attache, Chinese Legation
Mr. Gordon Graydon, Leader of the Opposition

Mrs. Heeney
Mr. Li Chao, Counsellor, Chinese Legation

Mr. M. J. Coldwell, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

Mr. Norman Robertson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

Lt.-General K. Stuart, Chief of the General Staff

Mr. Arnold Heeney, Clerk of the Privy Council

Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

ENTRANCE FROM BOWLING GREEN

Mr. Walter Turnbull,
Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister

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For Prime Minister

Memo for Mr. Turnbull 9.6.43

C163667

I send herewith for submission to the Prime Minister the invitation card for his dinner in honour of Madame Chiang Kai-shek. I have kept a copy here and should be grateful if you would let me know as soon as convenient whether I may proceed with the printing of the cards.

I also send a suggestion for an invitation list. I should be glad to receive the Prime Minister's instructions.

W.H.M.

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For submission to the Prime Minister

C163668

The time of 8.30 p.m. was suggested by the Chinese Legation in order to allow time for Madame Chiang to have a rest after the conclusion of the Chinese Minister's reception at 7 o'clock.

8.30 pm ok

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To have the honour of meeting Madame Chiang Kai-shek

C163669

7c/26/82753

The Prime Minister

On behalf of the Government of Canada

requests the pleasure of the company of

At Dinner

on Wednesday, June 16th, 1943, at 8.30 p.m.

at the Country Club

R.S.V.P. to
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
East Block, Ottawa

Dress:
Dinner Jacket
or Service Dress

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To have the honour of meeting ~~His Excellency Dr. Edouard Benes~~ MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK
~~President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia~~

C163670

The Prime Minister

On behalf of the Government of Canada

requests the pleasure of the company of

At Dinner

on ~~Friday, June 4th,~~ WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16TH, 1943, at ~~8.00~~ 8.30 p.m.

at the Country Club

R.S.V.P. to
Under Secretary of State for External Affairs,
East Block, Ottawa

Dress:
Dinner Jacket
or Service Dress

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C163671 W.H.M. 8.6.43.

Visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Dinner by The Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada
Wednesday, June 16, 1943
8.30 p.m. Country Club Dress: Dinner Jacket

Suggestions for Invitation List

Host:

ø Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Guest of Honour
Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Madame Chiang's Party
Hon. L.K. K'ung, Secretary General
Miss L.T. K'ung, Private Secretary
Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information
Hon. Liu Chieh, Minister-Counsellor, Chinese Embassy at Washington
Maj.-General Chu Shih-ming, Military Attache to Chinese Embassy at Washington

? Governor General
His Excellency The Governor General
Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone

Cabinet (Members of War Committee indicated thus: ø)

ø Hon. T.A. Crerar, M.P., Minister of Mines and Resources
Mrs. T.A. Crerar — 207 Clemow Avenue
Senator Hon. J.H. King, M.D., Leader of the Government in the Senate
Mrs. King — Chateau Laurier
ø Col.Hon. J.L. Ralston, M.P., Minister of National Defence
Mrs. Ralston — Mayfair Apartments
Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P., Minister of Pensions and National Health
Mayfair Apartments
ø Major Hon. C.G. Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air
Mrs. Power — 157 Daly Avenue
ø Hon. J.L. Ilsley, M.P., Minister of Finance
Mrs. Ilsley — 24 Russell Avenue
ø Hon. J.E. Michaud, M.P., Minister of Transport
Madame Michaud — 169 Daly Avenue
ø Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Munitions and Supply
Mrs. Howe — 7 Crescent Road, Rockcliffe
Hon. J.G. Gardiner, M.P., Minister of Agriculture
Mrs. Gardiner — 211 Clemow Avenue
Hon. N.A. McLarty, M.P., Secretary of State of Canada
Mrs. McLarty — 153 Gilmour Street
Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce
Mrs. MacKinnon — The Mayfair Apartments
Hon. W.P. Mulock, M.P., Postmaster General
Mrs. Mulock — Chateau Laurier
Col.Hon. Colin Gibson, M.P., Minister of National Revenue
Mrs. Gibson — The Roxborough
ø Hon. Angus Macdonald, M.P., Minister of National Defence Naval Services
Mrs. Macdonald — 227 Clemow Avenue
Hon. L.S. St.Laurent, M.P., Minister of Justice
Madame St.Laurent (may be in Quebec) The Roxborough
Hon. H. Mitchell, M.P., Minister of Labour
Mrs. Mitchell — 332 Island Park Drive
Hon. A. Fournier, M.P., Minister of Public Works
Madame Fournier — 195 Laurier Ave., Hull
Hon. E. Bertrand, M.P., Minister of Fisheries
The Chateau Laurier
Maj.-General L.R. LaFleche, Minister of National War Services
Madame LaFleche — 325 Daly Avenue

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Chinese Legation

Hon. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Minister of the Republic of China
201 Wurtemburg Street
Mr. Li Chao Counsellor, Chinese Legation
Miss Lucy Tou Attache, Chinese Legation

Diplomatic Corps

Omitted, or include United States, Russia.

High Commissioners

Rt.Hon. Malcolm MacDonald,M.P., High Commissioner for United Kingdom
Miss MacDonald Earnscliffe
Maj-Gen.Hon. Sir William Glasgow, K.C.B., High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia
Lady Glasgow 407 Wilbrod Street
Hon. D. deWaal Meyer, Accredited Representative of the Union of South Africa
Mrs. Meyer 494 Lansdowne Rd.,Rockcliffe Park
Hon. John J. Hearne, High Commissioner for Ireland
Mrs. Hearne 415 Wilbrod Street
Mr. R.M. Firth, Acting High Commissioner for New Zealand
Mrs. Firth 105 Wurtemburg

Chief Justice of Canada

Rt.Hon. Sir Lyman P.Duff, P.C. G.C.M.G.
Miss Duff 488 Wilbrod Street

Parliament

Col.Hon. Thomas Vien, Speaker of the Senate
Madame Vien Speaker's Chambers, The Senate
Hon. J.A. Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons
Mrs. Glen Speaker's Chambers, The House of Commons
Mr. Gordon Graydon. Leader of the Opposition
Mrs. Graydon House of Commons

? omit; Ballantyne, Blackmore, Coldwell, Hanson, Stirling, Claxton (and Bracken)

Chiefs of Staff:

? omit; Nelles, Stuart, Breadner

Others

Mr. Norman Robertson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs/ and Member of War Committee
Mrs. Robertson 188 Lisgar Rd., Rockcliffe
Mr. Arnold Heeney, Clerk of the Privy Council
Mrs. Heeney 383 Ashbury Place, Rockcliffe
Sir Shuldham Redfern (if G.G. comes) Secretary to the Governor General
Lady Redfern Rideau Cottage, Government House
Dr. Clifford Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance
Mrs. Clifford Clark 295 Manor Rd., Rockcliffe
Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs
Mrs. Keenleyside 39 Madawaska Drive
Mr. Stanley Lewis, Mayor of Ottawa
Mrs. Lewis 168 Cartier Street
Mr. C.A. Bowman, Chairman, Ottawa Committee, Chinese Relief Fund
Mrs. Bowman Cloverdale Rd., Rockcliffe.

Total men 43
Ladies 37
Total 80

Maximum seating for straight table at Country Club is - 76.

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Unattached ladies,if required

Lt.-Col. Elizabeth Smellie, R.R.C.
Matron-in-Chief, Royal Canadian Medical Corps

Mrs. Leonard Turner, W.P.& T.B.
Mrs. H.P. Plumptre, Director Enquiry Bureau(Prisoners of War)
Canadian Red Cross Society
Mrs. H.D.G. Crerar, wife of Lt.Gen. H.D.G. Crerar, C.B.,
General Officer Commanding 1st Canadian Corps
Mrs. Patrick Hennessy, widow of Col. Patrick Hennessy,
killed at Hong Kong, 544 King Edward Ave., Ottawa
Mrs. J.K. Lawson, Widow of Brigadier J.K. Lawson, Commander of
Hong Kong force;killed in action
438 Daly Avenue, Ottawa.
Mrs. M.H.S. Penhale, Wife of Brigadier Penhale, Commanding
a Brigade in England
150 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa.

Lt.Col. Joan Kennedy, Officer Commanding, Canadian Women's
Army Corps

Wing Officer Willa Walker, Officer Commanding Women's
Division, R.C.A.F.(husband prisoner of war in Germany

or Flying Officer Dunbar,

Commander Dorothy Isherwood, Director, Women's Royal Canadian
Naval Service. (English-woman on loan from
Royal Navy)

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C163674 C-753 v-1

HLK/ML, November 11, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TURNBULL:

I attach a letter from Madame Chiang Kai-shek addressed to General Odlum. The General has asked me to place this letter before the Prime Minister and subsequently to forward it to Mrs. Odlum in Vancouver. I shall be very much obliged if you will show the letter to Mr. King and then let me have it back in order that I may transmit it to Mrs. Odlum.

(H.L. KEENLEYSIDE)

C-750

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August 23, 1944

C163675

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER :

I am attaching copies of two telegrams concerning the visit to Canada of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, which evidently crossed each other in transmission.

As you will see, there is little information about Madame Chiang's proposed visit that we can give General Odlum as yet. We have asked Mr. Desy to try to get further details. However, I doubt if Madame Chiang will be in a position to tell us when she could come to Canada. If she goes to New York about the middle of September it may be ten days before she has had her medical check-up. The report she receives from her doctor will likely influence her decision as to how long she can stay in Canada, how often she must return to New York for check-ups, et cetera.

In any event, it seems unlikely that we can expect her to come to Canada much before the end of September. A summer house would thus be ruled out. I am doubtful too if she will fall in with our original suggestion that she go to Banff. She will probably wish to remain in Eastern Canada to be near New York. I understand she expects to return to China by way of the United Kingdom.

As you know, we are hoping that General Odlum can return to Canada shortly for a much needed vacation. He has asked if he

2 . . .

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should not try to get back in time for Madame Chiang's visit. I am inclined to think he could be of some assistance here at that time, If you approve I will ask him to see if he can make arrangements to return to Canada by the end of September.

JSR

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c o p y - elb C163677

T E L E G R A M

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO CHUNGKING, CHINA

Ottawa, August 19, 1944

CYPHER

NO. 176

1. Your telegram No. 192 of August 15, Visit of Madame Chiang.

2. We have asked Canadian Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro to endeavour to ascertain how long Madame Chiang expects to be able to stay in Canada, the number of persons in her party, and whether in view of speed of air communications she would fall in with our original suggestion that she stay at Banff. As soon as a reply is received we will proceed with arrangements and inform you.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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C163678.

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA, CHUNGKING

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CYPHER

NO. 197

CHUNGKING, August 23rd, 1944

No. 197. As I am to spend the week end with the President, I am anxious to know detailed arrangements for Madame Chiang before I go.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

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DS/CKS

NAR/ET
13 Oct.1944

PERSONAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163679

General Odlum has sent me from Winnipeg a longhand letter for forwarding to Madame Chiang Kai-shek in New York. I thought you would like to see a copy of it before I forward the original to New York.

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1.

COPY

CANADIAN EMBASSY

C163680

Winnipeg, Oct 11, 1944.

PERSONAL

Dear Mme. Chiang,

As my wife and I have just come through some unpleasant experiences, I feel that I must tell you a little about them for your own guidance. I developed a bad cough soon after reaching Ottawa and I have been coughing for nearly ten days now. My wife, who met me in Ottawa, went to bed with a form of flu just as we left Toronto and both on the train and here in the hotel she has been laid up. We are a sorry pair.

The raw fall weather has come earlier than usual this year. It was raining heavily when I crossed the border into Canada, and since then we have passed through two blustery sleet storms. Sleet, as you know, is a combination of rain and snow and can quickly turn to ice.

This is the kind of weather that spreads colds and various forms of flu over the land. My wife and I have both caught "something", just out of the air. Many of those whom we have tried to see have been laid up with "colds". November is one of our most changeable and stormy months, - as is March, in the spring.

It has commenced to trouble me a great deal when I have thought of you coming up into this sort of weather for a rest. In some years our falls are glorious; but this year does not seem very promising. It would grieve me very much if anything were to happen to you on a visit to Canada. If you were to add a severe form of flu to the sufferings you already have to endure, I would be very unhappy.

Mr. King and I had a long talk about you and about China. He is a great friend of yours and I was delighted to hear what he said of the impressions you left on your last brief trip to Canada. I was perturbed, however, when I learned that in some quarters it was expected that your proposed visit to Canada would be, in part at least, a public one. I said that I was sure this was not your wish: that in all my conversations with you I had pressed the point that what you needed was a rest and freedom from all people. My representations to Ottawa were along this line. I have urged on

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Mr. King that, whatever arrangements may be made, you should be given a chance to recuperate, completely undisturbed. It was because of its great advantages for seclusion and its dry mountain air that we first chose Banff.

Personally, I think a public visit would be a great mistake. The people of Canada sympathize with you in your illness and they would be glad to take you to their hearts to help you get well. But public functions in war time would confuse them. I think that the original plan is the only one that would strengthen China's position; and that is the one important thing.

When I reach the coast and feel better I will write again. Please give my warmest regards to your sister. I am hoping to see you when I come east again, preparatory to my next long trip.

With deep and sincere friendship,

Yours faithfully,

Victor W. Odlum

Her Excellency
Mme. Chiang Kai-shek
c/o Mme. H.H. Kung,
42A Waldorf Astoria Tower Apartments,
New York City.

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Welland Canals - Chicago Drainage Canal.

CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

C163682

Subject CHICAGO DIVERSION

Date April 17, 1940 *Publication* CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, (pp. 7048-9).

GREAT LAKES WATERSHED

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, lacking but 4 days, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a momentous and important decision which measured to the State of Illinois and the sanitary district of Chicago the amount of water that could be diverted from the Great Lakes for purposes other than domestic pumpage. It also provided ample time from April 21, 1930, to December 31, 1938, to the sanitary district of Chicago based upon a liberal estimate for completing its entire system for sewage treatment.

The amount of water the decree provided was 1,500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage.

During the latter part of last year the State of Illinois instituted proceedings before the Supreme Court of the United States to modify its decision or decree so as to permit the use of 5,000 cubic feet per second instead of the 1,500 cubic feet per second, or more than three times the amount originally provided in the Court's decree in addition to domestic pumpage until December 31, 1942.

This matter came before the Court very recently, and a decision has been handed down appointing a special master to examine into the request of the State of Illinois and directing the master to report with all convenient speed.

In order that the Members of this House who come from the Great Lakes section of this country and those who come from the Mississippi Valley may be fully aware of the provisions of the Court's decision in this most important matter, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered on the 3d day of April of this year.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

[Supreme Court of the United States. Nos. 2, 3, and 4, original.—October term, 1939. No. 2, original, *State of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, complainants,* v. *State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago, defendants.* No. 3, original. *State of Michigan, complainant,* v. *State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago et al., defendants.* No. 4, original. *State of New York, complainant,* v. *State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago et al., defendants.* April 3, 1940]

PER CURIAM

By the decree of April 21, 1930 (281 U. S. 179, 696), the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago were enjoined from diverting on and after December 31, 1938, any of the waters of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system or watershed through the Chicago Drainage Canal or otherwise in excess of the annual average of 1,500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage. That date was fixed as affording adequate time, upon a liberal estimate, for the completion of the entire system designed for sewage treatment, together with controlling works to prevent reversals of the Chicago River in times of storm.

The State of Illinois now seeks a temporary modification of the decree so as to permit an increase of the diversion to not more than 5,000 cubic feet per second, in addition to domestic pumpage, until December 31, 1942. The State submits its petition, not on behalf of the city of Chicago or the sanitary district, but at the instance of certain communities bordering on the Illinois Waterway, including Lockport and Joliet. The grounds for the application are that the system for sewage treatment has not yet been completed and will not be completed until the end of the year 1942, and that, in consequence, through the introduction of untreated sewage into the stream, an "obnoxious, noisome, filthy, insanitary, and dangerous condition to public health" exists along the Sanitary District Canal and the Illinois Waterway.

The State of Illinois has failed to show that it has provided all possible means at its command for the completion of the sewage-treatment system as required by the decree as specifically enlarged in 1933 (289 U. S. 395, 710). No adequate excuse has been presented for the delay. Nor has the State submitted appropriate proof that the conditions complained of constitute a menace to the health of the inhabitants of the complaining communities or that the State is not able to provide suitable measures to remedy or ameliorate the alleged conditions without an increase in the diversion of water from Lake Michigan in violation of the rights of the complainant States as adjudged by this Court.

In order, however, that the Court may be satisfied as to the actual condition of the Illinois Waterway by reason of the introduction of untreated sewage, and as to the actual effect, if any, of that condition upon the health of the inhabitants of the complaining communities, and also with respect to the feasibility of remedial or ameliorating measures available to the State of Illinois without an increase in the diversion of water from Lake Michigan, the Court appoints a special master to make a summary inquiry as to such condition, effect, and measures, and to report to this Court with all convenient speed.

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O.D. SKELTON TO WLMK.

ODS/ET
28 November, 1940

Canals - Chicago Drainage ✓ W) -10.2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

1940
C163683

Increased Chicago Diversion

The press recently reported that the United States Supreme Court has permitted the Chicago Sanitary District to increase its diversion from 1500 to 10,000 c.f.s. for ten days beginning December 2nd.

We have received from the Canadian Legation in Washington a report on the Supreme Court Order issued on Monday, November 25th. The main provision is as follows:

> "Upon consideration of the motion of the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York and Illinois, and in accordance with the following stipulation:
> "(which is summarized in paragraph two below)"
> it is ordered that the sanitary district of Chicago be and it hereby is authorized to increase its diversion of water from the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence system or watershed through the Chicago drainage canal from 1500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage to 10,000 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic pumpage for one continuous period of ten days from an appropriate hour on December 2nd, 1940, to the same hour on December 12, 1940, after which period all the provisions of the decree entered April 21, 1930, shall be and remain in full force and effect until further order of this court".

The stipulation contains statements that the agreement between the Great Lakes States and Illinois is not to be construed as in any way waiving, abandoning or

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prejudicing any of the positions taken by these States and is "not to be used as a precedent for any future request for additional temporary diversions in excess of the amounts fixed by the United States Supreme Court decree of April 21, 1930"

The Special Master, the Honourable Monte M. Leman, in suggesting this agreement, said "it would be solely for the purpose trying by this means to remove whatever slocculent active sludge deposits and sewage sludge may have accumulated in the Brandon Road pool by reason of the intorduction of untreated sewage and sludge from treated sewage".

It will be noted that the increased diversion is limited to ten days and that it is stipulated that it is not in any way to constitute a precedent. By meeting in this temporary fashion any substantial element there may have been in the Chicago Sanitary District's contention that an increased flow might be necessary for sanitary reason, the Court has removed any possible ground for urging an increased permanent diversion.

The attitude of the Supreme Court to the general question of Chicago diversion is clearly set forth in a decision on April 3rd, 1940, with regard to a request from Illinios for a permanent increased diversion. The decision will be found in

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the quotation from the Congressional Record of April 17th, 1940, which I should like to place on Hansard at the conclusion of these remarks. It will be noted the Court says that the State of Illinois has failed to show that it has provided all possible means at its command for the completion of the sewage treatment system, and that no adequate excuse has been presented for the delay.

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US/BW

C163686

NAR/SR
5.11.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

As you know, the plans for an extension of the Chicago Diversion are again before a Congressional Committee for consideration. The State Department are watching the hearings and will intervene with an expression of their views if there is any likelihood of the Committee making a favourable report on this scheme. It is suggested that it would be helpful to have a short statement of the Canadian interests that would be affected by the project available for use if occasion requires it.

I am enclosing copy of a statement of the Canadian interests, which has been prepared by our Department in consultation with Transport, Mines and Resources and Public Works. This statement is being communicated to our Legation in Washington, for use by the Department of State before the House of Representatives Committee on Rivers and Harbors if, in the judgment of the Department of State, its presentation would be helpful. Obviously if the Chicago project can be defeated by domestic interests, without becoming an international issue, this will be all to the good.

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C163687

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

Prime Minister

Material returned
by Hansard

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ODS/ET
28 November, 1940

C163688

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

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Consul General
of Chile.

C163691

M E M O R A N D U M

The Consul General of Chile in Canada has received the following telegram from his Government:-

"His Excellency the President of the Republic (Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda) has decided to abandon his high office, temporarily, by reason of sickness. He appointed as Vice-President in charge the Chairman of the Radical Party (comparable to the Liberal Party of Canada) Senor Geronimo Mendez, a leader of prestige in political circles, who confirmed in office all the members of the actual Cabinet.

Consulted medical experts state that His Excellency's health will soon improve if he can maintain absolute rest for some time. Public order has continued as usual.

Please convey this information to that Government.

(Signed) JUAN B. ROSSETTI
Minister of Foreign Relations."

OTTAWA, November 11, 1941.

Department of External Affairs
OTTAWA - CANADA

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C+M/Mc[illegible]

Trade-Can. Trade with South Amer. Republics ODS/AH
Trade - Can. Trade with Central America

November 29th, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. C163692

The new Consul General of Chile, Mr. Feliu, on whom I have sent you a note, had a luncheon for Mr. MacKinnon and members of his Mission the other day, after which he made some remarks which Mr. MacKinnon suggested should be brought to your attention. He sent me a copy which I enclose.

O.D.

O. D. SKELTON

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November 27th,1940.

Honourable Gentlemen:

I hope that our modest luncheon together with the Chilean wines that went with it, may have given you strength enough to now stand - not a speech - but just a few friendly words that may serve as an introduction to your new and eventful enterprise.

It is no secret that you are flying down to South America and to Chile next Sunday -- weather permitting.

My Government, whom I duly informed of your programme has instructed me to tell you of its pleasure and how welcome you will be in Chile where Canada is better known than you can imagine and better liked than I can explain in a few sentences.

In my humble opinion, it was high time for this Canadian expedition to discover South America and Chile. For my part, I have already made several discoveries in Canada,other than business opportunities.

One of these, that being far apart - geographically speaking - we are not so distant in thought, education, democratic institutions or humane sentiments; and such differenciations as may exist, are not proof that you are wrong, or that we are right.

Blue is not red, and yet, both colours are very pretty in themselves and do so nicely match together....

If this common sense comparison were held in mind by week-end and other travellers I am sure that much criticism and misunderstanding among nations could be avoided.

Referring particularly to my country, I anticipate that you will certainly find many things different from your own standards. But please bear in mind that it would be impossible to understand, in just a few days, four centuries of old Spanish traditions transplanted into a new world, blended with 10% of warrior Indian customs, all intermingled in the battles of the Conquest, redressed in the War of Independence 130 years ago and admixed in many a battle on land and sea; this together with the struggle for life in our long and thin country, battered by the Pacific Ocean, intent on kissing the foot of our Andean Mountains with its ever rolling waves...

Anyway, I beg to advise you to be patient because, as they say in comedy: "everything can be explained" and that to your satisfaction if time and opportunity be afforded.

So, the only admonition I could dare proffer, would be that you go South openminded and carry in your luggage, together with your summer outfits, a large amount of goodwill - I mean - the will to understand what is different ... and to like it!

In this spirit, I am sure that you will find your trip will be one of pleasure and advantage. You are going to be liked in my country and if you like it, you will then be able to fool the old Geography by bringing North and South closer together.

Coming to the end of these altruistic notes, permit me a small amount of selfishness:

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C163695 NAR/SR
15.2.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Diplomatic Relations with Chile.

Mr. Moffat had reported to Washington his conversation with you last week about the difficulties in the way of Canada exchanging diplomatic representatives with Chile at the present time, and he has now received a further message from Mr. Sumner Welles, confirming the State Department's first view that, from the point of general "hemispheric defense" considerations, it would be very helpful if Canada could meet Chilean susceptibilities in this matter by including Chile in the projected diplomatic representation in South America. He understood that the Chilean Government would be quite happy if the Minister for Argentina could also be accredited to Santiago and be there from time to time. Mr. Moffat thought such an arrangement might minimize the financial objections to opening a new Legation, which he understood were the principal difficulty in the way of our meeting the Chilean Government's request.

I told him that, apart from the fiscal objections to opening new diplomatic posts under war conditions, there were other personnel problems in connection with the staffing and organization of Latin American posts which would prevent the Government from moving as fast as it otherwise might wish to do in this matter. He did not know of the informal approaches the Peruvian Government had been making in the same sense, nor of

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the more active interest which Mexico has been showing recently in establishing diplomatic relations with Canada. My own opinion is that Mexico should come first in any further expansion of Latin American representation.

In leaving, Mr. Moffat enquired whether we had ever considered the possibility of designating one Minister to the three A B C countries of South America. I thought that this suggestion, for what it was worth, had been put forward a little late as we were by now under some obligation to accredit separate representatives to Brazil and to Argentina.

W. A. R.

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C163697

British Embassy,

Santiago

21st March,1941.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed me that his government are anxious to have diplomatic representation in Canada.

2. His Excellency stated that His Majesty's Government in Canada had no objection to this idea in principle, but were unwilling to proceed with it for reasons of economy. He accordingly requested me to enquire whether the Canadian Government might perhaps be prepared to recognise the Chilean Consul General in Canada as Chargé d'Affaires, while abstaining from individual diplomatic representation in Chile, or combining their representation in this country with the Canadian Legation to be established in Argentina.

3. I should be grateful if you would be good enough to inform me what reply I should return to the Chilean Government's enquiry.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,humble Servant,

(Signed) C.W.Orde.

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King,
P.C., C.M.G.,
Minister for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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Consulado General de Chile C163698

(Translation)

Embajada de Chile
Washington.

Washington, March 27, 1941.

No.594.

Mr. Consul General:

The Minister for Foreign Relations, by telegram No.70 of this date, has ordered me to express to Your Honour that, in accordance with our wishes to improve the relations of every kind between Chile and Canada, our Government desires to accredit Your Honour as Chargé d'Affaires in that country.

The Minister further states in his cablegram that this attitude from the part of Chile, would involve no obligation whatever for Canada.

I beg to request that Your Honour may please inform me, that I may cable back to the Ministry about the acceptance that the Chilean suggestion receives from that Government.

(Signed) Rodolfo Michels
Ambassador of Chile

Al Senor Consul General de Chile,
Ottawa.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

15.2.41.

C163699

Diplomatic Relations with Chile

Mr. Moffat has reported to Washington his conversation with you last week about the difficulties in the way of Canada exchanging diplomatic representatives with Chile at the present time, and he has now received a further message from Mr. Sumner Welles, confirming the State Department's first view that, from the point of general "hemispheric defense" considerations, it would be very helpful if Canada could meet Chilean susceptibilities in this matter by including Chile in the projected diplomatic representation in South America. He understood that the Chilean Government would be quite happy if the Minister for Argentina could also be accredited to Santiago and be there from time to time. Mr. Moffat thought such an arrangement might minimize the financial objections to opening a new Legation, which he understood were the principal difficulty in the way of our meeting the Chilean Government's request.

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THE GLOBE AND MAIL, TORONTO.

C163701

FINANCE AT LARGE

(By WELLINGTON JEFFERS, Financial Editor.)

If Good Neighbor Relations in This Hemisphere Should Stand High in Canada's Foreign Policy, Why Does Ottawa Turn Down Chile's Advances?

One of the marks of a good business administrator is knowing where to put the emphasis on spending and where to put incisive brain matter on the job of securing great economies by cutting down duplication of effort, waste of materials and energy and improving processes, machinery and methods. In fact, both subserve the main aim of greater production and sales, the spending on research, modernization, advertising, promotion helps the economies by increasing business and thus decreasing unit costs, and the economies in their turn back the expenditures on sales efforts and make them more effective.

Ottawa's Responsibility For Foreign Trade.

Ottawa has a similar problem of finding out rapidly how to draw in its horns on many expenditures in order to spend most effectively for war and how to stimulate exports that help to pay for imports for war; and how to make, without loss of efficacy or extravagance, those friendships and contacts which will be most helpful to foreign trade when the war is over. Foreign trade relations of Canada were, before the war, largely in the hands of the exporters and importers of Canada, with the Government changing the emphasis now and then by tariffs, treaties and commercial services; but that has been vastly changed by the war, the foreign exchange control measures and various restrictions with a war economy in mind. Foreign trade is more than ever important, but the prewar incentives are not nearly so strong. Government policy and actions, therefore, must bear more responsibility for results.

Friendship Is Not Attained by Sudden Flight.

One of the activities which can be most fruitful for Canada in postwar times and during the war also is to promote friendly relations with all the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Theoretical agreement is not enough; there must be a body of men whose business it is to study thoughtfully and thoroughly and realistically all the elements in the situation of every Latin-American nation as well as of the United States and these require at this time just as careful attention as many internal problems. Just now the peoples of Latin America are feeling very friendly toward the idea of closer relationships and have been making advances which should be met more than half way. The death of the late Dr. Skelton was unfortunate at this critical time and it is to be hoped that the appointment of Mr. Robertson as his successor will now lead to more attention being paid to this phase of international relations.

Why Exclude Chile and Admit Brazil, Argentina?

Just to show the dangers of neglect and lack of comprehension of the issues involved, one may cite the fact that, probably due to concentration on the war, the arrangements for the opening of Legations at Ottawa by Brazil and Argentina and the corresponding accrediting of Canadian envoys at Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, do not provide for Chile, which also desires to have a Legation at Ottawa.

That will seem unimportant only to those Canadians who have never tried to trace the relationship between diplomatic activities of their Government and their own situations. Canadians who know South America best tell me that the ABC countries of South America —that is, Argentina, Brazil and Chile—have closer ties than connect most Latin countries. They actually form a more or less coherent bloc and have in many matters consequently established Latin-American leadership in many matters. They consult as to policy and there tends to be an all-for-one and one-for-all line in international policy. At least, their policies march together very well.

Chile Presents Reasonable Proposals.

But each of these three countries feels itself to be, and is, an equal among equals. To make any sort of discrimination is bad business and shortsighted diplomacy. In other words, altogether apart from what trade may be proceeding now, we have a great stake in friendship among all nations of this hemisphere. That would be a pearl of great price whether one is considering trade, common defense or cultural exchanges.

The Chilean Government in this case has shown itself to be most considerate of Canada's present war position. It has told Ottawa that it recognizes the need here for economy in men and money. It does not ask to have a Canadian office or representative actually at Santiago for the present. It has made the reasonable suggestion that the Minister accredited to Brazil or Argentina, and resident in either country, should also be accredited to Chile. That has precedent: it will be remembered that Belgium and Holland each maintained a separate Legation and envoy at Ottawa, while Canada accredited one Minister to both countries.

Prime Minister King should reconsider his refusal to agree to Chile's proposal, Canadians who have travelled in South America believe. They do not think the refusal was intended as a rebuff, but it does carry the idea to South America that in Canada's official opinion Chile has inferior status to the other two countries. Chile is likely, therefore, to modify its present official relations with Canada and to cease its efforts to enlarge friendly and trade relations. Canada cannot afford to ignore longer the growing tendency of Western Hemisphere nations to get around a common board to discuss international matters and policy. If it does not take a chair at the board itself—and it should—it should certainly want as many friends as possible sitting around that board.

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DS/SA

NAR/AH

March 30th, 1941.

C163702

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Diplomatic Representation with Chile

1. United States interest

The United States Chargé d'Affaires called yesterday morning on telegraphic instructions from Washington to enquire whether "Canada would not be willing to recognize the Chilean Consul General in Canada as Chargé d'Affaires even without reciprocal action on its own part, providing, of course, that the Canadian Government is still disposed to consider an eventual establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries."

Mr. Simmons had been asked by Mr. Sumner Welles to telegraph the Canadian Government's reply to this enquiry. This is the fourth instruction the United States Legation has received from Washington to approach us on behalf of the Chilean Government. It represents a further substantial whittling down of the latter's request. You will recall that they first pressed for a separate exchange of Ministers between Canada and Chile similar to the arrangements made with Brazil and Argentina. When this proposal was turned down, largely on grounds of wartime economy and shortage of personnel, the Chilean Government enquired whether our Minister to Buenos Aires could not also be designated as representative at Santiago, without

Will write & tell one anything re public despatches when
last after Session
1-4-41

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necessarily maintaining any residence or office there. Now, they have abandoned for the time being the hope of getting Canada to send a Minister to Chile and ask only if we would be willing to receive the Chilean Consul General in Ottawa as Chargé d'Affaires. In itself this is a modest request which it will be very difficult to refuse.

I went over the ground again with Mr. Simmons explaining to him, as I had to Mr. Moffat in my memorandum of February 15th (an extra copy of which is attached) the difficulties which any extension of diplomatic representation with Chile would introduce into our relations with other South American Governments. I reminded him that the Peruvian Government had informed us of their plans for establishing a Consulate General in Ottawa, to which they proposed to appoint a senior diplomatic official, and that we had learned informally that Peru hoped to raise the post very shortly to the status of a Legation . The Mexican Government had twice in recent weeks raised the question of diplomatic representation with Canada through their Embassy in Washington. We had discouraged them ffom expecting any immediate response from Canada but undoubtedly they would return to the charge if we agreed to receive the Chilean Consul General as a diplomatic officer.

I told Mr. Simmons that, as matters stood, I could not say any more to him than I had said to Mr. Moffat without getting further instructions on the point from you. Since I last talked with Mr.

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Moffat both the Norwegian and Polish Governments had enquired whether we would receive their representatives in Ottawa as Ministers. We had not agreed to do so, but our refusal would be very hard to justify if we granted a similar request from Chile.

2. United Kingdom Enquiry.

Shortly after Mr. Simmons' departure, I received an air-mail letter from the British Embassador at Sangiago, Chile, a copy of which is attached. He had been asked by the Chilean Foreign Minister to enquire "whether the Canadian Government might perhaps be prepared to recognise the Chilean Consul General in Canada as Chargé d'Affaires, while abstaining from individual diplomatic representation in Chile, or combine their representation in Chile with the Canadian Legation to be established in Argentina."

3. Direct Chilean Approach

Later yesterday afternoon I had a visit from the Chilean Consul General himself who left with me the enclosed translation of an instruction he had just received from the Foreign Minister. To complete the day's documentation on the question of diplomatic relations with Chile, I am enclosing a photostat copy of a financial editorial from the Globe and Mail of some weeks ago urging Canada to appoint a Minister to Chile. I think you saw this article when it first appeared. The enclosed photostat copy came in yesterday morning's mail without any covering letter. I expect its distribution is due to the

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Chilean Consul General himself and that he has similarly sent copies to Ministers and Members likely to be interested in Canadian diplomatic representation abroad.

Mr. Feliu, the Consul General, had little to add to his earlier representations, except to stress the modesty of his present request. He said his Government recognized the financial reluctance to increase expenditure for diplomatic representation in wartime and, therefore, deferred their request that we open a Legation in Chile. They appreciated your feeling that an aggressive expansion of independent Canadian diplomatic representation at a time like this might be misconstrued in some quarters as a weakening of the tie that united Canada with the other countries of the Commonwealth. He thought no objection could be taken on this score to our receiving a Chilean diplomatic representative in Canada. He rather skilfully picked up the passage in your speech on the Departmental Estimates, in which you explained that increasing governmental trade and exchange controls were making it necessary for Canada to supplement the efforts of Trade Commissioners by direct diplomatic representation which would enjoy closer contacts with governmental authorities than Consuls and Trade Commissioners normally had. Mr. Feliu argued that now that Canada had an elaborate system of import licencing controls, as well as controls of foreign exchange, Chile needed diplomatic

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representation here in order to foster and protect her commercial relations in Canada which her Government wished to expand.

These, however, were all his supporting arguments. The main issue was that Chile counts herself, and apparently is generally recognized, on a parity with Argentina and Brazil as one of the A.B.C. powers. Considerations of national prestige are involved and that is why they attach so much importance to this question of diplomatic representation here.

Intrinsically there is no real objection to receiving the Chilean Consul General as Chargé d'Affaires, or even as Minister. It might be, as regards other Latin American countries, we could take a stand for a time on the A.B.C. principle and refuse to receive diplomatic representatives from other than these three countries. Once, however, we did give diplomatic representation to a Chilean representative, I do not see how we could refuse to accord similar recognition to the representatives of Norway and Poland, possibly even to Czechoslovakia. We would, also, I think be asked to re-examine the position of the Chinese Consul General. I am not, myself, sure that the time is not come for a major modification of policy in this matter. It may be that under war conditions, as Germany, Italy and the U.S.S.R. are no longer represented in Canada, ~~that~~ the grounds for insisting on "reciprocity" as a method of excluding certain countries from full diplomatic privileges in Canada have lost a good deal of their force. If

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you think the general question should be gone into thoroughly at this time, I could arrange to have it studied and a report on the pros and cons of modifying our present practice prepared for your consideration.

Mack

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DS/Cm Chile

NAR/SR
26.9.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163708

The Chilean Consul General was advised by telegram, this morning, that the application for Mr. Turgeon's Agrément as Canadian Minister to Chile was only received by the Chilean Government yesterday, (September 25th). It will be taken up with the President of Chile immediately on the latter's return to Santiago, and we will be notified, by cable, as soon as it is granted.

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NAR/ET
1st Nov.1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163709

You may have noted among this week's press clippings a number of adverse comments on the fact that Canada is not participating officially in a number of scientific and historical conferences being organized in Chile to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the founding of Santiago.

All these comments(I have noticed them in the Globe and Mail,Gazette and Journal) are more or less textual reproductions of the attached item from the Chilean News Service - a weekly handout circulated to quite a large mailing list by the Chilean Consul-General in Ottawa.

Under present conditions it is very difficult to justify the expenditure involved in sending official representatives to the cultural and scientific conferences which are burgeoning all over South America. We have accordingly,after consulting the other Departments concerned,declined most of these invitations. I am attaching a copy of our note to the Chilean Consul-General,conveying the Government's regret at not sending an official delegation to the First Inter-American Congress of Mining Engineers and Geologists which is to be held in Santiago in January next.

In this particular instance it might have been possible to arrange a suitable Canadian representation,because Dr. Camsell,the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources,who has been in indifferent health, is under doctor's orders to spend part of the winter in a southern climate. He did not feel there was anything in the agenda of the conference which would have warranted Canadian participation,but he could have gone if, for general political reasons, the Government felt that formal participation was desirable.

In the circumstances I do not think we should reconsider the decision not to be represented. The Chilean Consul-General's complaints to the newspapers seem to me silly and quite improper. To suggest that the "delicate balance of Latin-American neutrality or non-belligerency" is going to be tilted

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one way or another by our participation in or absence from meetings of scientific societies in Chile, is ridiculous. I did not want to rebuke Feliu formally for his conduct in the matter because he might feel that we were blocking what chance he may have of promotion from Consul-General to Chilean Minister here, but I understand that there is not much risk of his being designated by his Government in that capacity. The word that our Trade Mission got in Chile was that the new Minister would be appointed from the public life of the country. Certainly there was no suggestion that if the appointment came from within the Consular or Diplomatic Service, it would be Mr.Feliu.

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C163711

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, October 16th,1941

Sir,

The Government of Canada greatly appreciates the invitation extended by direction of the Government of Chile to the Department of Mines, Engineers' associations and other learned societies to participate in the First Inter-American Congress of Mining Engineers and Geologists to be convened in Santiago in January,1942.

I am sorry to inform you that wartime conditions make it impossible to organize a suitable Canadian delegation and that consequently the Canadian Government is obliged, to its great regret, to decline this invitation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H.L.Keenleyside

for Under-Secretary of State for

External Affairs

The Consul General of Chile,

Ottawa, Canada.

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Chilean Press Service

C163712

From Santiago (Chile)

For Release

October 26, 1941.

Vol.II.N°43.-

CHILE AND THE I.L.O.

"To better the working classes is the aim of the Chilean Government" said Dr. Salvador Allende, Chilean Minister of Health and Delegate to the International Labour Conference in New York.

With Dr. Allende are the Minister and Deputy Minister of Labour, Senator Dr. Isauro Torres, President of the Senate Labour Commission, Moisés Poblete T, I.L.O correspondent in Chile, Agustin Huneeus, to represent employers, and workers representative is Bernardo Ibañez, Secretary of the Chilean Labor Federation and several technical advisers. Permanent Delegate to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. is the Hon. Luis E. Feliú H., Consul General of Chile in Canada, who will however be unable to attend the Conference due to more pressing Consular business.

CANADA'S ABSENCE.

"Canada will be officially absent from the Inter American Congresses which will convene in Santiago from January 1942 on. Most noteworthy of these is the Congress of "Americanism" (to discuss the past, present and future of the Continent.)

"She was also absent from the Congress of American Mayors, September last"

This is the general tenor of the stories now being run in Chilean papers. They mention that U.S.A. is sending full delegations to these Congresses because the United States is not (?) at war...

"So bald a refusal -comments "La Defensa", most consistently pro-ally of Santiago's journals with one of the largest circulations- cannot but affect the delicate balance of Latin America's neutrality or non belligerency.

"Canada has made herself conspicuous by her absence at a time when Britain is struggling to maintain her very existence. Canada is Britain's link with Latin America. Revolts in Europe find quick echo among the masses of Latin America and Britain has not been slow to exploit that echo in her short-wave broadcasts and congratulatory messages toeach and all of the Congresses and on each and all of the National Independence Days have never failed.

"Chile is well aware that Canada is facing the severest test in her history, with Chileans deepest sympathy. But if Canada is not in a position to spend a few dollars for friendship's sake and to be materially present, couldn't she attend in spirit? Canada has long ceased to be a backwoods colony. She has able professors & historians. Why did not the Canadian Government lead and direct them to send well organized papers? Now the onus of representing Canada falls upon individual professors and Universities.

" The Canadian Trade Mission was received nowhere as in Chile. Diplomatic relations tie the peoples of the Arctic and Antarctic, of the Andes and of the Rockies. A Canadian Minister is on his way to Chile -but relations are as useless in winning friendship as words are in winning a war, unless backed with gestures. Could not the Hon. Turgeon attend the Congress merely as a proof of goodwill and have a secretary read papers? There are too many rifts in the All American Front. America must stand united or ELSE..."

The remaindor of Chile's papers sorrowfully remark that Canada is undoubtedly pursuing an American policy but she fails, perhaps, to realize that "AMERICA", the real America, actually extends from northern Canada down to southern Chile.

CANADA PICTURED IN CHILE.

The "University English Academy of Santiago" (Calle Huérfanos N°626) has a rather misleading name because it is composed mainly of Chilean citizens fond of the English language and culture. To prove this, they are showing films during the current month, taken last spring by señora Marta F. de Jara during her visit to Canada as a guest of the Consul General of Chile. Mrs. Jara is now planning to come over and shoot some new films: "Canada under snow".

Chilean pictures are being prepared with the kind assistance of the National Film Society to be shown throughout Canada, in a very practical "exchange of views."

"CHILEAN PRESS SERVICE" Vol. II.-
Ottawa, October 27,1941 N° 43.-

NOTE:—A Spanish "News from Canada" service is being airmailed and published by Chilean Newspapers every week.

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B, Chile

NAR/SR
28.3.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163713

As you will have seen from the telegrams, the new President of Chile is to be inaugurated next week. We asked Mr. Turgeon if it would be possible for him to represent Canada at Santiago on this occasion, but his engagements in Argentina make it impossible for him to go. Arrangements have therefore been made for Kirkwood, First Secretary at Buenos Aires, to represent the Government at Santiago as its Charge d'Affaires at the inauguration. He has been equipped with the usual formal messages of congratulation which the occasion calls for and will arrive at Santiago on Tuesday.

K 30.3.42

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HHW/ET
2 Sept.,1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163714

I attach a draft telegram to be sent in your name to Mr.Turgeon,urging him to carry out long standing arrangements whereby he would be the Canadian delegate at the Inter-American Congress on Social Welfare which opens in Santiago,Chile, on September 10th. This Congress consists of Western Hemisphere countries, and its organization has been undertaken by the International Labour Office. The Government of Chile has extended the formal invitation to send delegations.

On May 1st a telegram was sent to Mr.Turgeon instructing him to inform the Chilean Government that Canada would be represented,and that the Canadian delegation would be headed by himself,with the Trade Commissioner in Chile as second delegate. An effort was made,without success, to send a technical representative from Canada. Unless Mr.Turgeon goes, the delegation will be composed solely of the Trade Commissioner. Mr.Turgeon has written and telegraphed,asking to be relieved from attendance,chiefly on the ground of difficulties of travel at this season between Argentina and Chile.

Considerable importance appears to be attached to the Congress by the Chilean Government and other Latin American Governments, and I think it would be a mistake for Mr.Turgeon to absent himself. He has not been in Chile for a long time, and did not accept an invitation to be present at the inauguration of the new President. Instructions should be sent to him immediately if he is to reach Santiago for the opening of the Congress.

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FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE CANADIAN MINISTER TO THE ARGENTINE, BUENOS AIRES C163715

CODE

NO. OTTAWA, September 1, 1942.

Your telegram No. 170 of August 31st. I should appreciate your proceeding if possible to Santiago de Chile as Canadian Delegate to the International Congress of Social Welfare.

This Congress is of some importance, and I feel that the Canadian Delegation should not consist solely of the Trade Commissioner in Santiago. It has not proved possible to send anyone from Canada. As the Chilean Government has been informed that you would head the Delegation, your absence might cause unfavourable comment.

W.L. MACKENZIE KING

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October 7, 1942.

Quite

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163716

I attach despatch No. 40 of September 4 from the Legation in Buenos Aires concerning the visit to the United States of President Rios of Chile. I doubt whether it is necessary or desirable to invite the President to pay a visit to Ottawa especially since we did not invite the President of Peru to pay us a visit during his trip to the United States a few months ago. However, I understand that during the course of his travels through the United States, President Rios will be visiting Niagara Falls. This means that he will probably want to cross the river to see the view from the Canadian side.

I suggest, therefore, that if President Rios is visiting Niagara Falls, New York, we formally invite him to cross to Niagara Falls, Ontario, and that we send representatives of the Government to Niagara Falls, Ontario, to meet him. One of the representatives should, I think, if possible be a member of the Cabinet. Perhaps Mr. MacKinnon might be available.

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C163717

CANADIAN LEGATION
Buenos Aires,
September 4th, 1942.

Chile.
No. 40.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit copies of Sir Charles Orde's despatch No. 126 dated August 24th to the Foreign Office London on the subject of Chile's foreign policy and the forthcoming visit of President Rios of Chile to the United States.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your most obedient servant,

W. F. A. TURGEON

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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Copy

Signed original
sent by Bag.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SANTIAGO,
August 24th, 1942.

No. 126.

Sir,

The announcement that the President of the Republic had accepted President Roosevelt's invitation to pay a visit to Washington has met with a generally favourable reception and no serious opposition, though it is evident that in some circles the visit is regarded with misgiving as likely to lead to a rupture with the Axis Powers, and one or two articles laying stress on the inconveniences of the President's absence have been published. The advocates of a rupture are naturally pleased and many others flatter themselves that the President will be able to convince Mr. Roosevelt that Chile cannot do better than remain in her present position. Senor Rios himself is reported as saying that he will talk plainly; whether he is confident of success in another matter. The visit is expected to take place early in October and it is said that the President, will be accompanied by Senor Alvarez, the Minister of Commerce, but a struggle appears to be going on over the composition of his suite and over the question of appointing a Vice-President; there is even some talk of internal difficulties preventing the visit altogether, and it might not be difficult for such difficulties to be manufactured. Outwardly, however, there is no sign of strong opposition or genuine impediments, and the President has accepted invitations to visit certain other Latin American capitals on his way to or from Washington. Congress has still to authorise his absence from the country, but the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate have approved the proposal.

2. No one expects a rupture with the Axis to take place before the visit to Washington unless some event should force the issue. As reported in my telegram No. 304 of the 20th instant the Government have made a strong protest against the recent sinking of five Brazilian ships engaged in the coasting trade of their country. A translation of the official announcement on the subject is enclosed. Though platonic in character, it is regarded, at least in hopeful circles, as bringing the country a small step further towards a fupture. In conversation with the Minister of Finance a few days ago I asked whether if a rupture did not occur first the President might not feel obliged to wait for some time after the visit so as to avoid the appearance of acting under pressure. Senor Matte did not dissent but observed that a pretext or occasion might easily present itself. From this point of view even the smallest step in advance is of value as narrowing the gap between the present position and a rupture. I find general agreement among those with whom I have talked lately that the movement in favour of a rupture is gradually gaining strength, and the smaller the gap to be crossed eventually the better the prospects.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives in Washington and all Latin American posts.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

(sgd.) C. W. ORDE.

The Right Honourable,
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc. etc. etc.
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.I.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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etc. etc. etc.
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.I.

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Enclosure in Santiago despatch No. 126 of August 24th, 1942

TRANSLATION

CHILEAN PROTEST AT THE SINKING OF BRAZILIAN MERCHANT SHIPS.

DATED AUGUST 20th, 1942.

The Government of Chile have learned, with grievous and unconcealed surprise, that a German submarine has sunk, inside Brazilian territorial waters without previous warning and without any apparent evidence of necessity from the point of view of the war, five ships flying the Brazilian flag, engaged in coastal trade and quite unconcerned with any warlike activity.

The form in which these sinkings have taken place is completely forbidden by the laws and customs of war, according to the information which has reached the Chilean Government on the subject, and rules out the possibility that their purpose was to defend a blockaded zone or to prevent contraband or assistance to the enemy, and reveals that they were completely without justification in international law.

In the firm belief that these ruthless attacks severely damage the moral patrimony of all nations, the Government of Chile feel deeply moved by such acts directed against an American country and fulfill their duty of issuing their most explicit and energetic protest.

(Signed) ERNESTO BARROS JARPA
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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Ds/Chile

NAR/SR
19.10.42

C163720

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The new Chilean Minister, Dr. Grove, accompanied by his First Secretary, Senor Diaz, came to see me on Friday. Grove is a very pleasant, cultivated person. He was one of the leading surgeons in Chile before he accepted this, his first diplomatic appointment, and will be, I think, a very sympathetic and acceptable representative. He was upset about what he regarded as a misunderstanding of Chile's position in the United States that culminated last week in Mr. Sumner Welles' Boston speech and the consequent postponement of President Rios' planned visit to Washington. He thought 95 per cent of the people of Chile were in sympathy with the cause of the United Nations, and that this sympathy would not be alienated by any temporary diplomatic difficulties they might have with the United States. Chile was in a vulnerable strategic position, and its enormously long and undefended coast line could not help us very much as a belligerent, but even as a neutral all its resources were at the disposal of the United Nations, and he thought we could count on the continuation of this kind of support from Chile.

Dr. Grove would very much appreciate having the opportunity of calling on you. He has been here for about a month, is comfortably settled and has established his Legation in Mr. H.J. McNulty's house on Manor Road in Rockcliffe. He will be in Montreal and Toronto for the first part of this week, returning to Ottawa on Friday, October 23rd. If this is not likely to be a convenient day for you, perhaps it would be possible to make an appointment for sometime in the following week.

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DS / Chile

C163721

The Minister, Dr. Eduardo Grove (pronounced like the English word "grove" and not "grovay" as first reported) and Mrs. Grove are living at 480 Manor Road, Rockcliffe Park, telephone 5-4402. They both speak English. The members of the Chilean Legation are Dr. Humberto Diaz Casanueva, First Secretary and Lieutenant Colonel Pedro N. Calderon, Military Attache. Both Dr. Diaz and Colonel Calderon are married and their wives are in Ottawa.

Dr. Grove was mayor of the important and picturesque city of Vina-del-Mar. He is one of Chile's outstanding surgeons; he is a cancer specialist and is surgeon in the Chilean Navy. He is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons as well as of the American College of Surgeons. His grandfather was Irish and was a surgeon as was also his father. Dr. Grove's present appointment is his first diplomatic post, but he has carried out diplomatic missions abroad.

It is stated that Dr. Grove is a leader in the Socialist Party of Chile and a brother to Senator Marmaduke Grove, who is Secretary General of that party, and also of Senator Hugo Grove. Since the outbreak of war Dr. Grove has been outspokenly pro-Ally and anti-Nazi in sentiment. Dr. and Mrs. Grove have three sons, aged 16, 14 and 12 who are at present at Ashbury College.

Since the establishment of the Legation of Chile at Ottawa, Mr. Luis E. Feliu, formerly Consul General of Chile here, has been transferred to a similar post in Toronto.

With reference to Mr. Beaudry's letter to Sir Shuldham Redfern of September 15, Dr. and Mrs. Diaz have moved their residence from the Lord Elgin Hotel to 85 Ross Street, Ottawa, telephone 8-5336.

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Ch/Chile

NAR/SR
29.12.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163722

Dr. Grove, the Chilean Minister, came to see me this morning with a special message for you from Senor Morales, the Chilean Minister of the Interior, who has been in conference in Washington for the last ten days with President Roosevelt, Mr. Hull and Mr. Sumner Welles. Morales, by virtue of his office of Minister of Interior, is, for all practical purposes, the Prime Minister of Chile. He is, Dr. Grove said, closest to the President of his Cabinet colleagues.

Senor Morales wished you to know, confidentially, that the Chilean Government has definitely decided to break off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. This decision was taken, in principle, about a month ago, before Senor Morales started on his mission to Rio de Janeiro and Washington. It was at first thought that the occasion for its announcement might wait on the occurrence of some new factor or development in the war situation. The Chilean Government have, however, decided that, since their decision to break off relations with the Axis powers is simply a consequence of the fact that the war is one between democracy and fascism, in which Chile's interests and aspirations are completely identified with the victory of the democracies, it would be more appropriate to base the Government's decision squarely on the issue of principle and not wait for the adventitious sinking of some Chilean vessel by an Axis submarine.

Senor Morales is now on his way back to Santiago, where he is expected in four or five days. Dr. Grove said that he thought the announcement of Chile's position would be made about January 10th and would probably take the form of a formal submission to the Chilean Congress of a Governmental resolution approving the recommendation of the Rio de Janeiro Conference that the Latin American countries sever diplomatic relations with the Axis powers.

Dr. Grove himself was enormously pleased and relieved by the message he had been authorized to convey to you. His own sympathies and, he has always insisted, the sympathies of the great majority of his countrymen, are unreservedly on the side of the United Nations. I think he would appreciate it if you would perhaps have a word with him on the telephone to let him know you have received the message he left with me this morning.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS C163723

Ottawa, January 20, 1943.

PRESS RELEASE

For immediate release.

On being informed by Dr. Eduardo Grove, Chilean Minister to Canada of the severance by Chile of diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy and Japan, the Prime Minister sent the following message from Montreal to Dr. Grove:-

> "The Canadian Government and people greatly welcome the decision of Chile to sever relations with Germany, Italy and Japan. Chile now joins the ranks of the freedom loving nations of the world which are resolved that there shall be no shadow of doubt as to where they stand in the battle which the United Nations are waging against the enemies of humanity. The Canadian Government knows that the decision of Chile will strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding which unite the northernmost and the southernmost democracies of the Americas."

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C163724

Message to Chilean Minister re Canadian-Chilean friendship.	Jan. 21	Ottawa E. Citizen Ottawa 5 o'c. Citizen

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date Jan. 20/43

C163725

Subject

Chile Will Take Canada's Example In Victory Drive

Break With the Axis Practically Means State of War, Says Minister Here.

Dr. Eduardo Grove, Chilean minister to Canada, yesterday expressed his "profound satisfaction and pride" that his country had decided to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the Axis powers, and said Chile's action "practically means a state of war."

Before calling newspapermen to a press conference, the minister formally notified Norman Robertson, undersecretary of state for external affairs, of his country's decision to range itself on the side of the United Nations.

Mr. King's Message.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, advised of Chile's decision, said in a message to the minister that the Canadian government knows it "will strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding which unite the northernmost and southernmost democracies of the Americas."

"The decision of the president of Chile, with the approval of the Senate, was made in conformity with the existing conventions on inter-American solidarity and continental defence," Dr. Grove told newspapermen who gathered at the legation.

Previously Chile had been putting to the service of the Allied nations "our raw materials as well as our faith and our spiritual force."

"The actual state of war will prove our mettle," he said. "We have a long coast to defend and our principal industries are situated in vulnerable spots, and besides we have an economy which suffers from depression.

"Today's decision brings Chile and Canada nearer still, said Dr. Grove at the press conference. "We now are together in a battle-line against the common enemy and in defence of the same ideals.

Admires Canadians.

"During my short stay in Canada, I have learned to admire its people. Now that the hour has come for Chile, we shall take as an example Canada, whom we so admire, be it in peace or war. We shall learn to appreciate the motto of Prime Minister Mackenzie King: 'Nothing matters but victory.'"

Dr. Grove, one-time surgeon in the Chilean navy, said he expects his country will begin to convoy its ships carrying supplies to ports on the Gulf of Mexico. If they come across an enemy U-boat, he said, he does not think Chilean ships will hesitate to engage them, even if war had not been actually declared.

"We do not expect any consideration from the Axis and we won't give them any either."

The Chilean navy, Dr. Grove said, is "quite an effective one," with a 32,000-ton battleship, two cruisers, 12 destroyers, and seven submarines.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date Jan. 20/43

C163725

Subject

Chile Will Take Canada's Example In Victory Drive

Break With the Axis Practically Means State of War, Says Minister Here.

Dr. Eduardo Grove, Chilean minister to Canada, yesterday expressed his "profound satisfaction and pride" that his country had decided to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the Axis powers, and said Chile's action "practically means a state of war."

Before calling newspapermen to a press conference, the minister formally notified Norman Robertson, undersecretary of state for external affairs, of his country's decision to range itself on the side of the United Nations.

Mr. King's Message.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, advised of Chile's decision, said in a message to the minister that the Canadian government knows it "will strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding which unite the northernmost and southernmost democracies of the Americas."

"The decision of the president of Chile, with the approval of the Senate, was made in conformity with the existing conventions on inter-American solidarity and continental defence," Dr. Grove told newspapermen who gathered at the legation.

Previously Chile had been putting to the service of the Allied nations "our raw materials as well as our faith and our spiritual force."

"The actual state of war will prove our mettle," he said. "We have a long coast to defend and our principal industries are situated in vulnerable spots, and besides we have an economy which suffers from depression.

"Today's decision brings Chile and Canada nearer still, said Dr. Grove at the press conference. "We now are together in a battle-line against the common enemy and in defence of the same ideals.

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ER/KM
January 22,1943.

Chile
C163726

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

A telegram,dated January 20,was received yesterday from the Foreign Minister of Chile addressed to you. In translation it reads as follows:

> "I am greatly honoured to communicate to your Excellency the decision of my Government, which was made today, to sever its diplomatic and consular relations with the Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan. I am certain that the measure adopted by the Government of Chile, inspired by lofty principles of American solidarity, will constitute an additional cause for unity and close cooperation between the country of your Excellency and my country."

We have also received a telegram from the Canadian Minister to Argentina, dated January 20, which reads as follows:

> "Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs announced diplomatic relations and Consular relations have been broken with Germany, Italy and Japan. Chilean interests to be looked after by Switzerland."

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C163727 NAR/SR
8.6.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

A press cable from Santiago this morning announces that President Rios of Chile has postponed his scheduled trip to the United States and this country. The postponement is the result of a cabinet crisis in which Senor Morales, the Minister of the Interior, who was to have been provisional head of the government during President Rios' absence, resigned. An admiral was appointed Minister of the Interior in place of Morales and the Chief of Staff became Minister of National Defence. It looks, from this distance, as if these developments in Chile are not without connection with last week's coup d'etat in Argentina.

I have just learned that the Governor General has received a telegram this morning from President Rios conveying his regrets that circumstances have compelled him to postpone his visit to Canada.

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Chile C163728

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SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA. June 8, 1943.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[A 5365/324/9] Copy No. 068a

Sir C. Orde to Mr. Eden.—(Received 8th June.)

(No. 77.)

Sir, *Santiago, 15th May, 1943.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 184 of the 8th May, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum written by Mr. Hogge, Second Secretary to this Embassy, on the Cabinet crisis.

2. Although there is goodwill on the part of the Leftist political parties towards the Government, two of the most important of them hesitate to join it partly lest by so doing they incur some of the odium which has been earned by the unpopular measures of the Minister of the Interior and partly for more substantial reasons. The Communists will not join the Rios Government for reasons analogous to those felt by the most powerful section of the Socialists. They aver that they cannot support from inside a Government which they consider weak and dilatory. The Communists are naturally encouraged in this attitude by finding that they win thereby recruits from the Socialist ranks.

3. There exists a serious likelihood of the Government falling while the President is absent, and the alternative seems to be to sacrifice Señor Morales, the Minister of the Interior, as much of the criticism is centred on him personally. Whether this will be sufficient to ensure political peace until the President's return is another question, but it may well be considered the only way to arrange matters so that the President may make his trip to the United States without undue risk. If he were to postpone his trip a second time it would no doubt cause a very bad impression in the United States and a weakening of Chilean prestige.

4. The President is believed to be an adherent of the pan-Americanism of Bolivar rather than the brand advocated by Mr. Hull and Mr. Welles and at present consecrated in pan-American agreements. It is rumoured that he is going to propound on his trip round the South American capitals a close union of South American countries to balance the Colossus of the North. This proposal has met with a certain amount of support here among all political parties. But it would clearly be wrong to attribute to this rather than to the internal political situation any difficulties in the way of carrying out the visit to the United States.

5. The situation is further complicated at the moment by dissensions in the President's own party, the Radicals, over the nomination of a new President and executive committee. A former party President, Señor Eliecer Mejías, has just been elected to the post by the Central Committee of the party by a narrow margin, but the choice was immediately condemned by the Santiago branch, is apparently repugnant to the party Senators and Deputies and led to the prompt resignation by his defeated rival of the post of Vice-President.

6. Allusion is made in the enclosed memorandum to rumours of possible *coups d'État* by the ex-Presidents Alessandri and Ibañez. Such rumours have been frequent in Chile in recent years and seldom well-founded and I am not personally impressed by them on this occasion; Rightist elements are always hankering after such developments, and Señor Alessandri's inveterate discontent when out of power makes it easy for optimisits to give way to their fancies. The two men would find it difficult to join forces in view of past history and I see no reason at present to suppose that either singly or combined they would command sufficient support from the armed forces or carabineros to achieve success.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington and at Latin American posts.

I have, &c.
C. W. ORDE.

[42—64]

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C163729

Enclosure.

Memorandum respecting Cabinet Crisis.

FOR some time past rumours have been rife that a Cabinet crisis was imminent and that the President had decided to replace some of his ministers in order to consolidate the Cabinet strength in view of his impending journey to the United States. This journey is now said to be scheduled for about the 15th June next.

The reasons advanced for these Cabinet changes were various but the one most frequently mooted was that the President, and at the same time the Radical party, wished to leave in his absence a stronger Cabinet in power and also one which would represent all Leftist sectors. In other words, a Cabinet which would contain representatives of all the parties which carried Rios to power and thus ensure that no crisis would occur during his absence. The Radical party, who have the majority of seats in the Cabinet, and a section of which also looked askance at the " technical " non-party Ministers, were apparently more than willing to co-operate along these lines and tendered an official invitation to take their places in the Cabinet to the Democrats, Socialists and Communists. Conversations to this end were carried out between the Minister of the Interior, Señor Raúl Morales Beltrami, and the representatives of the parties in question, Señor Fidel Estay, Señor Salvador Allende, Señor Marmaduke Grove and Señor Contreras Labarca and furthermore with Señor Gregorio Amunátegui and Señor José Maza, as leaders of the pro-Rios faction in the Liberal party.

Morales by these means was also undoubtedly endeavouring to consolidate his own position, which of late has become rather precarious. He is being bitterly attacked by the Rightists, has lost much of the support of the Radicals, and has also lost favour with the general public. His implantation of the " jornada única " (single-shift working day), the requisitioning of transport and the transparent manner in which he is endeavouring from his present post to prepare his future presidential campaign, have all united to undermine his position. The only support which he has had for some time has been the personal favour of the President, which latest reports tend to show is rapidly waning. Morales realises the position and, whilst there is no doubt that ideologically he was sincerely in favour of broadening the basis of the Cabinet in a Leftward trend, it is also certain that he endeavoured to seize this opportunity to strengthen his own declining prestige and his wavering Cabinet post.

Further factors also influenced the President in his desire for Cabinet changes which would place it on a firmer basis. Public opinion has of late been worked upon by the Rightist opposition parties who have seized any and every excuse to vigorously attack the Government for their supposed or real lack of vision, lack of policy and lack of effective Government measures which would bring down the cost of living, stop inflation, and who are always accusing Government circles of graft and corruption in and out of season. At the same time Rosetti, the owner of the newspaper *La Opinion* and ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been conducting an equally strong but much subtler campaign on the same line but in a distinctly Leftist tone. All these factors, coupled with the ever-increasing cost of food-stuffs and articles of prime necessity, as also with continual rumours of impending *coups d'Etats* by Alessandri and by Ibañez, have contributed to create a state of ferment which it was, and unfortunately still is, dangerous for Rios to leave behind him after his proposed departure to the United States.

The conversations to broaden the Cabinet, which took place between the last weeks in April and the 7th May, did not bear fruit and eventually the President was forced to give up, for the time being at least, his efforts to leave behind him a Cabinet of at least partial National Union, or one which would revive a Popular Front spirit.

The reasons for the failure of the negotiations to this end were several. In the first place the Democratic party's split, which has now been in existence for over a year, precluded them from presenting a united front in these conversations and when at long last they elected to their party board as transaction President Máximo Venegas, the real moment had passed for their participation.

As regards the Socialists they had no wish to assume once more Government responsibilities. At a recent congress of their party, whilst they were yet in the Cabinet, a resolution was passed, at the instances of Salvador Allende's followers and against the views of Marmaduke Grove and his faction, withdrawing their

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Ministers from the Cabinet. The reasons advanced were that no actual social measures, no effective betterment of the workers' status, no active steps against Axis activities had been taken by the Government and that the Socialist party could no longer associate themselves with parties which had no will to move forward. Whilst this reason was without a doubt one which was genuinely felt by the Socialists, they were also guided in this step by the fact that since their participation in the Government their ranks have been steadily dwindling due to the disillusionment caused amongst their followers, who found that the golden age which they had expected did not materialise. Most of the defaulters joined the Communist party, whilst a small number went to the Radical camp.

In view of the above, Allende in all the conversations which took place for the Socialists' re-entry into the Cabinet made the *sine qua non* condition that they would and could only do so if the Communist party also participated in Government responsibilities. This the Communist party did not accede to and would only promise full support to the Government from outside.

The one remaining hope of broadening the Cabinet basis thereafter resided in the Amunátegui wing of the Liberal party, who were offered two seats unofficially. As matters turned out, however, the offer was never officially made, as the day before this was to take place, José Maza, the President of the Liberal party, convened a meeting which was packed by anti-Rios elements and he was unable to stop a vote being passed attacking a Bill, at present before the Chamber of Deputies, put up by the Government and entitled the Economic Emergency Law, which would give the President of the Republic complete powers to deal with matters affecting economic matters. Not only did this meeting attack the law but a vote was passed which stated that the Liberal party would vote against it in Congress as being anti-democratic and unconstitutional. As can well be imagined the consequent annoyance of Rios at this prevented the final offer of two seats in the Cabinet ever being made to the party in question.

Thus ended the efforts which had tended to unite the Lefts and group them in a Cabinet of anti-Fascist character. The only change which was made was the replacement of Señor Jaramillo, Minister of Economy and Commerce, a non-party man of reported Ibañista tendencies, by Señor Arturo Riveros, president of the Radical party, which thus obtained still one more seat in a Cabinet which, however long it may delay, will almost certainly fall in the not too distant future.

In preparation for this, Marmaduke Grove, the advocator of Socialist return to power, is said to be convening another Congress of the party in order that the previous note mentioned above be rescinded. If and when these Cabinet changes take place it would appear extremely probable that Señor Raúl Morales Beltrami will lose his post of Minister of the Interior as since the above conversations have taken place, the attacks against him have gathered strength and he has even been openly and publicly criticised to his face by the Antofagasta Radical Assembly during a trip which he took up north a few days ago.

Whether or not these Cabinet changes will take place before the President of the Republic leaves for the United States it is impossible to foresee, but there is no doubt that if they are not he will leave behind him, as things stand at present, very unsettled conditions and a Cabinet which knows its days are numbered.

R. P. H.

12*th May*, 1943.

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Chile

NAR/SR
18.6.43

C163731

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

When the President of Chile had to cancel his visit to this continent, the United States Department of State invited the Chilean Foreign Minister, Dr. Fernandez, to go through with his visit to the United States, which he originally planned to do as a member of the President's party. Dr. Fernandez has accepted the United States invitation and he is leaving for Washington about the beginning of July.

Chipman has strongly recommended that Fernandez be invited to come to Ottawa for a couple of days after his visit to Washington. The Minister for Foreign Affairs would not take up as much of people's time as a visit from the President would, and I am inclined to think we should add our invitation to that which he has already received from the United States Government.

If after the Session is over - will be a most useful move - afternoon ceremony? Yes

Please speak to me

Jun 26. 43

Noted

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C163732

FROM: THE CANADIAN MINISTER TO CHILE.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

CODE

NO. 46

SANTIAGO, June 16th, 1943.

No. 46. Chilean Minister for External Affairs, Fernandez, will likely be leaving for the United States at the beginning of July at the invitation of Sumner Welles. He will be accompanied by Alvarez Suarez and Nieto Delrio. See my despatch No. 48. As Fernandez is going to the United States on the invitation of the State Department, I would strongly recommend that invitation to visit Ottawa be extended by the Department of External Affairs.

CANADIAN MINISTER.

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Sept.30,1943
FHS/MM

CONFIDENTIAL

C163733

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

In view of the unforeseen developments at the exchange of ratifications with the Chilean government yesterday, it may be useful to place the following information on record:

1. No intimation had been given to the department in advance that the Chilean government had proposed to confer decorations on the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

2. In his press conference the Foreign Minister of Chile made the suggestion that Canada and Chile should conclude a cultural treaty. Such a proposal had previously been placed before Mr. Robertson by the Chilean Minister to Canada and had been politely declined. A memorandum to that effect was sent to the Prime Minister on September 14.

3. Before the Chilean Foreign Minister arrived in Ottawa, the First Secretary of the Chilean Legation visited the department with the request that he should be informed in advance of the general line that would be taken in the speeches given by the Prime Minister and others at the two luncheons and dinner in honour of the Chilean Foreign Minister. He explained that Dr. Fernandez was anxious not to be taken by surprise by any unexpected comments from a Canadian public spokesman!

H.L.S.

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C163734

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[A9079/4204/9] Copy No. 068a

Mr. Murray to Mr. Eden.—(Received 5th October.)

(No. 72.)

Sir, *La Paz, 18th September*, 1943.

I HAVE the honour to report that the state of tension between Bolivia and Chile, over the question of Bolivian aspirations to a port on the Pacific Coast, to which Sir Charles Orde refers to his despatch No. 123 of the 13th August, has, if anything, increased in the last few weeks. The leading newspapers of La Paz have refrained from taking up the cudgels, but some members of the yellower La Paz press have been vociferous in attacking Chile, while a number of provincial papers have lost no opportunity of fanning the flame of anti-Chilean sentiment.

2. The Bolivian authorities were much upset by the snub administered to General Ichazo by the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs during the celebration of the Fiestas Patrias in Asuncion (please see Asuncion telegram No. 60 of the 21st August to you). I understand that they instructed their Minister in Montevideo to attend no functions given by the Chileans in the course of the Chilean Foreign Minister's visit to Uruguay.

3. It is reported here that the Chilean Ambassador to Bolivia, Sr. Benjamin Cohen, now on leave in Chile, has spoken of Bolivia in a very derogatory fashion to the Bolivian Ambassador in Santiago. There was a news-story in the Bolivian press recently to the effect that a new Chilean Ambassador would replace Sr. Cohen. No confirmation of this has appeared, but it is extremely doubtful whether the Bolivian Government would continue to regard Sr. Cohen as *persona grata* if he were to return to La Paz. It is even rumoured that they are considering withdrawing their ambassador from Santiago.

4. The cancellation of the customary reception on the Chilean National Day, the 18th September, has been taken in some circles here as a sign of the tension, though I am informed that it has no special significance, since all Chilean missions have been instructed to hold no receptions this year. The Chilean military attaché is giving a reception for men only, principally the Bolivian army, on the 19th September, and it is to be hoped that it will not be boycotted by the Bolivians.

5. While there is no serious talk of the possibility of war between the two countries, it is not altogether dismissed; in casual conversation, members of the staff of the Chilean Embassy have expressed some alarm over the possibility that the Bolivian air force, with the planes (trainers) recently received from the United States, might be able to do considerable damage to Chilean industrial installations near the frontier, such as Chuquicamata, though they had no doubt that Chile would eventually emerge victor if war should come.

6. In the midst of these alarming signs it is interesting to read the attached memorandum by Mr. E. A. Ashton, first secretary of this legation, on the recent visit to Bolivia of Sr. Guillermo Klammer. It remains to be seen whether *La Noche* tones down its anti-Chilean articles, but at least none have appeared in the last few days—though they may have been pushed out by the news of political developments leading to the formation of the new Bolivian Cabinet (my despatch No. 71).

7. In any event, it seems hardly likely that responsible Bolivian officials are anxious further to aggravate the situation, though they show no disposition to sit down under snubs from Chile. Their general line is rather that which the Bolivian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs is reported to have taken in the Santiago despatch mentioned above, namely, that while Chile's legal rights under the treaty of 1904 are fully recognised, Bolivia expects Chile to face facts of the present day, and to sit down with Bolivia in order amicably to decide what can be done to relieve a situation which Bolivia feels intolerable. Bolivia believes that the other nations of the world will agree with her on this point, and that at least she will have the chance to plead her case in the international conferences which will follow the end of the war. It is generally conceded that one of Bolivia's

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main motives in declaring war against the Axis was to ensure her a hearing on this question in due course.

8. It is significant with regard to the port agitation that the new Bolivian Foreign Minister, in his speech marking the acceptance of office by the new Cabinet, on the 16th September, quoted the passage from Mr. Hull's recent broadcast about a nation's policy being the expression of its fundamental national interests, and added that Bolivia, too, desired to be "true to herself" and to protect her "fundamental interests."

9. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives in Washington, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Montevideo and Asuncion.

I have, &c.
J. D. MURRAY, *Chargé d'Affaires.*

Enclosure.

Memorandum.

FEELING between Chile and Bolivia has been quite bitter of recent months over the question of a port for Bolivia. I now hear confidentially that one, Guillermo Klammer Cusicanqui of Bolivian descent but of long residence in Chile and a man of considerable means, has been up here on a secret mission to sound the Bolivian Government with a view to coming to some *financial* settlement regarding Arica. (This is Klammer's story.) I have always felt that Arica might be bought by Bolivia, say, financed by Patiño and Aramayo, who are both Bolivians. Arica lives on goods traffic to Bolivia and is, if anything, a burden (financially) to the Chilean Government, and the Chilean section of the Arica railway always shows a loss. I know Klammer has seen President Peñaranda twice and he is in close contact with other Cabinet Ministers, and, what is more, I have also heard that Peñaranda has asked Mario Flores, editor and owner of *La Noche*, which paper has persistently carried out a newspaper campaign "pro-puerto para Bolivia," to tone down his campaign and thus not aggravate Chilean opinion at a moment when a deal might be done. Klammer left last Sunday for Buenos Aires, and intends to carry on from there to Santiago, where he will talk to prominent Chileans, both in and out of the Government. Klammer has easy access to President Peñaranda in Bolivia through people like Hugo Ernst, with whom he was at school in Chile, quite apart from the fact that Klammer intends to invest some money in Bolivia, I believe, in conjunction or partnership with Carlos Diez de Medina.

I have also heard that in view of the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs' wanderings around the Latin American continent, President Peñaranda is also considering the advisability of sending his Minister for Foreign Affairs on a similar trip. I know for a fact that he made this offer to one of the leaders of the United Socialist party, Javier Pas Campero, when he offered him the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he turned down, and recommended that Peñaranda appoint Carlos Salinas (who is now Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs).

My impression of Klammer is that he is a clever man who realises that the port question between Chile and Bolivia, even though Bolivia has no legal claim whatsoever, must be settled, and it is quite possible that he has some sort of a secret mission. I also think that he is too clever to be trusted. I think he has sympathies for Britain, but I think he is critical of United States policy in Latin America.

E. A. ASHTON.

16*th September*, 1943.

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C163736 NAR/SR
8.12.43

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GIBSON

Herewith is the engrossed message of greeting from the Chilean Chamber of Deputies to the Parliament of Canada, which was presented to the Prime Minister by Senor Pedro Castelblanco, President of the Chilean Chamber, when he was in Ottawa some weeks ago.

I should think the Prime Minister would wish to present it to the Speaker of the House of Commons on some suitable occasion, when Parliament meets.

Mack

Seen by Prime Minister
Could "official" translations in French and English be made, please, and the whole then sent to Mr Turnbull to hold available for January 26, 1944

Jay 18/12/43

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Chile

MEMORANDUM

Department of External Affairs C163737

Ottawa, December 22nd, 1943.

Mr. Turnbull:

Attached hereto are translations in French and English of the message from the Chilean Chamber of Deputies which Dr. Gibson requested be forwarded to you, in his note of 18/12/43 on Mr. Robertson's memo of 8/12/43, to be held available for January 26, 1944.

~~to DM for tabling 27/1~~ Gbm. not to be tabled

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Chile

NAR/SR
21.1.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163738

The Chilean Minister came to see me this afternoon. He said his Government had been very worried at the time of the Bolivian coup d'etat, because they feared that the Argentine militarists might be plotting with pro-Nazi elements and disaffected officers in Chile for a similar overthrow of the Chilean Government. All the political parties however, conservatives, liberals, socialists and communists had rallied behind the Government, and were prepared to defend it against any revolutionary outbreak. They were confident that the situation was well in hand, and were now not as worried about their own position as they were about what might happen in Peru and Uruguay.

Dr. Grove said his Government had taken emergency powers in the last week to expel foreigners, and had also taken control of property in Chile belonging to Axis nationals which might have been used to finance a revolutionary movement. These preventive measures should enable the Government to keep control of the situation. He said his Government was very much concerned about Argentine aggressiveness, and thought some concerted steps should be taken to curb it. Action by the United States alone would be ineffective, but joint action by the United States and the United Kingdom would have the support of Argentina's neighbours. He recognized the importance of Argentine food supplies to the Allies, and realized that it would be very difficult to do anything that would interfere with their steady flow. He thought the central weakness in the Argentine economic position was its complete dependence on imported coal, not only for fuel for the railways, but for all its electric power. This coal came from the United Kingdom, the United States and from southern Chile. If these cources of supply were stopped, he did not think the Argentine Government could last longer than a fortnight.

In the course of the conversation, Dr. Grove told me he had had a personal letter from his Foreign Minister, Dr. Fernandez, reminding him that the Chilean Government still hoped that on some suitable occasion they could confer on you the award which Dr. Fernandez would have been glad to confer during his visit to Ottawa. I told him I thought that, in view of the Government's recent decision to suspend the award of the Canada Medal until after the war, and of its desire to confine honours and awards, as far as possible, to recognition of military service and

(Over)

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special gallantry, I did not think it would be possible for you to accept a decoration from the Chilean Government, though I knew you greatly appreciated the impulse which had led Dr. Fernandez to propose it.

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C163740

Canadian Legation.
Santiago.

ANNUAL REPORT.

1943.

Domestic Politics of Chile.

1) The period under review has been one of difficulty for the President, because of the failure of the political parties which elected him to maintain a united front and to continue their support. Failing to get proper support from the disintegrating leftist parties, the President first had tried to carry on outside the parties, and then by turning more to the right. He had reconstituted his cabinet after the crisis of October 20th, 1942, resulting from the Sumner Welles speech at Boston on October 8th, 1942. The reconstituted cabinet remained intact until May, when Sr. Jaramillo, Minister of Economy & Commerce resigned and was replaced by Sr. Arturo Riveros Alcaide. Further changes rapidly followed, and as a result of general unsettlement and lack of support, Sr. Morales, Minister of Interior and virtually Prime Minister, resigned on the 6th June; and on the 8th June, the President's political cabinet went out of office and was replaced by a cabinet of technical ministers. The President, in a public speech, put the position thus:-

> "I have asked of the parties, without distinction of colour or doctrine, that they cooperate in the Government of the country, and once more I must reiterate that my wishes have not been listened to. Once more I must say that in the face of such a situation, which is dangerous and harmful to public interest, my primary obligation as head of the State, to be fulfilled without hesitation or weakness, is to give the country a Government and to maintain it."

The President as a consequence had to postpone his trip to various American countries.

2) This cabinet of technical Ministers was declared to be a temporary expedient, to give way to a normal political cabinet, in which the different parties could be represented as soon as the parties themselves made such a course practicable. The cabinet continued in office until the 1st September, when it was replaced by a cabinet of Radicals, Liberals and non party members, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Fernandez; the Minister of Defence, General Escudero; the Minister of Labour, Sr. Bustos, and the Minister of Justice, Sr. Gajardo and the Minister of Health, Dr. Sotero del Rio; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Defence being continued from the preceding cabinet. Along with these changes, the President acted promptly in disciplining certain disaffected elements, such as General Berguno of the Carabineros, Admiral Gerkin, from the Navy, and others who apparently meditated a coup in an anti-democratic direction. The net result up to date is that the President has succeeded in maintaining the Government on democratic lines in spite of serious difficulties arising both from the right and from the left. His position, however, has recently been materially eased by the passing almost unanimously by the legislature of a constitutional reform, by which the introduction of money bills will be exclusively for the Government, and by the acceptance, in principle at least, of the so-called "economic project", which has been a subject of party debate for the last many months. This, when finally passed, will strengthen the hand of the President in dealing

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with the various economic problems of the country, due to inflation and the serious rise in the cost of living, as well as to uncertainty regarding ultimate markets for such basic commodities as copper and nitrate.

External Affairs.

1) The Chilean attitude on Foreign Affairs has shown a steady trend in favour of cooperation with the United Nations since the break with the Axis on January 20th, 1943. The visit of the United States Vice-President, Mr. Wallace, materially helped to change the atmosphere. During that visit Sr. Fernandez, the Foreign Minister, went very far in his expressions regarding the support of Chile for the Allied cause. The revolution in the Argentine on June 4th, and the consequent hardening of the position there, has only served to emphasize and distinguish the attitude of Chile. Public and newspaper expressions are all now strongly pro-Ally.

2) One unfortunate result of the cabinet crisis in June, was the decision of the President to postpone once more a series of visits to other American countries meditated by him. Much, however, of the good that would have been accomplished by these visits was accomplished by the series of visits of the Foreign Minister, Sr. Fernandez to practically all the countries of the hemisphere.

3) Since the establishment of a permanent Legation in Chile, Canada has participated in the following international agreements and congresses:-

a) Pan-American Congress of Students. The Officers of the Student's Administrative Council of the University of Toronto, acting on behalf of the National Federation of Canadian University and Students, appointed as delegate Miss Christiane Dosne, a Canadian student, at present working in Santiago on a scholarship. This took place during the week of September 18th in this town.

b) Fourth Congress of the Teachers of America. This will take place in Santiago from the 26th to the 31st of December. We have not been asked to attend.

c) General Scientific Congress. This has been postponed from September 1943 until January 1944. The Minister has been appointed by the National Research Council of Canada as their delegate.

d) Inter-American Agreement Radio Communications. On the 8th of May the Chilean Government was informed of the adherence of Canada to the Inter-American Agreement on Radio Communications that was signed at Santiago on the 26th January, 1940.

e) Ratification of the Commercial Treaty between Chile and Canada which was signed in Santiago in 1941, during the visit of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Hon. James A. MacKinnon. The ratification took place in Ottawa during the visit of Chile's Minister of External Relations.

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Chile

C163742

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA. June 5, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[AS 2974/59/51] Copy No. 140a

Sir C. Orde to Mr. Eden.—(Received 5th June.)

(No. 90.)

Sir, *Santiago, 22nd May, 1944.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the military attaché to this Embassy, Colonel Simson, was invited to attend a dinner on the 11th May, "in honour of the military attachés who have been promoted, and of the members of the General Staff who have been promoted or who have been transferred."

2. The dinner in itself, there being no particular necessity for it, and the speeches delivered tend to create the impression that the Chilean army is leaning towards a "pro-Latin America" policy, which would probably be also pro-Argentine and anti-United States. It was the second time in one week that the Argentine Military Attaché had been the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Chief of the Chilean General Staff, and he was particularly complimented by the same officer on this occasion in a long prepared speech which also praised the Ecuadorean and Mexican attachés. The commander-in-chief, instead of contenting himself with toasting the President of Chile, toasted all the Presidents of all the republics.

3. While the replies of the Ecuadorean and Mexican attachés were moderate in tone, the Argentine Military Attaché, Colonel Lucero, toasted "the young officers of the Chilean army," by which he probably meant the G.O.S. (Grupo de Oficiales Subalternos), which is the Chilean equivalent of the Argentine G.O.U.

4. Colonel Simson agreed with the United States Military Attaché that the dinner was pro-Argentine and anti-United States and, remembering that the Argentine Military Attaché had been recently promoted Colonel by Colonel Peron, that the Chilean Chief of General Staff, General Ramón Diaz, and Colonel Peron are old friends, and that recent reports have connected General Diaz with the G.O.S., it would appear that the Chilean army are tending to take an interest in politics, perhaps with the example of the Argentine army before their eyes. The Minister of Defence, General Escudero, was not present at the dinner, but otherwise it was well attended.

5. The Argentine appears to be starting a movement to win sympathy or gain influence in South American countries at the expense of the United States under the guise of Latin American unity. This movement is sufficiently like the slogan of Hispanidad for the two movements to be of mutual assistance to one another, and although Hispanidad by itself may not have a great appeal to South American States, yet as one plank in the Argentine platform it probably assumes an importance out of proportion to its real influence. It is, however, as I understand, the movement favoured by the Falange, and Falange ideals seem likely, therefore, to receive a readier hearing in South America than they otherwise would. The reaction against Pan-Americanism under United States leadership at first took the form of an appeal to Great Britain to offset North American influence in South America, partly because the weaker South American countries wished to play off one Great Power against the other, and partly because they genuinely felt that they needed a European connexion. The United States, especially in the Argentine, were inclined to be suspicious that His Majesty's Government might lend themselves to these suggestions, and might tend to become the rivals of the United States in South America, but His Majesty's Government made it plain, both in word and deed, that they had no intention of sacrificing the friendship of the United States for smaller advantages in South America. This probably gave the apostles of Hispanidad (among whom may well be counted the German Propaganda Ministry) an opportunity to offer Latin Americanism and the connexion with the mother country, Spain, as a firmer and more natural connexion with Europe than that with Great Britain. There is therefore a danger that Falange and Nazi influence in South America may increase merely as a counterbalance to United States influence, and the recent tendencies shown by the Chilean army seem to point to there being willing ears in their ranks.

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6. Some of the United States officials here have expressed the view that if Britain were to try to act as a counterbalance to the United States in South America, it would eventually induce a conflict between those two Powers, or at least bitterness between their nationals in South America, but that if a concerted attempt were made by both Great Britain and the United States to draw the Argentine into the orbit of the United Nations, and to ask that country to bring in those other South American States which may in a greater or less degree be regarded as under her influence, *e.g.*, Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay, this would both flatter the Argentine and give that country the sense of liberation from a dominating United States influence which she needs at present. Released from that feeling of oppression, she would perhaps cease to show that self-protective aggressiveness which is making it difficult at present to come to any agreement with her, and would be less likely to afford a refuge immediately after the war for numbers of German immigrants, efficient, ruthless and bitter towards the United Nations, who would work to turn the South American countries into a new weapon against the peace of the world. It may be doubtful whether such a policy would produce its full effect unless pursued to the length of withdrawing United States influence from South America, and leaving Argentina to assume the leadership unchecked, except by such South American rivals as might appear. It is difficult to picture the United States Government being willing or indeed able to go so far, but the idea may be worth pondering. All I would emphasise is the probability, if the United States maintain pressure on South America, and if no other counterweight to that pressure appears, of the South American countries welcoming German or Spanish influence, probably the former as the more effective, in order to keep the United States at bay.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to His Majesty's representatives in Latin American countries.

I have, &c.

C. W. ORDE.

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Mr Turnbull

Prime Ministers file

WJT

To note

C163744

April 4, 1945
FHS/MM

D-120-J
1945

R-100-4
1945

Memorandum for Mr. W. J. Turnbull

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am writing to inform you that Senor Oscar Gajardo, Vice President of the National Resources Planning Board of Chile, is expected to arrive in Ottawa on Wednesday, April 11th, and to remain here until the evening of Thursday, April 12th. A luncheon is being arranged for him, with the Minister of Trade and Commerce as host, on Thursday, April 12th.

When Senor Gajardo was Minister of Justice in the Chilean Government in 1944, he sent to the Prime Minister handsomely bound copies of the Chilean Civil and Criminal Codes. Mr. Chipman suggested that Mr. King would wish to thank him personally for this gift, and the Charge d'Affaires of the Chilean Embassy has asked that he be given the privilege of a brief interview with the Prime Minister. Mr. Robertson has suggested that perhaps Mr. King might be able to see him just before the opening of the House on Thursday afternoon.

Depends on what is on - will be arranged

The following biographical details might be of some assistance:

Senor Gajardo has been Minister of State on several occasions in the Chilean Government and is now the Vice President of the National Resources Planning Board, a Government agency which acts as an investment trust which

... - 2 -

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furnishes credits for industrial and agricultural development and helps to plan the industrial growth of Chile.

Senor Gajardo attended the Mexico City Conference as one of the Chilean delegation, and is coming to Canada to study the possibilities of increasing postwar economic and commercial co-operation between Canada and Chile. His mission is an official one and the Embassy states that he is also on "a personal mission for the President of Chile." Dr. Diaz tells me that he is a close friend of the President of Chile, and that he considers Senor Gajardo's visit "one of the most important events in the history of Chilean-Canadian relations."

I should appreciate your confirmation of the possibility of Mr. King's being able to meet Senor Gajardo at the time stated.

..... F.H.S.
(F. H. SOWARDS)

P.S. Senor Gajardo speaks almost no English but is accompanied by an engineer who speaks excellent English.

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BF1R

Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa, July 30, 1945.

C163746

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Despatch No. 143 of July 4, has been received from the Charge d'Affaires of the Canadian Embassy in Chile in which the activities in Chile commemorative of Dominion Day are described. Paragraph 3 of the despatch reads as follows:

> "On June 28th, the English weekly The South Pacific Mail, in its regular issue, devoted some space to the First of July. I am attaching hereto a full page on Canada published in this weekly. The article on 'The Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King' was supplied by this office."

The article under reference is attached for your information.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY
SANTIAGO, CHILE
C163747

Subject CANADA - DOMINION DAY - JULY 1st.

Paper South Pacific Mail City Valparaiso Date June 28th 1945.

CANADA - DOMINION DAY - JULY IST.



The Coat of Arms of Canada.

A certain writer not long ago called Mr. Mackenzie King "Canada's quiet, scholarly Prime Minister, who knows everybody and whom nobody knows." He is of course better known than this statement suggests; but it is true that he has avoided the limelight of publicity more than most present day statesmen.

In 1837, there was a revolt among a group of Canadians against certain unwelcome features of administration by the British colonial authorities at that time exercising local rule in the province of Upper Canada, or what is now Ontario. One of the most fiery leaders of this protesting movement was a poet, journalist and politician, William Lyon Mackenzie. He had been mayor of York (now Toronto), a civic post for which, out of pride, he would accept no pay. He was elected to the Canadian legislature, but, as he was wrongfully expelled several times, a popular rebellion started. Mackenzie was outlawed and a price put on his head. With other rebels, he took refuge in a windmill. "Redcoats" or soldiers of the government, many of them British, laid siege and trained field-pieces on the windmill. Commanding this artillery was a young officer named John King. Mackenzie escaped, and for twelve years was a refugee in the United States. During his exile, his youngest daughter was born. Later he was pardoned, and Mackenzie was again elected to the legislature and became a popular hero. But the strangest part of the story is in the sequel. His daughter later married the young government officer John King. Their son is William Lyon Mackenzie King, the present Prime Minister.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

John King became a distinguished barrister, "took the silk" as a King's Counsel, again fought against the Fenian rebels in 1866, was a brilliant scholar, became an editor, and later a lecturer in law. He supported his son's ambition to enter political life; but first the son graduated from the University of Toronto, and took a post-graduate course at the University of Chicago. There, he lived at Hull House, the social settlement presided over by the great humanitarian Miss Jane Addams. It was then, while witnessing the suffering of the Chicago poor, that he decided to enter politics.

Mr. Mackenzie King then studied — and as a newspaper reporter, exposed — sweat-shop conditions in a Toronto factory. Out of his expose was born the Department of Labour at Ottawa, and Mr. King, after an interval of further study at Harvard University and Europe, became its first deputy minister.

Proving his ability as a labour conciliator, and in bringing about reforms, Mr. King won a seat in Parliament in 1908 and was immediately appointed Minister of Labour. During the first World War, he devoted himself to helping in the settlement of serious labour disputes, mostly in the United States, and in 1918 he summarized his experiences and philosophy in a book "Industry and Humanity", which has run through five or more editions. In 1919 he was chosen by his party as the Liberal leader, went back to Parliament as Leader of the Opposition, and in the election of 1921 became Prime Minister, succeeding his old hero and mentor, the great French-Canadian liberal Premier Sir Wilfred Laurier. With the exception of a few weeks in 1926 (when the government did a double change-over) he held the Prime Ministership until 1930. The great world-wide depression, which upset so many governments in so many countries, put him out. But after leading the Opposition for another five years, he again became Prime Minister in 1935, and has been in power ever since.



The Rt. Hon. William Mackenzie King.

During the general elections which were held in Canada on June 11th. 1945, Mackenzie King once more led his party to victory. Out of 245 seats of the Canadian House of Commons, the Liberals, counting the Independent Liberals, already have 127 seats, while the Conservatives hold 66 and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 28.

What is this man like, who is so retiring as a public figure? He has never married. His friends say it was because he assumed responsibility for the family of a brother who lost his life as a result of the first World War. Some say it was that he was solely dedicated to the memory of his mother. He remained devoted

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CANADIAN EMBASSY
SANTIAGO, CHILE

C163747

Subject.....C.A.N.A.D.A. - D.O.M.I.N.I.O.N. D.A.Y. - J.U.L.Y. 1st.

Paper South Pacific Mail.....City Valparaiso.....Date June 28th 1945.

CANADA - DOMINION DAY - JULY IST.



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CANADIAN EMBASSY
SANTIAGO, CHILE

C163748

Subject.....

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Paper..... City..... Date.....

to his best friend, his little dog Pat, who died recently at the age of 17. Perhaps the real reason is that the task of politics and statecraft has occupied every heart beat of his attention.

Mr. King is not a demagogue, or hearty back-slapping politician. He is reserved, almost shy; a great student, a tremendous reader. It is said that only one person calls him by his first name. That was his intimate friend of Harvard days, Franklin Délano Roosevelt. He is a scholarly man, who holds nine doctorates — one granted by Harvard, and the other eight, honorary. He is a great worker, and spares neither himself nor his secretaries; but this is the price to be paid for his notable work for Canada and the Commonwealth. Yet he is a friendly man and a charming host, who is equally hospitable and kindly to his close Canadian friend, or King George and Queen Elizabeth, or Madame Chiang Kai-shek, or Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands, or statesmen and ambassadors from all over the world.

He lives in Sir Wilfred Laurier's old house — which is now the official residence of Prime Minister: there are pictures of his old hero Laurier on the walls, a picture of his mother on a table by his favourite chair; and in his executive office a picture of Lincoln. Out of his $21,000 salary as Member of Parliament and Prime Minister pays nearly $10,000 in taxes each year. He is, in other words, a simple Canadian. But his life is no bed of roses. As someone once wrote, "he is sneered at by cynical right-wingers, damned by the left-wingers, swept into power by an overwhelming vote of his countrymen, and then roundly censured by nearly everybody." But whatever people think of him, they have eight times elected him a member of parliament, five of these times to become Prime Minister, and twice to be Leader of the Opposition.

Unlike any other living statesman, he can boast of having been leader of his party for over 25 years: and of having been Prime Minister for nineteen years. During that period of his long administration, Canada has made the most astonishing advances in its history. In this Mr. King has had a powerful though very quiet influence. In 1922 he saved the world from a futile war against Turkey when he refused to support Mr. Lloyd George's appeals in the critical episode of Chanak. In the days just before the war he visited Hitler, to try to understand the force that was gradually bringing the world to the brink of war. But in 1939 he led his country and Parliament by an almost unanimous vote, to the side of Britain and the other allies in the war against German aggression on Czechoslovakia and Poland. He had been a great supporter of the League of Nations, which he was twice vice-president. He helped to establish the Canadian National Railways, the world's largest carrier, as a state-owned enterprise. He fought long and hard for an international minimum wage, for the eight-hour day, and for freer exchange of goods and raw materials. There is an impressive list of social legislation, for which, directly or indirectly, he was responsible This includes the Unemployment Insurance Act; and the Marsh Plan of Social Security.

The memorable meeting at sea between Roosevelt and Churchill, when the "Atlantic Charter" was born, is said to have been largely arranged by him. He was host to the Conference of war leaders at Quebec last year. He received unusual homage in the British House of Commons. As he welcomed and escorted the King and Queen across Canada in 1939. Their Majesties welcomed him to Buckingham Palace. The Canadian Diplomatic Service was entirely his creation, and he has been for 18 years the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada's Foreign Minister.

Thanks to his intimacy with Mr. Churchill who said some time ago "My friend Mr. Mackenzie King I have known for over forty years: first in politics and then in personal friendship" — and his long friendship since college days with Mr. Roosevelt, the Canadian Prime Minister has been able to combine in Canadian foreign relations a remarkable integration of American and British interests.

NOT READABLE
PAS LISIBLE

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Corr. Hong. - Requests for Interviews - Chile

C163749

R-10-D

LB/LSTG 1945

August 20th, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Request from the Ambassador of Chile to be received by the Prime Minister

The Ambassador of Chile, His Excellency Pedro Castelblanco Aguero, has written an official note requesting to be received. Attached hereto is a copy of his note.

You might be so good as to advise me as to the reply to be sent to the Ambassador.

As you are aware, the Chilean Ambassador presented his Letter of Credence to the Governor General on August 13th.

lhw.
(H. WRONG)

Gordon McNeil
please call - on day in London
re
20-8-45

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C163750

C
O
P
Y

Ottawa, August 16th, 1945.

No. 313

Sir,

Permit me to state that it would indeed be an honour for me to be received by the Prime Minister the Right Honourable William Mackenzie King whenever he deems it possible.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the assurance of my high consideration.

(sgd) Pedro Castelblanco

The Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
East Block,
O t t a w a.

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DS/Chile

C163751

NAR/SR
21.9.45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I had a word with the Chilean Ambassador yesterday about the arrangements for the President of Chile's visit. He is arriving in the United States on the 11th of October and is returning to Chile on November 1st. He enquired if it would be convenient to the Government of Canada to have him spend Tuesday, October 23rd in Ottawa. He would arrive by air in the late afternoon of Monday, October 22nd and leave for Montreal on Wednesday morning the 24th. From Montreal he will go by way of Toronto to Niagara Falls and thence back to the United States. I told the Chilean Ambassador, in strict confidence, that you were afraid that you would not be here yourself to receive his President, but that the Deputy Governor General, the Acting Prime Minister and Mr. St. Laurent would receive him if you were unable to be in Canada at that time.

MacK

Read to PM
OK

Skey
24/9
noted

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CA / Chile C163752

June 25, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR PRIME MINISTER:

Cancellation of Dominion Day Reception in Chile

The attached telegram from Léger makes it clear that there will be no need to make the recommendation to Treasury Board which had been drafted and signed, to meet reception expenses.

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C163753

FROM: THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, CANADIAN EMBASSY, SANTIAGO

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 32 SANTIAGO, June 24th, 1946.

No. 32. My telegram No. 30 of June 18th on reception for July 1st.

Due to the very serious illness of President Rios, it is considered inadvisable to make any plans for formal entertainment on that occasion.

L
29-6-46

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Rec'd 2.32 p.m.

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ODS/AH

December 23rd,1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C163754

Senor Feliu, the newly appointed Consul General of Chile, is very anxious to call on you. I told him that it was not possible during the session but I would bring the matter to your attention after the session was over.

He is quite an energetic gentleman and, as you recall, has been pushing for the diplomatic exchange between Canada and Chile on the basis that he should be made Chargé d'Affaires here while Canada's Minister to the Argentine might visit Chile once or twice a year.

O.D.S.

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NAR/ET
2nd April, 1941

C163755

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Yesterday afternoon, in a telephone conversation with Mr.Feliu, the Chilean Consul-General, I told him that I had had an opportunity of discussing with you his Government's proposal to appoint a Charge d'Affaires in charge of Chilean interests in Canada. I said the Government cordially appreciated and reciprocated his Government's desire to foster closer relations between Canada and Chile, and realized that his Government, in submitting its most recent proposal, had gone far to lessening the difficulties in the way of our receiving a Chilean Minister which the Prime Minister had explained when he had received Mr. Feliu. The question of receiving a diplomatic mission from his country would, however, require some further consideration, particularly in so far as it would affect the position of certain other countries presently without diplomatic representation in Canada. Under the circumstances it was hoped that his Government would appreciate our difficulties in the matter and leave the question in abeyance until the end of the session.

When Mr.Feliu called on Saturday with a note from the Chilean Foreign Minister about his intention to designate him as Charge d'Affaires, he pressed for an answer before Wednesday, when he said he was planning to leave for the United States. In our conversation yesterday afternoon, he intimated he might be away for some little time and said that if anything of importance arose in the meantime, he could be reached through the Chilean Embassy in Washington. He did not say anything about closing his Consulate-General.

This morning a press correspondent, Miss Shaw, representing the Toronto Star, telephoned the Department to say she had phoned the Chilean Consulate General to arrange an interview with Mr.Feliu, and was told that he had left for the United States and that "the Chilean Consulate General was closed". It looks therefore as though Mr.Feliu has left in a fit of pique - determined to make some kind of incident over our unwillingness to accept him immediately as Charge d'Affaires.

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P) R CONFIDENTIAL DS/Chile NAR/SR
27.3.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163756

The United States Minister asked me yesterday if recent local press reports of the appointment of Feliu as Chilean Minister were correct. These reports were attributed to Col. Calderon, the new Military Attache, who has just arrived from Santiago. I told him that we had had no communication whatever from the Chilean Government on the subject. When our Trade Mission was in Chile in the autumn, they had received the impression that Mr. Feliu was not likely to be appointed Minister when a legation was opened, and later advices we had received through other channels had been to the same effect. We did not know whether the inauguration of a new President in Chile would affect Feliu's prospects.

I told Mr. Moffat, confidentially, that Feliu had been rather a nuisance as Consul General; his weekly news letter was often very aggressive and occasionally downright impertinent. As he knew, the United States Government, and Mr. Sumner Welles in particular, had urged us very strongly to receive a Chilean Minister. We had, at some inconvenience, gone out of our way to meet Chile's wishes in this respect and had accredited Mr. Turgeon to Santiago as well as to Buenos Aires. The fact that Chile had not yet been able to reciprocate was not worrying anybody in Ottawa, and we were perfectly content to let matters stand until Chile was able to open a legation here.

I thought, in view of the interest his Government had taken in Chilean diplomatic relations with Canada, that there was no harm in letting him know, privately, that I did not think that Feliu would

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be the most effective diplomatic representative that Chile could appoint to Canada.

27-3-42

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DS/Chile NAR/SR
25.4.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163758

When I saw Mr. Sumner Welles in Washington on April 17th, he said he had mentioned the question of Chilean diplomatic representation in Canada to the Chilean Ambassador in Washington, who did not himself feel that Feliu H. would make a suitable minister. The Ambassador had told Mr. Welles that he expected his Government to nominate a Minister to Canada very shortly and believed that the man they would propose would be Senor Juan Pradenas, who has been Minister of Labour. Senor Pradenas is a member of the Democratic Party and head of the Chilean delegation to the International Labour Conference in New York in October.

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DS/Chile

NAR/SR
5.4.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163759

Mr. Feliu, who was Chilean Consul General in Ottawa prior to the establishment of the Chilean Legation and who since then has been Chilean Consul General in Toronto, called today to inform us that he had been appointed Chilean Minister in Portugal and would be leaving for Lisbon quite soon. It is very fortunate that he did not become the first Chilean Minister to Canada. He is an aggressive, enterprising fellow, but not a man of Dr. Grove's calibre.

9-4-43

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Agreements

DS/Chile

NAR/SR
4.9.45

C163760

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I think you should make an effort to see the new Chilean Ambassador as soon as possible. It is nearly a month since Senor Castelblanco presented his credentials, and for him it has been a worrying and difficult month because the last I heard he had not yet found a house for his wife and five children. To add to his troubles, he brought three servants up from Mexico and has had to board them around the town while he is seeking premises for his Embassy.

Mack

Sees Codere 13-9-45

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Mr Robertson C163761

Visit of Mr Fernandez Fernandez
Foreign Minister of Chile

Dr Grove came in to speak of advisability of postponement of this visit until Sept. 29. He expressed the view that for a number of reasons, including Fernandez's crowded programme in Washington and particularly New York, arrival here on the 24th instead of 25th is desirable.

He will speak to the Chilean Embassy in Washington tonight and communicate with me tomorrow morning. Meanwhile he asked me not to do anything until tomorrow.

W.L.M.K.
17.9.43
5 p.m.

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C163762

Immediately after the wreath is laid by the Minister, you will please rise to observe one minute's silence and then resume your seat.

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DS / China

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM C163763

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr. Measures telephoned at 6 p.m. to say that he had gone out to the airport to meet the members of the Chinese Mission and conveyed greetings, on behalf of the Prime Minister, to Dr. Wang and members of the party.

Mr. Measures also wished to report that Mr. Glen has accepted for tomorrow's luncheon.

C.

March 5

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EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Article 57. - The Executive Yuan shall be responsible to the Legislative Yuan in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) The Executive Yuan has the responsibility to present to the Legislative Yuan its administrative policies and its administrative reports. Members of the Legislative Yuan have, in the sessions of the Legislative Yuan, the right to interpellate the President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan.

(2) If the Legislative Yuan dissents to any important policy of the Executive Yuan, it may, by resolution, ask the Executive Yuan to alter such policy. With respect to such resolution, the Executive Yuan may, with the approval of the President (of the Republic), request the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration. If, in reconsideration, two-thirds of the attending members of the Legislative Yuan uphold the original resolution, the President of the Executive Yuan shall either abide by the same or resign from office.

(3) If the Executive Yuan deems a resolution passed by the Legislative Yuan on a statutory, budgetary or treaty bill inexpedient and difficult for execution, it may, with the approval of the President (of the Republic), request, within ten days after the delivery of the said resolution to the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration. If, in reconsideration, two-thirds of the attending members of the Legislative Yuan uphold the original resolution, the President of the Executive Yuan shall either abide by the same or resign from office.

Article 58 - The Executive Yuan shall have an Executive Yuan Council to be composed of its President and Vice-President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions and the Executive Members without portfolio of the Executive Yuan, with the Yuan President as Chairman.

Prior to the submission to the Legislative Yuan of any statutory or budgetary bill or any bill concerning declaration of martial law, granting of general amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace, treaties or other important affairs, or concerning matters of common concern to the various Ministries and Commissions, the President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan shall present the said bill to the Executive Yuan Council for discussion and decision.

Article 59 - The Executive Yuan shall, three months before the beginning of every fiscal year, present to the Legislative Yuan the budget for the following fiscal year.

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Article 60 - The Executive Yuan shall, within four months after the end of every fiscal year, present the Budget Statement to the Control Yuan.

Article 61 - The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be prescribed by law.

CHAPTER VI - Legislation

Article 62 - The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative organ of the State to be composed of Members of the Legislative Yuan elected by the people. It shall exercise the legislative power on behalf of the people.

Article 63 - The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide upon any statutory or budgetary bill or any bill concerning martial law, general amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace, treaties, and other important affairs of the State.

Article 64 - Members of the Legislative Yuan shall be elected in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) Those elected by Provinces and by Municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the National Government: five from each Province or Municipality with a population of less than 3,000,000; and, in case of a population exceeding 3,000,000 one additional Member for every additional 1,000,000 persons.

(2) Those elected by Mongolian Leagues.

(3) Those elected by Tibet.

(4) Those elected by various racial groups in the border regions.

(5) Those elected by Chinese Nationals residing abroad.

(6) Those elected by occupational groups.

The election of the Members of the Legislative Yuan and the allotment of their number in the preceding Second to Sixth Sections shall be determined by law.

The number of Women Members in the various Items of the First Section shall be determined by law.

Article 65 - Members of the Legislative Yuan shall serve a term of three years, and are re-eligible. The general election shall be completed within three months prior to the expiration of each term of office.

Article 66 - The Legislative Yuan shall have a President and a Vice-President to be elected by and from among the Members of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 67 - The Legislative Yuan may organize various Committees.

Such Committees may invite Government officials and private persons concerned to be present at their meetings for consultation.

Article 68 - The Legislative Yuan shall hold two regular sessions every year, to be convened by itself. The first session shall last from February to the end of May and the second session from September to the end of December. When necessary, a session may be extended.

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Article 69 - In any of the following circumstances, the Legislative Yuan may hold an extraordinary session:

(1) At the request of the President (of the Republic)

(2) Upon the petition of more than one-fourth of the Members of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 70 - The Legislative Yuan shall not make proposals for an increase in the expenditures listed in the budget presented by the Executive Yuan.

Article 71 - At the meetings of the Legislative Yuan, the Presidents of the various Yuan concerned and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions concerned may be present to present their opinions.

Article 72 - Statutory bills passed by the Legislative Yuan shall be sent to the President (of the Republic) and to the Executive Yuan. The President shall, within ten days after their receipt, promulgate them. The President may proceed with them in accordance with the provisions of Article 57 of the Constitution.

Article 73 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan shall be held responsible outside the Yuan for opinions he may have expressed and votes he may have cast in sessions of the Yuan.

Article 74 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan may, except in case of 'flagrante delicto' be arrested or detained without the permission of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 75 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan may concurrently hold a public office.

Article 76 - The organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be prescribed by law.

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R

NAR/ET
3 Feb.,1942

Chiang

SECRET

C163767

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Following is a report received today through Service Intelligence channels of the present outlook of the Chinese Government:

Chungking, 31st Jan.

U.S.Ambassador reports Chiang Kai-Shek has expressed to him his complete confidence that Japan would be defeated within eighteen months. Chiang Kai-Shek also told him that it was his opinion that Japan and Germany had agreed that Japan would attack Siberia when the German spring offensive against Russia begins. He said that he had received no peace offer from the Japanese and should he receive such an offer would definitely reject it.

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R 20

China

Secret

NAR.SR
19.2.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C163768

The following summary of a telegram received by the United States Department of State from their Agent General in New Delhi about Chiang Kai-shek's visit is not very encouraging reading. In the event the arrangements may not have been quite as unsatisfactory as this United States report suggests because the Press reports that Chiang Kai-shek had several lengthy conferences with Nehru and spent yesterday with Gandhi:

> "Chiang Kai-shek was not free in his movements and could go nowhere or see anyone unless the Government had arranged it. The visit was premature and Sir A. Clark-Kerr, who had arranged it, had devoted insufficient preparation to it. A good deal of time had been wasted in argument over unimportant matters and the Chinese party had quarrelled among themselves. The aims of both sides were very selfish and there was no attempt at proper collaboration".

NOTE: The information in this note was received through Naval Services from the United Kingdom-United States Joint Intelligence Committee in Washington. The Service Intelligence Departments of the British and American Governments are exchanging political information very freely, including information received through their respective Diplomatic Services. Copies of telegrams prepared by the British Section of the Joint Intelligence Committee in Washington for the information of the United Kingdom Government in London are now repeated to Ottawa direct to Naval Intelligence. I receive copies at once, and send on to you anything I think you would be likely to be interested in. The United States Minister's appreciation of the military position in the Eastern Mediterranean, which you read to the War Committee yesterday, was received through this channel.

It is not clear whether the United States State Department knows or approves of such information being communicated to us. In the circumstances, I have never mentioned to the United States Minister any United States diplomatic intelligence which may have come to us by this route.

Secret note to NAR re 23/2

V
21-2-42

Mack

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C163769

WHM/MC
28.2.42.

Memorandum for Mr. Turnbull

I send you herewith a copy of the proposed programmes for the visit to Ottawa of Dr. T.V. Soong, February 28 and March 1, and of Dr. Arthur de Souza Costa, Minister of Finance of Brazil, March 4 and 5.

(W.H. MEASURES)

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

WJT/MDS

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Robertson:

D-120-J
1942

C163770

I do not know if the Prime Minister has yet mentioned this to you, but he said something at Laurier House about the government paying for the dinner which Howe gave on February the 28th for Dr. Soong.

March 13th, 1942.

W. J. T.

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C163771

W.H.M.
27.2.42.

D-120-J
1142

Visit to Ottawa of Dr. T.V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China.

Personnel Arriving Saturday morning:

Dr. T.V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China
Madame Soong
Mr. Lauchlan Currie (~~Executive~~ administrative Assistant to the President of the United States)
Mrs. Lauchlan Currie
General S.M. Chu
Madame Chu
General T.H. Shen
General P.H. Whang
Dr. Szeming Sze (Secretary to Dr. Soong)
Mr. David Lu (Chinese Central News Agency)
Mr. Frank Sinclair (China Defence Supplies Inc.)
Mrs. Roy Peers (wife of Washington representative of War Supplies Limited)
(Dr. Soong's servant: Chang Chien Hung)

Arriving Saturday afternoon:

General P. Kiang
Captain W.L. Chen
Mr. Roy Peers

Programme

Sat. Feb. 28

Arrive Ottawa Union Station
Met by Govt. officials

7.30 a.m. Proceed on foot to Chateau Laurier Hotel where all members of party will be guests of Canadian Govt.

10.00 a.m. Leave Chateau Laurier for Uplands Airport.
Conducted by Group Capt. A.L. Paxton, R.C.A.F.
(All members of party)

12.15 p.m. Arrive back at Hotel

12.50 p.m. Leave Hotel for Government House

1.05 p.m. Luncheon at Government House by H.E. the Governor General and H.R.H. Princess Alice
(All members of Party; Informal Dress)

4.50 p.m. Dr. and Madame Soong leave Hotel

5.00 p.m. Dr. and Madame Soong arrive at Laurier House, 335 Laurier Avenue, E., for tea with the Prime Minister, Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

7.40 p.m. Leave Hotel

8.00 p.m. Dinner by Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Munitions and Supply, and Mrs. Howe at the Country Club.
(All members of Party. Dress; Dinner Jacket or military uniform.)

Sun. March 1

10.15 a.m. Leave Hotel by motor to see ski-ing at Ottawa Ski Club, Camp Fortune Lodge: 12 miles by motor, 1½ miles by sleigh. (All members of party).

12.15 p.m. Leave Camp Fortune

1.00 p.m. Arrive back at Hotel

1.30 p.m. Luncheon by Dr. Liu, Minister of China at Chateau Laurier.

4.00 p.m. Leave Union Station for Washington.

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WHM/MC
26.2.42.

C163772

D-120-4

1942

Memorandum for Mr. Robertson

Mr. Groenman telephoned to say that Dr. van Kleffens, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, who has been in Washington for several weeks discussing matters relating to the defence of the Netherlands East Indies, will be in Ottawa this afternoon from 2.00 o'clock to about 6.30. He has come here to pay his respects to H.R.H. Princess Juliana, and has asked Mr. Groenman to inform the Prime Minister of his visit and of his desire to pay his respects to the Prime Minister.

2.12 - 3.30
4.00 pm

I told Mr. Groenman that I would transmit his message to you and to Mr. Turnbull, and that possibly Mr. Turnbull would send word to Mr. Groenman at the Netherlands Legation, telephone 4-3223.

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W.H.M.
25.2.42.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister C163773 D-130-J 1942

Visit of Dr. T.V. Soong, Foreign Minister of China

Would the Prime Minister indicate when and where he would receive Dr. Soong.

Preliminary arrangements include a luncheon by the Governor General and Princess Alice at 1.00 for 1.15 and a dinner by Mr. and Mrs. C.D. Howe at 8.00 for 8.15 at the Country Club, both on Saturday, February 28.

Other arrangements for a visit to Uplands, etc. depend upon the time fixed by the Prime Minister for his interview.

Dr. Soong arrives at Ottawa Union Station from Toronto on Saturday, February 28 at 7.30 a.m. He leaves Ottawa for Washington on Sunday afternoon, March 1 at 4.00 p.m.

Dr. Soong's party comprises the following:

Dr. T.V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China
Madame Soong
Mr. Lauchlan Currie (Executive Assistant to the President of the United States)
Mrs. Lauchlan Currie
General S.M. Chu
Madame Chu
General T.H. Shen
General P.H. Whang
Dr. Szeming Sze (Secretary to Dr. Soong)
Mr. David Lu (Chinese Central News Agency, attached to Chinese Embassy at Washington)
Mr. Frank Sinclair (China Defence Supplies Inc.)
Mrs. Roy Peers (wife of Washington representative of War Supplies Limited).

Three other members of Dr. Soong's party will arrive in Ottawa by air at 5.15 p.m. Saturday afternoon. They are:

General P. Kiang
Captain W.L. Chen, and Mr. Roy Peers.

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W.H.M.
25.2.42.

C163774

Visit to Ottawa of the Hon. Dr. Arthur de Souza Costa, Minister of Finance of Brazil.

D-150-J
1 [illegible]
B-250
v-1

Suggested Programme

Wed. March 4, 1942

12.45 p.m. Arrive at Ottawa Union Station from Washington
Met by: The Brazilian Minister to Canada, who makes the introductions,
Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, and other Canadian officials
Proceed on foot through Station to Chateau Laurier Hotel, where the Minister and his party will be the guests of the Government of Canada during their visit.

1.20 p.m. Leave Chateau Laurier by motor.
1.30 p.m. Luncheon as guest of the Brazilian Minister and Mrs. Lins de Barros, 400 Wilbrod Street
3.00 p.m. Leave the Brazilian Legation by motor, accompanied by the Brazilian Minister for a drive around the City of Ottawa.
3.30 p.m. Arrive at Central Entrance of Parliament Buildings, for
Call on the Prime Minister in Room 212; at a convenient moment, depending upon business in the H. of C.; meanwhile visit House of Commons Chamber, sitting in Speaker's Gallery.
Call on Hon. J.L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance Room 378, House of Commons
Call on Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Room 271, House of Commons
Leave Parliament Buildings
Call on Mr. Graham Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada, 234 Wellington Street

(The above calls on the Prime Minister, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. Towers, to be returned by leaving cards on Dr. de Souza Costa at the Chateau Laurier.

7.35 p.m. Leave the Hotel by motor, accompanied by the Brazilian Minister, for the Country Club.
8.00 p.m. Dinner by the Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce, on behalf of the Government of Canada.
Dress: Dinner jacket.

Thurs. March 5, 1942

Morning — No engagements

1.15 p.m. Luncheon at Government House as guest of His Excellency the Governor General and H.R.H. Princess Alice
4.00 p.m. Leave by train for Washington.

Dress to be informal dress for all above engagements, except dinner by the Government of Canada, which is dinner jacket.

The party consists of the following:

Hon. Dr. Arthur de Souza Costa, Minister of Finance of Brazil
Sr. Valentim F. Boucas
Sr. Decio de Moura, Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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C163775

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
JUN 18 1942

CHINA. June 13, 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[F 4351/113/10] Copy No. 068a

Sir A. Clark Kerr to Mr. Eden.—(Received June 13.)

(Unnumbered).

Sir, *Chungking, February 3, 1942.*

LIFE in Chungking has offered little leisure in which to chronicle, by despatch, the fretted fortunes of China. Even had it been at my command I should have hesitated, in the present circumstances, to weary you with anything more than the telegraphic reports by means of which I have tried to keep you currently informed of the trends of events and of thought in this country. Now, however, that my mission, which has been spread over four full years, is about to come to an end, I feel bound to attempt some brief survey of men and things as I see them in China to-day.

2. When I first came to this country, early in the spring of 1938, the Central Government had been driven, bruised and breathless, from Nanking to Hankow. But the hesitations of the Japanese had given time for the licking of wounds, and already Government, armies and people alike had got their second wind and were showing striking signs of the spirit that has carried China, undaunted and unbeaten, through trials under which many another country would have collapsed.

3. It was at that time that I ventured to express the opinion that, if they were given the help they sought and deserved, and so long as Chiang Kai-shek was at their head, the people of China would hold, and would in the end themselves frustrate the Japanese attempt to subjugate them. From this opinion I have not swerved. But the Chinese are a mercurial people and at all times they have needed, as they will still need, careful nursing and sustained encouragement. To-day this need is all the keener because they are fallen into a state of bewilderment and disillusionment.

4. You will be aware that, since the earliest days of their struggle against Japan, the dearest hope of the Chinese has been to become the allies of ourselves and the Americans, for in this their salvation seemed to lie. They foresaw that, when it suited her to do so, Japan would strike at us, and they told themselves, and the world, that the battle they were fighting was not merely for China, but for the Democracies also. It will now be generally admitted that in this they were right. They felt that, if they could hold out until Great Britain and the United States became involved in their war, all would be well; that Japan would be disposed of in a few months and that they, who had borne the brunt of her attack for so many years alone, would be eased of their burden and would indeed be free to enjoy to the full the exquisite emotion of stamping on the corpse of the aggressor.

5. To say that this hope was high falls short of reality. It was something so strong and so eager that upon it were built all Chinese plans. It was in some measure a part of the essence of their will to resist . Now it has been cruelly dashed by a series of tragic events which have followed each other in quick succession—Pearl Harbour, Hong Kong, Manila and to-day the disturbing threat to Singapore. For myself I feel that nevertheless they will survive all these blows, even the fall of Singapore. My anxiety would only become acute if Burma were to be overrun, for the effects of this might well be to stretch the threads of China's resistance to the point of breaking. If, therefore, the Chinese seem at the moment to waver and even to despair, we must not blame them. We must set about finding fresh and convincing means to sustain them both materially and morally. We still have good ground to work upon for their hearts are with us and set deep in the Grand Alliance, to which they are proud to belong. And beyond all their present despondency there lies, I believe, the conviction that in the end the United Nations will prevail.

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6. Our present preoccupation should therefore be to give to this now somewhat blunted conviction a new edge and a new sharpness. This is going to be no easy task, and to it we and the Americans shall have to address ourselves without regard for the sacrifices it may involve. A good beginning was made yesterday, when I was able to inform the generalissimo that, side by side with the Government of the United States, His Majesty's Government had granted to China a substantial loan. And so, until we have some handsome military victories to show, we shall have to continue to administer to the Chinese constant doses of tonic in one form or another to quicken their war-weary and flagging spirits.

7. The chiefest of our concerns should be to hold the confidence of the generalissimo, for in him we have a tower of strength, and, with his confidence, we have that of the vast mass of the Chinese people. It is remarkable, in these days when dictators are execrated, that a man who is so completely a dictator should command the unquestioning faith and affection of the millions he rules. To-day the Chiang Kai-shek myth remains as tenacious as ever and the immediate fate of China continues to depend upon one man alone. All who are competent to judge and most who have ears to hear despise both his Ministers and the bosses of the Kuomintang for their ineptitude and, here and there, for their rogueries. But, although head of the Government and chairman of the party, Chiang Kai-shek continues to stand in vulgar fame immaculate and above reproach.

8. It is a matter for surprise and regret that he should content himself with so weak and ineffective a band of Ministers. It seems probable that his opinion of them is no higher than that of the general public, for he tends more and more to ignore them and to gather the work of their departments into his own already too full hands. It is still more to be regretted that he should delegate much of this work to Dr. Kung. It may be that he is a bad judge of men. I am inclined to think that he is, for no sooner does he happen upon a competent Minister for Foreign Affairs than he casts him aside. Perhaps, again, he mislikes those who stand up to him. Dictators often do. But, whatever it be, he appears deliberately to be wasting the talent of some score of men whom I should rank as first-class and who are within his immediate reach. It is melancholy at the same time to observe that all these men are such as have fallen, for some reason or other, from the grace of the Minister of Finance.

9. Although himself foolish and vain, Dr. Kung is not slow to mark ability in others and to turn them to his own uses if he can. Of them he asks the completest servility, and, if they withhold it, he sets out to break them. This has, indeed, brought him two or three capable men, but it has brought him mostly rogues. It is hard to reflect upon or to write of Dr. Kung with any patience. He is a cancer in the belly of China. His mischievous hand may be detected everywhere. His varlets are in every post. It is probably fair to say that many of the acutest of China's present financial and economic problems are due to his ignorance, his cocksureness and his preference of his own interests over those of his own country. To his work in the Ministry of Finance he applies the home-spun methods which served him well enough when he was a private banker in Shansi and the comprador of a British firm, but which seem to spell disaster when used to meet the ever-growing gravity of the financial and economic situation in this country. He appears by design to shun the truth and to allow the flattery of such men as Mr. Abraham Manuel Fox (whose antics are not unknown to you) to "enlard his fat-already pride"; while he spurns the advice of a man of the distinction and wisdom of Sir Otto Niemeyer.

10. Nothing in the life of Dr. Kung would become him more than his disappearance from office. I fancy that he has some guilty sense of this, but cannot bring himself to take his hand off the net that he has spread over China for fear of what he who drew it up would find in it. For many weeks now he has been an extremely sick man. When I had luncheon with him yesterday I found him wasted, flabby and deflated—a pitiable sosie of himself. Many (and I am one of them) hope that his sickness may end in relieving this country of this Old Man of the Sea of hers, for they feel, as I do, how great a peril to the weal of China is Dr. Kung's survival. But, worst of all, he puddles the fair spirit of Chiang Kai-shek. There is no more than a handful of men to whom the generalissimo turns for advice on the rare occasions when he feels he needs it, and Dr. Kung is one of them. If we search for reasons, we may find them partly

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in the strength of family loyalties (by this I mean the influence which Dr. Kung's wife exercises over her sister, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek), and partly in the fluidity and cunning of his approach to the generalissimo. Whatever it be, Chiang Kai-shek's readiness to listen to Dr. Kung and to defend him with passion when he is attacked is one of his main weaknesses, and it is a grave one.

11. Of this handful of favoured men to whom I have referred, another is General Tai Li, the head of the Secret Police. But his influence is by no means so nefarious as that of the Minister of Finance. For, whereas Dr. Kung is an urgent danger to China and therefore to the Allied cause, Tai Li and his work are unlikely to affect the course of the war. I give him a mention here because his organisation is a blot on modern China which it would be disingenuous to ignore. Tai Li is a man of remarkable parts, who performs his odious duties with ability, thoroughness and despatch. Unlike Dr. Kung, he has no care for his own interest and his loyalty to the generalissimo is complete. He has been a close friend of mine and from time to time I have been able, by personal appeal, to temper the sufferings of harmless people who have incurred the suspicions of his countless agents. But his cloak-and-dagger mind and his inordinate fear of the mild radicalism that in China is called communism lead him and his men into the exercise of something not unlike the terror of the Gestapo. When Tai Li sniffs the air Free China tends to tremble. Once, that admirable woman, Mme. Sun Yat-sen, said to me that anyone with Liberal views in China to-day was called a Communist. This was clearly an exaggeration, but not so where Tai Li is concerned. He smells communism in every little co-operative industry, and every young man or woman of independent views who shows no eagerness to become a member of the Kuomintang. With his fear of communism he has infected Chiang Kai-shek and his generals, and thus we see go unpunished the wicked and senseless massacre of a part of the New Fourth Army last summer. I have watched with some sadness the change that has taken place in the mind of Chiang Kai-shek where the Chinese Communists are concerned. Three years ago, when their bogy was dangled before him, he would smile and tell people not to be foolish, for the Communists were as good Chinese as they. To-day, he kindles and becomes entirely unreasonable.

12. Apart from these two malignant influences there are others at work which are causing concern to those who have the welfare of this country at heart. I refer to the activities of the small but powerful group that rules the Kuomintang —Wu Te-chen, Chen Li-fu and his brother, Chen Ko-fu, and Chu Chia-hua. They, again, serve no special interest of their own. They are sincere in their mistaken belief that the safety of China is to be sought, not in the Democracy that is the dream of millions of their sober fellow countrymen, but in the shaping of her system of government on Nazi lines. Most of the feverish energy of the party machine is therefore turned towards the regimentation of thought and an attempt to squeeze the youth of China into a kind of German mould. It cannot be said that these men have any love for Hitler. It is rather that they are impressed by the success of his methods and that they see in them something that will stand post-war China in good stead. That they will fail I have no doubt, for my acquaintance amongst the young Chinese has been very wide and very varied, and nowhere have I found anything but hot rebellion against that which this group has set out to achieve.

13. Throughout my time in China it has been, by some happy chance, my good fortune to be in close personal touch with Chiang Kai-shek, and I have formed a high opinion of his character. It has interested me to observe the changes that have taken place as the years have gone by. It must be freely recognised that in stature he has grown with and even topped the war, which might well have left a lesser man lagging behind. He has, I mean, measured his greatness to events and, in moments of crisis, such, for instance, as the capture of Canton and Hankow, the collapse of France and now the fall of Hong Kong, his confidence, serenity and judgment have not failed him and he has always brought waverers sharply to heel. Upon this we may commend him and congratulate ourselves. But I have at the same time remarked in him the decline of some of his more endearing qualities and I have perceived a growing testiness of humour and waywardness taking hold on him; an impatience of being crossed even in smaller things; and I have noticed, however much he may appreciate that he has been wrong and wish things done undone, a mulish determination not to admit it. But when we remember the strain that must constantly be upon him we may

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forgive these things, for the pith of the man remains the same—clean, honest and firm.

14. I have said that the chiefest of our concerns should be to hold his confidence. At the same time, however, we must make him feel that he has ours. If we handle him aright and if events do not go too harshly against us, this should not be beyond our powers. But we must first of all bear it in mind that, since the days of what he called the "spiritual understanding," Chiang Kai-shek has been most jealous of the position of China in her relationship with Great Britain and the United States. He has been over-quick to see in things we have done or left undone signs of unwillingness on our part to trust him and to treat him as an ally and an equal. Here and there he has shown dangerous flashes of anger when he has had occasion to feel that we, and in particular our military commanders, were leaving him out in the cold. He is, very naturally, keenly aware of the vital importance both of his country and of himself to the cause of the United Nations. And he is determined that this shall be given full weight in the councils of ourselves and the Americans. We should be at special pains, therefore, constantly to prove to him that in fact we regard him as an ally and an equal in the fullest sense of these words.

15. I have perhaps dwelt over-much upon certain unhappy influences that brood over China to-day. But, in any survey of the present situation, it would be improper to slur them over. I do not wish by the telling of them to create the impression that the core of China is unsound. It is by no means so. If China at war can but survive Dr. Kung, China at peace will know how to rid herself of her other sicknesses. When the tide has turned and she bestirs herself, as she surely will, she will shake them off as a hen shakes off her fleas; and it may not be too much to foresee that, relieved of their present strain, Chiang Kai-shek and his resourceful wife will play a large part in the shaking.

I have, &c.

ARCHIBALD CLARK KERR.

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

China—Fact and Fiction.

Communicated by Mr. Weightman (Gorernment of India) to Sir E. Teichman, His Majesty's Embassy, Chungking.—(Received in Foreign Office August 27, 1942.)

(Most Secret.)

THE State in Free China, which has in general maintained the forms of the Nanking Government, the nationalist régime which came into being through revolution and civil war in the years between 1924 and 1927, has one of the most elaborate constitutional structures to be found anywhere in the world; to comprehend it requires the patience of fitting together a huge jig-saw puzzle; but this is a labour which scarcely needs to be expended since the picture shown by the completed puzzle does not really correspond with the political realities.

The constitutional theory states the existence of a semi-Fascist party, from which emanates, by more or less democratic election, a hierarchy of party councils which exercise control over the general machinery of government. This machinery consists of five main departments, or yuans, responsible for (1) the general executive business of government (under this yuan being grouped all the principal ministries), (2) legislation, (3) the judiciary, (4) the appointment to the bureaucracy, (5) discipline and prevention of corruption. Further, there is a maze of committees and councils, an embryo consultative assembly, and a criss-cross of institutions of the party and the State; this strange hotch-potch being a medley partly of the traditions of ancient China, and partly of the examples of the democratic West and of Communist Russia.

To answer the question, where, amid this confusion, there reposes the true political power in China, it is best to turn away from the constitutional laws to a survey of the actual political scene.

2. The setting for the politics of Free China is an area extending from the confines of Mongolia and Tibet to the near neighbourhood of Peking, Shanghai and Canton. In the west is a broad expanse of territory free from the Japanese; in the more eastern parts the territory of Free China threads in and out of the occupied regions. The centre of Free China is the Province of Szechuan, surrounded by high mountains on its eastern boundaries, richly endowed for agriculture behind these, and built as by nature for China's war-time base. The Government has for the past three years conducted its affairs in a city which, in its precipitous position on a hill-side and its staircase roads, recalls the island of Mont St. Michel; a city which in the summer combines in its climate the worst of Calcutta and Shanghai and which in the winter is wrapped perpetually in cold fog; which has been so heavily bombed for three years that hardly a house does not show damage; whose most characteristic sound is the half-hourly explosion which denotes the blasting of a new dugout to be added to those already honey-combing the cliff side; which, enlivened only by the slogans painted on every wall and the ubiquitous but dingy colours of the Chinese flag, in its universal grey camouflage paint, and in its ugly improvised structures of cheap brick, mat shed and bamboo, is probably the ugliest, as it is also one of the noisiest and busiest, in the world.

The society over which the Government presides is a complex one with the many local peculiarities to be expected in so large a population, but, broadly speaking, it can be said to consist of three main classes—a peasantry, a very large class of landed gentry the great majority of whom have relatively small possessions, and an urban class, part *bourgeoisie*, part coolie.

This society for the past third of a century has been undergoing a great revolution, the result partly of one of the periodical agrarian insurrections which every two or three centuries punctuate Chinese history, partly of the reshaping of Chinese society after the novel and sudden linking of the life of China with that of the rest of the world. This caused the old political structure to crack. From the chaos there finally emerged the Kuomintang party as the more or less paramount power; this, from 1927 onwards until the outbreak of war with Japan,

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made steady progress in recreating political order; but the setting of the political life had, and still has, a revolutionary flavour. While the natural conservatism of the Chinese character has caused something of the older order to be preserved, and while there are many leaders of the Kuomintang steeped in tradition, yet the party as a whole stands for a new type of government, and has never abandoned at least the language and forms of radicalism.

The Kuomintang, the political party which holds the centre of the stage, resembles in some ways the Indian National Congress, especially in its marked—though now diminishing—anti-foreign bias (resulting partly from the resentment at the "unequal treaties" of the nineteenth century), in comprehending very diverse personalities and groups, and in the vagueness of its social and political ideals. Membership indeed is so wide that it has become little more than a formality, and only one organised political force, the Communists (whose position is described later in this note), stands outside the party fold. Thus, an analysis of the party structure reveals within it the clash of a number of well-defined organised interests. These are the true elements of which the politics of China are composed, and they may be listed as follows :—

Firstly there is the army, consisting of peasants and officered for the most part by sons of the petty gentry; next the commercial organisations, such as the modern banks; thirdly a kind of informal and nation-wide freemasonry of the landed gentry; fourthly the universities, playing still a weighty and often much misunderstood part in swaying public feeling; and finally the secret societies, these being of ancient origin, highly organised, and a most characteristic part of Chinese polity.

With so many groups taking part in public life, there is room for every type of person. The principal of the *dramatis personæ* are generals, professional party leaders, professional administrators, bankers, merchants, industrialists, university professors, and prominent landlords. In character they range from the almost entirely westernised expatriate, who thinks and talks, if he does not always act, in a way indistinguishable from our own, to the equally sophisticated but altogether Chinese type of the Mandarin; to the raw missionary-educated Y.M.C.A. type; to the type of more or less modernised professional soldier with trained but limited mind; to the mere natural thug or bandit. By far the greater part come from middle class stock; in Chinese politics the genuine son of the people is hardly less rare than under the old régime.

3. This is the setting and the material. Out of them a political life emerges which is best described as a restless struggle of cliques and factions. A clique in China is unlike a Western party; it is more fluid and has less organisation, is little concerned with ideologies and resembles most nearly the military factions of Japan. It hinges on personalities rather than on principles; indeed, politics in China, more perhaps than in any other modern country, are governed by personal relationships, the principal cement in an otherwise almost chaotic situation being the quasi-feudal loyalty binding followers to their chief. The power of the cliques is derived variously from the possession of solid support such as is given by an army or party machine, or from the personal prestige of their members. No clique can hope to secure unlimited power. Its aim rather is to secure control of a part of the governmental machine—of an army here, or a ministry there. And the warfare of the cliques is tempered by a survival of the old Chinese tradition of compromise, of never pressing too far, of being willing to share power, of shrinking from the arbitrary, of sparing the "face" of the opponent—a tradition which in some ways compensates the notable absence from the Chinese polity of the rule of law. Acts of violence and unbridled aggression do, it is true, take place in this warfare, and send a shock through all the political organism, but they do not occur very frequently, and when they do they excite surprise that, since violence when it is practised is so successful, it is not used more often.

A peculiarity of the struggle of the cliques is that it is conducted in a kind of half light. The foreign observer never knows what is really happening. Every now and then the personal stock of some leading figure rises or falls sharply; there is a sensational dismissal; political power tilts sharply in one direction. But it is seldom clear what *precisely* has happened. All is a half secret, and speculation is clogged by the number of varying rumours which are precipitated by every change, however small, in political relations.

4. If one tries to distinguish the conflicting, often commingling, cliques thus struggling in a kind of murk, a tentative analysis might be made as follows : There are the army factions, of which there are two principal ones, the first being a clique of officers brought up in the Military Academy at Whampoa (near Canton) over which Chiang Kai-shek himself presided, and devoted as by a kind

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of feudal loyalty to the Generalissimo; the second being, broadly speaking, the opposition to them, a faction without any single accepted leader, and whose only bond of union is resistance to the Whampoa group. There is the clique of the leaders who control the party machinery of the Kuomintang, themselves divided into sub-groups, the most important of which are those led by the brothers Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu, and by Chu Chia-hua. With party agents at their disposal spread over the whole country, the party bosses exercise a surprising amount of influence for a society which is believed to be under military dictatorship, and are able to secure the dismissal of generals, to interfere in the day to day administration of departments, and to effect the sudden fall of any but the very highest who incur their displeasure.(1) Their influence is usually in favour of the landed class and the urban financial interests. Next there is a clique of academic personages, holding ministerial positions, and enjoying personal prestige as a kind of overlap of the mandarin tradition of imperial times, but lacking any mass support to give them solid power. There is the clique, rather Left-wing and pro-Soviet in inclination, of Dr. Sun Fo, who enjoys a kind of invulnerable security as a national monument, being the son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. There is the clique of the Finance Minister, Dr. H. H. Kung, a brother-in-law of the Generalissimo, who by a personal *tour de force* has spread his personal following over the entire administrative system so that it has become a kind of ivy overlaying it which cannot be removed without doing irreparable damage to the structure below. Finally, there is the clique of another brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek, the famous Dr. T. V. Soong, who has become a kind of symbol of the modern commercially minded classes whose cult is American efficiency. These have made a solid contribution to the advancement of China by the organisation of such respectable economic institutions as the Bank of China; T. V. Soong's political history has, however, been one of disappointment and frustration. Too gifted to be regarded with favour by Chiang Kai-shek, not sufficiently adroit to be a political match for him, he lost all real power in China in 1933; and though since last Christmas he has held the post of Foreign Minister and is winning laurels in the United States by his negotiation of the Chinese Lease/Lend programme, it is uncertain whether, even with this access of prestige, he and his party will at the end of the war make headway in China itself against the entrenched parties.

5. Presiding over this warfare of the cliques, his ear and " chop " the prize for which they all contend, is the Generalissimo, who thus occupies *vis-à-vis* the factions something of the same position as does President Roosevelt *vis-à-vis* the wrangling groups of the Democratic party in the United States. The Generalissimo and his intimate associates and advisers—Mme. Chiang, whose influence is often exaggerated and a number of powerful but little known personalities, among whom the most potent is said to be an obscure figure who has the title of " Chief of the Corps of A.D.Cs." and who in interviews with foreigners is accustomed to feign semi-idiocy—are the ultimate repositories of sovereignty in China.(2) They bestow their blessing now on one faction, now on another. For a period some leading personage will be admitted to almost daily audiences with the Generalissimo, then abruptly he will be left in the cold for months on end. These sudden shifts of favour are not due to mere caprice, and that they take place is a sign that the sovereignty of the Chiang household is a limited one. Chiang is not an all-powerful dictator of the Hitler type. His position resembles much more nearly that of a Cæsar or Pompey in Rome, or the tyrant of an Italian medieval State. He must juggle, manœuvre, balance groups, conciliate individuals by the gift of patronage. His orders may be obeyed, but if they are inconvenient, and unless they are in matters of the first magnitude, they are sometimes lost or forgotten.

Whatever may be the actual degree of the Chiang dictatorship, it can hardly be questioned that it is that which has given to Chinese politics such stability as they to-day possess. It must never be forgotten that China has only lately emerged from a period of civil strife, that in the course of this there vanished many of the institutions which commanded obedience by the tradition which they embodied, and that it is probably the personal prestige and the sheer power of the

(1) Their position is fortified by the constitutional theory that party organs are of greater dignity than any of the organs of the State. Hence the curious circumstance that in some respects the Ministry of Information, being a party organisation, is of importance in determining foreign policy superior even to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

(2) The advisers on whom Chiang most relies in foreign policy are said to be General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechuan, Dr. Wang Hsieh-cheh, Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Tsiang Ting-fu, former ambassador in Moscow, Dr Chu Chia-hua (who is alleged to have Axis sympathies) and General Shang Cheng.

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Generalissimo which alone prevents the commotion breaking out afresh. China's need of some such form of dictatorship can hardly be questioned. Yet its disadvantages should not be overlooked. One of its main consequences has been to delay the transaction of Government business. Chiang insists on centralisation to an almost bizarre degree; it is believed that when Sir Otto Niemeyer was recently in China, a cook could not be engaged for him without the Generalissimo personally supervising the choice.

6. The pillars of Chiang's power are two-fold: the part of the army which accepts his control, and the secret police.

The Chinese regular army now numbers 200 divisions, with a total of nearly 2 million. Of these, forty divisions, with much of the equipment received from Soviet Russia, are in the north-west under the command of General Hu Tsung-nan, a most powerful personage, with whom British officers have had almost no contact, but who is sometimes spoken of as a crown prince to the Generalissimo. His loyalty to Chiang is certain; so is that of a number of other key generals. The organisation of the army is being rapidly improved, the Military Affairs Commission becoming something very much like a modern War Office and General Staff; and as far as the army is modernised it is a dependable instrument of the Generalissimo.

The other pillar is the secret police. There are at least half a dozen forces of secret police. Of these, two are especially powerful, one, under P. S. Wang, being used for international espionage and political warfare, especially against the Japanese, the other, under the feared and austere Tai Li, for the maintenance of the Generalissimo's internal power.(3) These police forces operate in part through the ancient secret societies of China, which for centuries have been a kind of *imperium in imperio* in Chinese political society. Under the stress of war the secret police has enlarged its powers; it is able to arrest and kill at pleasure; it has almost limitless funds, and, indeed, what has happened is that the balance between the bureaucracy and the societies, maintained for many centuries in favour of the bureaucracy, has now tilted decisively in favour of the societies.

7. One other factor must be taken into account, that is, public opinion. The rôle of public opinion is difficult to determine. There are many newspapers in China, but all except the uniquely licensed Communist paper in Chungking, are under strict control. There is widespread political consciousness and a certain latitude in political discussion—yet among the *intelligentsia* there is a sense that all this discussion is without effect. Yet public opinion, even if the public opinion of a limited circle, does, at least sporadically, push and set in motion the somewhat rickety governmental machine. Riotous students, financiers flushed by a sudden business boom, and military officers of the "Young China" type, provided the atmosphere for the Sian incident of December 1936 and thereafter compelled the Generalissimo to make a truce with the Communists and turn to resist the Japanese. A student demonstration as late as January of this year caused considerable embarrassment to Dr. H. H. Kung. It is, indeed, public opinion of a kind—married to the inflexible will of Chiang Kai-shek—which has kept China in the war.

8. Whatever the occasional power of an explosion of public petulance it becomes clear from the analysis above that China as a democracy is a legend. To find a suitable designation for its Government is, however, not easy; and it may perhaps best be described as Fascist, but Fascist in a new and special oriental sense. There is no liberty to start anti-governmental parties; but the Kuomintang is a most latitudinarian party and is not omnipotent. Freedom of criticism is surprisingly wide. The Government makes little attempt to ram home a cut-and-dried ideology. In seeking to describe the essence of this system, perhaps the key fact to be noticed is that the moving force in China—as to some extent in Japan—is the determination by Government to permit no political activity outside its control, and similarly to permit economic activity only within certain limits;(4) at the same time it is unwilling merely to repress all such activity;

(3) Other secret organisations are under the control (1) of the Kuomintang—used especially for "thought control" and discipline in the schools and universities. The actual head is an aggressive American-educated person named Hsu En-tseng; the patron is Chen Li-fu; (2) of the San Min Chu Yi Youth Corps, which is under a man named Kang Teh, and which specialised in operating among Chinese communities overseas; and (3) of the Chinese Ministry of Information, under Dr. Hollington Tong, who visited India with the Generalissimo. The assassinations in Shanghai of the supporters of Wang Ching-wei are said to have been arranged by Tai Li.

(4) The Chinese Government has already announced that at the end of the war it intends to place the trade in a considerable number of commodities under a rather loose form of State monopoly.

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rather the Government aims at spreading itself like a fungus over all the national activity, or, to change the metaphor, at drawing all activity under its own wing. Thereby the Government is secure against any rival power obtaining the political or economic might to challenge it, and thereby it also gives to itself a certain elasticity and principle of growth.

9. Only with one great political movement has the Government been unable to come to terms in this way. This is the Chinese Communist party. This party, a kind of skeleton at the feast or a sword of Damocles, has since the establishment of the Kuomintang power fifteen years ago been a threat to and preoccupation of the Chinese Government, greater even than that provided by foreign Powers, at least until the Japanese invasion began in earnest. Whatever its early history, the Chinese Communist party can be regarded as an indigenous growth, not an offshoot of Russia. It became formidable by placing itself at the head of a peasant jacquerie, for which there was ample cause in the extraordinary exactions of the landlords and the scanty resources out of which the peasantry sought to meet them. The Communist leaders are drawn very largely from the same social classes as the Kuomintang, but on the whole are perhaps tougher and more resolute. The history of their wars with the Kuomintang—lasting from 1927 to 1936—has been disgraced by massacre on the vast scale—but atrocity is no unusual thing in Asiatic rebellions, nor were the Kuomintang armies any more gentle in their methods. The achievements of the Communists in ordered government in the areas where from time to time they succeeded in settling have been exaggerated, though it is possible that some institutions were created and reforms pushed through which are worthy of imitation by a more regular administration.

The baleful influence of the Communist movement on Chinese history is that the fear of communism drove the Kuomintang into methods of government and a negative outlook from which it might have been free had it not been menaced by so formidable a rival; and it also distracted its attention from what should have been its major task, defence against Japan. (It can, however, be argued that it was the civil wars which enabled Chiang Kai-shek to build up a modern army.) A somewhat uneasy truce was struck in 1937 and has persisted since; the Communists have played a part—though one which has been magnified by propagandists—in the national defence; but the manœuvring for position by the one side against the other has certainly weakened the Chinese war effort. At present the Communists enjoy a semi-independent territory in North China, and their position in consequence is somewhat like that of the Huguenots at La Rochelle at the end of the French wars of religion; but like the Huguenots, they are unlikely to enjoy it for very long, most observers expecting that civil war will be revived at the end of the war with Japan. Opinion differs as to what will be the issue. On the one hand, the Kuomintang Government, fortified by war-time aid from the United States, Great Britain and Russia, and with the prestige of having waged and won a major war, will be stronger than when it last fought the Communists. On the other hand, a worsening agrarian distress, the spread of arms among the masses, the revolutionary ferment which follows all wars, and the possibilities of internal split in the Kuomintang, based partly on the feeling that the Kuomintang is effete and has had its day, would work in favour of the Communists.

10. Such is the political scene of Free China as it appears to an observer. Many other factors should be sketched in; the contrast of incompetence and brilliant improvisation; the unsuspected fighting qualities of the common soldiers and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for a Government which does not trouble to provide them with more than the most rudimentary medical and welfare services; the sheer force of nationalism which is probably the basic cause of China's perseverance with the war; the conviction that China, by its achievements in war, has regained equality with the West, and the somewhat arrogant belief that it has now something to teach the West; the astute propaganda which internally has built Chiang into a demi-god and externally has planted in the United States and to some extent in England a most distorted view of the Chinese political scene; the unbounded corruption and the occasional austere fanaticism; the curious puritan movement enforced by the Generalissimo and Madame on a reluctant populace; the peculiarities of the Chinese mind, so individualistic, so histrionic, prone to believe that the conceiving of a thing is equal to the doing of it, careless of efficiency and yet often able to achieve most notable results in organisation; the zeal for the increase of material prosperity and the cult of physical fitness, so much in contrast to the teachings of the Indian Mahatma; the collapse among the young of the artistic and many of the moral traditions of their ancestors; the growth among them of a gangsterism and a

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"go-getter" spirit; the abandonment almost overnight of much of China's cultural heritage, and the universal appearance—in architecture, in ideas, in manners—of a nation crumbling in ruin and of a new nation emerging which, though better organised than its predecessor, will have lost much of its predecessor's charms and grace.

11. Behind all political facts lie economic ones. Chungking politics can be understood only in the context of the economic life of Free China. And the economic situation is not very favourable. Yet its seriousness can be overstated. The relatively primitive economic development of China has been paradoxically a military asset. Free China has very little industry, since, contrary to the belief spread by Chinese propaganda, no more than 70,000 tons of machinery were brought away from the coastal regions. Chungking derives therefore its economic strength from the fields; and these cannot, like industrial centres, be destroyed by air bombardment, nor is the predominantly agrarian economy very susceptible to paralysis by blockade. There is in Free China no single economic reserve centre on which attack may concentrate, hence Japan's inability to terminate the war by any sudden *coup*.

Even the internal economic difficulties of the Chinese Government can be overstated. The situation recalls the old Austrian by-word, that the position is hopeless but not serious. If prices rocket, if the Government rejects the advice of its foreign well-wishers, if ministers squeeze private profits out of the misfortunes of their country, if the Minister of Finance has become, as he well may be, the richest man in the world, if the budget is 90 per cent. unbalanced, if credit for legitimate business is unobtainable because the supply is used entirely for speculation—yet the political complications seem surprisingly slight, and nobody seems to suffer very gravely. Wages of the poor seem to have risen even more rapidly than prices, and on the middle class the impact of the inflation has been cushioned by arrangements for their obtaining rice at prices artificially cheap. Indeed it might be thought that if an inflation could endure perpetually, a steady inflation was an ideal state of affairs in China, since the masses do not seem to suffer unduly by it, and since the privileged are enabled to make such vast profits that their political allegiance is sure. The trouble, according to the experts, is that no inflation can endure indefinitely, and always ends in misery; yet the prophets of catastrophe have been so persistently wrong in China that pessimism is always open to doubt. In the meanwhile there is in Chungking and Kunming all the air of bustle and well-being of an economic boom; there are no beggars; if the houses are bombed the people are well dressed and well fed, and if the blockade is tightening the shops are as yet still bursting with goods.(*)

This is the state of affairs of the great cities. The economic conditions in the smaller towns are certainly less favourable and in some parts of the country there is destitution. A sinister feature is the progressive breakdown of internal communications causing the smaller centres to revert to an economic and political isolation. About the condition of the peasantry there are divided opinions, and while in some provinces they are profiting from the high prices of agricultural goods, in others it is said that they are harassed by an undiscriminating programme of conscription, by the demands of the landlords, and by the collection of land revenue in kind; and that as a result the total agricultural production is falling.

12. What the end of hostilities holds for China and its political evolution nobody can at the present stage really say. But two things seem certain: one that China will not adopt a democratic form of government in any usual sense of the word "democratic"; the other, that with its unsolved internal problems, political and economic, the end of the war is hardly likely to see China "move into broad sunlit uplands." The present stability depends to a dangerous extent on the personal dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek—limited though that dictatorship may be—for after thirty years of revolution no institutions have survived which are able in themselves to command obedience, no established customs among the political factions which ensure harmonious co-operation in the management of affairs. There is hardly a man in China who does not look forward with misgiving to what may follow the departure of Chiang Kai-shek. Another

(*) These are very largely Japanese. Smuggled trade is in general to the advantage of both the Chinese and the Japanese. It reduces the hardships of the Chungking *bourgeoisie* to be able to purchase some of the amenities of life and thereby improves morale. Japanese officers who connive at smuggling are able to supplement their inadequate salaries.

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Generalissimo may arise; but if he succeeds without civil war, China will perhaps have been more fortunate than on the basis of present facts it has the right to expect.

13. There remains occupied China.

To describe the Japanese military system in this area, the degree of effective control, and the Japanese method of economic exploitation, is not part of the purpose of this note. An investigation of that kind would have to be at considerable length, since the Japanese system differs in different parts of the country, and would also be difficult, so capable have the Japanese been in dropping a safety-curtain in front of the area.(6) The interest here is in the nature of the "Quisling Government" of Wang Ching-wei.

The seat of this is at Nanking: a similar quisling régime exists at Peking and proposals to federate the two have so far been frustrated, partly by the interest of the Northern politicians in maintaining their offices, partly by the indecision of the Japanese. The Nanking Government is the more important of the two. It consists almost entirely of Chinese of the old-fashioned type—Chinese with solid financial interests which they see endangered by the continuation of the war, who love the semblance of power and comfort more than the glories and rigours of Chungking, who believe that the country is going to ruin and that only a respectable Conservative Government can check its course. Many are financially corrupt, but not more so, perhaps even less, than the politicians of Chungking. Some are scholars and men of cultivation; and it is said that the Nanking Cabinet includes more poets than any other Government in the world.

Thus, they are men who are anything but monsters of vice, but their main peculiarity is that they are nearly all of surprising lack of distinction. If all were known in national politics before the war, none, with the exception of Wang Ching-wei, was internationally famous. Wang himself is certainly one of the great figures of that period of Chinese history now ending. Restlessly active in politics since his appearance on the stage in 1911 as the attempted assassin of the then Prince-Regent, one of the old associates of Sun Yat-sen, a former extremist and friend of Borodin, repeatedly in the inner councils of whatever Government the Kuomintang has from time to time created, Wang is a figure whom it is foolish to take lightly. His defection from Chungking—due, apparently, to vexation at being overshadowed by the Generalissimo, and perhaps to a genuine view that China could make a compact with Japan which would at once spare bloodshed and save the national honour—was the heaviest blow which the Government of Free China has suffered; and as long as he finds it possible to work with Japan, there is always the possibility that he may act as a magnet, drawing over some of his old party associates. Wang, it must be recognised, gives a certain respectability to the Nanking Government.

The striking fact, however, is that Wang is the only man of this class in his Government. There are many other leaders at Chungking who have had many inducements to follow Japan or even supersede Wang. They have not (as yet) desired, or not considered it worth while, to accept.

14. For Great Britain the reason for studying these curious political affairs is to see whether they suggest any likelihood of an accommodation taking place

(6) A few facts may, however, be of some interest. The Japanese economic development has gone furthest in Manchuria, is gathering momentum in the north and is relatively ineffective in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the north, Japan has built new roads and railways, and has further developed iron and coal-mining. In the Yangtze it has confined itself chiefly to the taking over of public utilities in the towns; these, as the owners have usually been expropriated, are naturally able to show a profit.

Much of the Japanese programme has been aimed at obtaining cheap supplies of raw materials, and the trade in a number of staple products has been put under control. In some cases—notably with the tobacco monopoly—the Japanese have offered such low prices that there has been a catastrophic abandonment of the cultivation of the crop in question.

Japanese policy has been experimental; there have been clashes of divergent interests; the company for exploiting the north has been jealous of the company concerned with the Yangtze Valley. Thus economic policy has varied from time to time. Similarly with financial policy; the plan of forcing the yen on the occupied territory was modified when it was found out that the Japanese exporters to China received a currency which was useless to them for the purchase of agricultural produce from Free China which was so much needed.

About the effectiveness of political control it is hard to form an opinion. The Japanese seem to be masters of the towns and railways: if much of the intervening agricultural districts are a kind of no-man's land, at least the inhabitants are willing to trade with Japan, except in special and somewhat unusual circumstances where the Chinese guerrillas have organised an embargo. On the other hand, the magistrates of the "Quisling Government" do not seem to be able to collect taxes except in the immediate neighbourhood of their yamens. And guerrillas are able to come and go—even if they are not especially active—throughout the length and breadth of the country.

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between Chungking and Japan. This interest is a very lively one. China's military aid may not be very extensive, nor might its military opposition, if it joined Japan, prove very formidable; but it cannot be forgotten that China's intransigence is the main spoke in the wheel of Japan's pan-Asiatic propaganda, and that the emergence of an apparently solid *bloc* of China, Japan, Thailand, &c., would cause a serious "moral" swing against us, and embarrass us particularly in India. Nor should the eventual usefulness of air-bases in China be overlooked.

What, then, are the signs of an appeasement faction in Chungking? Certainly there is war weariness. Certainly there are contacts between eminent people at Chungking and the Wang Ching-wei Government—for, as has been well said, no doors are ever slammed in China. There are generals whose allegiance is shaky, and party leaders such as Chu Chia-hua (a German-educated ex-minister, head of one of the party intelligence organisations, and incongruously chairman of the British Boxer Indemnity Trust) who might in certain circumstances take the lead in making peace with Japan. There is a latent anti-Western feeling which might in certain circumstances coalesce with the anti-Western drive by Japan. Traditionally there is a strong anti-Russian sentiment and as a result there is a curiously widespread desire that the Japanese should at the end of the war retain at least sufficient strength to counterbalance Russia. Moreover, there is among many of the possessing groups a state of mind best described as Pétainism—the belief that, evil as submission to foreign aggression may be, the evils of internal chaos are greater; and if as a result of the war being prolonged the power of the Chinese Communists should grow, that might lead to a considerable demand for capitulation.

All these forces make, or might in certain circumstances make, for agreement with Japan. Yet the observers who are probably the most competent seemed convinced that Chiang Kai-shek himself is either too much committed to an Anglo-Saxon victory, or too deeply convinced that the economic power of Anglo-America will in the end prove decisive, to countenance any such move; they suggest, therefore, that appeasement could not succeed without a palace revolution, and they say that, while this is not an impossibility, Chiang's hold over the imagination of the young, the intricacy of his secret police organisations, and the loyalty of his more important generals, make it an unlikely event. Finally they point out as a surprising and somewhat reassuring fact, that the Opposition Government of Wang Ching-wei, after nearly two years of existence and in spite of the bait of comfort and profit which it has to offer, has up to the present failed spectacularly to cause defections of the eminent and the respected.

(2)

Sir E. Teichman to Mr. Weightman.

(No. 84. Secret.)

My dear Weightman, *Chungking, August* 8, 1942.

IN reply to your letter of 7th July, D.O. 533/8, we think the paper on China you sent us is a shrewd and realistic picture of the general set-up in this country. As you invite our comments, I submit some views in the form of the following observations, which should not, however, be taken to imply that we do not consider the whole paper a very good and instructive description of the Chinese State in 1942.

2. The author, perhaps intentionally to emphasise his points, lays the colours on too thickly, and tends to overdraw his picture from his description of the complexity of the modern Chinese Government to that of the climate of Chungking.

3. As regards the former, the historical background and the main outline of the development and constitution of the present Kuomintang Government in China are not really such a jig-saw puzzle, and are explained in various modern books, more especially Chinese propaganda publications, which, making due allowance for the national genius for make-believe, are quite informative. We referred in our despatch to the Foreign Office No. 254 of the 3rd August (copied to India) to the most recent of these propaganda publications, entitled *China, after Five Years of War*.

4. The original problem posed to the leaders of the Chinese Revolution of 1911–12 was how to establish a stable and unified system of government in China after the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty. We realise now how supremely

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difficult the problem was. (Compare that of how to govern India after the withdrawal of the British Raj.) The attempt to establish a parliamentary State modelled on the democracies of Britain and America failed, as we now see, looking back, that it was bound to fail. Yuan Shih-kai's alternative attempt to restore some form of monarchy was equally doomed to result in failure and his own collapse. There ensued ten years of anarchy, disunion, banditry and civil wars, when "war-lords" flourished, and we talked of recognising Northern and Southern Governments. Russians and Japanese fished in these troubled waters. The solution, when it came, was borrowed by the Chinese from Russia. The old revolutionary party was reorganised into the Kuomintang, with Sun Yat-sen as the leader and prophet, and his *San-min Chu-i* ("Three People's Principles") as the bible of the party, and a party State was founded in the early 1920's (modelled on the lines of Soviet Russia) and grew into the modern China of the Kuomintang. It is difficult to see what other solution could ever have been found.

5. Nor is the system of government so very recondite. In theory, the Kuomintang extends like a network over the countryside; the party delegates elect a Party Congress, and the Congress elects a Central Executive Committee, which in turn nominates the Government and its five Yuan. There are also the party organs, functioning often side by side with those of the Government. But it is the party which is the sole ultimate repository of all political power.

6. This is the theory: In practice China is ruled by her leader, Chiang Kai-shek, and a clique of family supporters and adherents, *depending for their powers of government on the Kuomintang machine*. Whether one regards them as using the Kuomintang, or used by the Kuomintang, is really immaterial. *I Tang, Chih Kuo* ("By means of the party, administer the State").

7. A notable omission in the paper is the absence of any mention of Sun Yat-sen's *San-min Chu-i*, the "Three People's Principles": Equality (nationalism), Democracy and Livelihood, on which the Kuomintang policies are supposed generally to be based. We may find it difficult to make much sense of this long-winded bible of the Kuomintang, but, as the canon of China's modern prophet, it is of great importance all the same, and, making again due allowance for Chinese "make-believe," it would be misleading to ignore the influence of Dr. Sun's "Three People's Principles" on China's foreign and domestic policies.

8. Again in theory, Sun Yat-sen laid down the three periods: military action, tutelage and constitutional rule. China was supposed to be about to emerge from the second into the final stage when attacked by Japan in 1937. This (or Chiang Kai-shek's death) will be the final test of Sun Yat-senism and the Kuomintang. Can a workable democratic Constitution be evolved? The answer I would give is: not perhaps in our life-time; but the Chinese are capable of anything in time, and the Kuomintang are seeking to build up their future democratic form of government on a broad basis, working from below, *e.g.*, by promoting people's councils, beginning in the villages, which have from the most ancient days been the real homes of democracy in China. Note the difference between the fundamental doctrine of the Kuomintang and those of other modern ideologies. Whereas the theories of the Nazis, Fascists and Communists are presumably ends in themselves, the Kuomintang regard their party as trustees charged with the duty of guiding China into the ways of constitutional rule. And note also that the Chinese character, mentality and ways of life are fundamentally casteless, classless and democratic, however undemocratic their present form of government may be. The Chinese have little reverence for outward trappings and are little impressed by the display of pomp and power. Take, for instance, the case of Chiang Kai-shek, who lives, like most of his predecessors of the past, in an atmosphere of relative simplicity. Note that there is no Chinese equivalent for the title of Generalissimo, which has been conferred by the English-speaking world on Chiang Kai-shek. To the Chinese he is known as Chiang Wei-yuan-chang ("Mr. Chairman Chiang"), from one of his many posts (chairman of the Supreme Defence Council, or of the Military Affairs Commission, according to the speaker's thoughts).

9. From the above it follows that I think the statement in section 6 defining the two pillars of Chiang's power is insufficient, and that I would add that the entire structure is based on the Kuomintang machine, and also that the statement in section 8 that "China as a democracy is a legend" is not altogether true.

10. I do not think the paper makes sufficient mention of the remarkable changes which are taking place in modern China. There is a new leaven at work, which is perhaps specially noticeable to one who, like myself, returns to the China of 1942 after an absence of some years; a leaven manifesting itself in many ways, in the appearance of the country's youth, both boys and girls, in educational developments, and in the progress made in military and technical efficiency.

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11. One must bear in mind that Chinese industry and efficiency transcend in their results the individual Chinese (who remains a figure provoking mirth, antipathy or friendly sympathy, according to one's lights), and resemble rather the qualities of a colony of ants or hive of bees. It is the combined efforts of the race which produce—and often instinctively rather than following a settled plan—those results which sooner or later manifest themselves wherever Chinese live and work.

12. The Chinese soldier as I knew him for a generation was a coolie bandit, dangerous only to the unarmed populace on which he preyed. Nothing has caused me more surprise on my return to China than the progress, even though it may be largely relative, made by the Chinese in military organisation and efficiency. No doubt the answer to this, as to many other riddles of modern China, goes back to the days of Russian tutelage, when the Chinese were taught the technique of a fighting revolutionary nationalism.

13. Referring to the third paragraph of section 13, we have no reference books here, but I think it was in 1909, not in 1911, that Wang Ching-wei, then a young revolutionary, bombed the Manchu Prince Regent unsuccessfully. Wang is a curious type, French-speaking, always very reserved in his attitude towards us and probably towards other foreigners, and neither attractive nor impressive. His career has been a chequered one, even for a Chinese politician of the revolution, with long periods of obscurity. Working with Chiang Kai-shek, he could never be more than a figure-head. His reputation rested largely on his powers of oratory. As long ago as the early 1930's, before I left China, he was regarded as an unreliable and unstable element in Government and party, and more of an ornament to than a worker in the Kuomintang. Now his name is held in execration, a fact which helps materially to deter others from following his example.

14. As regards the danger of China ceasing her resistance and coming to terms with Japan, I think that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek have nailed their colours on this issue so firmly to the mast that a reversal of policy is still improbable; but we are all here agreed that an all-out Japanese attempt to liquidate the "China Incident," accompanied by the continued failure on the part of Britain and America to render real assistance by a military diversion (attack on Burma) or big air support, might lead to a collapse of the whole structure of the Government. I would add that the Chinese, as a practical people, look primarily to America to win the war against Japan. If this faith in the determination of the United States to see things through were ever to be shaken, the keystone of China's spirit of resistance would collapse.

15. Although it is not altogether relevant, the above leads me to observe that the Chinese have for the past half-century tended to regard America as their one really disinterested friend amongst the Powers. On their side the American people and their Government (in spite of the disillusioned attitude of many Americans, including their ambassador, in China) profess to regard the Chinese as equals and the chief factor in the future of the East. Failure to appreciate this attitude leads sometimes to misunderstandings in our dealings with China and America.

16. I attach two further notes on the paper by W. C. Cassels, assistant financial commissioner in the embassy (formerly consular service and later political adviser to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank), and Findlay Andrew, our chief Chinese expert and contact man, both sound judges of things Chinese.

17. We will try and remember to have the paper brought up, say, every six months, with a view, as you suggest, to keeping the subject-matter up to date.

ERIC TEICHMAN.

Enclosure 1 in (2).

China—Fact and Fiction.

IT is refreshing to read this candid statement on the controversial subject of China as it is to-day. There is too much bunkum written on this subject. Here, I think, we see expressed the views of many who know China well, are her staunch friends and have no use for the die-hard scepticism of the treaty-port types, but who sometimes despair at the way "Fact and Fiction" get mixed up in views about China.

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Unfortunately the balance of the article is spoiled by a few uncalled-for gibes such as " the ubiquitous but dingy colours of the Chinese flag " and not a few inaccuracies. For instance, membership of the Kuomintang is not nearly as wide as is implied. The reference to an obscure figure " Chief of the Corps of A.D.Cs " is doubtful. The tale about Sir Otto Niemeyer's cook is incorrect. Probably undue prominence is given to the secret societies. It is questionable whether there has been any " breakdown in internal communications causing the smaller centres to revert to an economic and political isolation " other than the unavoidable breakdown in war areas. Nor does recent information about the peasantry confirm the author's gloomy view.

There are other inaccuracies and though many of them are small points they detract from the article and spoil the effect of the many shrewd and pointed observations about the political set-up in China. The summing up in paragraph 14 covers the ground very adequately, and while the author shirks giving his own conclusions, he quotes " observers " who fairly express the most balanced view of the present situation—namely, that appeasement with Japan still remains unlikely. The writer has, however, ignored one important point : the possibility of strong Japanese military activity aimed at capturing Kunming and, perhaps, an extension of the present campaign in Kiangsi into Hunan. These are possibilities which would have far-reaching effects and should not be ignored in studying China's relations with Japan and the effect of these on the outcome of the war situation.

W. C. C.
18/7/42.

Chungking, July 20. 1942.

Enclosure 2 in (2).

I DON'T think the writer makes clear the answer to the question asked in his preamble, *i.e.*, " where amid this confusion there reposes the true political power in China? " Surely the answer is the Kuomintang. The slogan *I Tang Chih Kuo* has been interpreted into practical action leading to duplication of vice-ministers, directors, heads of departments, by direct Kuomintang appointees.

Section 10.—I think the reference to the New Life Movement is somewhat misleading; despite the many abuses and extremes which have been associated with the enforcement of the teachings of the New Life Movement, I believe you will find many Chinese who speak well of it. When one remembers that at the time of the revolution, in 1912, the classics, with all the moral and ethical teaching they ministered to youth, were eliminated from the schools overnight, it is not surprising that the generation of students in the following fifteen years proved so unruly and undisciplined. I think it was the appreciation of the fact that " man cannot live by bread alone " that led to the inauguration of the New Life Movement, taking as their guiding principles the latter four of the eight moral obligations quoted by Confucius; these four being from the spring and autumn annals, evolved by the sage Kwan Tze at a time when the country was in a similar state to that existing when the movement was launched by the Chiangs. I think there is a danger in foreigners who do not appreciate the background ridiculing the movement on account of excesses carried out by over-enthusiastic devotees. I believe that in the main it has done good and met a definite need.

Paragraph 5 *of Section* 2.—I would put the secret societies first.

F. A.
18/7/42.

Chungking, July 20. 1942.

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NAR/SR
15.12.42

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Arrangements for the staff of the Legation at Chungking have not gone as far or as satisfactorily as the arrangements for Kuibyshev. We should have an experienced senior officer with General Odlum. K.W. Taylor would have been first class and strengthened the Legation establishment enormously. However, he is, for the time being, unavailable. We gave a good deal of consideration to G.S. Patterson, whom Keenleyside recommended very strongly. The difficulties in his case were largely financial. He is a man of middle age, without independent private means, presently protected as an officer of the International Y.M.C.A. by a Carnegie pension scheme. He feels himself unable to leave his present post with the Y.M.C.A. for a purely wartime appointment. He probably could be persuaded to go to Chungking if he were assured that it was an assignment he could hold for the next seven or eight years until he was 65, and if arrangements could be made for transferring his pension protection. These are rather difficult conditions to meet. In the meantime, Collins, who has had two years' experience in the Department and has a good knowledge of Chinese, is ready to go as Third Secretary, and Major Hiram Wooster has been brought back from the United Kingdom to go as Assistant Military Attache. Wooster is a British Columbian and a graduate of Stanford University, who has had several years' experience in China in engineering and construction work. He is a man of good presence and attractive personality, and very well recommended by the Army.

As matters stand, it looks as if we will have to send out three - Odlum, Wooster and Collins - as a nucleus of the Legation staff, reinforcing them as soon as we can get the right men for the job.

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Report on the Political Condition of China. Submitted by Mr. H. J. Scrymgeour Wedderburn, M.P., February 1943, *arising out of the Parliamentary Delegation's visit to China.*

THE state of politics in China is not always easily understood by a European. All Chinese citizens profess, most of them with sincerity, the three principles of the founder of their republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. These are: Democratic government based on free popular consent: true patriotism, which must insist on equality, but which must offer a benevolent comradeship to the whole human race: and the raising of the material standards of the people—phrases with which we ourselves are not altogether unfamiliar.

2. In fact, Free China at the present time is under the exclusive dominion of the Kuomintang party. The National Defence Council, which determines Government policy under the chairmanship of Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the party, includes all the chief members of the party. The various organs of government, including the Legislative Yuan, which makes all the laws, the Executive Yuan, which corresponds to the Cabinet, and the Judicial Yuan, which controls justice, are responsible only to the party congress or to its executive committee. The courts of justice only deal with a proportion of criminal cases, and many prisoners are tried by the police, who act as both accusers and judges. Teaching in the schools and universities is being brought into conformity with the party's political requirements, and a number of professors, who have had difficulty in complying with these arrangements, have been removed from their posts.

3. The press is censored, and no expression of opinion unacceptable to the party is permitted to appear. All credit money is now confined to four banks, which have been brought under the party's management. The most important productive industries in the country exist, expand or develop by the sufferance of the party. The successful and flourishing co-operative movement, which had enabled 40,000 workers, partly through foreign advice and assistance, to find a livelihood in undertakings which were owned by themselves, is now about to be brought under the administration of the party and the foreign advisers are being removed. We had a conversation in our ambassador's house with Mr. Rewi Alley, who has done great work for the co-operative movement. We understand that the Government has decided to dispense with his services, but we do not know whether he has yet been removed.

4. Mr. Tai Li, Chief of the Secret Police, controls one of the few Government services in China which are efficiently administered. A vast system of espionage extends into every corner of unoccupied China. All whose subservience to the party machine may be in doubt are subject always to surveillance, sometimes to restraint and occasionally to liquidation.

5. During our stay in Chungking we were often delighted to see an industrious work party of six smiling young coolies, who were engaged on the work of road surveying outside our house. They were always busily occupied in measuring the length of the road, from the corner of the garage to the top end of the terrace, a total distance of about 30 yards. They had between them one long tape-measure, which they unrolled, rolled up and unrolled again with the greatest diligence and perseverance. Two of them held one end of the measure. Three of them held the other end, while the sixth walked up and down the middle, examining with close interest the expansion, or contraction, of the tape. We always used to wave to these young men whenever we left or entered the house, and we sometimes used to wonder how many days it would take them to ascertain the precise length of this little bit of road, whose measurements seemed so elusive. We learnt from our embassy that they were all members of Tai Li's Secret Police, whose duty it was to observe whether we were visited and interviewed by any persons who were not in the good graces of the Kuomintang. The charming and

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attentive domestics inside the house, who ministered to all our needs and comforts, with the greatest alacrity and competence, were also members of the same organisation.

6. It might be unfair, and perhaps ungenerous, if we were to call attention to any slight resemblances which we might occasionally perceive between these methods of government in China and the government of other countries with whom our relations are not so friendly. It could never have been easy to establish any real national unity among a people so disorganised and so undisciplined as the Chinese. It has been a stern and heavy labour to sustain for five years the resistance of an almost unarmed nation against the superior mechanical power of a ruthless aggressor.

7. The head of the Government and commander-in-chief of the army, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, is a man of high patriotism and devotion to his public duty. If he is not universally liked by his countrymen (and no strong character is liked by everyone), he is universally trusted. Among the common people he is looked upon as the symbol of resistance to the hated invader. In public his name is treated with a veneration that is almost religious.

8. He has made some attempt to fill the highest offices of State with men of integrity, and he has found one or two. But he suffers from one serious weakness, which has revealed itself also in other great men. His temper is autocratic, and he is much too inclined to dispense with the services of a good colleague who is honest enough to express disagreement with himself, and to replace him by some compliant subordinate whose loyalty is all on the surface. Few people now dare to tell him any truth which they think might displease him. He is ignorant of much that goes on in the army, in public finance and the administration of his party. He is impatient of discussion, and important information on military or political affairs from his ministers, or his staff, is often received by a monosyllabic acknowledgment and an abrupt termination of the interview.

9. A single firm ruler could hardly be expected to eradicate the corruption which is ingrained by long centuries of tradition in the public administration of China. When we went to stay with the Generalissimo, at his mountain retreat at Huang Shan, a few miles from Chungking, he was good enough to tell us that he intended after the war to give China a constitution modelled on the British parliamentary system, which he considered to be the best in the world. He is quick in apprehension and all our conversations, in which either Dr. Wellington Koo or Dr. Hollington Tong acted as interpreter, proceeded without pause or difficulty. He was much entertained by any stories we could tell him about the House of Commons, and particularly by any choice passages we could recall from the Prime Minister's speeches.

10. In another conversation with him during this visit he spoke of his plans for the development of China after the war. In the wheat-growing areas of the north, where the land is suitable for mechanised farming, it is intended that the holdings of the peasantry shall be combined into units large enough to be cultivated by motor tractors, the proceeds being shared by the collective owners who will work on the farm. Mechanisation will increase the yield of food, and will at the same time greatly reduce the amount of labour which is now engaged in tilling the soil. This surplus labour will be available for the mines, oil wells, factories, communications and housing schemes which are to be opened or built. The Generalissimo considered that heavy industries, and the working of minerals, should be owned and directed by the State, but that smaller industries, which should be well distributed throughout the rural areas, are more suitable for private ownership. He (and also Mme. Chiang) are most favourably disposed towards the workers' co-operative movement, to which we have already referred. They are probably quite unaware that this movement is now in grave danger of being killed by the corruption of the party officials.

11. The natural resources of China are believed to be far greater than those of Soviet Russia. China's man-power is more than twice as numerous as Russia's, and the industry of the Chinese workman is probably superior to that of the Russian. The Generalissimo expects that the industrialisation of China will outstrip that of Russia both in speed and in volume.

12. We shall leave till a later section the question of how China will arrange, or try to arrange, for the import of foreign machinery and other capital goods at the commencement of this programme, since we did not discuss this subject with the Generalissimo himself. Nor did we ask him how much priority will be given to the production of war material. From one or two independent sources we were informed that the "five-year plans" of the

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Kuomintang, like those of the U.S.S.R., give the first place to the building of war factories and strategic railways, but we do not know how far this information is reliable.

13. Chiang Kai-shek, though he may be ignorant of the dishonesty of many people in high positions, is fully aware that his plans for political unity and the rapid industrial development of his country can only succeed if a new spirit of service and duty is cultivated among the whole people. To this end he has founded and fostered a number of institutions or movements which are intended to educate different classes of people in the observance of private virtue and public service.

14. The San Min Chu Yi Youth Corps is a popular institution with branches in every part of the country. Its professed object is to teach the practical application to Chinese life of the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Its training is semi-military. Strict obedience to the party is demanded and freedom of thought is not encouraged. For these reasons it is naturally compared by its critics to the Hitler Jugend. But it is teaching thousands of young men and women to have some respect for the virtues of self-sacrifice and loyalty, which they would otherwise never have learnt at all. Among a people who are as deficient in these virtues as the Chinese have always been, discipline must come before freedom, if any improvement in the condition of the country is to be made.

15. We were entertained in various ways by the Youth Corps in Chungking, Sian, Chengtu and Kunming, and, besides addressing large audiences of its members, we made some enquiries into the character of its teaching. Particular attention is paid to the science of health and nutrition. Physical training is practised and the knowledge of good diet is cultivated. The dignity of manual labour is upheld. Formerly all Chinese whose economic circumstances did not compel them to work with their hands for their living used to consider it beneath their dignity to perform any manual task, even for the sake of exercise or recreation.

16. An institution for the training of older men in the duties of citizenship is provided by the Central Training Corps, whose premises are established on the outskirts of Chungking. Men of all ages from 25 to 55 are selected from all parts of China to undergo a short course of five weeks' training. The buildings accommodate a thousand students, and 15,000 have so far been through the course. Usually each course is confined to men of one profession—lawyers for one period, doctors for another, school-teachers for a third, and so on. When we visited the corps a large party of students were engaged in levelling some ground to make a playing field; others were dispersed in small groups for the discussion of questions arising out of their professional duties (during this particular course they were all school-teachers). In the evening we were entertained by a good concert of singing. The students are in uniform and subject to military discipline. They rise at 4·30 A.M. in summer and 5·30 A.M. in winter. The Generalissimo takes a special interest in the corps, and he personally addresses the students for at least one hour every week. (The whole atmosphere is one of great austerity.)

17. The New Life Movement, which has 317 branches, is intended to encourage self-denial and charity. It has no registered membership, since it invites the support of all people. It manages a number of orphanages and other institutions; it organises charitable work for the help of soldiers who are in hospital and for refugees; and it conducts restaurants where good meals are served at a low price but in which alcohol and smoking are not permitted.

18. However low we may rate the prospects of personal liberty and of social reform under the present régime, we do not believe that those prospects would be improved by the substitution of any other. The Communists have at least one able and, we think, honest leader in General Chou En-lai. The professed aims of the Communists are identical with those of the Kuomintang, while they are free from the reactionary social elements by which that party is strongly influenced at present. But we do not think that the Communists could attain power without a long and bloody civil war.

19. If the Generalissimo at the end of the war should find himself in a strong enough position to ignore the more uncompromising men in his own party, he might perhaps offer to allow the Communists to continue their administration of the provinces which they now occupy and to play their part in the building of the new China. If the Communists were to accept such an offer, and to observe it loyally, Chiang would win the lasting admiration of the people, to which he is not insensible, as the statesman who had achieved unity without bloodshed. But he has not much reason to trust the Communists, and he will certainly not take the risk of allowing them to obtain any arms.

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20. There are a number of minority groups, National Democrats, Third Party, National Socialist, National Salvation Association, &c., who are not allowed to have any party organisation and whose activities are mostly underground, but who have considerable influence among the educated classes. Through the kindness of our ambassador we were enabled to meet the principal leaders of these groups in his house, where their remarks were in no danger of being recorded by any instruments which might elsewhere have been concealed about the place by the agents of Mr. Tai Li. They were all the most charming and intelligent people and their conversation was of great interest, but they did not seem to possess much idea of practical statesmanship. Nor did they seem to consider that illiterate persons, who form the majority in China, should be allowed to have any political rights, and they were surprised when we told them that in India, and also in Britain, we had successfully made provision for people who could not read or write to vote by secret ballot. A number of them had resigned from the "People's Political Council" because it was not democratically elected.

21. Inside the party there are divisions of opinion which may become more overt after the war. Dr. Sun Fo (a son of Sun Yat-sen), who is now president of the Legislative Yuan, is said by some of his acquaintances to have declared in private that if real democracy is not established after the war he will leave the country. But the word "democracy" in China may mean almost anything. Chen Li-fu, the powerful Minister of Education, is supposed to lead those elements who desire a party autocracy like that of the Communists in Moscow, or the Nazis in Berlin. Whatever is done, it will be called by the name of democracy and represented as the true realisation of Sun Yat-sen's principles. It is intended that the People's Political Council, which is now in effect nominated by the Kuomintang and whose present functions are advisory, shall ultimately become a representative body. It is partly chosen by the provincial assemblies at present, but the provincial assemblies, and the district councils who elect them, are practically all composed of good party men. The district councils are appointed by the magistrates.

22. Chiang Kai-shek will almost certainly set up the form of a constitution, and it will probably be designed with the intention that it shall ultimately develop into a democracy. But for a very long time to come the real power in China will reside with whoever is able to command the allegiance of a loyal and efficient army. If no one is able to do this, there will then be anarchy. The political direction of China in the next generation will be determined by the young men who are now being trained in the military academies.

23. Some British residents of long standing in China (including the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, whose knowledge of the country is considerable) believe that the policy of the Kuomintang is thoroughly "Fascist" in character and that China, in the not very distant future, will become an enemy of the democracies. For this reason they are sometimes inclined to hope that the venality and incompetence of the Chinese may frustrate the growth of their industrial and military strength.

24. We think that the application of European political terminology to Chinese affairs may easily be misleading. In attempting to predict the future course of events, we can only say that the policy of the Kuomintang appears likely to succeed, and that the elements in China which have always made for weakness and disruption will probably disappear after the war, perhaps more rapidly than most foreign observers expect.

25. All through Chinese history, even in the most anarchic periods, there has always been a latent sense of unity among the Chinese people. Since 1937, national consciousness has grown immeasurably, especially among the youth of the country. Provided that the Central Government can rely (as we think probable) on the best-trained and best-armed units of the army and the air force, its control will become more universal and more effective than that of any Government which China has known in the past. Whatever kind of foreign policy they may pursue, it would be a serious mistake on our part if we were to assume that China will continue to be a weak and disorganised Power.

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February 12, 1943.

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SECTION 1.

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Report on Sino-British Relations submitted by Mr. H. J. Scrymgeour Wedderburn, M.P., February 1943, *arising out of the Parliamentary Delegation's Visit to China.*

ON the subject of our relations with China, a parliamentary mission, whose programme is officially arranged, are likely to be prejudiced, and possibly misled, by the amount of attention which they receive. But whatever the truth may be about the sentiments of the Chinese public towards foreigners in general, and British foreigners in particular, it would be ungrateful if we did not inform you of the extraordinary kindness and generosity which was extended, and the great cordiality of the welcome which was displayed, towards us who were representing the Parliament of Great Britain.

We will describe one or two examples of this. When we flew to Sian, the capital of Shensi Province, we were first received at the aerodrome with a guard of honour of half a company and a military band playing the British National Anthem. We were then driven from the airfield to the house where we were to stay, a distance of 3 or 4 miles. All the length of the road was packed on both sides with crowds of smiling and demonstrative Chinese, displaying British flags. The population of Sian is only 300,000, but the lowest estimate we could work out of the number who appeared was 50,000, and it may easily have been double that number. We were often told that this and many other similar demonstrations of welcome in all parts of China were organised by the police, each household being compelled to furnish at least one demonstrator. However this may be, there could be no mistaking the friendliness of their demeanour. In the evening, when we went to dine with the Governor, our cars were stopped outside his gates, where we found another guard of honour and a large band, which played God Save The King twice. It was from Sian that we went to the Yellow River front, and we have already mentioned that a whole division, 9,000 strong, were paraded with their colours to salute us. When we left Sian, which was by train after midnight, the area of the station was festooned with hundreds of Chinese lanterns and such a profusion of British and Chinese flags that it was difficult to distinguish the outline of the buildings. Besides the usual guard of honour and band on the platform, there was assembled outside the station, and for a considerable distance along the railway track, a crowd of some 30,000 people carrying torches. For the first mile of our journey it was a moving spectacle to see by the light of the torches the faces of the thousands of people who had come in the middle of the night to bid us farewell.

Similar welcomes, with slight variations, were accorded to us at Paochi, Chengtu, Kunming(1) and numerous other places. In every part of China to which we went, whether it was a large town or a small village, whether we were attending a public function or a private one, whether it was indoors or out of doors; in almost every room we entered and every street we passed through; in every arsenal, cotton-mill, coal-mine, and even every little co-operative workers' factory which we inspected; and in all the hospitals, orphanages, schools, universities and welfare centres which we visited, the whole place was always decorated with large portraits of His Majesty The King and the Prime Minister, with British and Chinese flags in conjunction, and with banners bearing inscriptions in English. Three Buddhist monasteries in the mountains of Yunnan were also decorated in this way. In some of the most remote rural districts we would often suddenly encounter a troop of several hundred boy scouts, girl guides and school-teachers in uniform lined up with their banners to greet us.

By all classes, both rich and poor, we were provided with the most lavish and expensive entertainments, we were presented with the most valuable gifts, and we were overwhelmed with small kindnesses and small luxuries, many of

(1) On our arrival at Kunming, we had to undergo the somewhat embarrassing ordeal of walking through the streets with garlands of flowers round our necks.

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which are difficult to obtain in war conditions. We should find it difficult to believe that so much warmth was all dictated by nothing more than artificial politeness. In any case, it is our duty to report these marks of honour and friendship for our country. A great deal of the kindness which we received from all sorts and conditions of people was certainly spontaneous. If the main part of our remarkable welcome was organised by authority, it must at least indicate a considered desire on the part of the Chinese Government to promote pro-British sentiment.

The eagerness of the Chinese universities to cultivate friendship and understanding with Britain was particularly noticeable. At Chengtu, besides the West China University, there are four others which have taken refuge there for the duration of the war. At Kunming, besides the local university of Yunnan, there are, again, several *émigrés*, including the university of Peking. The points with which both dons and students were most anxious to impress us were :—

(*a*) They all wanted to have a fuller understanding of the British war effort, and the methods by which the British people, with their own free consent, had been organised for war production.

(*b*) They felt it necessary that after the war Britain and China should take part in some permanent international system to preserve peace and to increase the prosperity of the world, and they wished to hear our views on this subject. They were particularly interested in the question whether we ought to begin by reviving a league of nations, or whether we should start with some system of agreement between the leading Powers now allied with each other, to which other countries could adhere when they were able to undertake and fulfil definite commitments.

(*c*) They all hoped that British universities might devote a little more attention to the study of Chinese culture, civilisation and history.

(*d*) They were most anxious that a greater number of English books should be translated and printed in Chinese, and *vice versa*. They suggested that funds for the translation and printing of selected books might be provided by the Ministry of Information or the British Council.

(*e*) They wanted a more frequent interchange of visits between British and Chinese scientists and scholars. They were looking forward to the coming visit of Professor Dodds. Professor Hughes, the Professor of Chinese at Oxford, was in Kunming when we were there.

Both at Chengtu and Kunming we were visited almost every morning by university teachers, who hoped that our programme might be expanded so that we could spare a little more time for discussions with themselves or with the students. On one day, when there had been some hitch in our programme, a crowd of several thousand students waited in the open air from 9·30 till 11, although it was a very cold morning, until we arrived to address them.

Some of the teachers have attended British universities or the London School of Economics, and most of them speak English. At Kunming, when we addressed the students, they refused to have an interpreter and the audience could obviously follow what we said. Their ideas of British culture are considerably influenced by cheap, popular works on science or philosophy, like those of Mr. H. G. Wells, and this was one reason why they desired that more accurate and scholarly works should be published in China, for which funds would be necessary.

In political circles, too, there is a strong desire for more frequent contacts between Britain and China, and a closer understanding of each other's problems. The press conferences which we attended were most interested in this subject. All types of people expressed the view that full co-operation and understanding between China and Britain were necessary for the future happiness of the human race.

There is, of course, another side to the picture, of which hardly a trace was shown to us, and which we could only judge indirectly. It is well known that a century of foreign intrusion into the affairs of China has created a deep resentment in the minds of a people who have usually considered the inhabitants of every other country to be certainly inferior to themselves and probably of diabolical origin.

British intrusion has been more effectual than that of any other country. It must also be acknowledged that our countrymen in China have often been guilty of arrogance and contempt in their dealings with the native population. This view was expressed to us by many British residents who know China well. As a

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rule, hostility has been rather stronger towards the British than towards Americans, Germans or other Europeans.

The fact that our interference has often brought great benefits to the Chinese has probably only increased their determination to get rid of it. A good instance of this is the Chinese Customs Administration. This was a self-governing body, managed by inspectors who were mostly foreign, and principally British. It paid the salaries of its own officials, who were trained in honest administration. The large revenue which it procured for the Government furnished the chief security not only for foreign loans, but for internal loans raised in China. It was also entrusted with the collection of the consumption tax, which was the largest source of Chinese inland revenue. But a recent Treasury law has deprived the Customs of its financial autonomy, and the Government is making it as difficult as possible for the foreign officials to remain in their employment. The consumption tax is now delivered directly to the Treasury by the local collectors, whose salaries are payable by (though not always paid by) the Government. It is doubtful if more than a small proportion of the tax now reaches the Exchequer. But the Chinese Government prefers to be defrauded of the greater part of its revenue rather than to suffer the humiliation of receiving it from the hands of an honest but alien inspectorate.

Many British traders and business men in China are very doubtful if their businesses will be able to continue after extra-territoriality has been relinquished. They do not think it likely that British firms, which keep honest accounts and pay their taxes, will be able to compete with Chinese firms, which keep dishonest accounts and pay no taxes. They expect that the Chinese courts of law will discriminate against them. They are further discouraged by the knowledge that anyone who enters a Chinese prison is very fortunate if he ever comes out of it alive.

Our official advisers in China are not hopeful concerning the future of Sino-British trade. It is possible that after the war the Chinese Government, like the Soviet Government, may assume a monopoly of foreign trade. But whether trade is conducted through the agency of the State or by individual merchants, the laws governing commerce will be administered by officials who are accustomed to the belief that bribery and peculation are among the normal and legitimate advantages of public office. There will be no legal security for the trader, whose existence will precariously depend on the temporary (and expensive) favouritism of some local administrator. Trade cannot flourish in such conditions.

The quantities of tea, silk, wood oil, tungsten, antimony and other commodities which China could export in peace-time would not be at all sufficient to pay for the foreign machinery which China will need to begin her industrial plans. Large foreign loans will be required.

The Chinese are dimly aware that no investor would be likely to risk his money in a Chinese loan, but they expect to receive political loans, guaranteed by the Governments of highly industrialised countries, who can export the machinery which China will require.

We must here digress for a moment to mention the war loans which the Chinese Government have been granted, or refused, by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain. The American Embassy in Chungking advised the American Government not to grant an unconditional loan to China, since the loan could not be spent on the purchase of imported goods. President Roosevelt, however, disregarded this advice and authorised the Treasury to give a credit of $500 million to China. The Chinese Government drew on this credit to the extent of $200 million, not to purchase material, but to provide the security for an internal loan which they wished to raise in China, for the purpose of checking inflation. In spite of the American security, the Chinese public would not invest the loan, which has been a total failure. But the Chinese Government enjoys the advantage, which they greatly value, of being able to call on 500 million American dollars. If they cannot spend it during the war, they will be able to use it for the purchase of American machinery when the war is over.

The Chinese Government requested the British Government to allow them a loan of £50 million at the same time as the American loan. The British Treasury was only willing to grant this sum on condition that it should be spent in the sterling area, on some purpose connected with the war. The Chinese have made a grievance of this, contrasting American generosity with British meanness. Nothing was said to us on this subject by anyone in an official position, or by the press, but it was mentioned by one or two private persons, such as Chang Chun Mai (a member of the Præsidium of the P.P.C., who refused to attend

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the last meeting of the P.P.C. on the ground that it was undemocratic). While there is no practical purpose which could be served at the present moment by the granting of either a British or an American loan, it is unfortunate that the British and United States Governments have not agreed on a common policy in this matter.

A question which we were repeatedly asked by all kinds of people was to what extent would British capital goods be made available after the war, to promote the great industrial developments to which the Chinese people are so eagerly looking forward. When we were asked this question at our first public press conference in Chungking, one member of our mission made what he thought was the reasonable reply that the facility with which British capital would be able to assist Chinese industry must obviously depend on the security which Chinese industry could afford to the investor. He was warned afterwards by our press attaché at the embassy that he had been treading on very thin ice. The Chinese are deeply sensitive to any suggestion that countries with whom they are on friendly terms may be unwilling to aid their industrial progress. When asked the same question at our next press conference, we made the more circumstantial answer that we hoped for some international agreement between Britain, America, China and the other United Nations, under which all our economic resources would be used for the common good, to give effect to President Roosevelt's ideal of freedom from want.

Some British residents in China believe that British business interests will be treated well, provided that they deal with the Chinese as equals and not as inferiors. One of these is Mr. Bell, the British manager of the Tien Fu Coal Company. The greater part of the capital of this company is Chinese-owned, but a proportion of it is held by British shareholders. It used to operate in occupied China: since the invasion it has moved westwards to a coalfield near Pei-pei, in Szechuan, where it has opened a new mine. Four thousand employees emigrated with their employers and a great deal of machinery was moved with them. We stayed a night with Mr. Bell at Pei-pei, where we dined with the Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs, Wong Wen-hao, and we spent the next morning inspecting the Tien Fu mine. The company is doing well. Although dividends during the war are not permitted to be sent abroad, they are being put back into the business, which is making good profits and whose financial position is strong. Mr. Bell contends that if the minds of the Chinese are relieved from all suspicion that foreign commercial interests are seeking to exploit China, or to dominate her affairs, there will be no discrimination against the foreigner. Those who take a less sanguine view of the future told us that the Tien Fu mine enjoyed the special favour of Chiang Kai-shek and that if this were to be withdrawn the prosperity of the business would come to an abrupt end.

Before we present our own observations on the future of Sino-British trade, we must advert to the principles which will probably govern British commercial policy after the war.

1. We expect that the direction of British external trade after the war will be determined by Government policy, and governed by international trading agreements. The issue of public loans for foreign investment, and probably also the use of private funds for any kind of investment abroad, will, no doubt, be subject to the sanction of the Treasury and of Parliament.

2. Since our former foreign investments will be mostly exhausted, and since we shall require to import a great quantity of consumption goods to maintain our standard of living, a great part of our foreign trade must consist in the exchange of goods for goods, and not in the export of capital whose return is deferred until the distant future. We shall be obliged to seek trade with those countries who are able to supply our immediate necessities.

3. The rebuilding of Britain, the improvements in housing, and many other developments which the British people will demand must require a very large production of capital goods for our own domestic use. We shall not be able to export so large a proportion of our capital goods as we have been accustomed to do for the last century.

4. The first claim on any capital which we shall be able to export will come from our own Empire, which is sadly under-developed.

5. To avoid unnecessary competition and waste, it will no doubt be desirable that some agreement should be made between the great industrial countries who are able to export machinery, concerning the quantities which each will send to the backward countries who require it. We have no doubt that this subject is being reviewed by the British and American Governments, though we are bound

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to say that we have not been greatly impressed by the evidences of British-American co-operation which we have so far seen.

6. If the above assumptions are correct, the amount of capital goods which we shall be able to export to China will probably be limited. But it is, of course, possible that our productive capacity after the war may prove to be much greater than anything we have known in the past. Besides capital goods, the Chinese will also desire the services of skilled technicians and engineers.

We shall now record briefly the conclusions which we have formed on the Chinese side of the picture.

1. The hindrances to Chinese foreign trade and internal development which may result from the weakness of the Central Government and the dishonesty of its public officials, or provincial lieutenants, can easily be exaggerated. To revert once more to the comparison which we have several times drawn between China and Soviet Russia, the present condition of China is certainly not more unfavourable than the condition of Russia appeared to be at the time of Brest-Litovsk, and for several years afterwards. We think it probable that after the war the Chinese Government will be strong enough to carry out its policy and that any obstruction will be ruthlessly swept aside. The immense man-power of China, whose people are capable of prolonged toil on a meagre subsistence, will be mobilised, and will obediently perform the tasks which will be planned by a totalitarian régime. Provincialism, local disaffection, the ambition of individual war lords, or the opposition of political minorities will not be able to impede for long the purpose of the ruling party, which will retain the loyalty of the best equipped and most highly trained units in the army. The passion for national unity and strength is growing fast among all classes of Chinese, and especially among the youth. Like the Russians, the great majority will be willing to dispense with political freedom, which few of them have ever known, and will devote their labours to the planned development of their country. Any who are not so willing will be summarily disposed of.

2. The refusal of foreign capital and skilled technical assistance would delay, but would not frustrate, the ultimate transformation of China into a great industrial Power. The economic isolation of China would foster the growth of anti-foreign hatred and of extreme nationalism.

3. Whether all foreign trade is managed by the State or by private commercial firms, the authority of the State will be used to facilitate the importation of such materials as are desired by the Government for the furtherance of its industrial plans.

4. The United States can more easily afford to export goods to China than we can. Although American business men have suffered heavily from bad investments in China, and are not likely to risk further losses, political sentiment in America is deeply interested in the welfare and progress of China. The American Government, in response to public opinion, may be disposed to provide assistance on a generous scale.

5. The Chinese have a high regard for the quality of British goods and the value of British experience. They will be eager to accept any capital exports which we can spare. It would be prudent to regard such exports as a political rather than a commercial investment.

6. The potential wealth of China is enormous, and its exploitation sooner or later is certain. Whether this wealth, and the power which will accompany it, is used to promote prosperity and peace, or whether it is used for militarism and national selfishness, will greatly depend on the sympathy and consideration with which China is treated by the older industrial nations.

7. Our long acquaintance with Chinese conservatism and Chinese inefficiency will almost certainly lead us to under-estimate the rapidity with which the strength of the country will grow. Japan was quick to perceive the signs of reawakening in her giant neighbour. She struck her blow five years ago in the hope that she might destroy, before it was too late, the growth of a nation who would immeasurably excel her in wealth and in military power. The Japanese invasion, while it has temporarily retarded the progress of China, has stimulated the patriotism of the people and their readiness to submit to a central authority. The defeat and disarmament of Japan will probably leave China with a Government and a people who will possess both the will and the means to rise from the depths of anarchy to the heights of industrial and military strength.

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MB/MB, March 29, 1943.

C163800

M E M O R A N D U M

For: THE UNDERSECRETARY

DIGEST OF INTERVIEWS HELD BY GENERAL ODLUM IN NEW YORK AND SUMMARY OF TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS REACHED

During his stay in New York the Canadian Minister to China had conversations with over one hundred and twenty individuals, Chinese and Americans, who had special knowledge of conditions in the Orient. For convenience of reference a brief summary is given below of the interviews upon which General Odlum has reported.

(1) Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

(a) Between the people of China and those of Canada lies a sound basis for an enduring bridge of goodwill.

(b) Canada is in a position to promote happier relations between China and Britain if she will make full use of her opportunities to exert an influence for tolerance and understanding in Empire councils.

(c) China appreciates Canada's position in the pool of the United Nations and realizes that she by herself is not free to take practical steps to meet China's material needs.

(2) Lin Yutang

(a) The rumour current in the United States that the Chinese have not been fighting is probably due to the fact that the best of Chiang Kai-shek's armies are stationed along the bend formed by the Yellow River near Sian, the point from which the Communist Army might make entry to the south and advance on Chungking.

(b) The Chinese people are very dissatisfied with the "fight Hitler first" attitude of Britain and the United States. They feel that the United Nations do not intend to fight a decisive war against Japan.

(c) The Chinese resent the truculent and overbearing attitude of the whites (particularly the British) in Shanghai.

(Note : General Odlum felt that Lin Yutang takes far too critical an attitude towards the white races and that in his strivings for recognition he frequently makes exaggerated statements in the Bernard Shaw style.)

(3) Mme. Wellington Koo

General Odlum reports that Mme. Koo is highly critical of Canada and of allwhite races. She impressed him as

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(3) Mme. Wellington Koo

being a publicity seeker and intriguer, not to be taken too seriously. She is Mr. Hussey's chief "contact" in Chinese circles.

(4) Dr. Hollington Tong (Chinese Vice Minister of Information)

Dr. Tong is prepared to go a long way in order to establish direct communication between China and Canada. The Chinese News Service in New York is receiving broadcasts from Chungking through a pick-up station in California and is permitting the American Associated Press to have weekly periods on its transmitter. The same privilege would be gladly accorded to Canada.

(5) Dr. Hu Shih (former Chinese Ambassador to the United States)

Dr. Hu Shih impressed General Odlum as being highly intelligent and capable, but more of a scholar than a public official. The Canadian Minister endorsed the opinion frequently expressed that Dr. Hu Shih had been replaced as Ambassador because he was not "tough" enough.

(6) Dr. K. C. Li

Dr. Li, the leading Chinese businessman in the United States, is wealthy, shrewd and trustworthy. He gave General Odlum a great deal of information about the new Chinese forces now being armed and trained in India.

(7) Dr. Li Yu Ying (President of the Chinese National Academy at Peiping)

Dr. Li Yu Ying is now in the "elder statesman" class and no longer takes an active part in public affairs, having retired for the purpose of producing a work which will cover all Chinese knowledge and philosophy.

(8) Dr. Kinn Wei Shaw (Secretary General of the Chinese American Institute of Cultural Relations)

An energetic, good natured and quite well educated man, rather ambitious and somewhat academic in his plans.

(9) Dr. Wei Tao-Ming (Chinese Ambassador to the United States)

A very capable man, though probably not the equal intellectually of his predecessor, a man who "knows how to dissemble as well as any other Chinaman I know." General Odlum feels that this man will make few mistakes and that whatever he does will be done with dignity.

(10) Harry Hussey

This gentleman appears to be popular with Mme. Wellington Koo, but has little prestige among the other members of Chinese officialdom with whom the Canadian Minister talked.

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(11) Pearl Buck

(a) The Chinese are completely disillusioned. Their long-standing hostility to Britain has taken a new form in present day hostility to Mr. Churchill, because they feel that he does not intend to fight Japan at all and has no real interest in driving the Japanese from China. They feel that Mr. Roosevelt is dominated by Churchill. The Chinese situation is fraught with dangerous possibilities - China may decide after the war to make herself a strong military nation and may in the end be found as an active member of an Asiatic coalition which will be a serious threat to the white race.

(b) The Chinese are hurt not so much by the failure to get supplies to them as the failure to give them recognition as an equal ally.

(c) There is a very real understanding between India and China. Chiang Kai-shek has great sympathy for India and is a strong supporter of Indian independence.

(d) Cooperation between Russia and China is not so close as often thought. Stalin has referred in contemptuous terms to Chiang Kai-shek. Russian assistance in the past has been given to the Communist Army in China rather than to China as a whole.

(e) There is complete cooperation at the present time between the Chinese Communist Army and Chiang Kai-shek, but it is highly problematical whether it will continue after the war. If Russia were to denounce the Communist parties in all countries, including China, it would effectively destroy the value of the Communist Army and would quickly place Chiang Kai-shek in control of the whole country.

(12) Mr. Walsh (husband of Pearl Buck and publisher of "Asia")

(a) Mr. Roosevelt's statement that more lend-lease goods have been sent to China by air since the loss of Burma than ever went over the Burma Road is simply not true. Practically nothing has got through to China. There are only about 40 planes in operation and these can only deliver about one ton of effective material per trip.

(b) Mr. Willkie was accorded a warm reception in China, but Mr. Gauss, the American ambassador, is highly unpopular and his conduct on the occasion of the Willkie visit did nothing to raise him in the esteem of the Chinese.

(13) Mr. Eliot Janeway (political writer for "Fortune")

(The following remarks seem to have been based on information received from Maurice Hindus who has recently returned from Russia and with whom Mr. Janeway has been in close contact.)

(a) German losses at Stalingrad were about 200,000 men. Russian losses have not been disclosed but were very heavy.

(b) There has been no serious fighting at all outside of that around Stalingrad. The Germans have been retiring and the Russians following almost without contact. The Germans have been driving the people westwards ahead of their armies.

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(13) Mr. Eliot Janeway

(c) Russia's object is to drive the Germans from Russian territory. Once this has been accomplished, she will drop out of the war.

(d) The spirit of Russia today represents a return to the old "Fatherland" spirit and is an almost complete renunciation of the Revolution. The Communist party itself has been wiped out. The old church life has been restored. Russia has nothing in common with the objectives of Britain and the United States.

(e) Russia is seething with resentment against Churchill.

(14) Sir John Dill

(a) Recently, the Chinese have not been fighting seriously. Sir John praises Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese rank-and-file but condemns their political leadership.

(b) The Americans are doing a good job in training and equipping a Chinese Army of around 100,000 men in northeastern India, but the morale of the Indian troops is being weakened by the contrast between the excellent and abundant equipment being given to this Chinese army and their own meagre material.

(15) Eugene Lyons (Editor of the "American Mercury", author of "Assignment in Utopia")

(a) It is disquieting to note how general is the criticism of England in the United States. It is everywhere and it is unreasonable, particularly in view of the current "raves" over Russia, a country which has nothing in common with the American way of life.

(b) It is not a long time agreement between Russia and Japan but rather a cold hard realism on both sides which maintains neutrality in Siberia and Manchuria. Russia will respect no treaty beyond the period of its usefulness to Russia. She has been sitting back and encouraging and, if necessary, lending aid in order to maintain strife between other countries.

(c) Mr. Lyons expressed serious doubts about the Chinese Government and military leadership.

(16) Mr. George Taylor (Office of War Information) and Mr. C. V. Starr (Editor of the Shanghai Evening Post)

(a) Chinese of the coolie class, who now form the army, have the capacity to be trained into good soldiers. So far, between poor leadership, lack of weapons, shortage of essential supplies, and a nearly complete failure of the medical service, they have not had a chance. They have plenty of courage, endurance and obedience but are poorly trained.

(b) There is absolutely no chance that China will throw in her hand and quit the war, either by merely passively ceasing to fight or by coming to an agreement with Japan. Reports of the imminent collapse of Chinese resistance are probably just a symptom of China's decision to "play tough" in imitation of Stalin, in hopes of forcing her western allies to come to her assistance with increased supplies.

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(16) Mr. George Taylor and Mr. C. V. Starr

(c) There are big divisions in the Chinese Government, but they are no more serious than the bureaucratic divisions and quarrels in Washington. Chiang Kai-shek is supreme.

(d) Chiang has become a really great man, his power being due not so much to intellect - though he is an intelligent man - as to character, courage, and determination.

(e) Guerilla activity continues throughout the occupied area with reckless disregard for life.

(f) Mme. Chiang's visit to the United States has not been an unqualified success. So far she has received plenty of sympathy but no planes.

(g) Chinese bitterness towards the British has largely disappeared.

(h) Democracy does not begin to exist in China nor will it for a long time yet. The Communist - Nationalist split is very real.

(i) The Chinese forces training in India do not number more than 30,000 men.

(j) There can be little improvement in China until Burma and the Burma Road are retaken. A new road, some distance north of the old one, could be completed and put into operation within six months after the recapture of Burma. Supplies and equipment, including booster engines, for a four inch pipeline are already in India and the opening of such a pipeline would tremendously relieve congestion on the Burma Road.

(k) The old Chinese weakness - venality - still flourishes, even in high places.

(l) Inflation cannot be stopped. The small Chinese middle class is suffering most from it.

(m) Directness and frank sincerity are valuable in dealing with the Chinese, even though they themselves find it hard to be direct.

(n) The success of Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr, former British Ambassador to China, was based upon his ability to get about the country and do the unconventional and unexpected thing.

(o) Mr. Starr is planning to publish his "Shanghai Evening Post" in Chungking.

(17) Miss Agnes Smedley (former representative in China of the Frankfurter Zeitung, who worked for many years among the Chinese Communists)

(a) Canada is of little account either to the United States or Britain. A Canadian Legation in Chungking can serve no useful purpose.

(b) Russia will fight only until she has freed her own soil. There is good reason for her to hold aloof from the United Nations and for her distrust of Britain and the United States.

(c) Miss Smedley hates China's bankers and ruling clique. She has no use for the Soongs. She regards as the most dangerous elements in China the Chen brothers, the Minister of Finance (Dr. Kung) and the Minister of War. Neither the present government nor the Army commanders want to see any improvement in the lot of the common people.

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(17) Miss Agnes Smedley

(d) In China the United States is detested and distrusted only slightly less than Great Britain.

(e) The Chinese Communist armies are being liquidated by starvation and sickness. They receive no assistance from Russia, which deals only with the Nationalist Government. The best Nationalist armies, totalling half a million men, are kept facing the Communist armies instead of fighting Japan.

(f) China's present leaders are far from democratic and some of the most prominent of them are deep in graft. The Burma Road, in particular, was a cesspool of corruption.

From his conversations with these and other prominent men and women familiar with conditions in China, General Odlum seems to have drawn the following tentative conclusions:

(1) The attitude of the Chinese with whom he talked has been friendly towards Canada, though critical of our Chinese immigration policy, and resentful towards Britain and to a smaller extent towards the United States.

(2) China needs the psychological spur of recognition more than practical help at the present time. The Canadian Minister has changed his views regarding the desirability of a Canadian gift of wheat to China. He has no longer any doubt of China's confidence in herself and in her ability to bring her war with Japan to a successful conclusion.

(3) There is a noticeable cooling of enthusiasm for Mr. Churchill in Russia, China, the United States and Australia. In these countries criticism is being directed against him rather than against Great Britain.

(4) Everyone of importance whom General Odlum met declared that the futures of China and of India are closely linked together. While his personal opinion is that there is a good deal of wishful thinking in this, he is more than ever convinced of the necessity of getting a true picture of India before he proceeds to China.

(5) There is a marked divergence of views between Britain and the United States on the subject of China. The Americans tend to paint everything about China in rosy colours, while the attitude of the British is just the reverse. The Chinese themselves condemn the British and praise the Americans. In "inside" Department of State and Army circles, the Americans are just as critical of China as the British - perhaps even more so - but for policy reasons nothing is said publicly.

(6) General Odlum's recent experience has merely strengthened his conviction that, if possible, a plane should be assigned to the Legation in China so that it will not be dependent upon Britain and the United States for communication with the outside world. Furthermore, in view of the fact that

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road transportation in China is rapidly disappearing, a plane is almost a necessity if he is to carry out his avowed intention to see as much of China as possible.

(7) The Canadian Minister attaches great importance to the necessity of setting up radio communication between Chungking and Canada. He is anxious to secure for the Legation a man with practical knowledge of broadcasting, capable of securing technical information in the Chinese field and of supplying practical advice to the Canadian Government. This would be the initial step in providing (a) direct and permanent representation by the Canadian Press in Chungking, quite independent of the Canadian Government; (b) a press officer attached to and part of the Legation staff; (c) a technical broadcasting officer cooperating with the first two and being either a member of the Legation staff or an external arm of the Wartime Information Board - preferably the former.

(8) The Canadian Government could profitably consider the advisability of appointing a High Commissioner to India.

General Odlum obviously made very good use of his time in New York and Washington. His reports have been clear, inclusive, entertaining and intelligent. He seems to have produced an admirable effect on those he met and has made an excellent start on his duties as Canadian Minister to China.

22-4-43

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C163807 NAR/SR 26.4.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You may wish to have on record the attached summary of information and opinions about the position of China and her relations with the Western Powers, gathered by General Odlum during the weeks he was in the United States awaiting transportation. I thought his letters to you and Keenleyside, summarized in this digest, were extremely interesting. He put his enforced idleness to a very useful purpose and probably will be in a much better position to do a good job in Chungking than if he had been able to fly direct from Ottawa as he first hoped.

27.4.43

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SECRET C163808 NAR/SR
12.6.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Attached is a copy of a letter from Pearson, about the background of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visit to the United States, about which we were speaking on the telephone this morning.

Mad

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CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

SECRET

June 9th, 1943.

Dear Norman:

You will recall that I mentioned to you over the telephone the other day certain rumours going about that all is not well within the ranks of the Chinese in this country. Drew Pearson wrote a story last week (attached herewith) painting in lurid colours a picture of Chinese dissension and stating that Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and T.V. Soong were not even on speaking terms. The Minister, as you know, was in New York last week and attended The Churchman Dinner at the Waldorf on June 2nd for the purpose of presenting to Mme. Chiang the award for outstanding public service during the year. It was to have been somewhat in the nature of a Chinese-American demonstration. Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Willkie, and Mr. Grew had all accepted invitations to speak on the toast list, but on short notice, for divers reasons, sent their regrets. Mme. Chiang herself likewise on very short notice regretted that she could not be present at the dinner. All this seemed somewhat peculiar and would give an appearance of confirmation to some of the dissension stories in circulation.

Since then, at the request of the Minister, I have been attempting to find out what the facts are. In this connection, Lauchlin Currie told me yesterday afternoon that the Drew Pearson story was largely accurate and that T.V. Soong and his sister are in fact "barely on speaking terms". He went on to say that Mme. Chiang had become pretty difficult lately and that there was growing impatience in official circles here over her attitude. I gather that they will be greatly relieved when she finally departs for Chungking. Currie said she had a magnificent opportunity to "sell"China to the American people, but that, after an auspicious start, she had failed signally. This was partly due to the increasingly academic and abstract nature of her speeches, partly to her own personal idiosyncracies, which seem to have resulted in her becoming somewhat arrogant and overbearing. She also seems to have offended a good many of the leaders of the "Aid to China"

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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movement. People such as Pearl Buck have, according to Currie, been disillusioned and disappointed by her. Currie also added that United States opinion on China had always been largely determined by a small group whose enthusiasm sprang from their missionary origins or from a sentimental enthusiasm for China based on somewhat unrealistic considerations. In recent months, however, it had begun to seep through the American people that the Chinese story was not nearly as heroic or as attractive as this group would have us believe. Currie then went on to paint a very depressing picture of the state of Government and opinion in China, of the graft and corruption, of horrible conditions among the peasants which the Government was doing little to alleviate. These conditions, in turn, were resulting in popular unrest, which at the present time was expressing itself in peasants' revolts in four separate Chinese provinces, for which the only remedy of the Government was repression. All this is being kept from the outside world by strict Chinese censorship, but people are beginning to realize all is not well and that a small group of Chinese officials, including the Soong dynasty, are leading lives of ease and luxury while the peasants starve. Currie told me terrible stories of the starvation at present raging in Honan Province and left with me an uncensored story of this famine by T.H. White, TIME correspondent in Chungking, which I will have copied and sent to you. It is a sickening document.

So far as the immediate rumours of Chinese dissension are concerned, Currie merely stated that there is undoubtedly trouble within the ranks, due to bad feeling between Dr. Soong and Mme. Chiang, but that he was inclined to think that the cancellations at the dinner in New York last week were coincidental and not deliberately arranged. The Minister does not agree with this thought. However, he, Currie, is making further enquiries.

All this provides a rather depressing background to Mme. Chiang's visit to Ottawa. I thought, however, you should have it, because it may well be that Madame, seeing her stock going down in this country, may make a special effort to impress in Ottawa.

I think I should add that Harry Carmichael, who has been in Washington, lunched with T.V. Soong the day before yesterday. I told him that if Dr. Soong referred in any way to the Drew Pearson article or similar stories he should not discourage him! Carmichael 'phoned me later that day to say that Dr. Soong did in fact talk about this matter and said that there was not a word of truth in the Pearson article. When I mentioned this to Lauchlin Currie yesterday, he

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merely smiled and said, "Of course, T.V. Soong would make that statement". Apparently Currie has a high regard for Soong's cleverness but not for his integrity or political morality. It might also be well to remember that Currie, who was not long ago Mr. Roosevelt's expert on Chinese matters, has now ceased to be so. His somewhat bitter attitude toward China may be to some extent due to the fact that he is no longer the White House Chinese authority. I do not know Currie well enough to judge to what extent he would be influenced by such considerations, but he certainly leaves you in no doubt as to his present attitude toward China.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Mike

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Excerpt from "The Washington Merry-go-Round"
by Drew Pearson

June 4th, 1943. WASHINGTON POST

No longer a secret inside the Diplomatic Corps is the jealousy between Madame Chiang Kai-shek and her brother, T.V. Soong, the Foreign Minister of China. While they were in Washington they did not speak, and it is doubtful if they exchanged more than a few words all during Madame Chiang's visit in the Eastern U.S.A.

On one occasion when Madame Chiang was in Washington, the unhappy Chinese Ambassador had to remain at his home hoping for a call from Madame Chiang, therefore was late getting to dinner at Madame Chiang's brothers'. Arriving at the Soong house, the Ambassador was kept waiting in the drawing room for a full hour and a half until all the guest had finished dinner. Only then was he permitted to greet them.

Reason for the jealousy between Madame Chiang and other members of her family is the fact that she is the "kid" sister. And suddenly through her marriage to Chiang Kai-shek she has taken all the limelight. Ordinarily, in China, her brother would be the head of the family. And her older sister, Madame Kung, would play a much more dominant role. But now the younger sister has eased both of them out of their traditional place.

In China, T.V. Soong had built up an important position for himself and, his critics said, was planning to ease the Generalissimo out of his place as head of China. He even had his own trained guards. However, while he was out of the country conferring with the international Bankers, Chiang Kai-shek took over Soong's guards, transferred them into the army, and Brother T.V. came back to find himself shorn of power. Now Soong remains more or less permanently in this country.

However, the Generalissimo likes T.V., and they get along far better than T.V. gets along with his own sister.

Note: It was one of Madame Chiang's nieces, Miss Kung who got people in the White House so upset by her manner. Not satisfied with the White House service, she picked up the telephone to call Secretary of State Hull to complain to him personally. Fortunately before the call could go through, someone persuaded her that this was not the thing to do.

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CM / China

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: C163813

The attached message from Chungking Citizens United Nations Day Celebration Committee was sent by mail from the Canadian Legation at Chungking and was received, I understand, only this week.

It could, if you wished, be released to the press with an indication that it had just reached Ottawa. I think it might be of interest as coming from a Citizens' Committee in the Capital of China, to the Capital of Canada.

Should a copy be communicated separately to the Mayor of Ottawa?
"I don't know why?"

JAG.

July 30, 1943

"Yes, pls. give to press and hearing some by letter"
done Fay

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C163814

C
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Y/elb

Canadian Legation

CHUNGKING

June 23, 1943

NO. 14

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a message received through the Foreign Office from the Chungking Citizens United Nations Day Celebration Committee, addressed to the People and Soldiers of Canada.

The Foreign Office has requested that this be transmitted to Canada.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(SGD.) GEO. S. PATTERSON
for the Canadian Minister

V a

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

Encls.2.

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C163815

C
O
P
Y/elb

TRANSLATION

Chungking,
June 19, 1943.

Canadian Legation,
CHUNGKING

Sirs:

We have the pleasure to enclose herewith a message addressed to the people and soldiers of Canada from the Chungking Citizens "United Nations Day Celebration" Committee.

Will you be good enough to have it translated and transmitted.

Thanking you, we are,

Yours sincerely,

(SEAL)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Encl.

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TRANSLATION

MESSAGE

CHUNGKING
June 14, 1943.

To the People and Soldiers of Canada:

On this the occasion of the celebration of United Nations Day (today), we, as citizens of the war-time capital of China, are paying our respects to your national flag now raised in this city; and are participating in United Nation flag parades, international and athletic games and other events. These may all be taken as a token of our common victory to come, which is even now being built on the basis of our friendly union and sincere cooperation. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to extend to you our best wishes and highest esteem.

The solidification of our United Nation forces has recently brought us into a more favourable war situation through the adoption of active measures for dealing with our common foe. This will enable us to make a "short cut" on our road to Success. The aggressors, however, are still waging a final and even more furious struggle, so that we shall have to redouble our efforts if we are to bring about their surrender.

Not only have we been fighting against Japan for six years but we are also striving to do our duty as a member of the United Nations with the mutual co-operation of all our Allied friends. We sincerely hope that you will do all you can under your Government and Army Headquarters to help win quickly our common victory.

If we really work as if we had but one body and one soul, and were all in the same boat during this storm of war, then when the war is over it will be possible for us to extend our endeavours, with mutual love and mutual help, to realization of the ideals of the United Nations as set forth in their common declaration, and to achieve everlasting peace for the world of mankind.

from

CHUNGKING CITIZENS UNITED
NATIONS DAY CELEBRATION
COMMITTEE

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SECRET C163817 NAR/SR 2.9.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am informed that when Dr. T.V. Soong saw President Roosevelt on his return to Washington he spoke to him about the restriction of Canadian war supplies for China to the maximum quantity of 12,500 tons, which would be stock-piled in India. The original list of Chinese requirements which he had submitted to you and Mr. Howe, and which he said he had been given reason to believe would be met, was for 60,000 tons of equipment. It was Dr. Soong's understanding that the curtailment of the programme of deliveries from Canada resulted from the American view that the accumulation of stockpiled supplies in India should not exceed 12,500 tons.

The President told him that the arrangements approved by the Canada-United States Joint War Aid Committee, and confirmed in your letter to Dr. Soong, had been worked out before the Quebec Conference and now needed reconsideration in the light of the strategic decisions taken there. The inference Dr. Soong drew from this conversation was that there would no longer be any American objection to the delivery to China of the maximum quantity of war supplies that Canada could make available.

The President is asking Harry Hopkins to reopen the

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question of supplies to China with the Canada-United States Joint War Aid Committee, and we may expect that our Mutual Aid Board will be asked to re-examine the possibility of Canada meeting the original Chinese requirements.

Leak

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NAR/ET
14 Sept.1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163819

I am enclosing copy of two very interesting and disturbing letters from General Odlum, No.77 and No. 78 of August 26th. His misgivings about the possibility of building up effective Chinese armies have a real bearing on the question of how much equipment and munitions,etc.,we should divert from other theatres of war to build up stock piles in India for ultimate Chinese use. I thought therefore I should bring these views of Odlum's to the attention of the Mutual Aid Board,which I attended this morning in Wrong's absence. I read them both the attached despatches, making clear that nobody should give the Chinese any inkling of the information we had received from our representative in Chungking.

L.a. 10-14-43

Mack

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C O P Y

CANADIAN LEGATION
Chungking, China
August 26, 1943.

MOST SECRET

No.77

C163820

Sir,

1. When I came to China I was well informed concerning
(a) the limited supply capacity of the Burma Road, even if recaptured;

(b) the restrictions placed by the Russians on air transport via Siberia; and

(c) the time, restricted capacity, fuel demand, and wear and tear factors involved in the long motor road through Persia;

and my mind was busy with the thought that, by some means, the Chinese Army must be restored to full fighting value. I believed that Japan could best be defeated by serious land and air attacks on her mainland armies, directed towards severing her from her principal raw material supplies. Any determined threat to the sources of her coal, iron, cotton, and antimony must make her divert division after division to their protection. In the end, the great bulk of her army would have to be used for the defence of her raw material life line.

2. I believed that, if the Chinese Army could be made battle worthy, in equipment, leadership, training and spirit, the foundation would be laid for such a threat to the Japanese sources of supply; and for combined land, air and sea assaults on Japan itself. I did not believe that adequate equipment could be flown into China but I thought that it it were possible to supply

(a) technicians,
(b) missing alloys,
(c) highly technical and complicated parts, such as sights, range and direction finders, and motor engines; and
(d) a limited number of specialized weapons, including A.A. and A.T. guns,

Chinese industry could do the rest within the time that might be allowed for preparation. My whole thought turned towards the creation of a Chinese force, with a minimum amount of supplies from the outside, demanding a minimum amount of air transport; and the use of this force to draw to itself a maximum proportion of the Japanese army, leaving a weakened defence to face assaults by allied naval, air and land forces approaching from the south, from the east and from the north.

3. From what I have learned here, I have been forced to the conclusion that the creation of a Chinese army, of the type and character I have indicated, within the available time, is not practical. There are too many difficulties, many of them psychological, to overcome. And so I have been looking for an alternative. The only alternative I can find is the creation of a British, an American, or a British-American army in the south-east corner of Free China. It would have to be kept at a minimum at the beginning, and only allowed to grow as transport became available. When

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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transport permitted its increase to adequate proportions, it could take over greater and greater areas from the Chinese armies. It would have to face towards the east and the south, and be prepared to strike first towards the coast and then northwards in cooperation with Allied naval forces and in conjunction with the army now stationed on the west border of Burma.

4. I am not ready as yet to state in detail why I have changed my mind. I am still hoping that some of the disheartening things I have seen and learned can be reasonably explained. In the meantime I want to let you know how my mind is reacting to the information I am securing here, for time is an important factor. I am more disturbed by the heavy traffic in goods of all sorts, moving both ways, which is taking place between the zones of the Chinese and the Japanese armies, than I am by any one other thing.

5. It should be recognized from the start that any Allied force landed in China would have to be completely self contained, as far as supply is concerned. It is simply not possible to depend on China for supplies. The Chinese "service of supply" would prove totally inadequate for any demands that might be made on it. Rations, munitions, equipment -- all would have to be flown in until other supply routes could be found. Water purifiers and delousing plants would be most important. In the beginning much of the transport would have to be by coolie carriers;but as facilities improved, these could be displaced. Road construction, by Chinese labour, would be needed on a large scale. But the vital necessity of attacking Japan at her weakest point -- her source of heavy supply -- is so great that all these difficulties must be faced and overcome.

6. I regret to have to write this letter. I have been fighting against it. But I feel that I must not delay longer. The picture would be modified if Russia removed her restrictions on the use of the northern air route. But it would only be modified, not displaced.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Victor W. Odlum

Canadian Minister.

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C O P Y

CANADIAN LEGATION

C163822

CHUNGKING,
August 26, 1943.

No.78

MOST SECRET

Sir,

I have just had the opportunity of having a long chat with a man (whom I will call merely Mr. P) who has spent some 34 years in this country. He is now occupying a position of considerable trust under the government and close to important personages, and for that reason I do not want him identified. He was born in a British dominion, and until he joined the Chinese service he was a journalist by profession. We found we had some very close mutual friends among journalists, and had common knowledge of many places, events and people. It was not difficult for us to get on a footing of complete understanding. A man of some 71 years, he recently had a serious operation in a hospital at Accra. I called on him at the hospital here.

2. I told him of my difficulty in getting Chinese first to face and then to discuss facts in a straightforward, direct manner. He said that I was asking too much; that directness was foreign to the Chinese character. Sir Robert Hart had told him years ago that even he could never get the Chinese to approach any problem directly. Close as Mr. P. himself is to the most important Chinese of the present day, he has learned never to expect it. Mr. P. said that Sir Robert Hart once said to him that there was a wall between all foreigners and the Chinese, a wall erected by Chinese lack of confidence; but, he added, Chinese lack of confidence in foreigners is not so great as is Chinese lack of confidence in Chinese.

3. I referred to the attitude with which I am facing my present task -- a determination to see the Chinese side, if I can find it, of every problem; but I said that I was completely unable to understand how the Chinese could so dispassionately view the existing large-scale trafficking with the enemy. I saw great dangers in it, but I could scarcely get any Chinese to discuss it. Most of them did not even deny its existence -- they merely refused to "know" it officially.

Mr. P.'s answer startled me. He expressed surprise that I should consider that the most serious problem in China today. It was, he said, merely a symptom of a far deeper and far more tragic problem - the problem of almost universal dishonesty. Growing, probably, in its early stages, from the system of "squeeze" on which the government of the country has been based, it had become ingrained. It was, after all, nothing less than deceit and stealing, sometimes petty, often on a large scale. It had become so widespread that it, more than anything else, had grown to be the outstanding characteristic of China. Traffic with the enemy is merely another dishonest way of making money; and officials, whose duty it is to stop it, dishonestly take money for not seeing it!

4. Mr. P. went on to say that even more serious was the open way in which even high commanders made financial gains at the expense, even in nutrition and medicine, of their soldiers. There was not the revolt against this that one would expect, because everyone knew that, being in the same position, he would do the same thing. For his own part, he got on well with the Chinese, and he liked the Chinese with whom

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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C163823

he had to work. But he had no illusions on this subject. Even the term "face", which is so lightly used by foreigners as if it were merely an oddity of Chinese customs, is symptomatic of the same thing. It is founded on an idea of deceit - a makebelieve intended to avoid a frank and honest statement.

5. We discussed international affairs for a time and in the course of the discussion Mr. P. said that the dark clouds hanging over China, other than the one to which we had just referred and the existing war with Japan, were:

(a) the open new breach with the Communists,

(b) the absence of any obvious successor to the Generalissimo,

(c) the almost inevitable fragmentation of China which would follow the death or incapacitation of the Generalissimo, and

(d) Russia's threat to Manchuria.

He said that the highest elements of the government took this last item very seriously. It was because they, including the Generalissimo, saw that the Communist forces were physically interposed between the nationalist armies and Manchuria, and because they foresaw a three-party plunge to seize control of Manchuria when the critical day arrives - the three parties being:

I Russia

II The Communists, and

III The Nationalist Army

- that the policy of dealing with the Communists now had been adopted. Of the three forces with designs on Manchuria, the Nationalist army was now placed most disadvantageously. That disadvantage had to be removed before the time for final action came, and it could only be removed by completely defeating and subduing the Communist armies. No temporising measures would do.

6. I said that I was becoming somewhat discouraged - that I saw many things that were disturbing to me, but that were simply passed by as if they did not exist by those who should be most concerned about them. I went on to say that I, representing Canada, wanted only peace; and to secure peace we wanted a strong and self-reliant China within our time, which meant within a generation. I said I had talked with many who mattered, and that when I talked with them they agreed and enthused. But I knew that, afterwards, nothing really happened. Mr. P. said that I should not get discouraged; that I should go on, only I should be realistic and not expect things to happen before my eyes. In China, things were not done that way. But if I went on talking, thoughts would work in other minds and some day there would come some results. He said the leading Chinese were convinced that the next war would be with Russia and that China would be fighting it. I said that in that case, surely they saw how urgent it was for China to become strong; and that China would never become strong unless she took the first steps. He smiled at my earnestness and enthusiasm, and said; "China never works that way. China expects, first, to be beaten and then to swallow up those who beat her!"

7. I have met some pretty fine Chinese, but even the finest of them (like Dr. Hu Shih in New York) would not talk dispassionately and factually about China. Dr. Hu told me that China was united! Everyone here knows that China is not united; and that the fissures are widening. A copy of a Communist manifesto which I will shortly send you will throw light on this subject.

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8. This despatch should be read in conjunction with my "Most Secret" despatch No.77, which was prepared before I met Mr.P. What I have just learned lends a new emphasis to the opinions I expressed in that despatch. Mr. P. is a man who has been at death's door, has been suffering tremendous agony, and is not yet out of danger. What he has told me expresses his honest opinion. It was said to guide me in helping the Chinese - not to hurt China or any Chinese.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

L/C 17-IX-43

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Victor W. Odlum

Canadian Minister.

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Re: Inflation in China

C163825

(I) Cost of 1941 Studebaker car in Chungking $26,625.00. Value at Ottawa about $1,000 - 1941.

(2) Residence - estimated cost of Legation residence $120,000.

(3) Carrots - in one year price has risen from .30 to $4.00 a pound.

(4) May 16, 1943 - Two days ago rice jumped from 260 Chinese dollars to 500 per ton.

(5) Jan. 10, 1943 - There was food in the small towns and open restaurants were fragrant with fish and meat, but food was only for those who could pay. Wheat now costs seventy cents a pound in American money and the price is still rising. Last winter it cost only seven cents a poudd. Beef is cheaper, selling for thirty-four cents a pound. This is because the peasants killed their farm animals to eat and sell the surplus on the market before it spoils. The government is greatly worried that the immense slaughtering of animals may make difficult the plowing of the ground for future crops.

(6) July 12, 1943. - 1938 Ford car purchased for $175,000 but it was completely unsatisfactory. It has been exchanged for DeSota at additional cost of $40,000.

(7) Oct. 7, 1943 - A coolie without $1,000 on him would be an anomaly. Children play with $100 notes. Rickshaw men would not be elated at earning $1,000 a day. Beggars are said to refuse $10 bills. The U. S. Government pays up to $900,000 for used trucks.

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CM/China pkge

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C163826

Re Inflation in China:

1) cost of 1941 Studebaker car in ~~Chas~~ Chunking $26,625.00
value at Ottawa about $1,000 – 1941

2) residence - ~~estimated~~ cost of legation residence $120,000. 44,000 – 1940

3) Price of carrots -
in one year, price has risen from .30 to $4.00 a pound.

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MOST SECRET C163827 HHW/SR 7.10.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Robertson sent you, with his memorandum of September 14th, two despatches from General Odlum (Nos. 77 and 78 of August 26th), dealing with the sad state of the Chinese armies. I am enclosing a further despatch, No.83 of August 28th, in which he explains, in some detail, the conclusions which he has reached on the means whereby the Japanese can be defeated in China. He regards as essential participation by an Anglo-American force, operating in South China to the right of the Chinese armies, who would assume general responsibility for the northward movement towards Peking. His analysis of the Chinese military position seems to me of some value. He seems to predicate his proposals on the necessity of large and protracted military operations in China against Japan, and he does not refer to the possibility of undermining Japanese strength in China through an Allied closing in on Japan itself through use of sea and air power. I am sending a copy of the despatch to Colonel Ralston.

HHW.

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P
Y/bm

CANADIAN LEGATION,
CHungking, China,
August 28, 1943.

C163828

MOST SECRET

No. 83

Sir,

1. With further reference to my despatches No. 77 (a Possible Role for Future Allied Land Forces in China) and No. 78 (Soviet-Chinese Relations), I am now prepared to support the views expressed, particularly in No. 77, with the reasons on which they were founded. Bear in mind that when I wrote despatch No. 77, I was not in possession of the information which, received almost immediately afterward, provided the material for No. 78 and which now makes it possible for me to refer with frankness to factors which I did not previously feel free to discuss. Before I learned what is disclosed in No. 78, I merely "sensed" a situation. Now I feel reasonably sure of it.

2. To clear the ground for my own thinking, I had to rid my mind of many disappointing and disconcerting things, some of them actually trivial, which meet one here and which provoke impatient emotional reactions. Merely to indicate something of what I have in mind, I cite lack of sanitation, unpleasant smells, curious impertinent crowds, indifference to time, and widespread dishonesty, the latter exemplified by the barber who recently charged two of us $100.00 each for haircuts and finally settled for $80.00 for the two! Balancing these to a degree are the obvious physical endurance of the Chinese, the capacity and readiness for hard work, the ingenuity of craftsmen, the cheery good nature of the crowds, the intellectual excellence of the few, the undoubted genius of some, and the very definite progress that has been made in certain directions. One can become enthused when watching the Generalissimo's quick mental reactions, and when talking with the dynamic Minister of Communications, Dr. Tseng. One gains confidence in comparing notes with General Wan, head of the Central (old Whampoa) Military Academy, with General Chang Chun, the progressive governor of Szechwan, and with General Kong, leader of the Youth Corps. When one thinks of the actual progress achieved in the last 25 years -- in road building, in education, and in public health and medicine -- one may quite easily become over-optimistic; but on comparing the actual progress with the task that remains yet to be done, it shrinks to its proper proportions. It soon becomes borne in on one that everything in China takes time, and that it is not sound judgment to expect China even at this late date to emulate the speed with which Japan modernized herself. What becomes possible for China when one takes a long-term view is not possible in the immediate future; and this applies to military as to all other movements and organizations. Industry, in spite of forced publicity, is very backward.

3. Recent events in Europe compel one to shorten the apparent available time for the period of preparation. Before the successful Russian counter-attacks of the past months, I was thinking of major offensive operations against Japan in 1946. I now feel that, even though the date may yet have to be as late as 1946, we ought to lay our plans to be ready in

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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the spring of 1945; and if we are to be ready in 1945, the Chinese army will not then be fit to take on the whole task in the mainland theatre of operations. It will have to be given help. That help must be developed in the only region that is accessible, namely, the Chinese end of both the Burma Road and the air transport line from India. Any non-Chinese Allied force, brought into China other than by sea, must come to the southwest area of Free China. That fact gives the first pin point on which to construct a plan.

4. The next consideration is based on a cold realism. It may as well be assumed from the start that the worst situation must be faced in framing a controlling plan; and that worst situation, it would now appear, may reasonably be the actual situation. Three mutually opposing forces may have to be faced in China by the Chinese Army:

(a) The Japanese Army, with its pivot of strength in the north east.
(b) The Communist Army, with its base in the north-west.
(c) The Russian Army, which at first may appear as "friendly" in its assisting movement towards Manchuria, but which will be distrusted almost as much as either of the others.

It is wise, too, in assessing the situation which is likely confront us, to study and take into account, as himself a major military factor, the Generalissimo, with his temperament and psychology. He is fundamentally a most determined man. Many call him "obstinate" and "stubborn". The distinction is a fine one, but I prefer the first description. For a very long period, his greatest active enemy has been the Communist Army. He fought it for over ten years. He is still, in effect, fighting it, for he has kept and is keeping it "besieged", or under "blockade". His finest and best equipped troops are told off either to contain it, or as part of his mass of reserve. Even this last month has seen new troop movements and new dispositions designed to eliminate the Communists as a force before the final and more active phase of the war with Japan begins. It is sound reasoning to say that the presence of the Communist armies in the north-west turns the Generalissimo's first thought in that direction.

5. The next point is the potential threat of Russia against Manchuria. It is not necessary to argue the case. Only one angle of it is for the moment important. Whether the threat is real or not, the fact is that the Chinese fear of it is real. The driving force of their fear, very naturally, is measured by the value, military and industrial, of the objective. Manchuria, particularly the raw materials and heavy industry of southern Manchuria, is vitally important if China is to become the powerful nation which the peace of the world demands, and British and American nations wish it to be. The Generalissimo fully understands how essential retention of Manchuria is to China, how great can be the threat from Russia, and how seriously the presence of the Communist army in the North-west interferes with China's ability to meet that threat. Every consideration but one, therefore, draws China's first thought to the north and east. That other and conflicting consideration is prestige. The easier task is the southern one -- the approach from the south and west towards Canton and Hongkong. And the return of sovereignty over Hongkong to China is a cardinal aim of the Chinese. The first reaction of Chinese leaders to any proposed allotment of the southern field to Allied forces would be unfavourable. Consideration, however, will drive them to a conclusion that it is necessary, if Allied forces are to operate in the China theatre at all.

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The Chinese base must be to the north, directed at first from Chungking; the Allied one must be to the south -- at first in India and, later, in the area of Kunming, Kweiyang and Kweilin. Georgraphy, supply routes and the nature of the tasks to be undertaken dictate that the Chinese Army must be on the left and the Allied forces on the right; just as geography and supply routes put the French army in France on the right and the British on the left.

6. The Chinese tasks, as seen through their eyes, must be:-

(a) to gain control of the Communist base and area (either by fighting or by demonstration and negotiation) making their approach along the line CHENGTU-MIENHSIEN-SIKING:
(b) to drive the Japanese out of the WUHAN cities and then proceed north between the TAHUNG and TAPIEH HILLS;
(c) to cooperate with Allied forces, the latter at first directed on CANTON and then moving north along the coastal area, hinging on the Chinese Army on their left, and with their right supported and, to a growing degree, supplied by sea. (The dividing line would, normally, be CHANGSHA-NANCHANG, inclusive to the Chinese Army).

7. The Allied force, other than Chinese, should be British-American, including Australian and Canadian elements. (This thought is based on a view of the post-war peace structure that is to follow). As the U.S. is represented in the European battle area, the British should be a factor in the Asiatic. This, I think is vital. Any British force must be based on INDIA, but the force itself, while possibly containing Indian elements, should not be entirely Indian. The Indian Army can find its major and natural task to the south, in BURMA, in MALAY and about SINGAPORE. The Command is a political matter, but in the early stages full strategical and tactical control should be in the hands of the Generalissimo with the provisos that:

(a) The British-U.S. forces should be used exclusively on the right, except with the consent of their respective commanders;
(b) The supply lines should not be allowed to cross.
(c) Chinese evacuation, except in great emergency, should be to the west, British U.S. to the south and, ultimately, to the coast.

8. Because of Chinese sensitiveness, and actual distrust of British intentions concerning Hongkong and Shanghai, and the new suspicions which might be aroused by any proposal to direct Allied forces on them for their recapture, it would be wise to have a complete advance understanding covering the postwar disposition of these places, and the several interests therein.

9. I have indicated why I think the Chinese Army should be, and would want to be, directed towards the north. The reasons arise from the conditions inherent in the situation, and not from the "wishes" of any person or group. Similarly, the size and fighting value of the Chinese Army, as it can be in the spring of 1945, are determined by factors which can not be materially altered before that time. It would be wrong to think in terms of the immense Chinese army that might be created in a period of five years. The five years will not be available. The Chinese army as it is, re-organized, re-equipped and re-trained so that it may effectively use the new equipment, must be used. Equipment might be sent in on a larger scale than I have in mind; but even if it were, it could not be used even

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reasonably efficiently. There are not sufficient Chinese leaders of senior calibre either to train or to lead a large army, and they can not be created in a few months.

10. The Chinese Army is reputed to be one of some 6,000,000 troops, organized in divisions all of which have fewer than the 10,000 men on supposed "ration" strength. (All official figures require heavy discounting). But the percentage of physical fitness for service is very low. The health standard is poor. Supply and medical arrangements are nebulous. (Dr. Penfield's report, when you see it, will reveal a tragic shortage of trained medical personnel in the Chinese Army.) And Chinese senior officers are above the mercenary duties of supply and transport. Chinese commanders grade from a few first class men to many who are poor and some who are so bad as to be dangerous. Morale is not high in most armies and is weakened by:

(a) lack of adequate food;
(b) lack of medical supplies and care;
(c) deterioration due to a war without fighting; (the "fighting" phase ceased at the close of 1939.)
(d) intercourse, including traffic, with and through the enemy;
(e) shortage of weapons and munitions;
(f) almost complete absence of transport.

The first two handicaps can be removed by Allied assistance given on the absolute understanding that supplies and medicines must get through to the troops. "D" can be stopped. "C" will disappear when fighting is resumed and a fighting spirit is built up. "E" and "F" can be remedied, but slowly. But the number of trained physically fit men is much lower than is represented; and the day to day wastage through illness, largely due to malnutrition and not to fighting, is staggering. The causes of this wastage cannot be removed till the first phase of the fighting has been successful, that is, till supplies can get through into China in large quantities.

11. All experienced sources of information emphasize the fact that the great weakness of the Chinese Army lies in its officers. A large number are not trained; many do not want to be trained; very many are not capable of taking training; and a high percentage have neither leadership qualities nor any liking for hard work. All this can be corrected in time, by ruthless eliminations. It has largely arisen from the fact that, in the past, the Army has not been the "pride of China" but has represented the lowest and most despised class. The Generalissimo has made herculean efforts to change all this. But his success has only been "spotty". In some quarters he gets little support. He will have no real success until young men of the type now represented by the "student" class are proud to go into the army.

12. China is a "potentially" strong country but is actually very weak. The change to strength will only come slowly. It will not come as a miracle. I do not believe that China as it will be in the spring of 1945 can be expected to contribute a field army equivalent to more than 50 of our strength battle-worthy divisions. And that figure is optimistic.

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13. The Japanese Army is just under 100 active divisions, distributed, according to sources as nearly trustworthy as I can find, as follows (combining scattered independent brigades into divisions);

(a) Manchuria	30	divisions
(b) China	27	"
(c) Burma-Malay-Thailand	10	"
(d) S.W. Pacific Islands.....	13	"
(e) Japan (including unlocated).	18	"
	98	divisions

14. These divisions are of more uniform quality than are the Chinese. They have shown a tough fighting spirit. A force to overcome them should be:
(a) numerically greater than their own,
(b) of better fighting capacity,
(c) better equipped,
(d) better led, and
(e) directed at a vulnerable point.

Examination shows that the first requirement "A" can be met, but that transportation problems make it exceedingly difficult to assemble a superior force in any "tender" field. If the Chinese Army could be used in terms of its paper strength, a satisfactory answer could be found at once. And if the only deficiency necessary to remedy to bring it up to that strength were equipment, that could be provided. But the Chinese Army cannot be rated at its paper strength. The deficiency goes way beyond mere equipment. It lies in the human factor. If Napoleon's dictum that "morale is to all other factors in an army as 3 to 1" is sound, or anywhere near it, the major deficiency of the Chinese army lies in those intangibles which can only be corrected by a long period of training, first of officers and, later, of men. Even Chiang Kai-shek cannot change the character of the Chinese Army overnight, nor could he do it even if he had ample equipment. If this argument is sound, as I believe it is, negative answers must be given to "B" and "D" a favourable one to "C" and a good deal of attention must be devoted to "E". The Chinese Army must be assessed at its true battle value, which is and will remain definitely limited for the purposes of this war. When I suggest, as I did above, that it might be rated at 50 (European strength) field divisions, I am not suggesting that it could be expected to meet 50 German or Japanese divisions on equal terms. I am merely trying to find a reasonable mathematical point from which to begin a study of the "visiting" force that must be employed beside it. Moreover, my general conception is that the "visiting force", comparatively weak at first and facing an easy task, will grow steadily as it proceeds, will take on greater and greater tasks and will finally become the spearhead of the real threat to Japan. In the meantime, the Chinese Army would hold the bigger battle field, would be directed at the spiritual national capital (Peking), would pin down many Japanese divisions, and would improve in quality as the campaign progressed. There must be no misunderstanding of the basis of my whole argument. I am not discussing what might be made of the Chinese Army if ample time were available. I am assuming that haste is important, for an additional year of war is a tremendous price to pay for delay; and so I am thinking only of what can be done in less than 18 months with the Chinese Army as it now exists; with more equipment and such training and reorganization as the time permits.

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15. I am convinced that the sure way to bring Japan to "unconditional surrender" is the defeat of her field armies on the soil of China; and that the decisive battles can be brought about if and when her heavy supply base in north China (Manchuria) is seriously threatened. To meet that threat, Japan will have to withdraw division after division from her advanced island positions; and this withdrawal can be harried and hurried by an acceleration of the island to island campaign and the pressure of air and naval forces. A combined operations assault on Japan from the East (across the Pacific) would probably be a failure. It would be another test of carrier-based aircraft versus land-based aircraft, and the answer to that test has already been given. But a threat to south Manchuria will compel Japan to concentrate her strength there. This will be particularly true if Russia threatens from the north at the same time.

16. I think that, with time, equipment and supplies, a Chinese Army equal to any of the Allied Armies could be created. The Chinese are sturdy. Those who live past the first dangerous years of childhood appear to be very strong, even though tuberculosis is rampant everywhere. And they can be trained to be brave, although courage has not always been looked upon as a virtue. Loyalty is not a natural characteristic, but it can be built up. Transportation conceptions are wholly archaic, and facilities will be poor right up to the end of the war. A very heavy initial demand will have to be made on air transport; but the strain will be lessened when naval and air supremacy enable the Allies to reach the south China coast by sea.

17. The major field problems will be supply and evacuation, for the standards and practices of the two forces are and will continue to be very different. For that reason, these services will have to be "canalized", and mutually exclusive operation and supply areas must be allotted. Visiting forces will have to adjust themselves in the beginning to the facilities which exist, and wait for the creation of better ones when they become possible. This means that much transport will have to be by coolies and mules; of the former many are available, but they in themselves create a supply problem. Only comparatively few mules are to be had. Most mules are in north China. South China scarcely uses mules or horses at all. All water is bad. For the natives, boiling is sufficient to make it safe. But visiting troops will be careless. Much of the ground is contaminated. Sanitary units must be well trained and aggressive.

18. This despatch is drafted on "departmental" lines. It can quickly be translated into military form and at any time. The frame work of the picture stands out in stark relief. To my mind it is as sure as is the pattern of Europe, with its arrows pointing inwards towards the heart of Germany, from the west, the south-east, and the east. Here the Chinese arrows point from Siking to Yangku and on to Chahar; and from Chungking to Hankow and thence north through Sinyang to Kaifeng, Peking and Tientsin; the British-U.S. arrow points west from the general Kunming area to Canton and Hongkong and, becoming two (one by sea and one by land), northward to Tsinan, growing heavier as it moves. And as these arrows make their way northward, the air attack on Japan, based on Chinese landing grounds, will increase in intensity and effectiveness. There is no difficulty that cannot be overcome by hard work and goodwill,

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making use of adequate supplies and modern technical equipment. Moreover, as the British-American forces gains strength and prestige, the Chinese armies will gradually commence to approximate their methods and efficiency. By operating under the supreme land command of the Generalissimo, the Allies could give a demonstration of unity, goodwill and confidence which would have a profound effect, both within and without China, after the war.

19. This despatch is not the result of consultation, or understanding, with anyone. It is built up from a multitude of little things, and in many respects may incorporate information and ideas received from British, American and Chinese sources. But no one else can in any way be held responsible for it. It is entirely original. I say this at once so that no suspicion may be cast on others. It is not "inspired", even by so much as a hint. And its contents are not known to anyone other than to two members of the staff.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) VICTOR W. ODLUM

Canadian Minister.

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NAR/SR
23.11.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER **C163835**

I enclose copies of despatches numbers 124, 126 and 131 dated September 30th, October 1st and 5th respectively from General Odlum relative to:

(1) Dr. T.F. Tsiang, Director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan;

(2) Dr. Ch'eng T'ienfang, Vice-Chancellor of the Central Political Institute;

(3) Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

These despatches provide interesting portraits of these outstanding Chinese leaders, and throw a good deal of light on the political scene in Chungking.

(In earlier communications, General Odlum indicated that he wished to reserve his comments on Chiang Kai-shek until he had developed sufficient background and experience upon which to base a personal appraisal. His present despatch on General Chiang should be read in the light of that fact.)

I know General Odlum would appreciate a comment or acknowledgment from you of his despatch about Chiang Kai-shek. I attach a draft* that you might consider for this purpose.

* sent back to Dept for fair copy for sgth

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CANADIAN LEGATION OF CANADA C163836

CHUNGKING, China,
Sept. 30, 1943.

SECRET

No. 124

Sir:

Yesterday Dr. Patterson and I had lunch with Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan of the Chinese Government. The lunch, which was at his home, opposite the Central Party Headquarters, had been arranged by Dr. Tsiang so that we could have a serious talk. There was only one other guest present, an officer from Dr. Tsiang's own staff.

2. Despatch No. 121, sent yesterday, dealing with the recent plenary sessions of the Central Executive Committee, will tell you something of the Chinese Government set-up. All effective power is in the hands of the C.E.C. which is headed by the Generalissimo. It is true that the Supreme National Defence Council, which is also headed by the Generalissimo, has a good deal of power during the war period and might be considered to be the temporarily senior body. But the C.E.C. is the hub of the wheel, for in great part the Supreme National Defence Council is constituted by appointments made by it. If there is a third body which must be taken into account, it is the Executive Yuan, also headed by the Generalissimo. In the Executive Yuan Dr. H. H. Kung, the Generalissimo's brother-in-law, is the Vice-President. The Political Affairs Department is a sub-division of the Executive Yuan and is headed by Dr. Tsiang. This gives you his position in the broad Government picture. Amongst other things, the Political Affairs Department conducts all business transacted between the Provincial and Central Governments, and supervises the budgets of the former.

3. In opening our discussion I told Dr. Tsiang that my desire was to study China, in a kindly, factual way. I wanted eventually to be able to tell a friendly story of China, but it would be of no value unless it were based on fact and reasonably comprehensive. I said that I had found that most Chinese did not appreciate the direct type of approach to a problem but that as it was the only one the technique of which I had mastered, I must use it. I hoped that he would not mind if I asked searching and sometimes embarassing questions. I pointed out that the more ignorant a questioner might be, the more apt he was to ask the wrong thing. Dr. Tsiang admitted that the Chinese usual approach to a subject was oblique and he said that, after spending ten years studying in the United States, it had taken him other years upon his return to learn how to talk the language of his Government Department. For instance, he said, if a submission were made to him that was obviously wrong, he could not possibly reply at

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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once that the submitter was in error. He had to say that "undoubtedly the view expressed was correct, looking at the matter from one point of view; but would it not be worthwhile studying it from another angle? Had these facts, for instance, been taken into consideration?" There was a formula for everything, and the "intelligentsia" delighted in clever turns of oblique speech. Indeed, they delighted in them so much that they were more elated by the brilliance of a phrase or of a slogan they had coined than they would be by success in their task of the moment. With this frank understanding, Dr. Tsiang and I established an easy procedure. It was agreed that I should ask what questions I liked and that he would answer directly where he could He would either give me the truth as he knew it, or he would tell me that he could not answer because he did not know the facts or because he was not free to speak.

4. I referred to the recent meetings of the C.E.C. (Central Executive Committee) and the People's Political Council, and asked him to let me have his frank judgment of them. He said that sometimes the decisions of the C.E.C. were more important than were those of the P.P.C. At other times it was just the reverse. This year it was the actions of the C.E.C. on which emphasis had to be laid. The C.E.C. had met earlier than had the P.P.C., and it might be because of this time factor that the decisions of the C.E.C. took on the significance they did. I asked if there had been a purpose behind the arrangement of the order in which the two bodies had been called. At first Dr. Tsiang said not but, later correcting himself, he said: "There might have been".

I drew for Dr. Tsiang a picture I had formed of the present position and power of the Generalissimo standing at the top of the national structure with every line of authority securely in his hands; and I suggested that the Generalissimo appeared to be the only man in China above both Party and Government. I added that, this being the case, the study of China today became the study of the Generalissimo. Dr. Tsiang agreed, but added that there were others besides myself who were studying the Generalissimo, some of them even Ministers in the Government. Many of them searched without success for the key to what the Generalissimo was likely to do. (This may have been a veiled hint at a popular impression of the Generalissimo as a man of sudden and unpredictable actions.)

I told Dr. Tsiang how much the Generalissimo had impressed me but said that, of course, it was as yet too early for me to come to any final conclusions. I purposely phrased my statement so as to give Dr. Tsiang an opportunity to analyze the President for me; but he failed to respond. It has surprised me how uniformly unresponsive all the important Chinese have been when I have opened this door for them. It is a fact that not one has ventured to criticize the Generalissimo; but it is equally true that not one has responded with enthusiasm. (I refer you again to a certain table talk incident reported in Despatch No. 119 which left here yesterday.) Dr. Tsiang was completely reticent; he neither praised nor criticized. He was

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simply silent. Since all Chinese I have met have adopted the same attitude, I must not ascribe too much significance to Dr. Tsiang's silence. It may have been due to some secret party rule, prohibiting all discussion of the Generalissimo with outsiders; or it might in fact, Chinese psychology being what it is, have been in itself a mark of respect. It is even possible that there may be a certain "fear" behind the attitude, for in China there is an active and efficient secret police of which not much is heard on the outside. (On this subject I will try to send you a despatch some time later; but it is very hard to get the facts, just as hard, in fact, as it is to get facts in connection with the administrative services of the Chinese Army.)

5. Dr. Tsiang answered my question about the importance to be attached to the sessions of the C.E.C. and the P.P.C. by saying that the C.E.C. meeting had been the third most significant in its history, the first having been that in 1913 when the Kuomintang was re-organized, and the second that held at Hankow in 1938. On the present occasion, the enlargement of the powers of the President of the National Government (not as yet the President of China), and then the appointment of the Generalissimo to the position, were of first importance, for they pointed to a road that is to be followed. The decision to introduce full democratic government within one year after the war was a weapon turned, in part, against the Communists but, even more than that, it was a reflection of Chinese sensitiveness to outside world opinion. In spite of a popular idea to the contrary, China was actually very conscious of what the world was thinking; and China was happy to see the applause with which the United States and Great Britain received word of the momentous decision as to the definite date when the Chinese Government would be really democratic.

On this point Dr. Tsiang paused to comment on the dangers of grafting democratic forms on an illiterate public. He referred to the greatest success China had ever had in a popular election, one held in Nanking. On that occasion, with all party officials and everyone else interested working very hard to get out the vote, only 70,000 people out of 1,000,000 had actually voted! He thought that China's first need was not democratic forms but, rather, practical help for the farmer. I agreed with him, saying that I had been informed that 90% of the people of China were in the villages or on the farms; that I myself had seen their backward system of agriculture and I felt that that first attention in reconstruction might well be given to the 90% in the country rather than to the 10% in the cities. At this he became quite enthusiastic. I suggested that democracy based on ignorance could be a very bad thing; and that a declaration to the world that China would put democratic forms into force as soon as education had reached a certain stage might have given the other democracies all the assurance they needed and at the same time have proved the safer course for China. Democracy, I said, had its own weaknesses. I would, of course, rather have the weaknesses

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of democracy than those of any other form of government the world had yet invented; but then I only knew democracy at work amongst the educated and reasonably well informed peoples. Dr. Tsiang said that I was the exception amongst outsiders; no other foreigner had talked to him that way. The great majority of the people of the western democracies, he thought, would not agree with me. All were insistent on the necessity for an immediate adoption of democratic forms. It is just possible that the decisive action taken by the C.E.C. and approved by the P.P.C. was motivated in part by a desire to count eract certain critical tendencies which had recently appeared in the U.S. press.

6. I asked Dr. Tsiang to tell me how he, with his liberal ideas, came to be appointed to his present post; how, in fact, he was actually selected. He replied that he had been chosen by the Generalissimo himself because he had been a professor of history in Nankai University. He was a Kuomintang Party member, of course, but he had no influence or standing in the party. His work was directly with the Generalissimo and with Dr. Kung.

At that point I asked him what was the percentage relationship of party and "government" members in the Supreme National Defence Council, the nominally most powerful body in wartime China, part of the membership of which (appointed by the C.E.C.) is secret. He answered that, on paper, it should be 60% party and 40% government; but that owing to the importance and influence of some of the Government members, it was, in fact, probably 60% government and 40% party. I asked if the important government members to whom he referred had not derived their importance in the Government from their influence in the party. He smiled and said that this was so. I asked him if there were any, like himself, who were not party members, holding important positions under the Government. He said: "That would be impossible!" He himself was a party member, he emphasized again.

7. I turned back to the beginning of our conversation and asked Dr. Tsiang to analyze the broad Chinese picture for me. I said I was prepared to do the same thing for him about Canada if he wished it; but that I did want to know what informed Chinese considered to be China's greatest weakness. I told him of a conversation I once had with Dr. T. Z. Koo, in which I had asked the same question. Dr. Koo had answered that China's greatest weakness, a lack of initiative, arose from the Chinese family system which, in fact, ordained that less than 1% of the Chinese could have any authority and responsibility in the direction of affairs. All the rest being submissively compelled to do what they were told to do and to accept what they were given. The heads of families really ruled the people of China; and from their arbitrary rule grew the complete lack of initiative of the great mass of the Chinese people.

Dr. Tsiang dissented, in part, He said that China's weakness, and China was weak, had its origin, amongst other things, in the Chinese habit of thinking backward. They did not think straight, and forward, as Western people are accustomed to do. I told Dr. Tsiang that he had given me the most direct and honest answer to a difficult question that I had received since coming to China. He was obviously pleased.

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8. Then, pursuing the subject further, I went on to ask why I found no evidence of "fermentation" in China. I knew that there had been fermentation, for in the days of the Revolution the student body had been very active agitating and speaking on the streets. I not only found no sign of street corner preaching but I had failed to discover any live discussion groups. I wanted to join a Chinese group which would have the courage to discuss any subject and in which any opinion could be voiced, not for the purpose of sustaining it but in order that it might be dissected and examined. I had made many inquiries but had not uncovered any trace of such a group. Dr. Tsiang looked grave and said that I would not find one. Then he went off at a tangent, refusing, in effect, to discuss the matter further. He expressed disappointment with the new Chinese intelligentsia. All the newly educated, he said, wanted to get into government positions and, once there, prided themselves on coining flowery language rather than on doing their real work. Phrases meant more to them than accomplishment. He became quite sarcastic on this subject -- a sarcasm in which I hartily agree. (In my opinion, China has a surplus of Ph.D.'s who are content to be Ph.D.'s and have little or no desire to do anything. To have a degree and to publish a monograph or two on some perfectly useless subjects seemed to be the height of ambition of many of them.)

I did not let the subject of "fermentation" drop there. Instead, I pressed the point asking where were the voices of those who should be inspiring China -- "Where was the voice of China's Churchill?" Dr. Tsian was again silent. I had hoped that he would name the Generalissimo but he did not. I am told that in the older days before he became a "traitor", Wang Ching-wei was the agitator, the picturesque speaker, the "rabble rouser". But he has gone, and no one has taken his place. The Generalissimo issues many public statements, which are accepted with respect; but certain qualities of leadership by voice he seems to lack.

9. I would like to pause here and interject a thought of my own, admitting at once that my experience has been limited and that my opinion can have little authoritative value. Still, it may be useful for dissection by more competent persons. There is no doubt but that China is backward, in many ways. That backwardness, evidenced by contentment with poor and tawdry things, inefficient methods and unclean surroundings, may, in part, be accounted for by the lack of initiative due to family repression, of which Dr. Koo spoke; or to the Chinese habit of "thinking backward" to which Dr. Tsiang referred. But I feel it is due to an even greater extent to the widespread lack of common honesty. Dishonesty in action as in thought is so common in China that it is terrifying. It is implied in the make-believe of "face". I did not like to take to Dr. Tsiang about this subject; in fact, I have failed so far to develop the courage to raise it with any important person. But I will do so some day, for with me it is basic. I am not sure how to approach it. In one way, and on the national scale, it is exemplified by the very C.E.C. action on the question of democratization of China. I am convinced that the C.E.C. did not act on its inner sincere judgment of what was

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best for the Chinese people since it is, in fact, largely opposed to effective democracy. Its methods and forms are entirely undemocratic and, at heart, it fully enjoys the power of arbitrary party rule. But it proclaimed the inauguration of a democratic government in China within one year after the close of the war for the sake of the effect this action would have on the outside world. It is even a fair surmise that many who joined in the action were thinking of the big "credits" China would be seeking from Britain and the United States when the war ends. Unless China can change her people so that common honesty will become the expected thing, and dishonesty the unexpected, she cannot become strong and great.

10. Remembering that Dr. Tsiang had spent ten years studying in the United States, I asked him if while there he had given much thought to the U. S. Constitution; and if so, if he had come back with any bias either for it or against it. He said he had not taken any particular interest in the U.S.Constitution and he had no bias. In the early days the Chinese debated the merits of the French and U.S. Constitutions with the weight of preference swinging toward the latter. But of recent years, China had been impressed by the strength and progress of the totalitarian states and by the apparent weakness of the democracies. China thought she saw a new and desirable principle of government in Germany, in Italy, in Russia and in Japan; and this thought was emphasized for a period after the disasters which the democracies had suffered in the Pacific and the initial poor performance of the French and the British in the field of Europe. But that phase had passed, and China had turned back to faith in the democratic system. Then Dr. Tsiang made a most surprising statement, one I have not yet been able to digest. He said that China was the oldest totalitarian state in the world! She had been totalitarian since two centuries before Christ. The emperors ruled arbitrarily and not by the consent of the people. Like the modern heads of totalitarian states, they not only ruled but they "educated". As dictators, they shaped, or attempted to shape, the thinking of the people. And that is just what Hitler and Mussolini have been doing. "The Kuomintang," added Dr. Tsiang, "has been trying to return to the old system."

11. Of Dr. H. H. Kung, Dr. Tsiang had many good things to say. He has to work closely with the Minister of Finance for the latter is Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and is trusted by the Generalissimo to conduct much of its administration. I told Dr. Tsiang that I had come to China with a very black picture of Dr. Kung, painted by others (largely in the U.S.) who described him as the "bad man" of the Chinese Government; but that I had had to revise my opinion. I found Dr. Kung a pleasant man, and I felt that many of the stories built around him were the product of jealous minds -- minds which found in every successful man a desirable object of attach. Dr. Tsiang agreed. He said that, for the Government, Dr. Kung had two great qualities: he approached every problem with a business

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mind and he understood how to make vitally necessary political compromises. Dr. Kung did not have the "phrases", the wordy "cliches" of the intelligentsia; and because he did not have these things, they disliked him. He talked in a straightforward business-like manner. (a fact I have already found for myself) and so they disliked him the more. Dr. Kung's association with the Central Trust was unfortunate in the eyes of many; but after all, the Central Trust was comparatively unimportant. His association with the Central Bank was likewise criticized, but most unfairly. The Government used the Central Bank as the bank of issue and that placed a heavy load on it. Dr. Kung, like a sound business man, wanted to keep the budget as low as he could but political considerations compelled him to go much further than his own judgment would have him go. When the Generalissimo turned down a projected expenditure, it was Dr. Kung who had to find the compromise; and up to the present he had succeeded in doing this. Dr. Tsiang came nearer to enthusiasm in discussing Dr. Kung than he did at any other time, partially, I felt, in order to defend his immediate chief. (Dr. Kung and Dr. Tsiang are both "Oberlin" men).

12. Talking of Dr. Kung naturally raised the question of China's monetary system, of the price rise, and of the exchange rate, including the projected importation by air of US$200,000,000 in American gold. Dr. Tsiang said that the gold would probably replace notes and pass into the hands of the people. In that way it would do good. "When it has passed into the hands of the people." I suggested, "it will be hoarded and will disappear from circulation. You will then have to go back to the printing of notes. Your advantage in that case will be only temporary." He agreed with this. He said that China could not meet the cost of the war by taxation although she had done much better since the introduction of "collection in kind". China had no option but to meet her deficit by issuing new money.

I suggested that China's position in post-war conferences and in the business world would be strengthened if China's monetary system had been put in order before the end of the war. He raised his eyes thoughtfully at this and asked if an attempt to stabilize the Chinese dollar at some point, which would have to be very low, would not be disastrous in terms of China's foreign exchange. I said I did not think so; that China's exchange rate already had no relation to fact, and that Britain and the United States had accepted it without protest. I thought that the big thing was for China to organize her internal financial housekeeping and pay no attention to the problem of adjusting her external exchange. There would then be just as much reason for the rate to remain where it is as there is now -- which means none at all. In reply to a question, I said that the present internal value of the national currency, in my opinion, compared with its value before the war, or in the spring of 1937, could best be ascertained by comparing the prices at the two periods of some common, homely things, in everyday use, which were not

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affected by the export and import markets. I cited chickens and eggs as examples. Rice, I thought, was too much affected by crop conditions, by hoarding and by export. By the latter I meant trading which is going on with the enemy, but I did not deem it wise at the time to refer to this. Dr. Tsiang showed a great deal of interest in what I said, particularly in my statement that it was much more important for China to put her own monetary system and price control in order than to worry about foreign exchange.

13. Finally, we came to the subject of the Chinese Army. I expressed surprise at the fact that the people had no pride in their army and that the army apparently had little pride in itself. At least that was the way, I said, that an outsider saw it. In the countries I knew best, every effort was made to give the soldiers special privileges and care, and to make the country proud of them as well as to develop in the soldiers a pride in themselves. But in China I "sensed" a feeling that the people looked down on the Army. I asked if it would not be better if the army were reduced in size and the pay and privileges of the remainder stepped up. Dr. Tsiang expressed surprise. He said that this was the very thing he had been advocating in a modified form for the last three years but entirely without success. He had recommended that the periodic conscription drafts be reduced by 25% and that the pay of the soldiers be doubled. Dr. Kung had agreed with him in principle but had found it politically inexpedient to openly support the suggestion. Dr. Tsiang agreed that the Chinese Army could not be a real fighting force while it lived on so low a scale and so miserably.

14. At this point I will try to gather up a few loose threads that were apparently missed in their proper context. They remain vividly in memory but I cannot relate them to the steady flow of the conversation. For instance, I made reference to Governor Chang Chun of Szechuan, whom I met in Chengtu, and I asked if he were not recognized as an outstanding party man. Dr. Tsiang's face lighted up and he said, with emphasis: "he is brilliant". I have suggested to you before this that you would do well to keep your eye on Governor Chang as a coming man.

When discussing China's economic position I again asked, as I have asked so often, what were the things China could find to export in order to meet the service of the immense new industrial debt she was planning to assume; and I referred to the six billion dollars gold she expected to get from the other democracies in the form of capital goods. He said he thought that the six billion dollars was only a "slogan". He agreed that China should not borrow unless she saw the way to repay and he admitted that China's export potential was not high. He named soya beans, tung oil, silk, bristles and wolfram -- the same group that is always brought out without taking the trouble to examine new and changed conditions. In the end he agreed that China lacked adequate exports and would have to set herself seriously to the task of finding things that she could make and sell to the world. (on this subject I had an interesting dis-

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cussion with Mr. Beltz, of Vancouver, who has been in China for five months studying the oil possibilities for the Standard Oil Companies of New York and New Jersey. Mr. Beltz is an experienced oil geologist who has spent many years in the Malays and the Dutch East Indies. On my talk with him I will give you a report later.)

Dr. Tsiang expressed the thought that, taking into consideration her weak economic position and her limited resources in trained personnel, China was possibly planning to move at too fast a pace and on too grand a scale in her post-war reconstruction. He said that this haste was characteristic of China even now -- that everyone was trying to fill a position at least one step above the one for which he was fitted. China would be better off if each official in the Government and Army had to take a step downwards and if the whole pace were modulated to meet China's actual capacity.

I pointed out that there was a certain need for haste -- that China had a great task before her -- perhaps the greatest task faced by any country in the world. She had to keep up to a time factor --a factor set by the date when the next major international military crisis might arise. By that time, China should be strong in armed resources and in essential industries. On the other hand, to go at a speed beyond her capacity would end in chaos and would put the goal farther off instead of bringing it nearer. Dr. Tsiang agreed.

15. Dr. Tsiang and I have arranged to meet frequently when I am located where it will be possible to get around. I was much impressed by his occidental frankness and his willingness to face rather than dodge issues. He is a man of about 48 years of age, or perhaps a little less. When in the United States taking his education he worked his way through college the greater part of the time, principally on farms; but for a couple of years he received aid in the form of scholarships from the Chinese Government as a result of the academic standing he had attained. His family before the Revolution was wealthy, but in the Revolution it lost everything. Dr. Tsiang is a type of Chinese official too infrequently met but very encouraging when discovered. He has his feet on the ground and talks with confidence. I imagine he is one of those who may eventually be found in an "inner circle". But even in Dr. Tsiang I find traces of those restraints or repressions which are so disheartening in China.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

"Victor W. Odlum"

Canadian Minister.

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CHUNGKING, China,
October 1, 1943.

SECRET

No. 126

Sir:

Accompanied by Dr. Patterson and Mr. Collins I spent several hours yesterday with Dr. Ch'eng T'ien-fang, Vice-Chancellor of the Central Political Institute which is situated at South Hot Springs some ten miles from Chungking. Dr. Ch'eng is 53 years of age, comes from Kiangsi province, and was educated in the United States and Canada, getting his Ph.D. at Toronto University in 1926. He is a reserve member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the most powerful body in China. He was Chancellor of the National Chekiang University in 1932 and 1933. In the latter year he became a member and Secretary-General of the Kiangsi Provincial Government. He was Dean of the Central Political Institute in 1934-5 and was appointed Ambassador to Germany in 1935, remaining in that post until 1938. On his return to China, he became Chancellor of the National Szechuan University, a position which he held until 1942 when he was transferred to the Central Political Institute as Dean. He is now Vice-Chancellor and the actual head, since the Generalissimo, who is the President of the Institute, can only give occasional time to it. Dr. Ch'eng is short, dapper and very alert. He only weighs 120 pounds.

2. The Central Political Institute is intended to be a permanent feature of the Chinese Government structure. It is now 16 years old, having been first established at Nanking. It has 200 acres of land on a delightful river a short distance south of Chungking. An excellent motor road, one of the best in this part of China, runs by it. Although it has only been in this location for some 4 years, its gardens and buildings are impressive. It is obvious that someone with adequate power over the expenditure of money takes a keen interest in it. It has 150 professors and a student body numbering 2,000. The regular course is four years; students are not eligible to enter until they have reached 18 years of age, nor if they have past 25. Females are admitted but at present they constitute only 5% of the total enrolment.

The purpose of the Institute is to train young men and women for entry into Government service. Emphasis is not laid on technical efficiency so much as on party doctrine and methods. Dr. Ch'eng told me this with surprising frankness. The Institute is divided into six "schools" which include, amongst others, those of Land

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Administration, Journalism, and Diplomacy. A separate Department, not one of the "schools", handles the "Civil Administration" students.

Candidates for admission come from every province in China, both free and Occupied, as well as from Tibet and Mongolia. Special examinations are written at ten centres, the number of those writing this year being 8,500. Two thousand were eliminated by the examinations. The remainder took oral examinations and tests, the latter including tests for character and physical fitness. These oral examinations were held in their own centres. Of the 6,500, some 750 were finally selected to come to the Institute. They will actually arrive and enrol in November. They pay their own travelling expenses to the school, but after arrival they are totally supported (except for "pin" money) by the Government. Some of those from wealthier families, and all others living nearby, go home for the two months' summer holidays; but the great majority remain at the school and are supported there. I asked Dr. Ch'eng what was the annual per capita cost. He said $5,000.00. I asked if this included the staff salaries and the overhead. He said no; if these were added, the figure would have to be $10,000.00. That is astoundingly low, representing only $100.00 worth of purchasing power in terms of pre-war Chinese currency. (In making our own rough calculations today, we divide any Chinese sum by 100 to get its purchasing value and then multiply the result by 4 to get the arbitrary exchange cost.) I congratulated Dr. Ch'eng enthusiastically on the administrative efficiency which made it possible to maintain so excellent and large institution at such a low cost per head. It should be borne in mind that the students not only get all food and lodging but free tuition, lighting, heat and laundry as well.

3. It is by means of the Institute that the Kuomintang expects to maintain, not only a uniformity in administration throughout China but a regularity and orthodoxy in doctrine. It believes it can gather into the Institute those who will be the future leaders of China. Any by turning their minds in a common direction, it can develop a united spirit in China and a concept of China as one people and one state, which have never before existed in the political actions and the minds of the Chinese. In the Youth Corps, on the one hand, and in the Central Political Institute on the other, the Kuomintang feels it has found a weapon to enforce, and an intellectual body to create, a consciously unified China.

Dr. Ch'eng was very frank in saying that doctrine came first. He also said, most emphatically, that all who came to the Institute were under obligation to enter Government service, if accepted, wherever and in whatever capacity they might be wanted. They were sent to tasks according to the capacity they had shown. They did not necessarily, or even probably, go back to their own provinces. When a new batch of graduates went out, it was distributed to Departments and Services according to the needs of the moment. There was always an insistent demand which could not be met.

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4. When I learned that Dr. Ch'eng had taken his Ph.D. in Political Economy, I commenced asking him questions about China's possible post-war export potential. I was disappointed with his answers. I did not gather the impression that he was a good economist. He could give me no new information of value. But he did reflect a Chinese attitude. He suggested that if the other democracies really wished to see China strong so that she might enforce peace in Eastern Asia and so save them from another war, they ought to extend her ample credits to enable her to establish the necessary industries. I said that, even so, exports of some sort must be found to meet the interest on the debt and to finally extinguish it. He thought that this could be accomplished by extending the term of the loans -- making them really long-term loans; and by making additional loans when required. It turns out that Dr. Ch'eng is not an economist. He took his Ph. D. in Political Economy but he wrote his thesis on Chinese Emigration to Canada.

5. After wrestling with economics, somewhat unsatisfactorily, for a while, Dr. Ch'eng switched the subject and asked me what I thought of India; should India be given her freedom? At this time there were some 7 or 8 of his staff colleagues with us. I spoke slowly in reply and said I would give him my honest personal opinion. I had spent a month in India, all of it with Indian leaders; and I had been fully convinced that, no matter what course was followed, there would be trouble in India. All Indian leaders said so. If the British remained, there would be trouble and if they left, there would be trouble. The opinion of the Indians was that they were entitled to choose their own form of trouble, and it was my opinion that they were right. Canada was in the British Empire, not because she was under compulsion but because she chose to remain there. And India should be free to make a choice of her own. Dr. Ch'eng asked if I thought the British would give the Indians an opportunity to make a choice; I said I thought they would, but not till after the war. When he questioned the justice of the delay, I answered that China, and the United States and Britain, since they were compelled to use India as a war base for important operations including the release of China from the Japanese, could not permit disturbances in India. If there was to be trouble, there, it would have to be after the war. All the Chinese present saw the point and signified assent.

6. Then I said: "You have asked me a question and I would like to ask you one." They all laughingly agreed. "What about Tibet?" I asked; I could get no further. Their smiles passed off and from each of them came the answer, "That is different." They suggested that Tibet had always belonged to China and that the Tibetans wished the association to continue. I questioned the "always". "There was a time," I said, "when Tibet did not belong to China. How did Tibet get into China?" Dr. Ch'eng explained that the absorption of Tibet took place over 1,000 years ago. "Then," I said, "it is not

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a question of principle but one of time, is it?" They had to say "Yes" -- inferring that what was right for China because it took place 1000 years ago was wrong for Britain in India since she went into India only 300 years or more ago!

Then, to further counter the "free India" suggestion, I asked if there was not a certain division right in China even now. Dr. Ch'eng said No; and asked what I was thinking of. I referred to the Communist area as really "another China". At this there was a tenseness in the air -- a tenseness felt and registered by Patterson and Collins as well as myself. All the Chinese looked to Dr. Ch'eng. He explained that I was completely wrong -- that the so-called Communist area was not Communist at all. It was only the Communist army that was Communist. In the areas where the Communists had been, they were the least trusted and the most unpopular. He cited his own province, Kiangsi, in the south-east, where the Communists were before their long trek to the north-west, and said that in Kiangsi the people were more bitter against the Communists then were those of any other part of China. I asked him if the same thing was true where the Communists were now and he said "Yes". "It is a military problem and not a political one," he added.

"If that is so," I asked, "then, if the Communist army were to be moved away, would the people of Shensi, Shansi, Hupeh and Kwantung be whole-hearted in support of the Central Government?" He said they would "You really mean that it is purely a military and not a political problem?" I persisted. He reiterated his statement. We all thought of the directly opposite statement which the Generalissimo had recently made before the C.E.C. when he said that the Communist problem was a political and not a military one; but we said nothing.

7. In our walk about the grounds, Dr. Ch'eng showed me the big students' auditorium, which will hold 1500. It is already too small, and the Institute is growing every year. He asked me to speak to the students at an early date and I agreed. Some time ago he had invited me to address the student body but I then refused, for I wanted to get a picture of the place and its character first. When I do speak, it will be for the third time on the direct intervention of the Generalissimo. The first was at the Central (old Whampoa) Military Academy, the second at the Summer Camp of the Youth Corps, and the third will be at the Central Political Institute. The Generalissimo is head of and takes a great interest in each one. He himself asked me to speak to the first two, and the present invitation comes in response to his wish.

8. I find Dr. Ch'eng an experienced and purposeful man. He is a greater "fencer" than is Dr. Tsiang, of whom I gave you a picture in my despatch No. 124 dated 30 Sept. /43. I would have to "raise my sights" and be on the alert in dealing with Dr. Ch'eng. But I feel that he is worthwhile, for he

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is at the most important position in the "formative" division of the Kuomintang. His ideas of today will be the ideas of those who are governing tomorrow, -- at least, to a very large extent. He is certainly going to make an impression.

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Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

"Victor W. Odlum"
Canadian Minister.

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CANADIAN LEGATION

MOST SECRET

CHUNGKING, China,
October 5, 1943.

No. 131

Sir:

With your despatch No. 60, dated 31 Aug. 43, you enclose a copy of an editorial article, entitled "The Philosophy of Chiang Kai-shek", which appeared in the New Republic on 30 Aug. 1943. I have read this article carefully several times. Your request for comment places before me the task of finalizing my thinking, in part at least, on the Generalissimo and his role in China. He has been the center of my study ever since my arrival. I have tried faithfully to

(a) avoid jumping at conclusions;

(b) be sympathetic and understanding and, if I make a mistake, to be sure it is on the friendly side.

2. I am not yet ready to give a consolidated picture of my interviews and my impressions. No great harm is done if I am in error in my judgment of secondary characters and features in the complex Chinese scene; but I do not want to be wrong about the Generalissimo himself, for he is the key to the whole problem. This much I can say: I have very nearly come to the conclusion that if he is to be summed up in one word, that word must be "unpredictable". Dr. Tsiang practically suggested this the other day. My own thinking has been gradually forced in the same direction, although a few months ago I never even dreamed that this could happen.

3. When I first met Chiang Kai-shek, I was charmed by his keen, obviously alert and quickly perceptive mind. His face registered the speed of his reactions and proved that he is sometimes willing to accept new ideas. In other words, he is not always as stubborn and "set" as many paint him. To illustrate the point, I will give you an incident from our initial discussion. After many other things had been touched upon, the Generalissimo asked me what I thought of Churchill's "Hitler first" war policy. I suggested that it was not the "Churchill" but the "Churchill-Roosevelt" policy. He smiled, and nodded. Then I asked if he wanted a diplomatic answer, which could not tell much, or a blunt soldier's response. He said he wanted the soldier's answer, based on purely military considerations.

Speaking very slowly and giving the interpreter (an official from the Generalissimo's Department, although Dr. Leslie Kilborn was sitting with us) I said:

"I have been around the world, in all theatres, and I find that there are two countries which cannot be completely fair to each other in their judgments. One is Great Britain. Standing with a dagger at her heart, and for a long time facing alone the greatest armed force the world has ever seen, she was so preoccupied with her own danger and suffering, and with the gravity of the European situation, that she could not

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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As I talked, his eyes showed intense, understanding and interest. There was not a sign of resentment. The representative of the Foreign Office who was present said afterwards that he had never known any one before to so quickly and obviously make so deep an impression on the Generalissimo, especially when the latter had already formed deep seated and opposing opinions of his own. The treatment I have since received from the Generalissimo tends to confirm this view. On his own initiative, not at the suggestion of others, he has asked me to speak to the Central Military Academy, the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, and the Central Political Institute, -- the three doctrine forming institutions of which he is the head.

4. The only purpose in reciting this story is to show that the Generalissimo is, or can be, receptive and tolerant. His almost electric alertness did not suggest the philosopher, but rather the keen commander searching for reliable "intelligence". There was not even a suggestion that he was trying to be courteous. He was doing two things, very obviously: weighing me, and seeking to learn something from me. When he asked his question about the "Churchill programme", I felt that he thought he had me on an awkward spot, and that he hoped I would support the "Japan first", or at least the "Europe and Asia at the same time and with equal force" schools. When I did not, he showed no resentment. He followed what I said intently, and he showed that he respected me for it.

5. All this is aside from your question; but it gives you a small part of the background from which I will comment on the New Republic article. I have talked with the Generalissimo for hours; and I have talked of him with others, Chinese and foreign, for many other hours. I have read his book. I have done all I could to prepare myself to form an opinion.

When I first read the New Republic article, I felt a rather violent reaction against it. I thought that it was exaggerated and unbalanced. But, as I read it over and over again, I came to the conclusion that there was a certain amount of truth in it. Like most articles of this sort, it picks on a part of the truth because that part appeals to the writer;

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and it proceeds to elaborate that part away out of its proper perspective. Chiang Kai-shek may have something of the philosopher in his make-up; but he is not primarily a philosopher. That is my considered judgment. Thinking of his rather turbulent early life, his army life, his stubborn fight with the Communists (which still continues), the Sian incident, the character of the group which now surrounds him, his book, and, of course, a multitude of other things which it would take too much time to enumerate, I simply cannot see Chiang Kai-shek as a philosopher first and, afterwards, as a man of action. His tempestuous wooing of his present wife when he was already married and had two sons, and the incident I am about to relate, underline my opinion.

6. Sir Frederic Eggleston is authority for the following story. As you know, for the sake of conserving manpower, sedan chairs have been ordered off the streets of Chungking. Even diplomats are affected, for no diplomat is permitted to use a chair unless he is an invalid or is incapacitated in some way, and then only when he is in possession of an official permit; and he must carry a Red Cross sign on his chair. It appears that an officer of the Polish Embassy, having to keep an appointment and having no car, used the Embassy chair. As it was moving along the street, a group of motor cars rolled past and turned in to the curb. In one of them was the Generalissimo. He personally got out, questioned why the chair was being used, and ordered it off the street. Sir Frederic, who is very lame with arthritis, has not applied for an official permit to use his chair. (The Australian legation keeps two 4-men chairs). He stubbornly refuses to apply, although there is no question but that he would get a permit if he asked for one, for his is an outstanding case. He expresses the opinion that the Generalissimo, on the occasion referred to, violated diplomatic rights and went beyond his powers. Sir Frederic is quite indignant. I feel differently, for I dislike the chairs, think that they are a tremendous waste of manpower, and believe that the Chinese Government has taken a very sound step. It has not, I think, shown the consideration for a small handicapped group, which would include Sir Frederic, that it might have done. But that is beside the point. Sir Frederic told the story for one purpose. I repeat it for another -- to show a facet of the Generalissimo's character which does not indicate the Philosopher.

7. And here is another incident. The Generalissimo is Chancellor of Central University (one of the top flight group); but his appointment to that position is resented by a great mass of the University world because his standing as a scholar, they feel, does not warrant the recognition which has been given him.

As Chancellor, he frequently visited the University and walked informally through the grounds. When he came across groups playing basket ball, for instance, who did not stop and salute him, he resented it. He stopped the games, and gave the students lectures.

Many stories are told about incidents of this kind,

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culminating in the statement that, to cure the evil of lack of discipline in the student body of which the Generalissimo complained, rules as to the conduct to be followed on his appearance were officially posted. Shortly afterwards, these were surreptitiously torn down.

Again, I repeat this, not in criticism, for my own impetuous and direct nature make me side with the Generalissimo; but as a concrete thing on which to build up a segment of judgment concerning the attempt to cast him in the character of a philosopher.

It should be unnecessary for me to call attention to another point; but I do so for fear it may be overlooked. The Generalissimo's book, "The Destiny of China", is not his in the accepted sense of the word. He accepts responsibility for it, and undoubtedly he had much to say in giving it character. But it is largely of the official compilation type. It was written primarily, to make China, and the world, feel that China's ills had been due to unfair treatment, reflected in the "unequal treaties", meted out to China by the Great Powers; that these obstacles to progress had at last been removed; and that the day was about to dawn, with the close of the war, when China could surge ahead on a great planned reconstruction programme. This is the book of a propagandist, of a propaganda department, and not of a philosopher. As far as I know, only one book has appeared, not two as suggested by the New Republic. A second one, dealing, at greater length, with China's economic future, was planned, but for some reason it seems to have been dropped. One motive behind the appearance of the "Destiny of China" and the projected publication of a second book by the Generalissimo, may have been to build up for Chiang Kai-shek the reputation of a scholar, or of a philosopher; for such a reputation is valuable in China. But, if so, I think the effort was unwise, and has misfired, certainly in China. Chiang Kai-shek is not looked upon as primarily a scholar and the Chinese do not accept him as one. He is not first and last a philosopher. He is more than this, -- he is the embodiment of a new concept of authority, discipline and orderly progress which may yet remould China to the very core. To my mind, Chiang Kai-shek is no more the "philosopher" than is Winston Churchill, although the latter is undoubtedly a scholar, while Chiang Kai-shek is not. Those who try to paint the President in this false light are not really doing him a service, nor are they kind to him.

8. Now let me take the New Republic article and comment on it, in part, sentence by sentence, beginning with the middle of the second paragraph. The first paragraph, saying that two books have appeared, and that they "give a striking survey of the contents of his mind", has already been dealt with. There is only one book, not two; and as the book may be called a "syndicate" production, it does not reveal the contents of any one man's mind. It is nothing like Winston Churchill's "The Crisis". I touch upon isolated statements, seriatim, as follows:

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(a) "He opposes liberalism." This is true. Everywhere his emphasis is on discipline -- in the party, in the Military Academy, in the Youth Corps, in the Central Political Institute, and in the Central University. And by discipline he does not mean any perfunctory thing. He means strict obedience, which is the negation of liberalism.

(b) "Communism he finds equally unwilling to face the consequences of the industrial revolution." I do not know just what this means, but I do know that Chiang Kai-shek hates Communism. He fought it with arms for ten years, he is still fighting it with arms in spite of his declaration that the problem is"a political and not a military one," and he will again fight it with arms after the war. All the signs and preparations point that way.

(c) "Laissez-faire must be and has been discarded." That is true. There is more of totalitarianism than of laissez-faire in the present government of China. (See Para. 10 of despatch No. 124 dated 30 Sept./43.)

(d) "Fascism he rejects, because it is inhuman." Fascism may be rejected, but the practices of Fascism, both authoritarian and "liquidating", have been practised here under the present leadership. They were considered necessary to establish order within a set time limit. Fascism is not the avowed policy of China; Democracy is.

(e) "The meliorism of Thorsten Veblen and of J.A. Hobson he finds in harmony with the best present tendencies in Chinese thought." That is true and untrue. The "middle of the road" is theoretically accepted as the natural, historic way for the Middle Kingdom, and as consistent with the Chinese tendency to compromise after argument; but the Generalissimo has not consciously adopted "meliorism" as the result of a study of Veblen and Hobson. He is undoubtedly not at all aware of their philosophic "meliorism".

(f) "He believes....that only in times of storm and stress does mankind seek to improve society." That is not true. The Generalissimo has said to me that "times of storm and stress" give the best opportunity for great surges forward although the price is always great; but he is a great believer in orderly progress. Again, he emphasizes discipline above everything else, and believes that, under discipline, China can reach its greatest heights.

(g) "Whereas Western economics is based on consideration of profit and value, Chinese economics is based on the freedom and the welfare of the individual." These are merely words, without meaning. Nowhere have I seen people, well to do and poor, making a greater and more undignified scramble after dollars. A Confucius may have used wise words; but his words no more reflect the economics of China than do Christ's words reflect the economics of the so-called "Western democracies". The Chinese, and I do not restrict the generality of this term by saying the "average" Chinese, will turn as sharp a corner, and tell as many untruths to gain a dollar as

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will the people of any other race. Chinese economics are dominated today by the facts that 90 per cent of the Chinese have to get their living from the soil, and that China, which once is reputed to have had skilled and honest craftsmen, has to start all over again the taxk of building up a body of fine workmen and tradesmen. It is folly to read an "Omar Kyayam" spirit into the daily lives of those who, with long hours of toil but very inefficiently, hack at the soil. They are struggling in the mud of the paddy field for something to eat, and are not thinking of the "freedom and the welfare of the individual."

(h) "Sun Yat-sen gave us moral principles." I would suggest that any interested student read his "San Min Chu I" lectures and his"life", written by Lyon Sharman under the title of "Sun Yat-sen, His Life and Its Meaning."

(i) "He foresees a future in which individual enterprise and some private property would always be retained, but would not dominate the community." This is true. It is the policy of the Generalissimo as it is of the Kuomintang Party, to combine public with private ownership, to have (1) state monopolies, (2) state operations competing with private ones, (3) state operations in partnership with private ownership and management, and (4) private operation entirely by itself in certain recognized fields. In fact, all these forms of industrial operation have already appeared.

(j) "After the war, China would have a constitutional government and tremendous industrialization." That is correct. It is a fixed policy and the Generalissimo is fully behind it.

(k) "A man like Chiang Kai-shek at the head of a nation of 450,000,000 people, with the ideas he has, is of enormous importance." I subscribe to this completely, but I would be inclined to ask what is meant by "the ideas he has." He certainly has not all the ideas or characteristics ascribed to him in this New Republic article.

9. One opinion I am prepared to express: Chiang Kai-shek is passing into his best years. He has had a tumultuous life, and he is commencing to see it in perspective and to understand its meaning as he never did before. He is best seen as one who is "unfolding". He says many wise things, for, when his turbulent and hasty spirit remains under control, he thinks wisely. He may not be a really great man yet, but I believe he is becoming a greater man. If he were surrounded by a group who could support him by their enthusiasm, their loyalty and by real intellectual vigor, he might become a very great man. He has no aim but the good of China. I say that with emphasis. He is not yet sufficiently broadly informed to understand the rest of the world. He has no strong animus, but he still has prejudices. He is not a danger to the world. The world should be thankful for him.

When I first watched Chiang Kai-shek's expressive face and flashing eyes, I knew I would like him. I felt sure

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that I could trust him, as I do. I am not sure, as others are not sure, that he can safely be told things he does not like. But I can see tolerance growing in him -- not a tolerance for "actions" of which he does not approve, but rather for honest thinking. I have no instinctive fear, no distrust, of him; but I have some fear of the shackles with which his hands are tied, and for the whispers that go into his ears in this rather mad and wholly imponderable complexity called China, where mass trading with the enemy proceeds and evokes no indignation; where army leaders profit at the expense of the food of their men and no one, other than foreigners, either complains or sees wrong in it; where other army leaders traffic in opium, close to the national capital, and no one takes action. Of all these things, Chiang Kai-shek has knowledge. But he tolerates them, for reasons of his own -- perhaps because the whole structure would tumble into pieces were he to interfere. I have not dared to ask him yet, although I have touched at the fringes.

I have a feeling that the Generalissimo may be drawing back into the shadows. He must be troubled by what he sees and cannot change. He must be wearied by the intrigues around him. When he remains inactive, while his soldiers are not properly fed even though the Government provides the food for them, he does not hold his hand because of lack of love for his soldiers. He holds his hand because he dare not use it, -- the national fabric is too delicate, the cement is too weak. A man in such a position, being aware of responsibilities and duties but being compelled to turn his face another way so that he will not officially see them, must find it a great temptation to step back behind the screens. And in such a seclusion lies a great danger to the state. If he takes his hand off the party machine, the intriguers will seize control. In judging Chiang Kai-shek, one must remember that his is not a smooth working democracy. His task of leadership is a difficult and ticklish one. He began as quite an ordinary man, but he has climbed steadily, using force as he has climbed. He is now at the top and, like most men, he is growing with his responsibilities. But the structure on which he stands is flimsy. It will not become solid unless he develops even greater qualities of leadership -- he must become an inspiration to his people as well as a shrewd administrator. As yet the signs of inspiration are lacking. They will not appear unless he becomes a really great man.

I am still studying and searching for an answer. It would be easy to be critical and to tear down. Hundreds of others are doing that. I prefer to hope, and to wait. I think, I half believe, that Chiang Kai-shek will become a really great man, one of the greatest men of the age. But, if he does, it will not be the particular type of great man that the New Republic apparently wishes him to be.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
"Victor W. Odlum"
Canadian Minister.

Footnote: Is it not possible to have the New Republic and The Nation sent to us? We badly need provocative and critical material.

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C163857
THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

CHINA

December 1, 1943.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[F 6322/254/10]

Copy No. 068a

Mr. Gage to Mr. Eden.—(*Received 1st December.*)

(No. 1113.)

Sir, *Chungking, 17th November, 1943.*

I HAVE the honour to refer to your despatch No. 279 of the 11th October, requesting my views on the suggestions, made in paragraph 2 of Sir Eric Teichman's report enclosed in Sir Horace Seymour's despatch No. 860 of the 6th September, that the West China Union University should be transferred to the control of the Chinese Ministry of Education.

2. The issues raised by Sir Eric Teichman's suggestion appear to concern not only West China Union University, but also to a large extent all the other Christian or missionary universities in China. And in this connexion Sir Eric says: "It seems to me very doubtful whether there is any longer a place for the missionary university in China"; and he goes on to express the conviction that West China Union University "is an anachronism in these days when the Chinese claim to have outgrown the leading-strings of foreign tutelage."

3. I consider that the fact that a university is under missionary or Christian control should not automatically condemn it, even in present-day Nationalist China. On the contrary, there should be a definite place in the Chinese educational system for the missionary university provided it is run on suitable lines. For this purpose the aim should, I consider, be to adapt and conform missionary control to Chinese national ideals and susceptibilities. West China's failure to accomplish this is to a large extent the measure of its failure as a university.

4. Despite the competition of the Chinese national universities, certain Christian universities, such as the University of Nanking, Yenching University and Lingnan University, are succeeding in holding their own surprisingly well under war-time conditions; and, although none of them at present rank so high academically as the more important of the national universities, such as the National South-West Associated University, the National Central University, National Wuhan University and Chekiang University, a return to normal conditions should, in the absence of adverse political factors, ensure their restoration to first rank among universities in China. The political factors referred to, which include the possibility of an increase in nationalist sentiment leading to a demand for these universities to be handed over to full Chinese control, represent an uncertain quantity, but present indications are that the highest circles are in favour of the maintenance of the Christian institutions. A straw in the wind in this connexion has been the readiness shown by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek to fall in with the wishes of contributors to the United Aid to China Fund for certain allocations to be made to the Christian universities. Another strong point is, of course, the fact that both the President and his wife are active Christian sympathisers.

5. Christian universities other than West China Union University have so far been fairly successful in adapting themselves to the modern nationalist trend. Some of West China's shortcomings in this respect have been referred to in Part IV of Mr. Blofeld's report on universities in war-time China enclosed in Sir Horace Seymour's despatch No. 357 of the 15th September, 1942. The remedy is largely in the hands of the missionary staff of the university, and also of the missionary bodies which control and finance the university. The policy followed by Lingnan University seems to afford a useful pointer to a solution of this problem. The control of Lingnan University is, I understand, being gradually transferred from the foreign missionaries to Chinese Christian bodies. This development is believed to be also in line with the long-term policy of the National Christian Council in China in connexion with foreign missionary enterprises as a whole.

6. A solution on similar lines might prove best suited for the case of West China University. It would, however, be desirable to make a reservation in the case of the medical and dental colleges, which, doubtless because they are run by

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foreigners, are among the best of their kind in China, and which should, I consider, be retained under foreign missionary control, at any rate, until the Chinese Christian interests are in a position to produce Chinese staffs technically qualified to take them over. The case of the Peking Union Medical College affords a useful comparison in this connexion.

7. It would, however, I think, be premature to suggest any action on these lines at present, and a solution might perhaps await the end of the war, when the missionary universities will be able to review their position and prospects in the light of conditions then prevailing, and when the present authoritarian tendency displayed by the Ministry of Education may have been compelled by public opinion and by the democratising influence of the movement towards constitutionalism to give way to a more liberal outlook and policy in regard to education. The position in regard to West China Union University would, of course, always be subject to review before the end of the war should developments in the meantime, either in connexion with the university itself or with the general situation in China, seem to make such a course necessary or desirable.

8. The problem is, however, one mainly for the Canadian interests concerned—both private and official—to deal with, in view of the predominant Canadian interest in the university, and I feel that it would be unwise for this embassy to take the initiative in suggesting any action. The university might, I think, advantageously be left to work out their own solution in the light of the action taken and example set by other Christian universities in China in dealing with the same problem.

I have, &c.
(For the Chargé d'Affaires),
BERKELEY GAGE.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You may wish to have the following notes on the members of the "Chinese Goodwill Mission", who will be in Ottawa on Sunday and Monday. I understand Dr. Liu spoke to you about them, and that you thought a Government luncheon might be given in their honour on Monday. The three gentlemen who are coming to Ottawa are members of a much larger party who were the guests of the United Kingdom Government for six weeks and have been, more recently, the guests of the United States Government prior to their return to China. I am told that the three members of the mission who will be here are each men of influence and importance in their own country. They are:

Dr. Wang Shih-chieh (Head of the Goodwill Mission)
(Surname pronounced "Wong")

Born 1891. Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law and Dean of Faculty of Law of Peking National University. President Wuhan University, Wuchang. Minister of Education from October, 1933 to December, 1937.

After the outbreak of the Sino Japanese war in 1937, Dr. Wang became Minister of Propaganda (a Kuomintang Party ministry) and remained in that post until February, 1943. He held the concurrent post of Secretary-General of the Central Planning Board until August, 1943.

Dr. Wang is at present Secretary-General of the People's Political Counci; General Secretary of the National Mobilization Committee, Chief Counsellor to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and one of three convenors of the newly established (Nov.1943) Committee for Promoting the Realization of Constitutional Government.

Mr. Hu Lin (Surname pronounced "Hoo").

Born in 1893. For a long time Mr. Hu has been editor and managing-director of China's most widely known and independent newspaper, Ta Kung Pao, organ of the so-called "Political Science Group" in the Kuomintang Party.

Dr. Li Wei-kuo (Secretary of the Goodwill Mission)
(Surname pronouned "Lee").
Director of the General Affairs Depart-

(OVER)

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ment (the senior Department) of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; also chief of the Generalissimo's private secretariat.

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W.D.M.
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Memorandum for the Prime Minister **C163860**

No allowance scales were established for the personnel of the Legation in Chungking at the time of their departure from Canada since it was impossible to obtain sufficient particulars of the cost of living in China.

Since the arrival of General Odlum and his staff in Chungking, the cost of living expressed in Chinese dollars has been rapidly increasing, having gone up in the past year by approximately 100%. The exchange rate has also been fluctuating greatly owing to changes in the official rate made available for the expenses of diplomatic missions. It is probable that these changes will continue for some time to come and therefore it is not possible to set proper allowances in terms of Canadian dollars to meet expenses in China. The attached submission for authority to the Department to meet actual expenses rather than to pay set allowances will authorize the practice that has of necessity been adopted and which seems to be the only way to meet the situation.

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China

ARM/MAB
February 28,1944.

C163861

Memorandum for Mr. Robertson:

Visit of Dr. Hu Lin
Managing Director of Ta Kung Pao

After consultation with us W.I.B. has agreed to try to arrange for Dr. Hu Lin to visit Canada for a short time during his stay on this continent. Dr. Hu (pronounced "Hoo") is Managing Director of China's most noted newspaper, the independent "Ta Kung Pao" organ of the so-called "Political Science Group". Dr. Hu together with Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, one time Minister of Education, are at present in the United States after visiting the United Kingdom as part of a Chinese goodwill mission returning the visit of the British Parliamentary Mission that flew to Chungking a year ago. While in England the members of the mission met the King, Prime Minister Churchill and other British notables. I thought Dr. Hu's visit to Canada should be drawn to the attention of Mr. King in case he might wish to arrange to see him while Dr. Hu is in Ottawa. I have asked Captain McCracken of W.I.B. to let us know just as soon as possible when Dr. Hu is likely to be in Ottawa.

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March 4, 1944.
ARM/WHM/KM

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VISIT TO OTTAWA OF CHINESE GOODWILL MISSION

March 5 and 6, 1944.

Members of Mission

Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh, Head of Mission, Chief Counsellor to the President of China.
Mr. Hu Lin, Director of "TA KUNG PAO", China's leading daily newspaper.
Dr. Li Wei-kuo, Secretary of Mission, Director, General Affairs Dept., Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Accompanying Mission

Mr. Yui Ming, Director of Chinese Ministry of Information Office, Montreal.
Mr. Yu Chieh-wen, Second Secretary of the Chinese Embassy, Washington.
Dr. H. C. Lu, Chinese Vice-Consul, Toronto.

Sunday, March 5

5.00 p.m. - Arrival of Mission by plane at Ottawa airport. Met by the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. W. H. Measures, and Mr. A. R. Menzies, Department of External Affairs.

- Proceed to Chateau Laurier where reservations have been made. (Guests of Canadian Government).

8.00 p.m. - Dinner by His Excellency Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Chinese Ambassador to Canada, at the Chinese Embassy.

10.00 p.m. - Informal press conference at the Chinese Embassy.

Monday, March 6

10.40 a.m. - Leave cards at the Prime Minister's office in the East Block.

10.50 a.m. - Call on Honourable J. A. Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons.

11.10 a.m. - The Chinese Ambassador and Dr. Wang leave for Government House.

11.30 a.m. - The Chinese Ambassador and Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh call on His Excellency the Governor General at Government House.

1.15 p.m. - Luncheon by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King on behalf of the Government of Canada in the Quebec Suite, Chateau Laurier.

4.00 p.m. - Leave by C.N.R. train for Montreal.

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C163863

LUNCHEON BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN HONOUR OF THE CHINESE GOODWILL MISSION

MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1944

QUEBEC SUITE, CHATEAU LAURIER, AT 1.00 p.m.

Suggested Invitation List

Rt. Hon. ~~Willi~~am L~~yon~~ Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
His Excellency Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Chinese Ambassador to Canada
Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh, Head of Mission, Chief Counsellor to the President of China
Mr. Hu Lin, Director of "TA KUNG PAO", China's leading daily newspaper.
Dr. Li Wei-Kuo, Director, General Affairs Department, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources.
Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health
Hon. C. G. Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air
Hon. C. D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Munitions and Supply
Hon. J. A. MacKinnon, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce
Hon. J. A. Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons
Mr. Brooke Claxton, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the President of the Privy Council
~~Mr. N. A. Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs~~
Mr. A. D. Dunton, Director, Wartime Information Board
Mr. Karl Fraser, Director of Administration, Mutual Aid Board
Mr. ~~H. H. Angus~~ F. H. Soward, Department of External Affairs
Mr. Arthur Menzies, Department of External Affairs

F.H. Soward

NOTE:

Ask the Chinese Ambassador about including:

Mr. Yui Ming, Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information Office, Montreal.

Mr. Yu Chieh-wen, Second Secretary of the Chinese Embassy, Washington.

Any member of the Chinese Embassy, Ottawa.

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SECRET

March 30, 1944.

C163864

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Official Corruption Aggravates Chinese Relief Problem

Secret despatch No. 152 of March 3rd from General Odlum encloses a report on a trip to Honan and Shensi provinces by Rev. E. Bruce Copland, a competent young United Church missionary who knows the language and people well, which touches on two matters of interest: the relief problem and official corruption.

The relief problem is particularly pressing in that part of Honan province lying directly south of the Yellow River and the Lunghai Railway. Here it is estimated that one third of the people have left, one third have died, and one third remain in a state of semi-starvation. The present price of land in famine areas is about 1/50 th of normal rates. It is distressing to see the good solid class of land owning small farmers being wiped out by the usurer class that is willing and able to profit by the present crisis. Private relief agencies are doing the best they can, but can only touch the fringe of the need. Transportation in China is such an acute problem that in famine times it is always easier to move people out than to move grain in. (A considerable part of Canadian Red Cross and Chinese War Relief funds are being used to get people out of this area and get them work in Shensi province to the west). Mr. Copland sums the relief problem up by stating, "One cannot but conclude that a pitiful situation is much worse than it needs to be because of both lack of concern and corruption in government circles."

About official corruption Mr. Copland says, "Even sympathetic observers feel that the Chinese army is riddled with corruption and that it is hopelessly ineffective as an instrument of war. Officers are paid very small salaries, but nearly all seem to live exceedingly well. They can only provide for themselves by various illicit practices, which everyone knows about".

"One of the prevailing impressions I got from conversations with Chinese and foreigners is that it is

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next to impossible for any person in a responsible position in a Chinese goverment organization, if he has a family to care for, to meet minimum legitimate expenses from salary and allowances. People in authority are expected to provide for themselves in some illicit way. This situation has always prevailed in Chinese government circles to some extent, but it seems to be very acute now and it causes great distress to honest men who wish to serve their country and community in government departments."

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NAR/SR
4.4.44

C163866

C-750
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C-750-4
v.1

The ~~chief~~ treaty with China for the abolition of extraterritorial rights will be ready for signature on April 15th. Royal Full Powers, enabling you to sign the treaty, have already been received. The reason for fixing April 15th for the signature is that Dr. Liu has made arrangements to leave for the West on April 16th, and you will likely be away when he returns. The treaty is being prepared in two texts - English and Chinese - and preparation of the latter text is going to take a good deal of time. It will, however, I am assured, be ready by the 15th.

N. A. ROBERTSON

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, April 4/44 C163867

To Mr. Turnbull

FOR INFORMATION

noted WLM

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Copy for Mr. Turnbull C163868 McK 6.4.44

C-750 v.1

C-754 1944 v.1

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Signature of treaty with China for abolition of extraterritorial rights

The Chinese Embassy has been informed that, in view of your probable absence on April 15, it will be necessary to have the extraterritorial treaty signed on April 14. The English text will be ready for that date. The Chinese Embassy, which is having the Chinese text painted in by hand, will use every effort to have it ready too, though this cannot be guaranteed. To give them all possible leeway, it might be advisable to set the time for the signature as late as possible on the afternoon of April 14.

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File Mr. Turnbull — revise of previous memo? C163869 Mrs Moore McK 6.4.44 Noted WLM.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C-750 v.1

C-754 v.1

Signature of treaty with China for abolition of extraterritorial rights

With reference to your inquiry as to the possibility of having this treaty signed on April 14 instead of April 15, the position is that the Chinese Embassy has undertaken to have the Chinese text painted in by hand on the same sheets as the English text. They have been informed of the necessity of having the treaty ready for signature by April 14 if it can possibly be done. To give them all possible leeway, it might be advisable to set the time for the signature fairly late in the afternoon.

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CA / Chmer

HLK/MB, April 18, 1944.

C163870

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The enclosed personal and confidential letter from General Odlum came to me under cover of a similar personal and confidential communication reading as follows :

> "I am enclosing herewith a very confidential letter for Mr. King. I am sending what I have to say in this form because I do not know how to deal with it otherwise. I distrust despatches - they are treated too frequently as circular letters, even when marked "Confidential" or "Secret" or "Most Secret". When they contain material that may be dangerous to the positions, or even to the lives, of men who have trusted me, I am afraid of them. I have seen too many despatches sent by others not to know how wide their circulation may be. I wish we had another series, between the despatch and the letter, which would be recognized as for very close circulation and actually kept within proper bounds.
>
> I do not think that any one other than yourself, and Mr. Robertson and the Prime Minister should be given this letter - unless it were a man like Soward or Angus. Coming from the source it did, which I will reveal in due course in another way, it is highly explosive in its contents. The man who talked to me - that is, the "senior" referred to - trusts me as completely as man can trust. He must be protected. He could be identified by the time and the nature of the material."

H.L.K.

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May 29, 1944.

C163871

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am attaching a copy of telegram No. 110 of May 27th from the Canadian Ambassador in Chungking concerning the recent session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang is a relatively large body, with one hundred and twenty members. The Central Executive Committee is the highest party organ when the Party Congress is not in session. The last session of the Kuomintang Party Congress was held in Hankow in March, 1938. The Party Constitution requires that the Central Executive Committee meet every six months or less. These sessions, the Plenary Sessions of the Central Executive Committee, are by far the best-established political processes in the Chinese state. Actual shifts in power are here fought out, since the Central Executive Committee possesses authority ample for almost any emergency.

Dr. Lin Tsu-han, delegate from the Communist area in the northwest, flew to Chungking on May 17th, after holding preliminary talks in Sian with Dr. Wang Shih-chieh (who visited Ottawa only a few months ago), General Chang Chih-chung and Mr. Lei Cheng. Apparently no information is available yet concerning the outcome of the talks in Chungking, which it had been hoped might open the door to some sort of compromise between the Kuomintang and Communists.

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The removal of German-educated Dr. Ch'u Chia-hua as Party-Minister of Organization will be welcomed by liberals, as he was one of the most active Party leaders and his work in the field of Kuomintang Party administration made him deeply suspect by the Left. His replacement by Chen Kuo-fu who, with his brother Dr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, leads the "C. C. clique" which represents the right or anti-Communist element which now dominates the Kuomintang party organization, will be no great improvement, but is largely a recognition of a state of affairs that already exists.

Decisions reached at previous sessions of the Central Executive Committee have often not become known for some time after the end of the session. Results may be judged more soundly in a month or two when the Communist representative has returned to Yennan and administrative decisions are begun to be given effect.

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NAR/ET
13 June, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C163873

No.119
June 12

In the attached telegram from Chungking, General Odlum has informed us that Dr.H.H.Kung, Chinese Minister of Finance, is to leave shortly to represent China at the Monetary and Financial Conference of the United Nations at Bretton Woods.

If you approve of Odlum's suggestion that an invitation be extended to Dr.Kung to visit Ottawa after the Conference, we could ask the Chinese Ambassador to convey the invitation.

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C163874

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA, CHUNGKING

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 119 CHUNGKING, June 12th, 1944.

No. 119. Washington Monetary Conference.

Doctor H.H. Kung, China's Minister of Finance, is to leave shortly to represent China at Washington Monetary Conference. May I suggest an invitation be sent him to visit Ottawa, there to meet your Department, the Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Bank of Canada. An opportunity should be taken at Washington to have discussion with three countries most concerned question of a permanent adjustment of exchange rates by adoption of a formula tying it up with price levels.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

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C163875

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing for your information a copy of Despatch No. 921 of June 22nd, addressed to the Canadian Ambassador in Washington, together with its enclosures, Despatch No. 167, of March 18th, from the Canadian Ambassador in Chungking and a memorandum by Mr. E. H. Norman of this Department, concerning the Japanese People's Liberation Federation which has been organized for the so-called communist northwest border area in China.

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COPY

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

C163876

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 921

Ottawa, June 22, 1944.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of despatch No. 167 of March 18th from the Canadian Ambassador in Chungking transmitting a news article and a special article which appeared in the Chinese Communist newspaper Hsin Hua Jih Pao on March 4, 1944, together with a memorandum by Mr. E.H. Norman of this Department concerning the Japanese People's Liberation Federation which has been organized in the so-called Communist Northwest Border Area in China.

2. Interest in the formation contained in these papers is the greater because of the absence of any indication of other organized anti-militarist movements among the Japanese at home or abroad. Japan's military masters have been so successful in identifying their expansionist designs with the divine destiny of the Japanese race given expression in the edicts of the emperor, that all those who opposed them were charged with treason and ruthlessly dealt with by the police or agents of the ultra-nationalistic societies like the Genyosha and the Black Dragon Society which considered themselves to be the guardians of the National honour. How many thousands of Japanese liberals, labour leaders, Christian pacifists, free thinkers and Communists have been liquidated during the last two decades or are languishing in the prisons given over the political offenders it is difficult to say. Certain it is that there is no evidence available of any organized anti-war movement in Japan today.

3. Outside Japan there are a number of Japanese who have made known their opposition to and dissatisfaction with the present course being pursued by the Japanese government. In the United States there are, apart from United States citizens of Japanese race, a considerable number of Japanese subjects who have declared themselves to be opposed to the Japanese militarists. Their feelings have been well illustrated by the Japanese artist Taro Yashima in his book of drawings "The New Sun." Japanese with similar views exist in Canada and in other United Nations. So far, however, we have not learned of any organization among these Japanese comparable to the Japanese Liberation Federation.

4. Propaganda techniques are being evolved for use in the Southwest and Central Pacific Areas and Burma to induce Japanese troops to surrender. While only limited results have been achieved so far some

/observers

The Canadian Ambassador to the
United States of America,
Canadian Embassy,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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observers believe there is reason to expect that larger and larger numbers of Japanese will surrender when they learn that the war itself and not just individual battles are being lost. No organization has been set up yet among Japanese prisoners in Allied hands comparable to the Free Germany Movement organized among German prisoners in the Soviet Union. The possibilities of such a movement should not, however, be overlooked.

5. Although the Soviet Government has maintained a correct neutrality toward Japan thus far because of her commitments on the western front the Soviet periodical War and the Working Class has published one or two articles recently which have been sharply critical of Japan. There has been no publicity given to Japanese opposed to the present government in Japan residing in the Soviet Union, but there is little doubt that a certain number have actually sought sanctuary in the U.S.S.R. and more may be heard of them at some later date.

6. Mr. Norman has mentioned in his memorandum some of the activities of Japanese leftists and prisoners in Free China. Estimates of the number of Japanese prisoners in Chinese hands run as high as 20,000. This number would appear to be excessive. The most recent statement available by Chinese Communist authorities (July 1942) places the number of Japanese prisoners they have captured at 1,684. The Japanese Liberation Federation was organized at a conference in Yenan on May 4, 1941, attended by a number of these Japanese prisoners and some left-wing Japanese who had made their way into Communist-controlled territory from the Japanese occupied area in North China. No detailed and objective report is available concerning their political program and activities.

7. Any supplementary information or comments on this subject will be appreciated.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) N. A. Robertson.

(for) Secretary of State for
External Affairs.

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Canadian Embassy,
CHUNGKING, China,
March 18th, 1944.

No. 167

Sir,

Japanese People's Liberation Federation

I have the honour, complying with the request contained in your telegram No. 46 dated March 8, 1944, to transmit to you herewith copies of:

(a) a news article on the organization of a "Japanese People's Liberation Federation", which appeared in the Communist Hsin Hwa Jih Pao, Chungking, on March 4, 1944.

(b) a special article on the same subject which appeared in the same paper on the same day in the usual place of the editorial.*

2. There is no doubt that a Japanese anti-military movement has made its appearance on Chinese soil. But of its significance and probable strength it is too early to hazard a guess. For the present it is weak, although it claims that the Japanese Anti-War Alliance out of which it sprang on January 15 last at Yennan has 34 branches. But though weak it may have the seeds of strength. The important point which has caught my attention is the statement that the proportion of former soldiers who have joined the movement is progressively increasing. This is significant if it is true.

3. When the press party now about to visit Yennan returns, I will probably be able to secure a fairly authentic picture. All who are going have this subject in mind as one which needs attention. If important information reaches me, you will be advised at once.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

Encl. 2

(Signed) VICTOR W. ODLUM
Canadian Ambassador.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

* Note: Underneath this article the following sentence appeared: "Today's editorial 'Standards of News Censorship' cannot be published.

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C163879

Enclosure No. 1
Despatch No. 167
Dated Mar. 18/44

HSIN HWA JOH PAO (Communist)
March 4, 1944.

FULL VERSION

(NEWS ITEM)

ANTI-WAR JAPANESE IN NORTH CHINA PLANNING TO ORGANIZE A JAPANESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FEDERATION

- -

Assemble at Yenan; adopt the proposal for the establishment of a "Preliminary Committee for a Japanese People's Liberation Federation"; decide upon a seven-point policy which will be used as the guiding principle of the Federation; appeal for immediate conclusion of war of aggression, withdrawal of Japanese troops of aggression, conclusion of an equitable peace agreement, severe punishment of war lords, overthrow of Japanese militarists and formation of democratic government by the people.

(Executive report from Yenan): The enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Federation of the Japanese Anti-War Alliance held its first meeting on Jan. 15 at Yenan, with representatives of the North China branches of the Japanese Anti-War Alliance attending. Chinese comrades-in-arms were also invited to be present. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Commander Chu Teh, Okano (岡野進), Kachi Wataru (鹿地亘), were elected honorary members of the Presidium and Sugi Nagano (杉本永野) was elected Chairman of the meeting. Following an inaugural address by Sugi Nagano, Okano, Chief of Staff Yeh, and others made speeches. Then amidst a thunderous applause was passed the motion for the establishment of a preliminary Committee for a "Japanese People's Liberation Federation" The motion reads as follows:

As Hitler's collapse is in sight, the destruction of Japanese militarists who are Hitler's followers is also not far off. Japanese civilians and soldiers both at home and abroad are now at the highest pitch of suffering and poverty; among them, war-weary, anti-war and anti-militarist feelings are daily growing

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in intensity and scope. All this indicates that the time is ripe for us to organize a People's Front for gaining Peace and Freedom. We are proposing to all advanced people that this People's Front should be first formed. As a main builder and promoter of this front, the enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Federation of the Japanese Anti-war Alliance has decided to establish a preliminary Committee for a "Japanese People's Liberation Federation". The "Liberation Federation" which we are going to organise is the demand of most people, and its principle should be formed in accordance with the following seven-point policy:

1. To conclude the war immediately; to withdraw Japanese troops from all occupied areas; to conclude an equitable peace agreement and to punish those who are initiators of the war.

2. To adopt a peace policy towards foreign nations and to establish such friendly relations with all nations as will ensure independence, wealth, equality and co-prosperity.

3. To adopt an economic policy which will ensure the independence, power and prosperity of the nation.

4. To annihilate the influence of Japanese militarists in politics and dissolve all organizations under the direction of the militarists.

5. To guarantee political freedom, independence and democracy.

6. To improve living condition and enhance the living standard of civilians and soldiers in general.

7. To overthrow warlike government and to cooperate with all advanced parties in organizing a people's government.

In addition, the "Liberation Federation" should be such an organization as will represent most people both at home and abroad and will be able to mobilize them. In accordance with the above policy, we have decided to establish a preliminary Committee for a "Liberation Federation".

Enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Federation of the Japanese Anti-War Alliance;

Jan. 15, 1944.

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SPECIAL ARTICLE

(In place of the editorial)

PLANT THE STANDARD OF THE "LIBERATION FEDERATION" IN THE SOIL OF JAPAN

- -

An appeal by comrade Okano at the meeting of the enlarged Executive Committee of the North China Federation of the Japanese Anti-war Alliance; a report on the development of the formation of the Japanese Anti-war organization in which he points out that the time is ripe for the establishment of a "Japanese People's Liberation Federation".

Comrade Okano delivered an excellent speech at the inaugural meeting of the enlarged Committee of the North China Federation of the Japanese Anti-war Alliance in which he made a report on the development of the formation of the Japanese People's Anti-war organization. Following are extracts from his report:

At present, there are 34 branches of the Anti-war Alliance. So far as time is concerned, the establishment of the Alliance can be divided into two stages: the first stage was before the meeting of Japanese soldiers which was held in August, 1942. This stage may be said to be chiefly for sowing seeds. The second stage is from the conclusion of the Japanese soldiers' meeting to the present. This stage was devoted to strengthening the Alliance during which we introduced slogans compatible with the general demands of soldiers and incited severe conflicts among Japanese troops. Besides, we also established an Alliance of Japanese communists in China the year before last.

Since last year, disturbances have also been caused extensively in Japan. The sabotage in the Shibaura War Factory (芝浦軍火工廠) in Tokyo, the Kawazaki (川崎), a shipyard and the Aichi Watch Factory (愛知鐘錶工廠) in Nagoya was indicative of the splendid action taken by the Japanese communists and all advanced people against the oppression of the Japanese militarists. As regards soldiers, according to statistics compiled by the Anti-war Alliance, if we take the total number of the Japanese war prisoners as (theoretically) 100, those who voluntarily surrendered to enemy in 1940 only occupy seven per cent while in 1942 the number increased to 18 per cent and in 1943 it increased to forty per cent. From these figures, we can realize

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that Anti-war feelings have been growing among Japanese troops. Secondly, the strength of the Anti-war Alliance is also daily growing. Not only have members of the Alliance been increased, but also a large number of key men have been trained. Deans and teachers of industrial and agricultural schools are selected from students. At the front, there are many key men in charge of propaganda work who can write good handbills and slogans. Meanwhile, we have also trained key personnel who can distinguish those who slip into their group and help them to tell the truth.

Judging from this, subjective and objective conditions are ready for us to conduct a large-scale political struggle. Therefore it is necessary to establish a "preliminary Committee for a Japanese People's Liberation Federation". The "Liberation Federation" should undertake the great task of organizing an anti-war and anti-militarist people's front. Now our strength is growing and is bound to be growing; our strength will not only be seen in North China but will also be felt throughout China and Japan. We are bound to win victory and to gain the active support from the Japanese people, for we represent the interest and will of 95 per cent of the Japanese population. Finally, Comrade Okano said: those standing at the very front are the comrades of the Anti-war Alliance; the standard of the "Liberation Federation" should be planted by the hands of our comrades in the soil of Japan.

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1/6/44 C163883

JAPANESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FEDERATION

In Despatch No. 167 from our Embassy in Chungking March 18th, there are two enclosures which are translations of a news article and a feature article from the Communist newspaper Hsin Hua Jih Pao.

The enclosed articles are self-explanatory but it might be of interest to those following political developments in China, particularly as they affect political warfare against Japan, if some background were provided.

It will be noted, of course, that the Japanese People's Liberation Federation was set up in Yenan under the auspices of the Chinese Communist Party and not in Chungking. This is not surprising when we recall that the Chinese Communist Army has fought a much more political war against the Japanese than have the commanders of the Central Government troops. Consequently, the Japanese captured by Communist armies have been subjected from the first to a process of indoctrination similar to that of German troops captured in Russia. According to the few foreigners who have passed through the northwest Communist areas and have seen some of the Japanese prisoners at first hand, although the number of prisoners was not estimated as very large, the methods employed seemed to be quite successful. With the realization that the Japanese view a prisoner of their own army as one who has forfeited all claims to be regarded as a Japanese soldier and is morally dead, the 18th Group Army soldiers, after disarming and questioning the prisoners often give them a chance to return to their own lines. No prisoner avails himself of this opportunity since he realizes that his chances of survival are now much better if he remains with the Chinese than if he should return to his own army. The result is that the prisoner is in a much more pliable mood, first as an object of propaganda, and second, the 18th Group Army does not have to dispose of a large number of guards to watch Japanese prison camps. Although under some surveillance, they are said to be well fed and better clothed than guerrilla soldiers; they have their own club and recreations, and the only distinguishing mark they bear is the inscription on their tunic "Japanese Accepted in China."

One traveller, an officer in the French Navy, Lt. George Uhlmann, who escaped from Peiping through this area, saw Japanese prisoners playing a game of football in which Chinese soldiers and officers were participating both as players and spectators. This same traveller stated that at the time he had passed through the guerrilla areas no Japanese officer had voluntarily surrendered to the Communist Army except a military surgeon who was employed in an 18th Group Army hospital.

Some time early in 1943 a Japanese Communist leader Susumu Okano arrived in Yenan presumably from Russia; plans to organize a Japanese anti-fascist league seemed to have developed under his guidance. In addition to Japanese prisoners of war, there was at Yenan and Chungking a small group of Japanese political exiles of left-wing or Communist sympathies who had fled to China early in the course of the Japanese aggression. The most widely known of these is a certain Wataru Kaji who is mentioned in the enclosure, and whose career and propaganda activities on behalf of the Chinese is described in the chapter entitled "China's Japanese Allies" in Edgar Snow's book "The Battle for Asia". Other left-wing or Communist Japanese intellectuals working with the Chungking Government include a

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former career diplomat, Seisaku Shiomi who was at one time attached to the Japanese consulate in Hanoi and when on a mission into South China was captured by a Chinese border patrol. Shortly after his capture he wrote articles in which he stated he had recovered his early democratic and anti-fascist faith and was happy to work with the Chinese against Japanese militarism. An article of his appeared in China At War published by the China Information Committee for June 1943. It is interesting that in this article he unreservedly attacks the Japanese Emperor and regards the destruction of the Emperor system as a prerequisite for a democratic and free Japan.

A writer of Communist sympathies, a certain Kazuo Aoyama, has been working for the Chungking Government writing feature articles on Japanese politics and in general analyzing current Japanese trends. Some of his articles appeared in the magazine Jih Pen P'ing Lun, a magazine devoted to the study of Japan and published under the direction of General P. S. Wang Chiang Kai-shek's chief intelligence expert on Japanese affairs.

There is some mystery about Aoyama since in Snow's book referred to above he is mentioned as having been captured by Japanese troops when broadcasting to them from Chinese lines, yet according to news items from China, he has, of recent date, been writing and working for the Chinese Government. The chance that there have been two political refugees of the same name working with the Chinese Government is extremely unlikely and so it is possible that Snow's story was incorrect or there was a confusion in names.

As we see in the case of Aoyama and Kaji, Yenan does not have a monopoly of Japanese left-wing intellectuals. It is quite likely, however, that the Communist or left-wing sympathies of these exiles have brought them into some suspicion in the eyes of the Chungking authorities who in the past few years have viewed all liberal or left-wing aspirations with hostility. Nevertheless the specialized information and propaganda activities of these Japanese intellectuals apparently outweighs the unorthodoxy of their politics. We note, however, that at least one of these intellectuals associated with the Chungking Government, Wataru Kaji, is a committee member of the recently launched Japanese anti-war alliance.

With regard to the special article summarizing the speech of Okano in which some evidence was brought forward pointing to discontent particularly among the factory workers in Japan and the growing possibility of anti-war resistance, some mention should be made of more detailed evidence of similar unrest and dissatisfaction which was printed in a series of articles in Allied Labour News from despatches of its Chungking correspondent, Israel Epstein. Some of the information in these articles entitled "Inside Japan" appeared elsewhere, e.g. two or three articles in a series in PM. Concluding this same series of articles by Israel Epstein is a much longer analysis of the political situation by Okano, based on an "anti-war call to the Japanese people" which he issued on arriving in northwest China.

The information contained in this series by Epstein is drawn from interrogations of recently captured Japanese prisoners held by the Chinese. It is stated that the prisoners who volunteered the information were working for the Japanese anti-war League which was probably one of the groups out of which the Japanese People's Liberation Federation developed.

Although it is difficult to judge how sound the programme of this Japanese People's Liberation Federation is

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as regards its possible appeal to Japanese soldiers, one or two concluding observations might be made. Although there are certain resemblances to the Russian-sponsored Free Germany Committee as far as propaganda techniques are concerned, particularly the strong appeal to soldiers rather than the old-fashioned Communist purely working class appeal, yet unlike the Free Germany Committee there is no indication of the type of state which is to appear after defeat other than the vague reference to the "formation of a democratic government". Most interesting, however, is the omission of the Emperor as a target for political attack. Hitherto Japanese left-wing intellectuals in China, notably Shiomi and Aoyama, have published bitter denunciations of the Emperor. This is in harmony with the statements of some leading Chinese themselves, notably Sun Fo, who as long ago as last July insisted upon a republic as the only possible peaceful political structure for a post-war Japan. The omission of any attack on the Emperor in the appeal of the Japanese People's Liberation Federation would seem to indicate that the strategy of this group is to isolate the military leaders of Japan politically from the Emperor. Having driven a wedge between the Emperor and the military clique (attacks on the Emperor apparently could only consolidate the present alliance of Emperor and militarist) it then remains to be seen whether the Federation would not present at least an historical analysis of the Emperor institution suggesting that its drastic reform or even overthrow might not be a prerequisite for a peaceful Japan. This stage could scarcely be reached before the defeat of Japan and as the League is more intent on demoralizing Japanese soldiers and gaining prisoners than indulging in political analysis, it is unlikely that attacks against the Emperor will be launched from this quarter, at least for some time.

E.H.N.

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C163886

RGR/LF
26.6.44.

E-750
V.1

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TURNBULL:

Attached are three copies of the French text of the Treaty with China concerning the Relinquishment of Extra-Territorial Rights. At the time of tabling only the English text was available. I presume you could arrange to have these French texts placed in the records without the matter going through the Prime Minister.

(N.A. ROBERTSON)

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China

August 2nd, 1944.

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C163887

I think that you should see the enclosed telegram, No. 172 of July 29th, from General Odlum and copy of the letter from Wrong to Mr. Howe of today commenting on its contents. Our desire to assist China by providing munitions under Mutual Aid has borne no fruit because of the impossibility of effecting delivery. On top of the transportation problem we have now received the opinion of the United States Military authorities in Chungking to the effect that the Chinese forces for which the equipment was desired are unlikely to be equipped in time to be a factor in this war and that the Chinese themselves may have in mind the equipment of a post-war Army.

We already have in store in Karachi a stockpile of 12,500 tons of Mutual Aid munitions for China, none of which has been moved since the first consignment was delivered several months ago and little or none of which seems likely to be moved. When we add to the other considerations the internal situation of the Chinese Government, I feel that we have done quite as much as we are justified in doing by establishing the stockpile in India and that the supplies now in store in Canada or in process of manufacture for the Chinese should be sent elsewhere if they are needed for operational use. We know that some of them would be welcomed by the French. I understand that Mr. Howe is going to go into the production aspects immediately and that the question will be discussed by the Mutual Aid Board next week. It was referred to at a meeting of the Board last night.

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PAGE BARBOUILLEE

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

Ottawa, August 2nd,1944.

Dear Mr.Howe,

I enclose a copy of telegram No. 172 of July 29th from General Odlum. This is the message to which I referred at the meeting of the Mutual Aid Board last night.

We have had considerable difficulty in getting the procedure of consultation established in Chungking and it is not even yet operating on the lines of the agreement which we reached in Washington. The chief reason for this is that for some reason or other General Stilwell's Deputy in Chungking, General Ferris, has never received elaborate instructions which were sent to him by General Somervell. These instructions were despatched on July 6th after consultation with our people in Washington and were addressed both to Chungking for General Ferris and to New Delhi for the U.S. supply service there. When we heard from General Odlum that he was having difficulty in getting the sort of advice we needed from General Ferris, we repeated to him the gist of the instructions sent by the War Department and he appears now to have passed these on to Generals Ferris and Hearn. This helps to explain the first paragraph of Odlum's telegram.

The main point, however, relates to the opinions he has now extracted from the two U.S. Generals which are summarized in paragraph 2 of the enclosure. In view of these opinions, it seems to me that there is very small chance of anything that might be sent in future from Canada for delivery to the Chinese Army reaching its destination and that the great bulk of the munitions already in Karachi are only likely to be used against the Japanese if they are diverted to other forces.

On this last point I also enclose a copy of message No. WA-4520 of July 31st from Washington which gives details about the situation respecting bofors guns shipped for China by the U.S. You will note that of 300 which they proposed to send 180 were shipped; of these 80 have been transferred for U.S. use and the remaining 100 will probably be made available to the British in India.

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It is, I think, important that no indication should be given by us to the Chinese of the sort of advice which we have received from the U.S. Army or even that we have been in consultation with them about our future programme of shipments for China. I feel that if explanations to the Chinese are required all that we should say at present is that until the stockpile in India is moving into China we must treat demands for Canadian war materials for immediate use against the enemy in other theatres as having a higher priority than their demands.

I should like very much to see substantial help given by us to the Chinese against the Japanese but we are defeated as Odlum says by the problem of logistics in trying to help them in this ~~matter~~ manner.

Yours sincerely,

H.H.WRONG

The Hon.C.D. Howe,
Minister of Munitions and Supply,
Ottawa.

C163889

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C163890

FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TOP SECRET

CYPHER

NO. 172

CHUNGKING, July 29, 1944.

No. 172. Top Secret.

Your telegram No. 159 of July 25th, supplies for China.

1. I have consulted General Ferris, who is Deputy in Chungking for General Stilwell, and with General Hearn, who has just returned from leave in North America and has taken back his responsibilities from General Ferris. No Washington message had reached Chungking up to today. It has probably gone to Delhi.

2. Ferris and Hearn say:

(a) The Chinese forces are not likely to be equipped and trained in time to be a factor in this war.

(b) Canadian supplies now in India cannot possibly be moved into China for war use.

(c) There are in India 60,000 tons, exclusive of Canadian, much of which will never reach China.

(d) General plan is to equip 30 Chinese divisions of 10,000 men and there have been hopes for a second 30 divisions but that hope is fading.

(e) Bren and Sten guns are good field weapons but they are not likely to rise high enough in priority to get into China by air.

(f) Pistols are most limited of all weapons and would be given very low priority.

(g) To continue manufacturing for Chinese account means equipping a post-war army which they suggest may be Chinese objective.

(h) Items on Canadian list now in India will be examined to see if any can be diverted for use with Stilwell's Chinese forces

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in Burma.

(1) To use Americans as means for refusing Chinese request would only add to existing causes of friction between Chinese and themselves and would not be appreciated.

3. These officers are realists. The answer to Canada's problem is logistics and they say it is final. No goods will be moved from Canadian stock pile in India into China unless transported under independent Chinese arrangements which at present means by C.N.A.C. Both insist there is a ceiling at Karachi and it has been reached.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

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China

TOP SECRET

C163892

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

August 11, 1944.

The attached report on the current difficulties in the Chiang-Soong-Kung family connection comes to us from a Chinese informant in the United States who is described by British Security Coordination as being both well-intentioned and well-informed. While General Odlum is not inclined to give much credence, or attach much importance to reports of family differences such as these, I thought you would wish to know about this other side of the story in view of the impending visit to Canada of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

There is no doubt that there have been some serious differences within the family in the last year. Some observers in China go so far as to state that President Chiang's family connection has become a liability to him today because they are so thoroughly disliked by great numbers of Chinese. After Madame Chiang's last visit to the United States (and Canada) there was a violent reaction to her extravagance and haughtiness.

General Odlum reports that the United States Ambassador and the Australian Charge d'Affaires take a very gloomy view of the present deterioration in China's economic, political, and military situation. They consider fragmentation in the old provincial warlord pattern almost inevitable. There have been many rumours of intrigues and attempted combinations against the present ruling group in Chungking. While not denying the existence of unrest, General Odlum states that he believes the Government will weather the storm under President Chiang's leadership.

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A. The rumours that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's and Madame Kung's arrival in Rio de Janeiro is the beginning of a refugee movement and that the Central Government is likely to fall within the next few months are considered to be alarmist. Source reports that the real reasons for the visit are:

(1) the Generalissimo's determination to regain the mastery of his political and domestic house.

(2) the increasing influence with C'issimo of Generals Chang Chun and Ho Yin Ching, who are no lovers of the Soong-Kung clique. In this connection note that H.H. Kung has informed his Chinese friends here of his intention to stay in this hemisphere for six months.

(3) Generalissimo's interest in his mistress which has caused the C'issima to prefer discretion to valour, particularly as this hemisphere contains the bulk of her personal fortune.

B. Source considers Brazil quite a natural destination at a time when Madame Chiang could not expect to repeat her White House performance of 1943.

C.

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C. Source considers the departure of these Soong sisters and the increasing influence of Generals Ho Yin Ching and Chang Chun as likely to strengthen the G'issimo's position in China. He feels that the G'issimo might in fact be cleaning house in order to achieve a rapprochement, in his own good time, with the Chinese Communists although that time is certainly not yet.

D. Kweilin. Source is informed by the Chinese Air Attache that, notwithstanding Chungking reports to the contrary, Chungking is not expecting the Japanese to take Kweilin.

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China

TOP SECRET
ARM/MEC

C163895

Political Crisis in China

(Note on Top Secret Despatch No. 457 of Aug. 23rd) from the Canadian Ambassador in China.

In this despatch General Odlum discusses the debacle of some 350,000 troops of the First War Zone in Honan and the disarming of retreating front line troops by rear formations and the peasantry who seized the opportunity to secure arms and mark their hatred of the soldiery. This unrest of the peasantry is likely to be a continuing factor with which the Government will have to reckon.

General Odlum sees political unrest centering about a small group in Chungking and certain generals in provincial centres. He doubts that they are sufficiently well organized to spring a coup d'etat. There is no evidence that these dissidents have established any contact with the Chinese Communists.

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C163896

TOP SECRET

CANADIAN EMBASSY
CHUNGKING,
August 23, 1944.

No. 457.

Sir:

Political Crisis in China

I have the honour to report that, having talked at length during the past few days with Lt. Gen. Fisher T. Hou, D. D. M.I.; Major Gen. C.C. Tseng, Head of the War Bureau and Spokesman for the National Military Council, Second Section (Military Operations); Count Poninski, the Polish Ambassador, just back from a four months absence; Dr. K.C. Wu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Pechkoff, the French Ambassador; and for the second time within a week, Theodore White, of "Time" magazine, I feel that I have a steadier grip of the picture of political China than I had when I wrote my despatch No. 435, dated Aug. 9th, 1944. At that time I was perturbed by contradictory stories which had reached me, stories so far apart that they could not possibly be reconciled. One was from White, and it was submitted to you in the despatch referred to above; the other was from the D.M.I.'s office, which said categorically that there had been no inter-army fighting in Honan, and that the peasants did not attack and disarm the fleeing Chinese soldiers.

2. My first information which I felt that could believe came from Dr. K.C. Wu. I am reporting my general conversation with him separately. It is in order, however, to repeat at this time what he said about the Honan operation. He admitted that it had been bad and used the word "debacle". He said that no information had reached the Government of any "battle" between two Central Government armies; but, he went on to explain, because of the quality of the Chinese army, it was necessary to give to rear formations responsibility for detaining and disarming any forward troops which broke and fled. As the advanced elements of the Honan armies retreated in confusion in very large numbers, the disarming might, in places, have taken on the characteristics of "fighting", at least to the eyes of an onlooker. Moreover, the Honan peasants' secret organization, the Red Spear Society, sometimes acted defencively and sometimes itself took on the role of bandits or near bandits. It always was greedy for weapons, and when it saw armed soldiers fleeing before the Japanese it may easily have seized the opportunity presented. Dr. Wu said that there had been no discussion of the Honan situation at any Government meeting where he had been present; but he was aware that Honan was considered a major disaster and that the government was much concerned about it. The Commander was "detained", which meant that he was in custody and would eventually be dealt with as was the Commander of last year's great "Changteh" victory! That Commander is now in prison, for life.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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3. Lt. Gen. Hou and Major Gen. Tseng were much more ready to talk when we had them here to lunch than they had been when Kay had seen them previously on the same subject. I opened this discussion by telling them that experienced and professional military circles of all countries had learned that the Chinese army was given to overstatement; that overstatement, which might serve a purpose on a single occasion, lost all the value it might have if it became a recognized habit. In the end, those who knew and mattered learned to discount heavily and to distrust completely. The only effective cure, once having got into this unenviable position, was to turn to hard fact, with understatement rather than overstatement the rule. By this course, outside informed opinion, now adverse, distrustful and critical, would be revised. I commented on the stories about Honan, and said that I was very anxious to know the exact truth. I knew that the operation did not throw any credit on the Chinese army, but I did not know just how bad it had been. I had even heard of inter-army "battles"'.

4. As Major Gen. Tseng speaks English easily while Lt. Gen. Fisher Hou does it only with difficulty, Tseng did most of the talking. But as he talked he exchanged a few words from time to time with his senior, and it was easy to see throughout, by their tones and their expressions, that they were keeping in agreement. General Tseng repeated the story about the "Red Spears", but did not give it great emphasis. He admitted that there might have been some disarming, but not on any large scale. He laughed scornfully when it was suggested that bodies of soldiers numbering as many as 500 at a time had been dealt with by the peasants. He said categorically that there had been no inter-army fighting. The whole operation was a bad one, he admitted. The Chinese army had not been ready to fight and did not fight. The senior Commander had been superseded. The numbers involved, he said, were nothing like those reported. They might have been 350,000 but they were certainly nothing like 700,000,the figure given previously by White. The whole Chinese army numbered only about 3,000,000 men. Had there been 700,000 in the Honan defeat, they would have represented nearly a quarter of all the Chinese forces. (It should be noted that this 3,000,000 is only half of the 6,000,000 which the Chinese use when they want to impress. General Tseng admitted that army numbers were not accurate; they were only approximate.)

5. Concerning the situation between the Gentral Government army and the Communists, General Tseng said that in Shensi there was no "blockade" in the ordinary sense. The Government merely have troops so posted that any large scale movement of the Communist forces towards the south, which would enable them to take over and control larger areas of organized China, was impossible. At least, it was to prevent this large scale extension of the Communist Zone that the Central Government troops were placed there at all. Ordinary movement of peasants was possible and easy and was going on all the time.

6. The loss of Hengyang was discussed at some length. General Tseng said that Hengyang was not a true walled city. The walls had been allowed to crumble in many places. He felt sure that the next movement of the Japanese would be towards Kweilin, to deny the Sino-American bombers the use of the air fields there. The movement to link up Hankow with Canton

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was possible, but it would not have equal military importance. The line could be taken, but it was not possible for the Japanese to restore and to operate it. It was too long to be adequately defended. The Japanese army in China was not big enough for this task. Chinese guerrillas could always find undefended spots and there destroy the railway.

7. In the course of his discussion, General Tseng said that the Chinese rule for troop placement was to use 3 divisions where the Japanese used one. This was due to the difference in equipment and fighting capacity. His statement opened the question of the mobile value of the Chinese army. I referred to the history of the close of the last World War -- the picture of the millions of British and French dead, their long years of suffering and endurance, the arrival of fresh levies of United States troops with scarcely any battle experience, and the Peace Conference at which the Americans sat with the greatest weight and influence in spite of their small battle contribution. It was not the long period of endurance or the heavy casualties which counted, but the unused and still usable troops in hand. It was not the card played in the first hand which decided who would win the last hand, but the cards held at the close of the game. It was not the "seven years of War of Resistance" that would give China standing and influence, but the mobile and trained army poised to strike in the closing months of the new War of Victory. Both generals saw the point and appeared really impressed.

8. It was on the following day that I had my second long talk with White. I explained my position and said that I was not anxious to prove or disprove any theory as to the "battle" of Honan. I merely wanted to get the truth, so that I might interpret it. The conversation which followed showed what I expected it would -- that White is a crusader, but mentally honest. When I pressed him for the source of his stories of (a) the inter-army fighting; (b) the attack on the soldiers by a peasantry which hated them; and (c) the disintegration and loss to the Chinese army of some 700,000 men, he admitted that they came from field units. I told him that as an experienced field unit commander I knew how limited was the knowledge possessed by forward units. They knew more about local facts than did any one else, but their mastery of the broader picture, which covered other areas as well as their own, was restricted and usually distorted. I told him, too, the nature of the information I had received and the explanations given me; and I told him of the quality of the sources without giving names. I asked him how many troops he thought there were in the whole Chinese army and, after some hesitation, he said 3,000,000. I asked him then if it was reasonable to believe that one quarter of that army, which is spread over so huge an area, had run away and been lost in an operation relatively so small as was that of Honan? He admitted that 350,000 might be a more reasonable figure, but even it, he insisted, was a large number.

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9. White stuck to his guns on the question of the peasants' hatred for the army. He said that the cruelty of the army to the peasants had been wide spread and very great. The army made the peasants labour for it without pay; it took their work animals and left them no means of operating their farms; it took their rice; it occupied their buildings; and it physically mistreated them. He spoke of the corruption evidenced by the government's levy of 10 per cent of the crop, and the actual collection of 33 1/3 per cent. He said that every peasant to whom he spoke told him the same story. He insisted that the peasants did attack the retreating soldiers and did disarm them. The peasants had secured over 50,000 rifles ! When the full story had reached Chungking it had shaken the Government. Everywhere elements of the army were restless; and a great convulsion was almost certain to come with the close of the war. This reference to the "close of the war" was a variation of the case as stated, or at least as I had gathered it, in our previous conversation. At that time I believed that White thought an immediate crisis was possible. On this occasion he said no; it would not come till the end of the war. But it was certain then.

10. I told White that my first impulse on hearing these things was to hope that China would keep an orderly government; the second was to seek for an improvement of that government. It was for this reason that I thought the best men of China should rally round the Generalissimo and build him up rather than tear him down. White said that if I believed the Generalissimo had to be built up, that showed what I thought of him ! I answered that it was perfectly true that the Generalissimo had not yet proved himself to be a great man -- he was not in the class with Stalin, or Churchill, or Roosevelt; but he was the best China had to offer today, and he might still develop and become great. White admitted, with some reserve, that there was no alternative just now. I spoke of the help that a man like Sun Fo could be, with his name and his prestige derived from his father. I suggested that Sun Fo could be the Generalissimo's right hand man. "Charged with what duties?" asked White. "Charged with none specifically, but adding the prestige of his father's name to the government and giving the Generalissimo the student background which he lacks." White exclaimed that I was not the hard headed man he had thought I was if I believed that Sun Fo had great administrative capacity. I said that I had not been talking of administrative capacity, but of the prestige of a name and of a sign of unity.

11. It was perfectly obvious that White was chagrined that I had not referred to T.V. Soong instead of Sun Fo. Behind his whole attitude, interpreted in the light of a series of other incidents, it is perfectly obvious where lies the center of the present disturbance. But I will not deal with that here. It will come later. For the moment it is sufficient to say that in these last conversations both White, on one extreme, and the high ranking army officers on the other, have modified their positions in very important particulars.

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It is obvious that the truth is found, as I believed it would be, somewhere between the two. The man who spoke with greatest frankness and sincerity was K.C. Wu. What he told me, as briefly reported above, was as near to the truth as one is likely to get. There was a debacle in Honan, but it did not result in the loss of 700,000 men from the army; there were angry scenes between rear formations and fleeing front line troops; and the latter were disarmed both by soldiers whose duty it was to do this and by peasants. The peasants, it is reasonable to believe, both seized an opportunity to secure arms and manifested their dislike of the army. This attitude of the peasants is not a happy omen for the government. It is a factor which will have to be kept in mind and which may acquire greater significance as the war comes to a close. There is political unrest, but it centers around a comparatively small although an important group in Chungking. It should not be given undue importance. I am convinced, more firmly than ever, that there is no immediate political crisis.

12. Brooks Atkinson, in a message to the New York Times, writes rather weekly of the need for a reorganization of the government and the formation of a coalition government. A coalition of whom? The government is the Kuomintang. What group can form a "coalition" with the Kuomintang? Does Atkinson mean the Communists? Under present conditions, and with relations as they are, that is impossible. There can be no "coalition" between enemies devoted to the attainment of ends which are poles apart. Brooks Atkinson and "Teddy" White are two of the finest journalists here; add Steele and you have a real trio. But they have all been influenced from the same sources.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd) Victor W. Odlum.

Canadian Ambassador.

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S E C R E T

ARM/MM

COMMUNISM IN CHINA

(Note on Secret despatch No.499 of Sept. 13, 1944 from the Canadian Ambassador to China.)

Attached to this despatch is a thoughtfully written 4½ page analysis of present conditions and future prospects in the Communist controlled areas of China. It is based on an interview with Lt.Paul Linebarger of the U.S. Army H.Q. in Chungking where the book on "The China of Chiang Kai-shek" is recognized as an authoritative study of the present day political structure of China. Lt. Linebarger had just had an opportunity to visit the Chinese Communist headquarters at Yenan where the U.S. Army has recently established a mission.

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C163902

C A N A D I A N E M B A S S Y

SECRET

CHUNGKING, China,
September 13, 1944.

No. 499.

Sir:

Linebarger on Communism in Yenan

I have the honour to transmit herewith something for which I have been waiting for a long period -- an authentic, first hand report on the Communism of the Yenan Border Region written by a trustworthy and competent observer. The article is actually written by R.E. Collins, but it is based on an arranged interview with Professor (now Lieut.) Paul Linebarger, of the U.S. Army, an educationist who knows China and who is the author of "The China of Chiang Kai-shek". Captain M.M. Perrault, Intelligence Officer, who has just joined the Embassy, was present at the interview and has checked Mr. Collins' version of it. As you are aware, Prof. (or Lieut.) Linebarger has no pro-Communist bias. He admires Chiang Kai-shek and has faith in the Generalissimo's competence. As a result of this mental approach of his, Lieut. Linebarger's report may be accepted as neither pro- nor anti-Communist, but as that of a conscientious student of China who has faith in its existing leadership.

2. This appraisal of the situation, since it is the first competent, trustworthy, first hand one we have had (with the exception of that given me by Mr. P.C. Hsieh on his return from the recent press tour, of which he was the official government leader, reported in my despatch No. 403 dated July 31), takes priority over everything else I have sent you up to the present. Mr. Hsieh's report cannot be put in the same category with it. His was obviously biased, although Mr. Hsieh tried in spite of his limitations to be objective. I have just read Ralf Sues' "Sharks Fins and Millett" in which is to be found an extensive picture of her trip to Yenan. Miss Sues is not only biased, but she is almost hysterically emotional. A sex confused woman, who swears violently, writes salaciously, travels with a tom cat, and, on first eating sharks fin soup, writes: "But oh, the flavour of it! Superior to anything I had ever tasted in my life - a subtle, voluptuous poem...." is not to be trusted. She may intend to be truthful as far as her intelligence permits her to be; but she simply cannot see with level eyes.

3. I must not condemn too completely the series of articles written by Mr. C.T. Hsu, of the Central News Agency, who went to Yenan with the press party.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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He tried very hard to be factual, and in his earlier articles he was. But his summing up fitted into the policy of the Central News, which is that of the government. His series of reports was sent you with despatches numbered 403 of July 31, 411 of Aug. 3, and 442 of Aug. 14, 1944. Despatch No. 424 of Aug. 8, enclosing an editorial from Ta Kung Pao entitled "Reflections on the trip to Yenan" deserves to be included in the group. Compared with the others, however, Prof. Linebarger is in a class by himself. The next documents of dependable value should appear when the foreign correspondents, who were part of the press party but who remained in the Border Region when all the Chinese members and the government guides came back to Chungking, complete their tour. They are expected to return about the end of September and I am counting on I. Epstein for an important contribution.

4. I think that Mr. Collins has shown skill in reporting his interview with Prof. Linebarger. Fortunately Mr. Collins is tremendously interested in his subject and is well equipped with a background derived from his voracious reading. I tried to send him to Yenan with the press party but could not get over official difficulties without applying more pressure than I felt was justified. Some day he and I will go to the Border Regions together, if an opportunity arises.

5. The crux of the Linebarger report, which I will not attempt to summarize since it is much better read in its complete form, is to be found in paragraph 13 of Mr. Collins' report. One must be very careful in reading anything which emanates from the Communist area, for it is the accepted practice of the Communists to use common and well known words with a special connotation of their own. Unless one has the key to these special meanings, one can be very seriously "taken in". Democracy, for instance, does not mean democracy as it is known to the Western world, but a particular form of government based on the Russian ideology to which the Communists choose to give the name "democracy". This is quite another democracy. The term would slip by a reader who had had no warning of the danger without arousing any suspicion and he would pass on completely deceived but quite unconscious of it. This is a new technique of language use which the Communists have chosen to follow. It is a form of code writing, which is all right if the reader possesses the code but which otherwise is very baffling. It reminds me of the pig-Latin of my schoolboy days which completely confused my maiden aunts!

6. With this new evidence I am prepared to begin the revision of all my ideas about the Chinese Communists; but before coming to conclusions I will wait further testimony from the touring journalists.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(SIGNED) Victor W. ODLUM.

Canadian Ambassador.

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Enclosure No. 1
Despatch No. 499
September 13, 1944.

C163904

THE COMMUNISTS IN YENAN

(by R.E. Collins)

U.S. Army Station

1. Lieut. Paul Linebarger of U.S. Army H.Q. invited me to come over on Sunday (Sept. 10) for an informal discussion of a trip that he has just made to the Communist headquarters at Yenan. Apparently the Americans have been worried for some time about the lack of cooperation between Chungking and the Communist guerrilas who have on occasion picked up American airmen and brought them in. The airmen are safely delivered, but there is a tendency for the guerrilas to disappear, and it was felt that this was not conducive to future aid from the Communists. With the expanding range of bombing operations which now include Manchuria, the northern areas are assuming an ever more important place in American operations, and it was also desired to establish a meteorological station in Yenan. When Mr. Wallace was in Chungking he finally persuaded the Generalissimo that the Americans should be allowed to establish a post. Colonel Barrett, formerly attached to the Legation in Peking, is in charge, and Jack Service, political expert from the Embassy now on loan to the Army, is permanently stationed in Yenan. There are some twenty Americans with the mission.

2. Linebarger went up for a short visit (three days) and was given permission to interview all and sundry, in his private capacity as an academic authority on Chinese Government. He says the relations between the Communists and the Americans could not be better. The basic policy seems to be that the Americans should receive anything they want if it is available, and it is practically impossible for them to buy anything.... it is all lend lease. In commenting on the reactions of the Americans to the social and political atmosphere at Yenan, Linebarger rather caustically remarked that most of them would probably be perfectly happy in a Nazi Youth Camp.

3. Incidentally, the Americans are flying their own jeeps into Yenan. Although the amount of gasoline produced locally is small, there is an ample surplus owing to the total absence of cars and trucks.

Conditions

4. Linebarger has never belonged to the Edgar Snow school; is definitely critical of the Communists; and of all the foreign experts and diplomatists in Chungking is probably the most sympathetic in his appreciation of the achievements of the Central Government and of the difficulties which it faces in creating effective government in China. Consequently his impressions may be taken as thoroughly objective.

5. He was frankly amazed at the success of the regime in raising and maintaining the physical standards of the area despite the blockade. The people (except for the ostentatiously spartan administrative elite) are well clothed and well fed. The soldiers are in better shape than any Central troops that he has seen, and gave him the impression that they could easily take on twice their number and win..... assuming no

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overwhelming superiority of equipment. Relations between the Communists and the people are excellent. They have apparently been very practical in their approach, eschewing any attempt to blueprint a social and economic structure in accordance with a party line. They have tried to go only as fast as the people are willing to go, and have concentrated on giving them a framework of efficient government within which they may get on with the job of production. Taxes are lower than anywhere else in China, and although there are few if any landlords in the vicinity of Yenan, which was a depopulated area after the Mohammedan revolts of the last century, it is his opinion that the landlords farther east are also better off than they would be in Free China.

6. Physically, Yenan is not a city. What there was of urban development has been scrapped in an effort to camouflage the town against Japanese bombing. It is now a mixture of farms and a few shops, with one real building, the bank.

7. There are no bourgeois amenities such as tea shops, but good grape wine and cigarettes are to be had. Prices are much lower on many things than in Free China. A package of cigarettes (N.C.$250 in Chungking) costs the equivalent of NC$30; an ordinary cheap meal ($250 in Chungking?) can also be had for $30. On the other hand, a very poor towel costs several thousand. Intellectual recreation is strictly limited to Party directed activities such as lectures and study groups.

Political Structure

8. The Yenan Border Government (Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Suiyuan) is one of six, and the only one in non-occupied China. The population is about a million and a half. It comprises eighteen hsien. Formerly there were twenty-two hsien, but four have been taken over by the Central Government, and there is intense irridentist feeling on this subject. Government is of the Russian-Chinese pattern, a dual structure with the Party in effective control. Committees form a pyramid based on the village, which is represented on the hsien committee, which in turn sends its representatives to the main committee or Congress. Representation is by thirds, in accordance with the original system set up in Shansi in 1939: one third Party members, one third ex-Kuomintang members, one third "independent". Elections are in effect under the control of the Party, whose Central Committee directs policy in much the same way that the C.E.C. and the Supreme National Defense Council determine the policy for the Executive Yuan in Chungking. The ultimate control is in the hands of the Army. There is no formal administrative link between Yenan and the other five Districts, scattered over occupied China.

The Army

9. Linebarger did not want to discuss military questions, preferring that someone from the M.A.'s office get this officially. He did say however that the estimated total for Communist troops in all districts is around 475,000. He also said that there was one point in connection with the possibility of a working agreement between the Communists and Chungking on which there would be no compromise. They are determined that even though their troops might be placed under central command, there shall be no interference with the internal structure of their forces.... no planting of Central officers or Kuomintang indoctrination.

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Russian Influence

10. There was no evidence of Russian personnel or supplies. The only Russians in the area were a few Tass correspondents. Military equipment seemed to be a heterogeneous collection of anything they could lay their hands on, mostly Japanese.

Ideology and Prospects

11. Although in practice the Communists have not attempted any doctrinaire applications of the party line within recent years, the line itself, according to Linebarger, is strictly from Moscow, and the best way of ascertaining the general mental background would be to subscribe to Pravda. Following Russian theory, there is freedom of discussion within the limits of the fundamental assumptions and of the broad party line. Jack Service, who is much more favourably disposed to the Chinese Communists than Linebarger, was quoted as saying that the atmosphere reminded him of a small middlewestern denominational college.

12. THE present line postulates the historical necessity of a capitalist phase before any semi-feudal agrarian country such as China can hope to effect the transition to socialism, much less true Communism. This capitalist phase is thought of as a matter of one and possibly two generations. Consequently, in theory at least, the authorities at Yenan encourage the feudal landlord to progress one step up the historical road, liquidate his holdings, and set up a factory. At the present stage of development, according to the revised version, this is much more historically valid than organising cooperative enterprises, and the latter no longer receive the benevolent support of the regime.

13. The Communists believe firmly in Democracy and in the doctrines of Sun Yat-sen. They are also supporters of the Kuomintang. But one must apply a certain amount of sympathetic imagination to the interpretation of any statements involving these terms. By Democracy is meant Stalinist Democracy. Madame Sun Yat-sen is virtually the only person in Free China who is credited with any understanding of the meaning of the San Min Chu I. And the Kuomintang referred to is the uncorrupted organisation of the First National Congress in 1924. In Communist eyes the present Chungking Kuomintang has little more claim to the true succession than the puppet party under Wang Ching-wei.

14. This creates a rather difficult semantic problem when endeavouring to report Linebarger's interpretation of his discussions with the Party theorist, Mao Tse-tung, as Linebarger himself tended to use the terms without clear indication of their origin in the particular context, and there was not time to go over the ground a second time to clarify his statements. However, I got the impression that the Communists would be willing to join another actively United Front and cooperate with Chungking as a second party within the context of a bourgeois democratic state (which would be suitable to the present historical phase); or they would be willing to enter the Kuomintang under conditions of Stalinist democracy, provided the most reactionary and "fascist" elements were eliminated, and they were given the opportunity of working for their program within the party ranks. As neither of these possibilities seems at all likely at the moment, the prospect of an early viable agreement does not appear very bright. Especially when one considers the obstacles of military control. Linebarger, however, is not completely pessimistic, and thinks there is a chance that the Chinese genius for practical compromise may yet find a way.

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15. As an indication of the direction in which the wind may be blowing, he cites the recent shifts in command among the Central troops in the north. For years now the job of containing the Communist area has been entrusted to the reputedly crack troops of General Hu Tsung-nan at Sian, and General Hu is well known for his anti-Communist attitude. At Sian he was considered to be an almost independent power directly responsible to Chungking, although nominally under General Chu Shao-liang at Lanchow. Now, however, he has been shifted east along the Yellow River as Deputy to General Ch'en Ch'eng, newly appointed Commander of the First War Zone (North Honan). General Ch'en is supposed to be one of the few Central Government commanders for whom the Communists have any respect; and it is said that he recently made a statement that altogether too much energy had been wasted in the past on the blockade policy against Yenan. It will be recalled, however, that these shifts occurred after the debacle in which both the First War Zone forces and the troops of the formerly independent Hu Tsung-nan made a very poor showing against the Japanese in Honan, and it may be that this rather than any change in attitude toward Yenan was sufficient reason for the reorganization under the able Ch'en Ch'eng.

16. There are also indications that the Communists have either decided or agreed not to oppose the Central armies in the reoccupation of territory now in Japanese hands. If true, this would mean that there is little danger of a division of China into a Communist North and a Kuomintang South, unless for some reason the Central armies fail to make good the rapid re-occupation of places like Peking or Tientsin, or unless the U.S.S.R. takes a hand and turns Manchuria and North China over to the Communists intact. Linebarger thinks that what may be the outcome of the present stalemate is a simple subsitution of the Chungking regime for the Japanese and Puppet administration of the urban centres and rail lines in Occupied China, with the Communists continuing to organise the countryside. This would of course be an uneasy compromise and only a short run solution. He does not think the Communists are as yet in any condition, either from experience or by reason of their understanding of the problems involved, to take over and govern one of the larger cities such as Peking or Shanghai. Their phenominal success at Yenan has been achieved through good but very elementary organ-isation in a backward area. They have as yet to face the complex problems of handling an even semi-industrialised urban community.* (See footnote.)

17. The Communists themselves do not want to see a divided China. Neither, according to Mao Tse-tung, do they wish to incorporate a Socialist China in the U.S.S.R. At the moment they

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* Note. The Communist area unfortunately provides no help in answering one of the basic social problems facing modern China: the integration of the traditional family system with its personal loyalties in a bureaucratic industrial society demanding certain impersonal standards of duty and conduct. At Yenan efficiency is achieved through the fact that all administration is in the hands of a strictly disciplined elite. The family system remains intact among the peasant population; but they have no organisational responsibility.

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are apparently looking very hopefully to the United States to see that the problem of Chinese postwar unity is solved in a way compatible with their aims. Claiming that they themselves are aiming at democracy and that Chungking is the next thing to fascism if not the genuine thing, and knowing that the United States is fighting for democracy against fascism, they feel that there should be little doubt in the matter.

18. Which brings us to the crux of the problem, so far as the United Nations are concerned. There is at least a fifty-fifty chance that, left to their own devices, the Communists and the Kuomintang may be unable to find any workable compromise. Again, left to themselves, the balance of power may well be such that for some considerable time there can be no final military solution. This would mean that the early establishment of a stable and unified China will depend largely on the policy which we elect to pursue; that is to say, in this case, the policy of the United States. The Kuomintang fully expects sufficient material aid and sufficient trained personnel from Ramgar, the Y and the Z Forces to enable Chungking to settle the postwar problem on her own terms..... provided the Russians do not intervene. The Communists apparently have something of the same sort in mind. It appears to me, therefore, that Washington is going to have quite a problem child on its door-step in the not too distant future.

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China

TOP SECRET

September 19, 1944

C163909

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

You have received a copy of the telegram indicating that General Odlum is flying back from Chungking via Siberia and Alaska with Mr. Donald Nelson and General Hurley. He may reach Ottawa some time next week.

You will wish to read the attached copy of despatch No. 467 of August 28th in which General Odlum gives a very readable account of a recent conversation with President Chiang Kai-shek. While General Odlum has not had a long acquaintance with Far Eastern Affairs, he has, during the twenty months he has been in China, established a remarkably intimate contact with the highest officials of the Chinese Government and has elicited from them a very frank expression of their views on a variety of subjects, including China's relations with various foreign countries, her precarious military position, internal political problems, and plans for postwar reconstruction.

Mack

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CANADIAN EMBASSY

C163910

CHUNGKING, China,
August 28, 1944.

TOP SECRET

No. 467.

Sir:

President Chiang Kai-shek

I have the honour to report that I spent from yesterday afternoon until this morning with the Generalissimo at his summer home on the Second Range. Other guests were Lt. General Carton de Wiart and General Ho Ying-Chin, the latter Minister of War and Chief of the General Staff. General de Wiart, as you know, is Mr. Churchill's "personal representative" here. In addition there were present at dinner last night Dr. T.V. Soong, the President's brother-in-law and (inactive) Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Ho Ying-chin's son, and Dr. K.C. Wu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Wu, who usually interprets for me on occasions of this sort, had a very bad cold and could hardly speak. So Dr. Soong and General Ho's son, a captain in the army, did it instead.

2. After a walk in the afternoon and a chat under the trees, we went in for dinner. I sat at the President's right. He, Dr. Wu, young Ho and I formed one group; General de Wiart, T.V. Soong and General Ho Ying-Chin another. In between were the junior members of the household and a Marshall Feng. Our first conversation very naturally was about Mme. Chiang. The President asked if I had had any word about final arrangements concerning her visit to Canada. I answered that I had not, -- that the last message I had received merely stated that you were presenting to Mme. Chiang a suggestion that the original idea of going to Banff should be adhered to since the transcontinental air service was so good that she could get from Banff to New York very quickly if she had to return there to the hospital. The president told me that Mme. Chiang was still in the mountains near Rio de Janeiro and that the date of her departure for the north had not as yet been fixed. Dr. T.V. Soong intervened and told the president a good deal about Banff. Then followed quite a discussion about climates, particularly Chinese and Canadian; and I told the president that if, after the war when things in China had settled down to a "quiet routine", he would come to Canada just "as an old soldier" and not as a public figure, I would take him up into the Rocky Mountains, with a few congenial friends. where we could walk and hunt and talk and fish as much or as little as

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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we wished. The idea appealed to him and he promised he would come. I said that, of course, there would have to be an official side to the trip, but he could slip over to Canada on one of the Empresses well in advance of this and we could fortify him for what was to follow, by a really good time in the hills. The President loves walking in the hills.

3. President Chiang told me that Mme. Chiang was very much in love with Canada. I said that we wanted her to be more in love with Canada and that was why we were trying to get her to go to Banff. I added that we wanted him to be in love with Canada too. Then followed a good deal of talk about Canadian politics and about the position in Quebec. Dr. Soong said that, the last time he met them, both President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill expressed concern about the political position of the government in Canada which they believed was not very secure. They said that reports indicated a "rough passage ahead". I admitted that, judged by what had happened recently in certain provinces, the omens were not good; but I explained that provincial issues did not always determine federal elections. Dr. Soong said that it had been very disquieting to him when Quebec voted Conservative early this month; that Quebec had been the stronghold of the Liberal party. I agreed again, but explained that the Liberal government in Quebec had been defeated, not by the C.C.F. or by the Conservatives, but by other Liberals! In other words, a party division had caused the defeat of Premier Godbout's government. This division might be healed before the federal election. Dr. Soong is a great admirer of the Prime Minister of Canada (as are the President and Mme. Chiang) and he would regret to see his Canadian friend suffer a political defeat.

"However," he said, "I am sure that Mr. King is philosopher enough not to grieve over it. He has already had a great career. We hope he will come and visit China again some time."

4. As might be expected, there was a great deal of talk about the situation in Europe. In this discussion, General de Wiart and General Ho Ying-chin took a leading part, although the President actually had more to say than had anyone else. He is supposed by some to be taciturn and to "grunt" more than he talks; but this has certainly never been true when I have been with him. Of what was said of the European military situation there is nothing to which I need make any extended reference, for you in Ottawa have more reliable news of it than have we out here. The interesting thing is that the talk turned in the end from the war situation itself to the postwar settlement; and Dr. Soong gave a quick review of Stetinius' new book which he had just read and which, he said, had advocated the partition of Germany and the transfer of much of East Prussia to Poland. The President at once objected. He said that such a solution would not be a solution at all but would be sowing the seeds of a new war. I agreed with the President and said that, as the United Nations had all gone in to the war to put a stop to interference by one country with the internal affairs and the security of any other country, we should not end it and so violate our own principles by undertaking just such an interference ourselves. I gave a terse word picture of Walter Lippmann's "U.S. war aims." The President agreed with my views and nodded approval of Mr. Lippmann's general proposals. Dr. Soong, however, said they were too "simplified". He and General Carton de Wiart rather favored the idea of a partition of Germany, but agreed that such a partition would in fact be a violation of the very democratic principles for which we were fighting.

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5. At a pause in the conversation, the Generalissimo asked me if I knew when I would be leaving for Canada. I said I did not -- I was waiting for the return of Dr. Patterson and Mr. Collins from India, for final word about Mme. Chiang, and for definite instructions from you. He said that, as soon as I knew when I was going, he wanted me to visit him again and to spend a full evening with him by himself, so that we might talk of Chinese political and military matters. I replied that I would be delighted to do this and would send word to him through the Wai-chiaopu (Dr.K.C.Wu) as soon as my program became definite. I am particularly anxious to have this talk. I have long waited for a suitable time, when I would be alone with the Generalissimo with an interpreter whom we could both fully trust. The ideal interpreter would have been Mme Chiang. Under present circumstances I think it will be Dr. Wu.

6. The Generalissimo appears to be in perfect health and spirits. His eye is bright and clear, as it always is. His voice is good, steady and cheery. There are no rings around his eyes, no signs of nervousness or fatigue. His close cropped hair, his lean and spare person, his healthy skin, his long slight hands, his white robe, his smiling face and his sparkling eye make him a picture of controlled animation. He is not restless, although he has two noticeable habits. Before he speaks, or rather when he is going to speak at some length he moves his feet several times as if taking a "stance" for a stroke! And when he is listening to another in casual conversation he keeps repeating his "haw - haw - haw" which some writers have recorded as his "grunts". Actually, the "haw - haw - haw" sounds are interested ones, as would be the words "I understand; I understand."

7. It is most intriguing to watch Dr. T.V.Soong -- and <u>all</u> the other prominest Chinese -- in the presence of the Generalissimo. There is no question of the respect they pay him; it is very marked and very obvious. No one attempts to out talk him; no one raises a voice to a high pitch. Being fully conscious of the strain between the Generalissimo and Dr. Soong, I was tremendously interested in the facial expressions of the two as Dr. Soong interpreted for his chief. The tenseness that was there three or four months ago has largely disappeared. Both men seem to have become adjusted to the situation. But I do not believe for a minute that there is any real reconciliation. There are too many critical comments going around about the Generalissimo, and they all seem to emanate from people who are close to Dr. Soong! I dislike the conclusion I feel I am about to form, and I still defer putting it on paper. But it is there, in the back of my head, nevertheless.

8. Two little things may interest you and may throw some light on the position here. When Dr. Wu, General de Wiart and I got into the Generalissimo's launch together to cross to the South side of the river, I expressed my pleasure at seeing General de Wiart with us. "Yes," said the General to Dr. Wu, "Odlum and I see things very much alike. Our minds seem to run in the same channel." "Because you are both soldiers," said Dr. Wu. And then he explained that the Generalissimo put the two of us at the top of the foreign group. A few days ago Mr. Keith Officer called to see me after his return from Lanchow. He was talking about the Generalissimo and the things he seemed to fail to see. "But no one can talk to him unless it is you or General de Wiart. You and the General are closer to him than are any other foreigners in Chungking." This is pleasant, and it may have its value. I want you to know it. You may view it from an entirely different angle. You may think,

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for instance, that I am too much and too easily influenced by the Generalissimo and by others like Dr. Chen Li-fu, that I too quickly espouse their points of view. I do not believe this is true. I think I am more honestly critical than are any of the others; but what I have to say I say directly to those concerned. They never get it second hand, through the gossip route. When we first came here I set my face against the gossip game, and the staff has loyally stood by me. We go to the Chinese for our information, for we are just as able to go, and are just as welcome, as are any others. We do not have to take our information or our judgments second hand. And the Chinese know this. Other Embassies come to us for information, but we do not convert our confidential talks with high placed Chinese into subjects for gossip. I think our policy has succeeded. If it has not, it is because I am simply incapable of making trustworthy interpretations. I certainly have all the opportunities -- and all the open doors -- for which any one should ask.

9. At the Generalissimo's I had a long private talk with Dr. T.V. Soong. I told him he looked well. He is, as you know, a big and apparently powerful man; and his face and eyes show health. But he says he is still suffering from his stomach -- it is a perennial affair for him. One has to accept his word; but I cannot help having a feeling that this may be a "political stomach". Still, Mme. Sun has had a very bad stomach this summer. It may be in the family. I cannot at present unravel the problem of the Generalissimo and Dr. Soong. Judged by Western standards, the position is simply "impossible". A deep -- a very deep, breach; Dr. Soong spoken of by every one as the Generalissimo's only possible rival; Dr. Soong kept by the Generalissimo suspended in mid air, with position but without power; and yet the two of them meet before the eyes of others and act as though there were no difference between them. Only in a very upside down world could such things be !

10. General Ho Ying-chin, in a conversation we had as we walked about the grounds, told me that the Japanese are still reinforcing their army at Hengyang. It looks as though they may move towards Kweilin, to threaten its airfields and to give flank protection to Hengyang. The Hengyang-Changsha area is valuable to the Japanese because of its big rice crop; in the past they have merely raided it. This time they seem to intend to hold it. To link up Hankow with Canton by railway through Hengyang and Kukong would be a very valuable military move for the Japanese. They can find the rails to complete this line by taking up rails from other and much less important lines. But merely to open this rail line would do little good. It would have to be kept open and operated to become important, and that means that it would have to be guarded. For this, the Japanese cannot spare the troops. To guard the line from Hengyang to Canton they would need six divisions -- nearly one quarter of what they have in China. Putting all these factors together, General Ho thinks the logical conclusion, since the Japanese continue moving troops towards Hengyang, is that they intend to push on, not necessarily to but towards Kweilin.

11. General de Wiart and I size Gen. Ho up in the same way. He is not a brilliant man, not a powerful leader; but he knows his routine work, does it well and serves the Generalissimo faithfully. There is no "Fritsch-Hitler" struggle between the Generalissimo and his Chief of Staff. Instead there is loyal and complete cooperation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) Victor W. Odlum,
Canadian Ambassador.

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SECRET

C163914 September 20, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~THE PRIME MINISTER~~

Chinese Political Developments

I am attaching a copy of cypher telegram No. 218 of September 18th from the Canadian Ambassador in Chungking concerning what appears to be a more liberal trend in Chinese politics.

Considerable importance must be attached to the decision of the Chinese Government to air before the People's Political Council the negotiations they have been conducting with the Chinese Communists in an effort to resolve their differences and unify the country. The P.P.C. is wartime China's closest approximation to a representative assembly. The Government has "invited" a handful of representatives from other political parties to sit in the P.P.C. The Communists, for instance, have six representatives. The P.P.C. has no legislative power, but acts as a national forum for the discussion of public issues.

On September 15th Mr. Lin Tso-han, delegate from the Communist area in the northwest who has been in Chungking for the last three months carrying on the conversations with the Central Government, spoke for seventy five minutes to a crowded session of the P.P.C. Afterward General Chang Chih-chung gave an account of the negotiations from the Government's point of view.

Mr. Lin said that the Central Government and the Communists were fundamentally divided on the issue of establishing a democratic constitution now

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and on the size and disposition of the Communist army. The Communists believed that the full strength of the Chinese people could not be mobilized for total war against Japan until the Government had taken the first steps toward democracy by granting freedom of speech, legalizing other political parties and establishing genuine local self-government. The Communists could not accept the Government's offer to authorize and equip ten divisions of the Communist army (100,000 - 150,000 men) on the condition that they come under the Central Government's local war area commanders for reorganization and retraining as this would mean the demobilization of the greater part of the Communist army of 470,000 and practical loss of control over even those retained. (This is an important point with the Communists as they do not intend to let their army go until they feel the position of their party is secure in the country.) The Communists also objected to the Central Government's demand that, apart from the government of the North Shensi border area, all local governments established by the Communists behind the Japanese lines be dissolved. Mr. Lin said these local democratic governments were elected by the people, that in no instance did the Communists control more than one third of the seats in the people's assemblies, and therefore the Communists lacked the authority to dissolve them. Furthermore, such action would play into the hands of the Japanese. (The Central Government is greatly disturbed by the spread of Communist influence behind the Japanese lines in North, Central and even South China.)

In his concluding remarks Mr. Lin touched upon the basic difference between the Communists and the Central Government when he said, "We hope the Kuomintang will abandon one-party government immediately. We would like to have a national congress called immediately to discuss national affairs openly. It should include representatives of local governments,

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of popular organizations and of all parties that are willing to fight the Japanese. Only then can China's total strength be concentrated against the Japanese."

General Chang Chih-chung, in reply, read seven documents relating to the negotiations and expressed the hope that the differences could be solved. Members of the P.P.C. voted to send a delegation of five non-party members to Yenan to make a further investigation.

Considerable hope has been raised by the decision of President Chiang Kai-shek to bring discussion of the Communist problem into the open. Growing unrest within Free China which has increased with recent Japanese military advances, and open criticism in the United States press of the authoritarian trend in Chinese government policy, may have prompted President Chiang to bring the thorny Communist problem into the open in order to broaden support for his Government throughout Free China.

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[F 4749/159/10] Copy No. 068a

Mr. Wallinger to Mr. Sterndale Bennett.—(*Received* 14*th October.*)

(No. 1047.)
(Secret and Personal.)

Dear Bennett, *Chungking*, 26*th September*, 1944.

Martin, the Assistant Press Attaché at Kunming, has produced an interesting story of a debate between professors of the universities there and senior officers of the Chinese 5th Army, of which some account appeared in the *Yunnan Jih Pao*. This created some consternation among the officers concerned for even their views on the military and political situation were not, if correctly reported, such as to commend themselves to their superiors in Chungking.

2. I do not propose to go in detail into the report, which may well be covered by Brewis in his next monthly summary: suffice it to say that there appears to have been general agreement that, in its present frame of mind and body, the Chinese army was unlikely ever to go over to the offensive, that desertions, even on the Salween front, were frequent, and that what was lacking was any proper organisation of the Chinese war-effort as a whole. A sterile discussion in itself; but perhaps a useful pointer?

3. In a recent talk with Wang Ping-nan (Communist headquarters in Chungking), he told me that Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang had recently spent a few days at the Generalissimo's country house and had reported on his return to his friends among the Communists that he had never found the Generalissimo so depressed. The reason, the Marshal said, was not because the political situation was bad but because it had at last been borne in on the Generalissimo that even "his soldiers" no longer had the will to fight and "his generals" no longer obeyed his orders. I cannot, of course, vouch for the truth of this story; but it seems credible and may provide one explanation of the rapid evolution of the President's views between his speeches at the opening and closing of the People's Political Council session—our despatches Nos. 986 and 1017. I suppose that, since he rose to power, Chiang Kai-shek has never faced so large and so varied a body of critics as to-day. The provinces have long been critical; and so, of course, have the professors as a group and especially those centred in Kunming; then came American pressure. The crowning blow is that the army should begin to question his judgment and his orders: and the recent series of executions of senior officers on the Hunan and Chekiang fronts (to which publicity has also been given) is not without significance.

4. In his letter Martin reports that the president of Tsinghua University told his students, in his speech at the beginning of the new term, that if the Japanese advance should reach Kunming the universities would not be able to evacuate. That being so, he offered to release any students who might wish to leave the district. It seems hardly credible that Kunming should be in any danger in the immediate future, but the above story shows how low Chinese morale has sunk. Mr. Gauss told the ambassador that Colonel de Pass, the United States Military Attaché, who has just done a long trip in the south-east, has returned full of gloomy reports of Japanese plans to attack Kunming: and it should be observed that de Pass has hitherto been a super-optimist. The colonel has another depressing story, which I got from our air attaché, about the building of caves and hutments in the central sector of the distant highway joining Western Yunnan and Western Szechuan by which he returned here: these are apparently being prepared for the evacuation of the banks, &c., from Kunming and/or Chungking and/or Chengtu!

I am sending Dening and Brewis a copy of this depressing letter.

Yours ever,

G. A. WALLINGER.

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C163918

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

[F 5126/159/10] Copy No. 068a

Sir H. Seymour to Mr Eden.—(Received 3rd November.)

(No. 1125. Confidential.)

Sir, *Chungking, 17th October*, 1944.

THE number of "Western" visitors who have returned from visits to the Shensi–Kansu–Ninghsia border region and spoken to me and to members of my staff about their impressions is now such that I think it worth while to give you some account of the situation there as they interpret it. You will recall that, in my despatch No. 881 of the 15th August, I reported upon the reactions of the group of Chinese journalists who had then just returned from Yenan; and that I undertook to follow that report up with an analysis of the views of the group of foreign correspondents who were still in the north. Of that group of five correspondents only one, Mr. Gunther Stein, has returned; but his views, which he has fully and frankly reported to me in a long exposé, are backed up by further accounts from Mr. Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* and from Mr. MacCracken Fisher, the chief of the China office of the American Office of War Information, who have recently spent shorter periods in Yenan. I consider that all three of these informants are reliable and competent observers and that their views merit serious attention.

2. It is clear from what all three men say that in their view the achievement, both practical and moral, of the Communist régime is positive and important. They have much to say that is favourable, and practically nothing that is contrary to the régime, and in no single instance do they draw an unfavourable comparison as between Yenan and Chungking. They find, on the practical side, that the military, political and economic systems work; and, on the morale side, that there is a spirit among both people and leaders, military and civilian, which is not to be found, in their considerable experience, anywhere in Kuomintang China. They admit that they have derived their impressions largely from convinced supporters of the régime, whose interests it was to impress them; but they state that they were allowed and encouraged to drop in anywhere and to speak to anybody; and that there was absolutely no subject which they raised, however delicate, but received what seemed to be a frank answer. In fact, they derived, in varying degrees of enthusiasm, the impression that the Yenan experiment had been a success and that the régime is to be counted with in the future.

3. On the difficult question whether military aid should be given to the Communists, there is agreement between our informants that, from a purely military point of view, the 8th and 4th Route Armies would be capable of delivering harassing blows to Japanese communications, &c., with a minimum of simple equipment. On this Mr. Fisher was, naturally enough, somewhat reserved, and Mr. Stein, who has spent some months in the area and made a very meticulous study of conditions, the most optimistic. They all agree on certain points; for instance, that the soldiers they saw looked fitter and better fed than those normally seen in Kuomintang China and that their morale is far higher than that of the National Government armies; but that their training in the use of their weapons, which are largely Japanese, captured from the enemy, is very sketchy—Mr. Atkinson states that each soldier is allowed but six rounds of ball ammunition for rifle practice in the course of a year! They agree, moreover, that the Communist leaders have evolved an effective type of guerrilla warfare having regard to their shortage of weapons and to the general conditions in Japanese-occupied areas: quoting Mr. Atkinson again, Communist troops never attack unless success is 90 per cent. certain; an engagement lasting over an hour is held to be a failure and an engagement in which booty in arms and ammunition is not captured is a defeat. Mr. Stein made an exhaustive study of figures, &c., and reports that it is his view that, in all the Communist areas, no fewer than 16 million people are organised in the "People's Self-Defence Corps," of whom

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some 2½ million are in the fighting militia; further, that there are 475,000 regular soldiers, 320,000 being in the 8th, the remainder in the new 4th Army. A considerable proportion of these regulars, perhaps up to one-third, are specially trained for guerrilla operations.

4. On the political side, I enclose a memorandum, based on the account Mr. Stein has given of the general set-up. The Communist leaders state frankly that in the present undeveloped state of China there can be no question of the immediate introduction of a true Communist system or of a régime such as has been evolved in the Soviet Union; they envisage a three-stage transition by national evolution; from democracy via socialism to communism; and they maintain that they have proved in practice that China to-day is fit for democracy. This, therefore, is their first complaint against the Kuomintang, that this party has prolonged the "period of tutelage" in its own exclusive interest. This view, you will appreciate, was shared by a majority of the members of the People's Political Council at their recent session in Chungking.

5. Mr. Stein tells me that he made every effort, both by interrogation and by observation, to see whether there is any special connexion between the Soviet Government and Yenan; and that he is convinced that there is not. The only Russians he saw or heard of were two *Tass* correspondents and a doctor: and he had been unable to find Soviet influences even in the local theatre or other arts, where, from experience elsewhere, he would have expected to find tell-tale traces. As regards Great Britain and the United States, the local leaders expressed friendly feelings, though there was still an undercurrent similar to that in Kuomintang China, critical of such past "failures" of His Majesty's Government as the closing of the Burma Road. The Communists are clearly happy about the impression they have made upon their American visitors and are hopeful of visits from British officers and officials. They also claim to consider that, in any case, as the Russians will be busy licking their own wounds for some years, it is wiser for China to look for assistance rather to the United States and Britain: moreover the Communists seemed to Mr. Stein to carry their nationalistic pride to the point where they were even nervous of Soviet "interference."

6. While the extent and significance of the political changes introduced by the Communists is clearly remarkable, I am inclined to think that the reason for their success lies rather in the way in which economic problems have been handled. All observers agree that "squeeze" and nepotism have practically disappeared, a tremendous achievement in China: and the insistence is on production. There is, therefore, intensive propaganda for the improvement of cultivation and the increase of crops in most areas is said by Mr. Stein to have been in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent. As a result, it has been possible to introduce such reductions in direct taxation as to leave to the peasants a greater proportion of their produce and to establish an improved standard of living: these in turn have brought an increase in the number of prosperous "middle peasants" with a proprietary stake in the land. From the Government's standpoint, better methods of producing and marketing—the strength and activities of both producers' and consumers' co-operatives is a feature of the Communist scene—have led to a diminution in the number of peasants needed for food production on the land and a consequent increase in the number of men available for the army. Reductions of rent and interest rates on loans have been general and the landlords are satisfied, both because increased production has offset reductions in their percentage share in the tenant's produce and because rent payments are guaranteed by the Government. Control of rents, interest rates and taxation lies with the elected Governments and People's Councils of the various areas.

7. There are many other matters to which my informants have referred but I need, I think, only to mention one or two of them.

Mr. Stein assures me that he had made the fullest investigation into the Kuomintang accusations of opium-production in the Communist areas and that he is satisfied that the accusations are without foundations.

An interesting feature is the way in which Japanese prisoners of war are treated; an attempt is made to educate them in their "human" duties and they are given, after a period of internment, complete freedom to return, if they wish, to Japanese-controlled areas. Mr. Stein reports that most prefer to stay on but that some return, whether as Communist agents or as unconverted Japanese Nationalists. There are a number of Japanese members of regional and local political councils and the Japanese Communist leader, Okana, is active in Government circles in Yenan.

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Finally it is clear that many of the leading men in the Border Region are striking personalities and that a group of less-known and younger men is being formed which is likely to wield great influence in the future.

8. Both Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Stein are pessimistic as to the possibility of a Kuomintang/Communist agreement, a pessimism shared, I may add, by the liberal element in Chungking. The Communists say that they want the immediate formation of a coalition Government—the phrase has been deleted from correspondents' reports as being "treasonable in time of war"—to co-ordinate the effective prosecution of the war against Japan. They suggest that this Government should be appointed at a meeting in Chungking of "40 to 100 representatives of the various political groups, duly elected by their party organisations," to conduct affairs until a Government elected under the new Constitution can be formed. They claim to be ready to work with some of the Kuomintang leaders, but that others, notably Dr. Kung, General Ho Ying-chin and the Chen brothers, must be eliminated. As to the Generalissimo himself, they now consider him to be bankrupt both in military and political leadership, but would, apparently, be prepared to accept him as a figurehead Head of State. On the military side, the Communist leaders have told my informants that they realise the political and practical difficulties of joint use of the two armies and that they are prepared to accept service under the supreme command of an American general who would be allowed to use the men and material available to form, as it were, two separate task forces.

9. You will realise from the preceding paragraph that little hope exists of the acceptance of the Communist proposals by President Chiang Kai-shek; and our latest information is that Mr. Wang Shih-chieh and General Chang Chih-chung have recently had a letter from Mr. Lin Tsu-han in which the Communist demands are set out in firmer language than has yet been used by them in the correspondence discussed in my despatch No. 1010 of the 16th September.

10. The degree of unanimity in praise of the Yenan experiment is truly remarkable and extends back over a number of years already. Mr. Stein tells me—and this is more or less confirmed from American sources in Chungking—that the American Military Mission in Yenan have come to the conclusion that the Communists' claims as to what they have done, are doing and could do against Japan are substantially correct; and that the Mission has advised that, with a little training and the provision of a relatively small quantity of up-to-date light weapons and ammunition, the Communist troops could inflict blows upon the Japanese which would save thousands of American lives. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of this suggestion from a military standpoint, it is dynamite politically speaking; and it is little wonder that Sino-American relations are going through a period of tension! I am not prepared myself to assess the present value, or the prospects, of the Chinese Communists either in the military or the political sphere. I have tried to set out the picture as it has been painted to me and to members of my staff by people who have been to Yenan and are trained observers: though I am impressed by what they say and by the stories circulated by rescued American fliers who have, in some cases, spent months among the guerrillas, I think it would be rash to draw any hard and fast conclusions as to the ultimate utility to China of this undoubtedly interesting experiment in community organisation.

I have, &c.
H. J. SEYMOUR.

Enclosure.

A Note (based on conversation with Mr. Gunther Stein) on the Political and Administrative Organisation in the Communist Areas.

THE Chinese Communists claim that not less than 90 million people live in areas under the effective control of Governments set in power under the system they have introduced. These areas include the well-known Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region and thirteen other "regions" or "anti-Japanese war bases." The areas controlled vary from large tracts (the "regions") to isolated communities, grouped where possible into "war bases," as far south as Kwangchouwan and even in Hainan. Administrative conditions, of course, vary

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widely in these various areas and, *at present*, the political parties, and specifically the Communist party, are the sole connecting link between them.

The administrative machine is built up of three stages, each with its elected People's Council and a Government and chairman appointed by that elected council. Each of the two lower councils nominates representatives to attend meetings of the council next above. The three stages cover (1) the village or hsiang (or, in a town, the ward); (2) the district (hsien), comparable to a riding in Yorkshire; (3) the whole region (or war base). For practical convenience each region and each hsien is subdivided into smaller areas comprising a number of hsien and hsiang respectively; their administrative organs are appointed by the regional and hsien Governments. The elected chairman of the regional (or war base) council is the head of the autonomous Government of the whole area. It is probable that a general council of all the fourteen autonomous Governments will be formed shortly, but it is not known what its powers will be.

The Communist party organisation is quite separate from the Administration. Mao Tse-tung is its chairman but is not in the Yenan Government. The party claims a membership of over 900,000, 90 per cent. of these being new members (*i.e.*, since the Great March), largely from the "middle peasant" class; the party has thus become less proletarian and less intellectual.

For elections to the various councils, by direct suffrage, the so-called "three-thirds system" is enforced. Under it, whatever the results of the ballot, the Communist party is not permitted to have more than one-third of the total membership of the council. If more Communist members are elected than their one-third share, the extra seats are allocated to the next most successful party. There are Kuomintang members in several councils and the Kuomintang is represented in at least one regional Government; their connexion with the Chungking headquarters is probably tenuous by now. The Communist party claim that they do not wish to obtain absolute control but to educate the people to use democratic methods and eventually to *want* Communist control. The powers of the various councils are real and positive and include the power to dismiss executive officers, such as mayors, and to fix rates of taxation, rents, &c.

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November 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163922

CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL MEETING, SEPTEMBER 1944.

Despatches No.501 of September 15, 513 of September 19, 522 of September 26, 540 of October 4 and 545 of October 10 from the Canadian Embassy in Chungking give an account, amplified by press comment, of the Third Plenary Session of the People's Political Council held in Chungking during September.

The P.P.C. is China's closest approximation to a representative assembly. It has served as a wartime forum for the expression of public opinion on many national issues. The council of 240 members is dominated by the Kuomintang. Less than 20 members represent other parties. Among the minority party delegates were: Lin Tsu-han, Communist representative who has been discussing with the Central Government terms for settlement of the Communist problem; Dr. Carsun Chang, leader of the Chinese National Socialist Party (whose programme is quite dissimilar to that of the party of like name in Germany), and Tso Shun-sheng, a leader of the Youth Party. It was announced during the session that the membership of the P.P.C. would be increased for the next session.

Although the membership of the Council is predominantly Kuomintang, the relaxation of censorship controls, the increase in foreign criticism of China's administrative and military inefficiency, and the deteriorating military situation as a result of the Japanese campaigns in Honan and Hunan, combined to bring about a session filled with criticism of Government policies and personnel and demands for changes, many of which are already being begun.

General Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War and Chief of Staff, received the first blast of criticism when he reported on the recent Japanese advances. Some of the criticism was undoubtedly motivated by General Ho's personal unpopularity in certain Kuomintang circles. However, the P.P.C. proceeded to demand immediate reforms in the army, especially in the conscription system and in the care of the troops. The following week President Chiang himself agreed that "the treat-

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ment of officers and men must be improved and the livelihood of the soldiers must be made at least as good as that of the people in the rear." To accomplish this Chiang said, "the Government intends to disband troops of poor quality and allot the military expenses thus saved to other units."

The P.P.C. next demanded that the national budget be submitted to it for examination before its adoption. This was agreed to by the government.

The Council then turned to the crucial question of national unity. Lin Tsu-han, Communist negotiator with the Kuomintang in Sian and Chungking, gave a 75 minute account of the negotiations, indicating that the Central Government and the Communists were fundamentally divided on the issue of extending democratic rights to the people now and on the size and disposition of the Communist army. General Chang Chih-chung (Chief of the Political Training Board) gave the Government's point of view on the negotiations and distributed to the P.P.C. members seven documents, comprising the recent exchange of correspondence between the Kuomintang and the Communists. These are appended to despatch No.513. The P.P.C. decided to send a delegation of five non-Kuomintang members to Yenan to investigate the situation. (As far as it is known this party has not yet left.)

Sino-Soviet relations also had a place on the programme. A resolution was passed asking for a good-will mission to be sent to Moscow as a means of furthering friendly relations. Shao Li-tze, Secretary-General of the P.P.C., said that the Government was giving this matter close attention but that it might take some time before this suggestion could be implemented. (The government probably realized that little could be achieved at this time by such a mission going to the Soviet Union.)

Dr. H. H. Kung came in for perhaps the sharpest criticism from members of the P.P.C. A resolution was passed by a vote of 112 to 6 recommending legislation barring the Minister of Finance (Dr. Kung) from serving simultaneously as the head of a bank. (Dr. Kung is at present head of two banks, the Bank of China and the Central Bank.)

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Members of the P.P.C. seemed quite content with their work when the session came to an end. One delegate said that "China has taken a step forward toward constitutional government." Even President Chiang paid high tribute to the assembly. He said, "The present P.P.C. session is an epoch making one and will enhance confidence in the realization of democratic government in China."

The one sour note came from Yenan, the capital of the Communist Border Region. An editorial in the Yenan newspaper , Emancipation Daily, applauded the criticism of government policy, but pointed out that, since the P.P.C. was controlled by the Kuomintang, it did not really represent public opinion. Otherwise it would have been far more critical and demanding. It claimed that the session was merely an attempt by President Chiang and his associates to create the false hope among the Chinese people that democracy could be attained through the P.P.C.

There is a certain validity in this Communist analysis of the results of the P.P.C. session. The publicity given to the P.P.C. criticisms and resulting government action is certain to create a favourable impression in China and abroad to an extent far greater than the real significance of any action taken. The all-important Kuomintang-Communist split remains unhealed and both sides appear unwilling to budge from their contentiously stated positions.

Nevertheless, the mere fact that criticism was permitted, and even encouraged, in this meeting of the Council is a significant development which, if not reversed, should result in beneficial changes in both the political and military fields. In spite of this many Chinese and foreign critics feel this is not enough. They consider that unless immediate and drastic reforms are made in the Chinese Government and Army it is not likely that China will be able to make any significant contribution in the final phase of the war against Japan. This has been reflected in the press comment on the recall of General Stilwell and the resignation of Ambassador Gauss. If reforms are not introduced China may enter upon the post-war period in a condition of weakened national unity, restricted civic liberties and retarded economic growth considerably worse than the stage in national development she had reached prior to the outbreak of war with Japan.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM C163925

PRIME MINISTER

I learn that the Department of External Affairs have released to the press the text of the message from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek together with the text of the reply which you approved yesterday evening.

J.A.G.

December 12, 1944

Ottawa M. Citizen
December 13, 1944

Exchanged Greetings

President Chiang Kai-Shek of China and Prime Minister Mackenzie King exchanged greetings on the occasion of the third anniversary of the war in the Pacific.

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ARM/ELB

C163926

SECRET

Note on Secret Despatch No. 16 of January 16, 1945 from the Canadian Embassy in Chungking, China

The report on the Chinese Communists enclosed with this despatch and prepared for the India Command Weekly Intelligence Summary is a useful collation of data and views supplied to British Intelligence by reliable observers who have spent some time in the Communist controlled areas.

It will be found that the information on the Chinese Communists has been well organized and gives a good deal more detail than we have had before about the military strength of the Communist Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. On the whole, it leaves one with a favourable impression of the Communist administration, their resistance to the Japanese, and the morale of the people in the areas they control.

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C163927 SECRET

CANADIAN EMBASSY

No. 16.

CHUNGKING, China,
January 16, 1945.

Sir,

The Chinese "Communists"

I have the honour to enclose a document which I have just received from the Military Attache -- a copy of Appendix "A" of the India Command Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 165 dated December 29, 1944, issued by the South East Asia Command and dealing with Chinese Communists in the Yenan area.

2. You will be interested to compare this report with the two previous memoranda prepared by Mr. Collins and forwarded with despatches No. 499 of September 13, and No. 582 of November 7, 1944. I have not had time to make a careful and critical comparison of the two reports. A cursory reading, however, suggests a very close agreement on most points. The present report naturally goes into more detail in the military section, while Mr. Collins' memoranda deal more fully with the economic phase of the problem. In their descriptions of the political organization there seems to be substantial agreement.

3. The enclosed statement gives a more clearcut description of the various "Regions" with approximate population and militia strength. There is no reference to the Bias Bay base near Hongkong to which Mr. Collins refers. It may be that such an area and other smaller sections are not included.

4. The total military strength (including both the 8th Route Army in the North and the "New" 4th Army in Central China) is placed at 474,476 for 1944. This corresponds to the figure of 470,000 stated by Mr. Collins to have been given by Mr. Lin Tsu-han to the P.P.C. meeting in September and does not support the claim reported by Mr. Epstein that there are now 600,000 troops available.

5. Japanese methods of fighting the Communists are described in somewhat more detail. The statement on "Communist Potential" on P.VII coming in a Military Intelligence Summary is significant.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) Geo. S. Patterson

Charge d'Affaires a.i.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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Enclosure No. 1
Despatch No. 16
January 16, 1945

SECRET

C163928

(i)

I. C. WEEKLY SUMMARY NO. 165
Dated 29th December, 1944.

APPENDIX 'A'

THE CHINESE "COMMUNISTS"

1. The following is based mainly on data and views supplied by reliable observers who have spent some time in parts of the Communist area, and been given full and free facilities for observation.

2. Background. In 1934-35 the Red Army, under pressure from the present Kuomintang leaders, marched from Kiangsi to the Yenan area of Shensi. From 1937 onwards there has been an increasingly uneasy agreement between the Kuomintang leaders and the Communists, theoretically in the interests of the war against Japan. The Communists claim that they have continued to fight the Japanese whilst the Chungking Government has marked time, and harassed the Communists. They say that since the fall of Hankow in October 1938, their "front behind the enemy lines" has been the major front in China.

3. Present Communist Areas. The main area around Yenan is known as the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. There are the following additional "Regions":-

North	
Shansi - Chahar - Hopei, which now includes southern Jehol and Liaoning (Manchukuo)	(630)
Shansi - Hopei - Honan	(320)
Hopei - Honan - Shantung	(80)
Shantung	(500)
Shansi - Suiyuan	(50)
East & Central	
North Kiangsu	(85)
Central Kiangsu	(130)
South Kiangsu	(25)
North Huai River	(70)
South Huai River	(55)
Hupeh - Honan - Anhwei	(150)
Central Anhwei	(25)
East Chekiang	(10)

The total population of the Communist domain is about 50,000,000 in North China, 30,000,000 in Central China. Some idea of relative populations in the various areas is given by the figures of People's Militia (in thousands) placed in brackets after each "Region".

These Regions are also known as "Anti-Japanese War Bases". Boundaries are naturally fluid and conditions vary. First there are "stable base" areas where the Japanese only penetrate a few times a year, when they launch large mopping-up operations. Here Communist Government organisations function openly. Next are the unstable areas adjacent to the outer ring of Japanese forts, where there is danger of surprise attack; however, Government functions fairly normally and troops operate in uniform. Thirdly, there are the guerilla areas where Government is underground (some times literally so) and Communist troops operate in plain clothes. It is claimed that some areas of the latter category exist as far south as Kwangchowwan and Hainan

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island. Finally, there are very small cells consisting of agents within territory and towns firmly controlled by the Japanese.

4. Political

(a) Internal. The administrative and electoral machine is built up in three stages:

(i) Each village (or, in a town, each Ward) has a People's Council, directly elected, and the Council elects its Chairman.

(ii) The village (or Ward) Councils appoint representatives to attend the Hsien (District) Council, which again elects its Chairman.

(iii) The District Councils appoint representatives to attend the Regional (or War Base) Council. The elected Chairman is then head of the Government of the whole Region.

These regions are at present autonomous. It is probable that the fourth stage -- the formation of a General Council -- will be effected shortly, but it is not known what the powers of this organisation will be.

The Commuhist Party organisation is quite separate from the Administration. Mao Tse-tung is its chairman but is not in the Yenan Government. The Party claims a membership of over 900,000, 90% of these being new members (i.e. since the Great March), largely from the "middle peasant" class; the Party has thus become less proletarian and less intellectual.

For elections to the various Councils, the so-called "Three Thirds System" is enforced. Under it, whatever the results of the ballot, the Communist Party is not permitted to have more than one-third of the total membership of the Council. If more Communist members are elected than their one-third share, the extra seats are allocated to the next most successful party. There are Kuomintang members in several Councils and the Kuomintang is represented in at least one regional government; the connection of these people with the Chungking headquarters is probably tenuous by now. The Communist Party claims that it does not wish to obtain absolute control but to educate the people to use democratic methods and eventually to want Communist control.

The Communist Party has, however, more power than might appear, since it is the connecting link between the autonomous Regional Governments and is the ideological driving force. Nevertheless, the powers of the various Councils are real and positive, including the right to dismiss mayors and other executive officers and to fix rates of taxation and rents.

Thus, the first complaint the Communists have against the present Kuomintang Government in Chungking is that whilst they themselves have proved willing to make democracy (Sun Yat-sen's Second Principle) a working order in China now, the Chungking Kuomintang has prolonged the "period of tutelage" in its own selfish Party interests.

(b) Relations with Other Governments in China. There are many stories of attacks by Kuomintang troops on Communist forces but the observers have no first-hand proof of such actions, mainly because there has been no contact with Kuomintang troops within Japanese "occupied" areas since Chungking forces largely

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withdrew or went over to the Nanking regime during recent years.

There have been comings and goings recently between Yenan and Chungking, at the instigation of the Americans and also of the September meeting of the Chungking People's Political Council. The Communists state that they wish to join a coalition provided Kung, Ho Ying Chin and the Chen brothers are eliminated from the resultant Government, or come to a working arrangement, whilst keeping control of their own armies. The Generalissimo himslef they regard as bankrupt, both in political and military leadership, but are apparently willing to accept him as a figure-head Head of State. Their attitude is governed by a deep suspicion of the Chungking Kuomintang. Madam Sun Yat Sen is the only person of any consequence who has consistently backed them in Chungking.

They have no relations with Nanking or other Puppet authorities whereas they state Chungking is in constant touch with such bodies.

(c) Foreign. There is no special connection between Yenan and the Soviet Government (which maintains an Embassy in Chungking). There are only two Tass correspondents and a Russian doctor in the Yenan area. Even in the local theatre and other arts, where tell-tale traces of Soviet influence might be expected, none are to be found. The Communists still hold to Sun Yat Sen's first principle - "Nationalism" - and are nervous of Soviet "interference". They claim to consider that Russia will be too busy licking her wounds for some years to give aid to China, and that it is wiser for China to look for assistance from the United States and Britain.

The Communists are happy about the impression they have made upon their American visitors, journalists and military.

They express friendly feelings towards Britain. But there is still an undercurrent of resentment, similar to that in Kuomintang China, over such past "failures" of H.M. Government as the closure of the Burma Road. Until recently the Communists actually received more assistance in the way of medical and training personnel from ourselves (not sent officially, and of no particular political colour) than from all the rest put together.

There are a number of Japanese Communists in the area, and efforts are made to convert captured Japanese by humane methods.

5. Economic.

Perhaps the most marked contrast between Communist and Chungking China is on the economic and politico-economic side. "Squeeze" and nepotism have been practically eliminated, a tremendous achievement in China.

All the emphasis is on production. Thus the Communists are putting Sun Yat Sen's third Principle - "Livelihood" - into effect. Land has not been communalised, but rents are kept down to a reasonalbe level. As a result of the big improvement in public honesty, it has been possible also to reduce taxation, which is mostly in kind. Thus the peasants retain a greater proportion of what they have grown. In addition, propaganda for the improvement of cultivation has led to increased crops. Therefore the number of prosperous "middle peasants" with a proprietary stake in the country has increased.

Producers' and consumers' cooperative societies are a feature of the Chinese Communist scene, and their efficiency has led to a decrease in the proportionate number of people needed for production and distribution. Thus, from the Communist Government's point of view, relatively more men are available for the Army, and they are better fed.

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Even from the landlord's point of view increased production largely offsets reductions in their percentage share of tenants' produce, while payment of their rents is guaranteed by Government.

The Army assists in agricultural work, as part of its duties.

Kuomintang stories of opium production in the Communist areas are without foundation.

There is a certain amount of trade with Chungking China. Salt is the chief export and is Government-controlled. Medicine, radio parts and other civilian goods of military usefulness, which the Chungking Government does not allow to go through, are bought in enemy-occupied territory, but are becoming more difficult to obtain. Specifically military equipment is partly manufactured and partly captured.

6. Military.

(a) General Organisation and Strengths. The 8th Route Army was renamed "18th Group Army" by Chungking at the time of the agreement with the Kuomintang but is still usually known by its old name.

The 8th Route Army carries on the war in the North, and the "New" 4th Army in Central China. In the South, only partisan detachments operate at present. Strength figures for the 8th and 4th Armies have been as follows:-

Year	8th R.A.	New 4th A.	Total
1937	80,000	12,000	92,000
1938	156,700	25,000	181,700
1939	270,000	50,000	320,000
1940	400,000	100,000	500,000
1941	305,000	135,000	440,000
1942	340,000	110,060	450,060
1943	339,000	125,892	464,892
1944	320,000	153,676	474,476

It will be noted that figures for the 8th Route Army decreased considerably in 1941 owing to Japanese victories and food shortage. Since 1942, when they had risen again, they have been deliberately cut down to ensure good quality. In Eastern China there was a drop in 1942, but Communist strength in this area is gradually rising.

Officers above the rank of Regimental Commander are generally old Red Army men. Lower officers are usually local men.

There is now little difference between regulars and guerillas as a result of the policy of concentrating on quality, though the guerillas are seldom shifted out of their own areas and usually operate in plain clothes.

At the same time all able-bodied men are more or less compelled to belong to the People's Defence Force (or People's Militia) and assist, when required, in operations under military command as guides or carriers. They are used for harassing the enemy by planting mines, sniping and scouting. They also guard harvesting and other agricultural activities near Japanese garrisons. There are approximately 16,000,000 in the People's Defence Corps, of whom over 2,000,000 are fighting Militia.

(b) Equipment and Training. In the 8th and 4th Armies rifles are roughly on the scale of three rifles per five men. Each man

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carries about five grenades. In addition there are usually two L.M.Gs. and two grenade discharges per lien (company of about 100). The regiment usually has a medium M.G. unit and a mortar unit. Area H.Q. has an artillery unit. Considerable use is made of land-mines.

Grenades, grenade discharges and land-mines are made locally and the Communists fight as far as possible with grenades. Rifles and ammunition are mainly captured, only very small quantities being manufactured locally, and may be either standard Chinese or standard Japanese. There is a shortage of ammunition, as a result of which only six rounds a year are allowed for practice, and firing in action is usually confined to as short a range as possible.

No military equipment is supplied by the Chungking Government.

No military supplies have come from Russia for some years.

(c) Health and Feeding. The Chungking blockade also covers medicines, including some specifically earmarked for the Communists by non-political Allied societies.

Protein and fats are deficient in the Communist soldier's diet, according to our standards. The troops are, however, better fed than in the Central Government armies.

Rations differ both in variety and in quantity according to area, since troops live largely on the land. But rations are properly organised and accounted. Where speculation has been discovered, the offending officer is shot, and the Communists even make a point of pursuing any speculator who gets away to enemy territory.

(d) Psychological. Popular support is complete -- and the whole existence of the Army depends on it, especially in guerilla areas.

Morale is higher than in Chungking Government armies. Even in the worst period of 1942 there was no loss of confidence in the final success of the Allies. The Japanese are hated.

Discipline is fairly informal but usually sound in difficult situations. Some units have a better reputation than others for fighting spirit.

Desertion, to go home for a spell is not uncommon, but in such cases troops usually come back of their own accord. Desertion to the Japanese is very rare indeed.

Political officers go down as far as the lien (company), and there is much political education.

(e) Staff work, Intelligence and Communications. Standards of organisation and coordination are still not very high -- the result of a type of warfare involving a number of small-scale engagements; but the leaders realise this deficiency and organisation has improved. At the same time the Communists are absolutely dependent for their existence on accurate information about enemy troop movements; and this side of their work is extremely efficient, within the limits of communications difficulties. Naturally the type of information covered is also limited to what is of practical interest to them.

Contact by telephone or radio from Yenan to Regional Headquarters is regular, and there are many useful links within the Regions, with various special scouting stations operating very near the enemy. Here again, however, shortage of equipment is a limiting factor. In particular, it takes some time to get information out of occupied cities.

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(f) Nature of Communist Operations. Communist claims of actions undertaken and results are given at Annexures 1 and 2. These claims are considered fairly reliable.

Most of the engagements are small-scale, with the struggle for food playing an important part. Shortage of ammunition is a limiting factor. At the same time, the capture of arms is an important object of operations.

The Army, as well as the People's Militia is sometimes called on to defend workers engaged in agricultural activities near Japanese forts.

Where the Japanese are attempting to destroy the Chinese Communist organisation by erecting forts or making "surprise-attacks" with a view to consolidating their own and Puppet control, the Communists resist, often with success. Thus a Japanese effort to consolidate in Central Hopei since May 1942 has failed, and similar efforts south of the Yangtze from Shanghai are being resisted.

When the Japanese are known to be planning a "mopping-up" campaign, the Chinese Communists attack forts, raid enemy controlled cities and mine roads and railways, as diversions.

Finally, definitely offensive operations are carried out, particularly against Puppets, where the Communists are extending their area of control, as in Shantung at present. In East Hopei about 6,000 additional villages came under Communist control in 1943 and there is now a stable base area where, in 1940, the territory was all Japanese-controlled or in the guerilla area category.

(g) Japanese Methods against the Communists. These fall under three main heads:-

(i) Forts and Blockade.

The Japanese try to encroach on the Chinese base areas and maintain their control in the guerilla area by constructing lines of forts, connected as far as possible by motor roads, and digging systems of blockade ditches, usually about 15 feet deep and about 20 feet wide to prevent the movement of Chinese troops. The 8th Route Army can make fort building fairly costly but it is hard to attack a fort once it has been built. Large numbers of forts are captured but usually by some trick or surprise attack. The real weakness of this fort policy is that the Japanese have not got enough men to provide reliable garrisons for all forts and have to rely largely on puppet troops. Also, when their forces are scattered about in these small groups they cannot be given any training and there is a deterioration in discipline and morale. It is, therefore, an unsatisfactory method except for important Ls of C.

(ii) Surprise Attacks.

Since the end of 1943 the Japanese have started to withdraw from many of the less important forts in order to concentrate effective striking forces at the main garrison points. They concentrate a force up to several hundred and suddenly surround a village and make as thorough a search as possible for 8th Route Army troops, government workers and for hidden supplies. This is especially common in the guerilla areas but they also make some surprise raids on villages near the boundaries of the base areas. Since the concentration of forces from the forts, this form of activity has increased.

(iii) Mopping-up.

For this the Japanese concentrate large forces, collect porters and animals from the occupied areas to carry their

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supplies and invade the Chinese base areas for periods usually of one or two months. The Japanese object varies. Sometimes they try to surround and destroy the main Chinese forces in the area, while in other campaigns they concentrate on doing the maximum damage to the economic basis of the Chinese troops, by destroying factories and houses, burning or destroying crops, killing animals.

(h) Japanese Use of Puppet Troops against Communists. Puppet troops are not generally very reliable from the Japanese point of view. There are numerous stories of their allowing the passage of Chinese Communist troops through lines they were supposed to guard, and even lending a hand to fill in blockade ditches. They can usually be taken prisoner quite easily and often desert.

The only Puppet troops who really fight the Communists are those who have gone over from the Kuomintang to the Japanese after long anti-Communist indoctrination. The Communists claim to have ample proof that some of the Puppet armies still maintain relations with Chungking, and that they were, in fact, ordered to go over to the Japanese, so that the Kuomintang should have forces in North China ready for the collapse of Japan; they were instructed meantime to harass the Communists.

(j) Communist Potential. The Communists are willing to serve under an American General and accept foreign technical training. Their experience and spirit is such that with further training and the supply of relatively small quantities of equipment they could harass the Japanese, particularly their communications, in such a way as greatly to reduce the enemy's potential.

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Annexure 1.

Yearly Records of 8th Route Army in Anti-Japanese War

	First Year Sept.1937 to May 1938	Second Year June 1938 to May 1939	Third Year June 1939 to May 1940	Fourth Year June 1940 to May 1941	Fifth Year June 1941 to May 1942	Sixth Year June 1942 to May 1943	Seventh Year June 1943 to May 1944	TOTAL
No. of Engagements (major and minor)	638	2,051	6,936	6,152	12,221	22,735	23,327	74,060
Enemy Casualties & W. P.								
Jap.casualties	34,007	31,083	64,355	50,257	50,306	55,673	65,432	351,113
Puppet "	3,704	15,430	23,475	21,581	33,526	62,405	79,831	239,952
Jap. captured	124	385	689	326	284	296	303	2,407
Puppets "	2,094	7,521	15,338	15,355	17,914	31,161	59,343	148,726
Jap.deserters			19	12	16	23	45	115
Puppet "	1,366	17,935	9,180	5,178	4,306	4,728	6,948	49,641
Major Arms Captured								
Rifles and small arms	6,699	14,589	37,666	24,017	16,858	38,542	50,677	189,048
Light & Heavy machine guns	192	291	649	519	362	479	626	3,118
Guns	25	61	119	104	29	46	105	489

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Annexure 1. (Continued)

Yearly Records of 8th Route Army
in Anti-Japanese War

	First Year Sept.1937 to May 1938	Second Year June 1938 to May 1939	Third Year June 1939 to May 1940	Fourth Year June 1940 to May 1941	Fifth Year June 1941 to May 1942	Sixth Year June 1942 to May 1943	Seventh Year June 1943 to May 1944	TOTAL
8th R.A.Casualties								
Commanders and Men wounded	8,107	31,031	32,175	38,834	40,813	18,107	17,976	187,043
Commanders and Men killed	4,432	15,048	17,012	21,348	23,034	11,378	10,934	103,186
Ratio of Enemy to 8th Route Army Casualties	3:1	1.01:1	1.79:1	1.2:1	1.31:1	4.01:1	5.02:1	2.04:1

Note: Among 8th Route Army Commanders and Men killed, 398 were officers of and above Regimental Rank.

Annexure 2.

Yearly Record of New 4th Army in Anti-Japanese War

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	1st & 2nd Year & May 1938 to May 1941	Fifth Year June 1941 to May 1942	Sixth Year June 1942 to May 1943	7th Year June 1943 to May 1944	TOTAL
No. of Engagements (major & minor).....	4,967	2,427	4,822	5,318	17,534
Enemy Casualties & War Prisoners:					
Jap. & Puppet casualties....	124,252	24,512	38,879	53,107	241,750
Jap. & Puppets captured.....	5,392	5,458	9,923	13,642	34,415
Jap. & Puppets capitulated & deserted....		4,825	7,921	11,320	24,066
Major Arms Captured:					
Rifles & other Small Arms....	48,048	13,870	28,574	33,967	125,459
Light and Heavy Machine Guns..	1,644	301	330	376	2,651
Guns.....	60	8	12	20	100
New 4th Army Casualties:					
Commanders & Men Wounded...	36,637	10,856	8,412	9,015	64,920
Commanders & Men Killed....	22,448	6,745	7,617	8,058	44,868
Ratio of Enemy to New 4th Army Casualties:	2.1 : 1	1.39 : 1	2.46 : 1	3.12 : 1	2.2 : 1

Note: Among New 4th Army Commanders and Men Killed, 137 were Officers of and above Regimental Rank.

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C163938

CHINA — AMERICA'S PROBLEM

(Note in Secret despatch No. 29 of January 31st from the Canadian Embassy, Chungking.)

This despatch points out that the United States Government is deeply and critically concerned about China's internal problems because they affect the prosecution of the common war against Japan. On both the political and military sides she has had to ask herself whether she can continue to ignore the growing power of the Communist-organized governments in North and Central China.

Ambassador Gauss and General Hurley were disposed to give realistic attention to the so-called Communist forces. Vice-President Wallace apparently put enough pressure on the Generalissimo during his visit to get permission for a United States Military Mission to be established at Yenan. Pressure was also put in the Central Government to reach a compromise agreement with the Communists.

When Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer took over there appeared to be a change in method if not in policy - giving the impression of more sympathetic consideration being given to the recognized government of China. By applying United States pressure more delicately they have probably made more progress. Other observers suggest that Hurley and Wedemeyer as newcomers, are being fooled by changes of labels and public statements, while Gauss and Stilwell couldn't be.

Dr. Patterson concludes that General Hurley has been charged with the responsibility of finding a modus operandi that would meet immediate United States needs for as effective Chinese cooperation as possible in the war against Japan. General Hurley said he was unable to see far ahead, nor to lay down the principles of long-term United States policy regarding China's internal problems.

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SECRET

CANADIAN EMBASSY

CHUNGKING, China,
January 31, 1945.

No. 29

Sir,

China — America's Problem

I have the honour to suggest that the influence of United States policy on the solution of China's basic political issues is one of the most interesting and perhaps one of the most important questions to which attention can be given in China just now.

2. A traditional friendship has long existed between the two countries. China has been strongly inclined to look to the United States for assistance through the educating of her youth, through the sending of technical experts, through extending investments and loans, through establishing trade on a favorable basis and through strong support from American public opinion for China and all things Chinese. Thus, in normal times, United States policy has not been without its silent and constant influence on issues in China. Now, because of her responsibility as leader among the United Nations in this theatre of war, her policy assumes greatly increased importance and weight.

3. Like all other countries in diplomatic relationship with China, the U.S. accredits her representative to the established government for the maintenance of friendly relations. She is committed to the support of this government in its war effort. Conscious of the weakness of her ally after long years of struggle, she is particularly concerned that she should continue to fight against the common enemy. Thus far the definition of her policy is simple and clear and its effects on China's internal administration and economy suggest no complications. It is, of course, an appreciation of the forces at work within China that makes it necessary to consider the operation of the policy in more dynamic terms. China, with its internal situation, then becomes America's Problem.

4. Politically, the actual strength of the Central Government is widely believed to be on the decline. To what extent is the United States justified in helping to re-establish this influence? Many think it unlikely that the present government will survive the war. At some point the United States must establish the policy it will follow if and when civil war should break forth. Will it be forced by practical considerations to increase its support for the challenged government? If the government should be overthrown, how would such a policy affect United States relations to the new regime? What problems would be created if in the United States her

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representatives were criticized for supporting a government popularly regarded as opposed to the ideals for which the people had fought; or, in the alternative, if they were open to the charge of giving aid to radical rebel forces that sought to overthrow the bulwarks of order and stability?

5. Viewing the problem from the military standpoint, United States leaders have been forced to give consideration to the fact that a large force of potentially great strength and effectiveness has not submitted itself to the control and direction of the Central Government. Can the United States afford to plan its campaign without securing the effective co-operation of this force? If it believes it can do so for the more immediate stages, what will its policy and procedure be if United States forces effect landings on the Chinese coast at points where the local governments are entirely under Communist control?

6. The United States representatives have, of course, been keenly aware of these problems and their various attempts at solution are well known. Stated simply, it seems to have been the policy of General Stilwell to establish and maintain contacts with both the Central Government and the Communist forces. It has been asserted on good authority that it was Vice-President Wallace who brought to bear whatever pressure was required to secure the consent of the Central Government to the despatch of a number of American military personnel to Yenan. The purpose of this group was the evacuation of stranded United States flyers. Stilwell is believed, rightly or wrongly, to have expanded this group into a military mission interested in the training and equipping of Communist guerillas. Although it is not known that Mr. Gauss entered directly into these negotiations, he was clearly in agreement with the policy. One secretary of the Embassy who had been seconded to the Army was assigned to Yenan. He wears the army uniform and maintains a duel relationship to the War and State Departments. It is also well known that Mr. Gauss worked steadily for a liberalizing of the Central Government regime, as indicated in my despatch No. 564 of October 23, 1944.

7. Members of the military mission who went to Yenan have been uniformly favourably impressed with the spirit and effectiveness of the Communist troops. They have also shown a desire to furnish them with munitions and supplies though it is doubtful whether this was implemented -- if at all, it must have been to a negligible degree. It is not so clear to what extent this move to establish the mission represented a first step in a policy whose implications were clearly foreseen. It may be that it was taken in the conviction that some form of collaboration between the Communists and the Kuomintang must eventually be reached and that this would facilitate the larger movement. It is even possible that it was thought that the Communists would become stronger than the Kuomintang regime and that the earlier relations were established the better. It is more likely, however, that the step was taken in a practical mood without too much straining to see the distant scene.

8. A change of policy obviously marked the withdrawal of Mr. Gauss and General Stilwell and the appointments of General Hurley and General Wedemeyer. It may be recalled that it was on the recommendation of General Hurley, then acting as a special representative of the President, that General Stilwell was removed. General Hurley has also been instrumental in having a number of other personnel changes carried out,

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including the removal of members of the Embassy staff who were considered to be too partial to the Communist group. That this is his policy he states quite openly. Regarding his own appointment as Ambassador, he told me in a very recent interview that he had not wished the post but was forced to accede when the President telegraphed to remind him that "he had torn the thing apart at the seams" and should not put it together in the way he wanted it. He says his directives are simple and clear; he is to seek to strengthen the Chinese government and enable it to keep in the war against Japan.

9. Some of the more immediate effects of this policy are apparent, though again it is not so clear as to what the long-term implications may be. The various attempts of the United States to carry out its policy in this theatre of war are frequently referred to as "pressure of the United States on China". The references vary from the taunting attempts of the Japanese propagandist to use them as a wedge with which to pry the two allies apart, to the acknowledgment of the pro-American Chinese in a moment of frankness that even under the more conciliatory approaches of the new regime pressure is being exerted. A common attitude seems to be that while Mr. Gauss and General Stilwell were sincere in their efforts they were not sufficiently careful to avoid hurting the sensibilities of the Chinese. In contrast, it is believed that General Hurley and General Wedemeyer are careful, in public and private, to manifest a certain deferential and loyal appreciation of the Generalissimo and similar cooperative attitudes to their other Chinese colleagues. The various recent moves of the government in the direction of liberalizing its regime and strengthening its war effort are cited as a result in part of the gentler form which the application of United States pressure is now taking and as a justification of this more trusting and single-minded policy. There are, at the same time, not a few who claim openly that one of the strongest motives behind the reforms has been the attempt of the Chinese Government to fool its friendly neighbour into believing that fundamental changes are being effected whereas only labels have been exchanged. (The moves one has in mind are the changes in government personnel, particularly the call of Dr. T. V. Soong to a position of larger responsibility; the organization of the War Production and War Transportation Boards -- the responsiveness of these groups being warmly appreciated by the American experts; the tax reforms and other administrative measures introduced by the Executive Yuan affecting chiefly the Department of Finance; the announcement of the President at New Year's that a People's Congress might be called even before the end of the war.)

10. Thus, a review of the United States record over the part year or so indicates an inclination at first to give realistic attention to the so-called Communist forces and later a shift, either in policy or in method, towards more single hearted devotion to collaboration with the recognized government of the country. (General Hurley said a friend suggested to him that he "ought to have an anchor out to windward". His reply was that, as a military man, when he was given an objective in front of him to reach, he drove towards it without considering forces to his right or to his left.)

11. The important question, however, remains as to how far United States policy will now go in the direction of achieving a settlement between the Communists and the Kuomintang? The fate of the military mission at Yenan will help to provide an answer to this question. The present visit of General Donovan,

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head of the Office of Strategic Services, will in turn no doubt determine what the fate of the mission is to be. Two days after Dr. James G. Endicott wrote to the Under-Secretary on January 22nd to say that he was about to begin work with the United States Intelligence Service, his promised contract was withdrawn. It is Dr. Endicott's assertion that the plan which had been under consideration to bring trained saboteurs to work with the Communist forces in the northwest has now been abandoned. He says that General Donovan has agreed to this but that he has obtained, as a kind of quid pro quo, the agreement of the Chinese to bring 30 or 40 saboteurs from the European area to work exclusively in the south east of China. Dr. Endicott attributes the change in plan to the resistance of Tai Li. The latter, he says, has always exercised the right of vetting, through a representative in Washington, all United States personnel who come to work with the O.S.S. He will continue to exert this right and it will be applied to the choice of the saboteurs who are to work in the southeast. In the meantime Colonel Barrett who has been in command of the Mission at Yenan has been promoted to Brigadier General and has been assigned to Kunming. I am told on reliable authority that Colonel DePass, the U.S. Military Attaché, will be placed in command of the Yenan Mission.

12. General Hurley told me this week that he is responsible for the present visit of Chou En-lai to Chungking. His efforts of last September to bring the Communists and Kuomintang together were referred to in my despatch No. 581 of November 7, 1944. The negotiations broke down at that time but General Hurley says Chou En-lai has now come to renew them. Dr. T.V. Soong is taking a prominent part in the conversations and General Hurley is always present. He is not too optimistic about the results. He believes the most that can be hoped for will be the setting up of committees charged with responsibility for drawing up some basis of organization on which both parties can unite. If he can succeed in bringing the negotiations to that stage, General Hurley proposes to withdraw from further participation.

13. I am enclosing copy of the statement which General Chou En-lai made to the Hsin Hua Jipao on his arrival in Chungking last week. As indicated in my telegram No.26 of January 25th, there was nothing in this statement to suggest that the purpose of his visit had been to resume the Communist-Kuomintang negotiations. He announced that he would propose to the National Government, to the Kuomintang and to the Democratic Federation the calling of a conference of all parties and groups as a preparatory meeting for a National Affairs Conference. It was proposed that this preparatory meeting should discuss the question of organizing and bringing into being the National Affairs Conference and Coalition Government. It had been rumoured that the Kuomintang intended to propose setting up an Administrative Affairs Committee, with 5 Kuomintang, 2 Communist and 3 other Party members under the chairmanship of Dr. T.V. Soong. Since this Committee's recommendations would be subject to the approval of the Supreme National Defence Council, the offer was not regarded as one to which the Communists could give serious consideration. Chou En-lai's proposals were therefore regarded as a move designed to prevent the Communists from being put in the position of having to refuse the Government's offer.

14. When I suggested this interpretation to General Hurley he made a rather astonishing reply. He said: "There is a story about that. Four months ago the Communists beat the

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Kuomintang to the punch. They proposed a plan regarding a coalition government, which was fair and reasonable but which was rejected by the Kuomintang. They had agreed not to publish it but it could be published at any time the Kuomintang made any other unacceptable proposals. The next move is definitely up to the Kuomintang." As a result of this Communist pressure, General Hurley said, the Generalissimo had made the proposal re. a National Congress in his New Year's message. This is closely in accord with the statement of the Communist representative in Chungking, Mr. Wang Jo-fei, as reported in my despatch No. 12 of January 10, 1945.

15. General Hurley at several points in this interview made statements which seemed to indicate that he felt himself under the necessity to work for a modus operandi which would prove adequate to meet the immediate needs of the United States and that he wished to justify this without being called upon to consider its bearing on problems that would continue after the war. At the same time his repeated insistence on this point may possibly suggest that he is not too sure of his position. One of his last remarks was with reference to a very lengthy memorandum which a member of his staff had drawn up to indicate what he felt the results of the shift in policy would be on the long-term relations of the United States and China. General Hurley said he was himself unable to see so far ahead; his problem was one of more immediate concern. It is of some interest to note that the staff member who drafted the memorandum was among those who have been removed from their Chungking posts as out of line with the present trend in policy.

16. The problem which the United States faces in China is markedly similar in some respects to those which other United Nations are facing and will continue to face in other liberated countries. In a field where the constant interaction of dynamic forces continually presents new phases of the problem, the operations of her representatives will be followed with interest, not unmixed with concern when the importance of the issues is borne in mind. It may be that they will have to continue to make compromises between objectives of long-term policy and the necessities of the immediate military and political situation. It will be of chief concern to look for signs which will indicate that the moves which are being made are directed by principles of a long-term policy which give some assurance that a strong, united, democratic and friendly China will be established as a member of the world community.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd) Geo. S. Patterson,

Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

C
O
P
Y.

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Enclosure No.1
Despatch No. 29
January 29, 1945

STATEMENT BY GENERAL CHOU EN-LAI

C163944

General Chou En-lai arrived in Chungking yesterday. In an interview granted to this correspondent he made the following statement:

"In November last year I flew from Yenan to Chungking with General Hurley. At that time I was authorized by the Central Committee of my party to discuss with the Kuomintang authorities the problem of concrete establishment of a Coalition Government. Unfortunately, this was refused, causing me to return to Yenan without results. More than one month has passed, and the national situation has become more critical.

"In order to mobilize and unite all anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people and to cooperate with our Allies to achieve victory over the Japanese invaders and save the present situation, it is of the utmost urgency to discuss with the Government and other circles the concrete steps to establish a democratic Coalition Government. My present trip to Chungking is to be based on this principle and, representing the Central Committee of my party, shall propose to the National Government, the Kuomintang of China and the Democratic Federation of China the following:

> To call a conference of all parties and groups; this to be a preparatory meeting for a National Affairs Conference and also to formally discuss the problems concerning the organization and steps in realizing the National Affairs Conference and Coalition Government.

"Except for this, we consider that there is no other way to mobilize and unify all the forces of the Chinese people, to drive back the offensive of the enemy, to cooperate with the Allied counter-offensive, and there is no other possible way to save the present critical situation. As to all the superficial methods aimed at treating the symptoms instead of the disease, no matter what form they may take, will be of no avail in solving the problem.

"At present what the Chinese people expect from the National Government is really to abolish immediately one-party dictatorship, to establish a democratic Coalition Government and the United High Command, to recognize the legal status of all anti-Japanese parties and groups, to cancel all decrees aimed at suppressing the freedom of the people, to do away with all the Special Secret Service agencies, stop all their activities, to free all political prisoners, to withdraw the Kuomintang troops blockading the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and those attacking the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, to recognize the legal status of all anti-Japanese troops and the democratically elected governments in the liberated areas of China.

"It is earnestly hoped that the National Government authorities will quickly accept these proposals."

January 25, 1945.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: for ~ CA/China

HHW/ET
5th Feb.,1945
SECRET

C163945

I am rather concerned over two or three points on which General Odlum has placed emphasis during discussions in the Department. As he will be seeing you tomorrow afternoon,I am sending you this note.

General Odlum admits that there is no real chance of Chinese troops proving to be of military value in defeating the Japanese. He has argued strongly since his return from Chungking that despite this, we should send arms and munitions,under Mutual Aid or otherwise, to the Chungking Government on the ground that it is so much in our interest to maintain Chiang Kai-shek in power,both now and after the war,that we should grant military assistance of this nature. He maintains that the United States has aided Chiang Kai-shek for this purpose,but this has been denied in Washington. It would certainly not be in accordance with the Mutual Aid Act for us to supply munitions to China unless we were satisfied that they would contribute to winning the war against the Japanese to such a degree as to deserve priority over other destinations. It seems to me that it would be dangerous for us to adopt the course which he suggests, which could be regarded as interfering in internal Chinese affairs.

? Yenan

General Odlum is also very critical of the current United States policy of "compelling" the Kuo Min-tang to reach an agreement with the Communists in Yenan, and he considers that Canada should not support any such effort to bring about internal unity in China. I doubt that we could do very much one way or the other to influence a solution of this Chinese internal problem,except that General Odlum's personal prestige in Chungking is high and he might on his return be able to encourage the Generalissimo to resist United States pressure. Here too,I feel that we should follow a policy of "hands off".

The General wishes to secure from you some guidance as to the line he should take on his return to China, and it seems likely that he will raise with you particularly these two matters of military supplies for Chiang Kai-shek and of his dislike of the new United States policy towards the Communists.

Approved W.L.M.K. 10-2-45

HW.

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

Sir H. Seymour to Mr. Eden.—(Received 14th April.)

(No. 361. Most Confidential.)

Sir, *Chungking, 28th March, 1945.*

THE events of the last few weeks indicate that Dr. T. V. Soong is once again establishing in the civilian Chinese field a strong position of leadership. He has been at the top of the tree before only to fall into disfavour, but I believe that we should be well-advised to reckon with him as a major element in the formulation of Chinese policy for some time to come.

2. You, Sir, are already acquainted with Dr. Soong; and you will be meeting him again in a few weeks' time, when he will head the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco Conference. It is with an eye to this meeting, and to the opportunities it should provide for further conversations between yourself and Dr. Soong, that I venture to offer these comments.

3. At the time of his return to China from the United States in October 1943, Dr. Soong found himself in disagreement with many of the Generalissimo's policies. He appears to have been more openly critical in expressing his opinion to the Generalissimo than is customary. Moreover, the forces who disagree with Dr. Soong's concepts were strongly entrenched in high places and enjoyed the general confidence of their leader. It is not easy to analyse what specific points were at dispute, but generally speaking both the financial policies of Dr. Kung and the military policies, for which Generals Ho Ying-chin and Stilwell were the responsible leaders on the Chinese and American sides, were certainly among those matters which aroused Dr. Soong's criticism. Dr. Soong has told a member of my staff that from the very moment of his return to Chungking he consistently and repeatedly urged the Generalissimo to brave American opinion and to demand the dismissal of General Stilwell: subsequent events had shown how right he had been.

4. I think, too, that Dr. Soong felt that the major internal political problem of China, that of the relations with the Chinese Communists, was being woefully mishandled and was exposing the Government to criticism abroad. That is not to say that Dr. Soong himself has any sympathy whatsoever with the system or ideology of Yenan: he has more than once stated in conversation that he wishes to see China constituted as "a *bourgeois* democracy"; and he is not at all convinced that any programme of agrarian reform such as has been introduced in the border regions, apparently with some measure of success, can be transplanted to the more populous and prosperous areas further south and east. He felt, I think, that the secrecy which surrounded the whole Communist problem had had the result of making Yenan an attractively mysterious place and the policy of the Central Government a merely negative dreariness. I think, too, that he was not without hope that if a positive line were taken by the Government's negotiators, some compromise might be reached. He now considers that the Government have made a good offer and that, in refusing it, the Communists have demonstrated their lack of good faith.

5. During his first year in Chungking Dr. Soong remained discreetly in the background; in the period of Dr. Kung's ascendancy he was shorn little by little of the posts (in the Bank of China, &c.) which he had previously held concurrently with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. His appearances at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued, however, to be infrequent and he conducted such business as required his personal attention from his own house. To what extent he or his supporters may have been working behind the scenes it is impossible for me to say. On the whole I fancy that the main causes of his re-emergence were external and that, when important discussions with the Americans were taking place, the Generalissimo found that he could not afford to be without the active assistance of a man who combined ability with the important asset of enjoying American confidence. The other factors may have been the failure of Dr. Kung's policies in any way to check inflation, the increasing demand of public opinion over the last year for some more liberal internal policy, and the series

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of military disasters which followed the Japanese attack in Honan almost a year ago. When his time came, it looked to us here as if Dr. Soong was determined to hang back until he was quite sure that he really had the ball at his feet. To-day one has the impression that the Generalissimo has handed over to his brother-in-law the virtual control of civilian affairs. There are those who say that it is a serious matter that Dr. Soong should have to leave at this particular juncture for San Francisco and that his enemies will use the opportunity to undermine his position. There may well be something in these fears. It is suggested that it is largely the problems of China's exchange rate and of the advances of C.N. dollars to the United States forces in China that are taking him personally to America. If this is so and provided that he is more successful in dealing with these questions than Dr. Kung has been, the effect should be to strengthen his position here.

6. From the British point of view, despite his American background, I consider that Dr. Soong's emergence is a satisfactory development. He will no doubt wish to discuss Sino-British relations with you at San Francisco, and I have no doubt that such discussions will be valuable.

7. Dr. Soong's main preoccupation at present is the inflation in China, which has recently got worse at a more alarming rate than usual. He hopes to check the rate of the rise in prices by importing whatever consumer goods he can lay hands on, the main items being cotton piece-goods, yarn and raw cotton. This question has been dealt with in telegraphic correspondence and I need only summarise the main points here. The Chinese Government have in India stocks of over 3,000 tons of piece-goods, uniforms and yarn and the only difficulty here is the question of air-lift into China. Dr. Soong, however, wishes also to buy raw cotton, which is available in India, and in this case the question of finance also arises.

8. As regards air space the present position is that Dr. Soong has succeeded in obtaining a very considerable allotment of space, but that this has been done against the wishes of the War Production Board, while it is also disapproved by the Chinese military authorities. This, however, is a question in which we are not directly concerned; all we can do is to deliver the goods to the airfields in Assam as space may be available. Arrangements have been made to move goods forward accordingly. It is still possible, of course, that the air space which Dr. Soong has obtained may in fact be reduced if the war situation in China should take a turn for the worse.

9. As regards finance, Dr. Soong hopes that these imports for the purpose of checking inflation may be financed under the £50 million credit. This point was referred to London some weeks ago and the decision will no doubt have reached me by the time you receive this despatch. The use of the credit for the purchase of consumer goods is not very attractive. Although plans have been evolved to strengthen the control in China of the sales of cotton goods and to prevent their passing into the hands of hoarders, there can be no certainty, until we see how these plans work, that the importation of scarcity goods will have the hoped for effect; and in any case the remedy is not and cannot be on a large enough scale to be more than a palliative. On the political side, however, it would be most unfortunate if the use of the credit for this purpose is refused. This form of attack on inflation is one which Dr. Soong has very much at heart and it is a matter in which we could give tangible evidence of our assistance to China.

10. Dr. Soong is fond of saying that he desires the firmest possible relations with the United Kingdom, both political and commercial. I think that these sentiments are genuine, though of course the Chinese will in the long run take their pigs to the best market. At present, China is so largely dependent on the Americans that we can play no very striking rôle, but we can at any rate help Dr. Soong with his import programme. I do not suggest that by doing so we should earn any very lasting gratitude, but we shall get a black mark if any breakdown in the programme can be attributed to us.

11. The Chinese delegation to San Francisco is, I understand, to include experts on finance and supply who will presumably enter into discussions with the United States Treasury and other departments. It is probable that Dr. Soong and his staff will wish also to raise with the British delegation some of the questions mentioned in this despatch.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to the Political Adviser to Admiral Mountbatten.

I have, &c.

H. J. SEYMOUR.

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SECRET

General Odlum's Interview with President Chiang Kai-shek of April 9, 1945

(Note on Despatch No. 90 of April 10, 1945, from Canadian Embassy, Chungking)

General Odlum reports that he had a frank talk with President Chiang who apparently welcomed the Ambassador's outspoken remarks on China.

General Odlum strongly urged that except for the minimum demands of military security, all censorship be lifted, and in this way foreign correspondents would report more favourably on Chinese affairs.

Chiang Kai-shek accepted this suggestion but expressed the fear that this might result in giving the Chinese Communists added publicity.

General Odlum then urged that the Chinese Government move more rapidly towards practical realization of democratic reform. The reason why the Chinese Communists were receiving such a favourable press in the United States was not because of any predisposition in favour of Communism, but rather because they were instituting the democratic reforms which the Central Government ought to be initiating. The National Congress called for November to adopt a Constitution, General Odlum stated, was not enough as evidence of strong democratic intentions. To undercut the Chinese Communists' appeal, Chiang Kai-shek must go all out to get the "support of the little people."

General Odlum felt that Chiang Kai-shek was in need of friendly counsel; that he was surrounded by men who were not sympathetic with "the little people",

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and that it was the duty of his foreign friends to help break through his political isolation and give him the advice he so sorely lacks.

The Generalissimo showed a warm regard for Canada, and expressed satisfaction at the recent discussion between the Canadian Government and the Ming Sung Industrial Corporation, leading to a contract for building river steamers in Canada for the above company.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY

C163950
SECRET

CHUNGKING, China,
April 10th 1945.

No. 90.

Sir,

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

I have the honour to advise you that yesterday afternoon I had a long and most reassuring talk with the Generalissimo. I went to his city home a little perplexed by the clash and bitterness of rumours and criticisms I had heard both in North America and here in China; and I went wondering if my previous judgments of him had been all wrong. I found him at his best, smiling, genial, friendly; and he maintained this attitude throughout, even though I touched on some difficult problems. Naturally we first talked of my trip, of my meeting with Mme. Chiang and of the political situation into which I plunged when I reached Canada. He seemed remarkably well informed and interested. There was no formality or strain of any kind, and our conversation was just what might have been expected from two who had known each other for many years. The only other person present was Dr. K.C. Wu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, who acted as interpreter.

2. After I had referred to the announcement made by Mr. King about Canada's participation in the Pacific War, and had added that Canada was determined to play her full part if, working in full cooperation with her bigger allies, she could be allotted tasks for her ground and air forces, we passed on to the present phase of Canada's conscription problem. I was able to give the Generalissimo the picture which had been entrusted to me by General McNaughton just before I left Ottawa -- a picture of adequate present reinforcements and of a rising tide of enlistments in January and February. I told him that the prospects were that Canada's European effort would continue unabated to the end, based almost entirely on voluntary enlistment.

3. The Generalissimo said the expected things about Canada's splendid contribution to the war and asked questions about the probable outcome of the election soon to be held in Canada. Then I in turn asked if he would permit me to speak frankly about some of the things I had learned in North America -- things that were not too pleasant to hear. He replied that he wanted me to speak without reserve.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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"You know that both China and you personally have a bad press in the Western democracies? that criticism is severe and some of it even bitter?"

"I do." (There was not a sign of resentment in his voice.)

"May I suggest that the immediate cause -- one of many, of course, but the one that started the present campaign -- was resentment against the censorship you had applied in China? The foreign correspondents in Chungking were not able to send out live news despatches. They felt that they were falling down and losing cast in professional circles. Resentment sprang up and grew until in the end when they got back home they were at fever heat. They took their revenge by writing critically, some of them savagely. To the things they had seen and learned that were wrong (and there are many things wrong in China) they gave an unfriendly rather than a friendly interpretation. Had the censorship been reasonable, the probabilities are that their interpretations would have been friendly. They started a swing of the pendulum of public sentiment in North America which continued until China became almost as unpopular as it had previously been popular."

"Yes. I know you are right." He made no protest. He was not indignant, only attentive.

"May I go one step further?"

"Yes, go on."

"What has happened already you cannot undo. But you can shape the future. If you do the things that your friends hope you will do, North America will respond at once and the press of North America will scream as vigorously for you as it is now screaming against you. North America is at heart friendly to China, although it is annoyed and disappointed today. You have publicly announced that the censorship will be abolished <u>after</u> the war. That is not enough. North America wants it abolished <u>now</u> if it is to give you back its warm friendship. Is there any good reason why you should not, in language that will strike the world in the face, announce that the censorship <u>is</u> abolished <u>forthwith</u>, and that in its place will be instituted only those necessary military controls which are in actual effect in Great Britain and in the United States, whose practice you will copy?"

"It would be wise to do so, and we would; only there are still a few correspondents here who want to send out propaganda for the Communists."

"Even so", I pressed, "must you not choose the lesser of the evils that face you? Two years ago you chose to enforce a rigid censorship and you probably gained something in military order within China. But you sacrificed much of the goodwill of your democratic allies. Did you not lose on balance? Was it worth it?"

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The Generalissimo nodded his head. "Your advice is good," he said. "China's external problem is as important as is her internal one."

4. "Will you forgive me if I go on to another point?"

"Hao, hao," (good, good) he said.

"The censorship is not the only thing that was talked of in North America. Your friends there have been looking for signs of a democratic growth within China, but they have not seen anything to cheer them or to impress the public."

"But the National Congress has been called for November to adopt a constitution. Do they not know that?"

"Yes, but that is not enough. North America (and I include Canada with the United States, for both think much alike) is eager and as usual is in a hurry. It thinks this is only a stalling measure. Frankly, you have allowed the Communists to outbid you, and they are now as popular in North America as the Kuomintang is unpopular. This is an anomaly, since the whole of North America is not only not Communistic but is strongly opposed to Communism. It is not sympathy with Communism which has turned the scale, but rather resentment against the failure of the Kuomintang to live up to the democratic promise of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and of its own frequent declarations. The Communists have sold themselves to the democracies as the champions and the protectors of the little people of China, and have painted your government, with reason, as the friend of the big people and the big interests. The great mass of the people in the democracies are little people and their sympathy surges out to the little people of China. It is because of his championship of little people that Mr. Roosevelt has been so consistently successful in politics."

5. The Generalissimo nodded his head -- kept nodding it, in fact. He was following very closely, showing no resentment whatever. His attitude and facial expression were those of one who completely agreed.

"The Kuomintang is the champion of <u>all</u> the people of China," he said, but without the least trace of truculence.

"Yes," I answered; "of course it has to be. That is the responsibility of governments. But the Kuomintang will never win on that slogan. It does not need to emphasize its interest in the big people. That is known. What it must make clear if it is to gain an ultimate popular vote is its care for the little people. It is too late now merely to talk about this. That day has passed as far as the outside world is concerned. North America in particular has become sceptic. Only actions will tell at this date. The Kuomintang, and you as the leader of China, must make the world know that it is you, and not the Communists, who are the real champions of the little people if you are to win back the friendly support of the democracies. You will have to cut the ground from under the Communists if you are to score. The democracies believe you can do it but they wonder if you will. I found a very general belief that you would not."

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The Generalissimo merely nodded and smiled.

"Do you not think you must balance the gain and losses of any policy by its effects first within China and second outside of it? Politically speaking, a policy of the little people first should win in both places."

"Your advice is good," the Generalissimo said again. I felt that he was struggling between a desire to agree and a feeling that the things to be done were still difficult and obscure.

6. "I am talking desperately against time," I said. "I am anxious to get over to you the message I have at heart, the message born of my experiences in North America. As a friend of yours I want to see you win. You are facing a bigger task, I think, than confronts any other leader in the world. You have many friends other than myself who want you to win. I found great friends of yours in Washington -- Donald Nelson, General Hurley and General Wedemeyer. General Hurley told me that he would go from hell to high water for you! And I know he meant it. And General Carton de Wiart is another. He sees things just as General Hurley and I do. We all see that side by side with difficulties a great opportunity confronts you and we believe that you have the instruments at your hand with which to seize it. In a few weeks the Kuomintang Party Congress will be held. That is the first forum from which you can speak to the world. Then in June the P.P.C. will meet. Perhaps you do not know that the outside world looks upon the P.P.C. as the most democratic instrument you have in China?"

"I did enlarge its powers a year ago," he said.

"Yes, I know you did. But you did not go far enough to let your action register with the world. North America felt that you were only yielding a little under pressure. If you act at all you should act so that all men would know that something real had been done and would recognize the direction you were travelling. You should move so rapidly and so far that the democracies would know you were leading and not following or being pushed. The P.P.C. could be built up very quickly into a really useful instrument with which to shape a programme for the National Congress to be held in November. The P.P.C. could be allowed -- no, forced -- to flower, with all the democratic attributes and powers and freedom of discussion you could add to it. It is the one thing in China already known to the world which quickly could be put out in front and which would be accepted as a liberal organ. It could be made your sounding board from which to speak to all democratic peoples."

"Again, your advice is sound," he said. The response was obviously sincere.

7. I told the Generalissimo that of the changes made in his government one had been accepted in North America as an augury of a new spirit and direction. This was the increased importance and power given to Dr. T.V. Soong.

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North America, I said, looked upon close cooperation between Dr. Soong and the Generalissimo as important for China's progress. The Generalissimo agreed and said that he knew that Dr. Soong was a great friend of the Prime Minister of Canada.

"Yes," I said, "he is; and he has the confidence of very wide and important circles in the United States."

8. At that point I paused to speak of Mr. Lu Tso-fu, of the Ming Sung Industrial Corporation, who has been in Ottawa negotiating for river steamers to be built in Canada. I told the Generalissimo that I was greatly interested in Mr. Lu's proposals.

"He is a good man," interjected the Generalissimo.

"We all know he is," I said; "and the people with whom he is dealing in Canada are good people. If this transaction goes through, it may become a pilot deal which will set the pattern for other transactions to follow. In principle, Canada is prepared, as far as export credits are concerned, to treat China as it will treat other countries, although at first it was inclined to question China's political stability. It will examine each proposal that is made to it, and will reach a decision on the merits of the individual case. No lump sum is being named, no limit is set. It is merely a question of the right people appearing with the right proposals and with the proper backing of the Chinese government."

9. The Generalissimo said many kindly things, which I will not repeat. He told me more than once that my advice was good and reminded me of the conversation we had before I left for Canada. I said I remembered it well but could not flatter myself by thinking that he had remembered it. He said he did remember it, and he gave practical evidence of this. He said my advice had been good then, and it was good again. I throw this in to show that he did not any way react against what I said, but seemed warmly and sincerely to understand and appreciate my position. In former days he has frequently ejaculated "Hao! hao!" as I have talked. This time he used "Ting hao", a much more emphatic phrase now quite Americanized, more than once. This is much like "Thumbs up!"

10. The Generalissimo did much more talking this time than he has ever done before. He is, comparatively speaking, a taciturn man, with few words, but not nearly as taciturn as many correspondents paint him. On this occasion he was quite loquacious. I have not repeated much of what he said because I have been anxious to let you know the argument I advanced and his quick reaction to it. Since my return I have gone the rounds of Chinese (and some other) official circles and have learned a great deal. The talk with the Generalissimo was the climax.

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I have read a great many of the despatches and other material sent to you while I was away, and in particular the letters of Dr. Endicott. I know and respect Dr. Endicott and am satisfied of his ability and sincerity. But I think his humanity has led him into depths of emotion which prevent him from seeing things fairly. He may think on his part that I am prejudiced in favour of the Generalissimo. I am satisfied, as never before, that the Chinese government as a whole is ready to go as far towards democracy as its leader will take it; and that he himself is ready to go all the way if he can only see the steps to choose. He needs friendly advice, badly, and so far he has only received criticism. He has no personal knowledge of the technique of democracy. His ministers cannot help him much, and many of the foreigners about him have failed to understand him. He used to depend on Mme. Chiang to interpret the democracies to him. Now that she is not here he has no one whom he completely trusts, on whom to lean. He walks a lonely path in this respect. If men like Endicott, who speak Chinese so fluently, were more patient, and not in so great a haste, they could help him much, and in helping him they would help China and the world.

11. The bald truth is that the Generalissimo, not entirely of his own choice but as a result of historical incidents, is surrounded by bankers and landlords and big merchants. They crowd round in the inner circle. The "little people" are without, in a great wide circle, but much farther from him, both physically and because of communication difficulties. The big interests are not only close but they understand the situation, know how to act quickly and have the means. The little people are far away, are inarticulate and dispersed, and would not know how to respond quickly even if an appeal were made to them. At first, too, they would not understand. And during the inevitable time lag, while the little people were discovering what to do and how to do it, there would be a period of great danger for any daring leader. But this risk has to be faced if China's progress is to be better than a crawl. The Generalissimo's eyes, and his words, tell me where his heart is. But he does not know what steps to take, which way to turn. He needs help. The intelligentsia of China have not as yet proved equal to the occasion. They use words, words, words. But they have thrown up no effective leadership. Dr. Sun Fo is the most prominent "democrat" amongst them, but, as Mme. Sun Yat-sen says and as I agree, his influence is of value in North America, not in China -- as yet. The same is true to a degree of Dr. T.V. Soong; but he is definitely growing. He has become another man since he joined hands, wholeheartedly, with the Generalissimo.

12. I am awaiting the return of General Hurley. He and General Carton de Wiart speak the same language. They are forthright men, after the Generalissimo's own heart. I think they will help him. I expected a liberal surge last spring. When it came it was almost imperceptible. This year I expect a series of liberal moves. But I will not try to forecast. I will only report when something actually happens.

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13. In bidding me farewell the Generalissimo said he wished to see and talk with me often. He added that at any time when I had thoughts about China he wished I would telephone and arrange to call. I protested that, while I enjoyed talking with him, I could not bring myself to add pressure to his already overcrowded time; but that at any hour when he cared to have me wait on him I would be delighted to respond at once. It pleased me to hear the Generalissimo refer, in understanding words, to the basic reason for Canada's keen interest in China's political problems. I had outlined our position more than a year and a half ago, and he still remembered what I had said. He recalled too what I told him at our first and at subsequent meetings; he amazed me by his retentive memory. He is satisfied that Canada wants to see China strong and a democracy for very practical reasons that the Chinese can understand -- that Canada is anxious to feel secure on her west as she is on her south and on her east. He remembered that I had said that the United States and Great Britain were the two most important things in the world for Canada -- geographically, economically and sentimentally; and he hoped that China might become the third. Geography, at least, would favour such an outcome and the democratization of China would add to the probability.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd) Victor W. Odlum

Canadian Ambassador.

This despatch reflects the Generalissimo's keenness to learn my interpretation of China's infavorable press in North America.

V.W.O.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA

C163957

China

No. ..... May 9 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, one copy each ~~xxxx~~s of the papers mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

R. M. Macdonnell
(for the)
Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

The Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
United Nations Conference on International
Organization,
SAN FRANCISCO, California.

NAME AND DATE	SUBJECT
Secret despatch No. 90, dated April 10, 1945, from the Canadian Ambassador to China, Chungking, China.	Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.
Secret Minute, May 1, 1945.	General Odlum's Interview with President Chiang Kai-shek of April 9, 1945.

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EHN/FR
13/6/45

TOP SECRET

C163958

MINUTE

Re: Despatch No. 153 from Chungking, May 19, 1945

In this despatch General Odlum describes at length a conversation he had with Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs, who is at the same time one of the leading geologists of China, and a man of marked administrative ability.

Dr. Wong, in reply to General Odlum's query, denied that any progress was being made in the Kuomintang Congress now in session. It was not moving backwards; things were simply standing still. General Odlum ran through the roster of Chinese political leaders, particularly those with any claim to liberalism, and asked whether any of these might provide leadership for liberalization of Kuomintang policy. As each name was brought up, Dr. Wong found some basic weakness in each personality, thereby casting serious doubts on the existence of any liberal or democratic leadership. He went further to suggest that those closest to the Generalissimo were most conservative in their outlook.

Sun Yat-sen, influenced by the Russian system in moulding the structure of the Kuomintang, had made the mistake, in Dr. Wong's view, of adding the Examination and the Control Yuans to the three basic branches of democratic government, namely, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

General Odlum states that he has a high regard for Dr. Wong's political judgment and honesty, and accordingly, he is much impressed by the forthright remarks of the Minister of Economic Affairs. The latter does not see in the Generalissimo a dynamic leader trying to infuse new democratic principles into Kuomintang policy, but rather a static figure who has surrounded himself with reactionary elements in Chinese life.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY

C163959

NO. 153.

CHUNGKING, China,
May 19th, 1945.

Sir,

Dr. Wong Wen-hao on the
Political Situation in China

I have the honour to advise you that I yesterday spent between two and three hours with Dr. Wong Wen-hao, the able Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs, discussing the Kuomintang Congress (still in session) and its implications. To the picture given me by Dr. Wong Wen-hao I must accord full weight, even though it does conflict with some of my own opinions which I have been sending to you. Dr. Wong Wen-hao is one of the ablest members of the Chinese government. His standing in the scientific world (he is a geologist of note, with his degree from Louvain in Belgium), is front rank; and he is known, even in foreign countries, as a real liberal. His liberalism has not been very apparent during the period since this Embassy was established; but the explanation, which is a simple and understandable one, will appear below.

2. Dr. Wong Wen-hao is a small, slight man. He cannot weigh much over a hundred pounds. He is quick in speech and action, -- almost nervously quick, one is sometimes inclined to think. But yesterday he was quiet and obviously very sincere. Never since I first met him has he appeared to such great advantage. His voice, usually high pitched and excitable, was surprisingly moderate. As a matter of fact, I did not know that it could be so low and convincing. Dr. Wong Wen-hao has a quick nervous laugh, with which he punctuates many of his statements, frequently inappropriately. Yesterday he used it, but always where it effectively fitted in with what he was saying, as when he was telling the story of the Generalissimo and the Ex-Governor of Sinkiang, which will follow later. Dr. Wong Wen-hao is over 55, but his hair is still dark. His hair, his diminutive size and his alert movements make him appear younger than he really is. On his left forehead he has a great scar, which dominates his whole facial appearance. As a matter of fact, I do not know whether it is a scar resulting from some unfortunate accident, or a birth malformation.

3. When we began talking, I asked Dr. Wong Wen-hao to give me a terse summing up of the Kuomintang Congress and what it had accomplished. What progress had been made? Dr. Wong looked up toward the ceiling -- a trick of his; he frequently turns his head and looks directly away from the one with whom he is talking -- and said "None!"

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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"You startle me," I replied. "That is not the answer I expected. If there was no movement forward, was there any back?"

"No," he said. "Things are just as they were."

"But," I persisted, "I know there are liberals as well as what we call tories in the Kuomintang; as a matter of fact, to the outside world, particularly that of North America, you are looked upon as one of the greatest of the Chinese liberals. Dr. Sun Fo and Mme. Sun Yat-sen are two others."

"I know," he answered. "But the liberals cannot do much if they are not in the majority."

"How is the Kuomintang divided?" I asked. "Fifty-fifty?"

"It is hard to say," Dr. Wong answered. "The great majority are indifferent, and so one does not know what would happen if an issue were forced."

"If the majority is indifferent, let us place it at 60 per cent," I said. "Would the remainder divide 20 per cent liberal and 20 per cent tory?"

"Something like that."

"Then you do not know whether the trend is or is not toward greater liberlism?"

"No."

"Could it be backward? Reactionary, as it is called?"

"No, it is not that."

"Then if there is any movement it is an advance?"

"Yes."

"And is there movement?"

"Yes, some."

"Then there must be at least a little advance?"

"Perhaps."

4. I told Dr. Wong Wen-hao that when I first met him I had been filled with the idea, which I had acquired before I reached China, that he was a real liberal; but, I added, I had been disappointed. I had seen no signs of his active liberal leadership, although I was aware that in his ministerial responsibilities he was modern and progressive.

He said that China needed a real liberal party, but it had none; and it had no liberal leader. He himself was not marked out for a leader. He had felt it his duty, as long as he remained a minister of the government, to continue silent, to stick to his department and to do his best administratively; but if he were ever to lose his position and be entirely outside of the government so that he would be free to express his mind, he would do so.

"It might not be so pleasant for me!" he added, with a quick laugh.

5. I asked if Dr. Sun Fo could be taken seriously as a liberal leader.

"No," said Dr. Wong; "he is very useful in keeping alive the issue of free speech and freedom of the press; and he is allowed to say a great deal because he is the son of his father. But he has no real influence, no following, no capacity for political organization, and no administrative ability. He could never be the leader we need. He is ineffective."

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"What of Mme. Sun Yat-sen?"

"She is known as a liberal; perhaps more than a liberal. Some think she is red, but they are mistaken. Her sympathies are with the people in the north, but she is a loyal member of the Kuomintang. After all, her husband formed the Kuomintang and she is loyal to his memory and to his principles. She does not like to talk politics. Perhaps she does not feel at home when doing so. And perhaps she most vividly remembers her husband's association with the Kuomintang in the days when Russian influence was dominant."

"Then you do not think Mme. Sun Yat-sen could be the liberal leader that is so badly needed?"

"No."

"Who is left? Carson Chang?"

Dr. Wong laughed.

"I imagine you think he is more of a student than a leader?"

"If you can call him that!" And again Dr. Wong laughed.

6. "Well, who is there? We used to think that Dr. Wang Shih-chieh was a liberal, but many people are a little sceptical now since they have seen his performance in the Ministry of Information."

"Perhaps he found the difficulties too much for him," said Dr. Wong.

"You mean the machine could not be reversed by the individual?"

"Yes."

"That means that he is not a big enough man to be a leader?"

"He was only a mild liberal in the beginning."

"Then you have no hope in Dr. Wang Shih-chieh?" "No."

"What about Dr. T.V. Soong?"

"He is an able man."

"Would you call him a liberal?"

"He is a good administrator."

"What of Dr. H.H. Kung?"

"Everyone has suspicions of him."

"But is that just? All rich men are not corrupt!"

"Rich men who become rich while they are in public office are under suspicion."

"That applied to Dr. T.V. Soong as well as to Dr. H.H. Kung?"

"They are the same."

"But Dr. Soong is the more able?"

"He is the better administrator, but he is very impatient."

7. "Well," I went on, "you drive me to the next question. If there is no liberal leader in sight, is there <u>any</u> one who can take over the Generalissimo's role and handle it successfully?"

"Not now."

"But you don't think that he is becoming more progressive?"

"I can't see it. If anything, he seems sometimes to be going the other way."

"What is the reason?"

"Well, it is a matter of education. He has not had much Chinese education and he has no foreign education."

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"I know," I said, "but if the right sort of influence and advice is around him, cannot the disadvantage of his lack of foreign education be overcome?"

"He has not got the right ones around him."

"Who are closest to him?"

"The Chen brothers."

"I know Chen Kuofu has no foreign education, but Chen Li-fu has."

"Yes, but it is Chen Kuo-fu that is the closest."

"Is General Ho Ying-chin close?"

"Only in army matters. Not in politics."

"Is Governor Chang Chun close?"

"Yes, and he is progressive. But he has not good political judgment. He does not understand democracy."

(I smiled at this, remembering my talk with Governor Chang Chun when he had tried to tell me how "democracy" was functioning in Szechwan. Some of our staff thought that Chang Chun was purposely non-committal trying to dodge my questions. But I did not. I felt that he really believed the beginning they had in Szechwan were democratic. As a matter of fact, Chang Chun is rather proud of them.)

8. "Let us go on," I said. "What of Dr. Chu Chia-hua?"

"He is German in sentiment."

"But is he liberal?"

"He is German. He admires the Germans. He says they are the greatest people in the world!"

Dr. Wong evidently thought that was a sufficient answer.

"If there is no liberal democratic leader, how are you going to establish democracy?"

"Are we going to establish democracy?"

"You say you are. But your conception of democracy is not the same as ours."

"It is based on the Russian system," said Dr. Wong.

"That is what it seems to us. You propose to let your small people do a lot of voting at the bottom, but the effective vote is removed farther and farther from them, step by step as you go towards the top."

"That is the Russian system."

"The mass of the western democracies do not understand what you are proposing. There will be great disappointment when they learn that your little people will have no real and direct control over those at the top who have power."

"I know. That is the sad part of it."

"I have been hoping that first the Kuomintang Congress and then the P.P.C. would give a lead to the People's Congress so that this feature of the Constitution could be changed."

"The P.P.C. (Peoples Political Council) is the most liberal agency we have."

"That is what we think. Will it not give a lead?"

Dr. Wong seemed very doubtful. He gave an expressive shrug of his shoulders and a gesture of helplessness with his hands.

9. "We don't seem to be getting very far," I said.

"Let us turn to some concrete things. How about Mr. Lu Tso-fu and his shipbuilding contract?"

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"He brought it to me and then he took it to the Ministry of Communications. It was approved in both places and sent on to the Executive Yuan to be placed before the Generalissimo. But while the Kuomintang Congress is sitting, simply nothing can be done."

"I understand," I said. "The only thing I fear is that, as a result of delays, our people might lose interest. I have been hoping that the Lu Tso-fu contract might fix a pattern for other transactions."

"I don't think there is much doubt about it," said Dr. Wong. "I think it will go through all right."

10. "What about the Kansu oil field?"

"It is doing well now, but we cannot transport the gasolene."

"How much can you make now?"

"Last year the production was 4,050,000 gallons."

"If you had trucks and tank autos, could you move it all?"

"Of course. If we had trucks enough we could get along without the tank cars, although they would be a great economic advantage."

"Is the Burma pipeline operating?"

"Yes."

"Into Kunming?"

"No, not yet. But it is bringing gasolene into China."

"How long will it take to finish it to Kunming?"

"It won't help us much. General Wedemeyer is determined to build up a reserve of gasolene for the operations to come, and that means that no gasolene will be released to us. At least, not until another pipeline goes in."

"You mean a second 4" pipe, for use when a 6" one reaches Myitkina?"

"Yes."

"What is your biggest need?"

"Gasolene and trucks, or trucks and gasolene. Whichever comes first."

11. "What are you doing about Formosa?"

"What do you mean?"

"Are you making plans for its postwar economic operation?"

"That is in the hands of the Central Planning Board."

"But the board comes under you?"

"No, under General Hsiung Shih-hui. I don't think they are getting very far. I think Formosa will have to be set up as a separate province. It is too far away to be administered from Fukien. Economically, Formosa will not present difficulties. It has a surplus of food which can be imported into China to meet the rice shortage on the coast. Formosa is an administrative rather than an economic problem."

"Is General Hsiung Shih-hui a capable administrator?"

"He is close to the Generalissimo. He is one of those who can see him at any time. Moreover he is one of those who stand between the Generalissimo and modern ideas."

12. "What about your currency? Surely plans must be under way to give China a stable currency after the war? And surely, if they are, you must be in on the discussions?"

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"Yes, but Dr. Soong likes to keep currency matters in his own hands. He is now in Washington, negotiating for a loan for currency stabilization purposes."

"Would not a gold loan, any loan, be only a temporary expedient? Surely something more fundamental than that is needed," I said.

"Of course. Expenditures must be cut down to the point where it can be met by taxation, import duties (which are a form of taxation) and the sale of government securities to the people, not to the government banks. But our people have not sufficient confidence to buy government bonds. They have never been taught to be bond buyers at all. They will not buy until the currency has really been stabilized and confidence is restored."

"That cannot happen until after someone buys bonds and the operations are successful. What are you going to do in the meantime?"

"The western democracies could help now by buying our bonds until our own people can be taught to buy them," said Dr. Wong.

"How can you expect foreigners to buy your bonds until they are convinced China is stable?"

"Do you mean until the currency is stabilized?"

"Partly. I was thinking of the situation in the north."

"What situation?"

"The Communist."

13. "That is nothing to worry about," said Dr. Wong.

"At least, it is not the most important thing. I believe that if the members of the governments do their work well, the Communist problem will shrink to small proportions and solve itself."

"It is not by any means a small problem now, at least in the eyes of the outside world."

"I know. But that is because the government is not doing its full duty. How do you tax farmers?"

"It is our policy to tax farmers more lightly than any other people," I said. "At least, the farmers' land tax is very low. On income tax farmers are taxed the same as any one else, but that lets the small farmer out. We are turning more and more to the income tax as the most equitable of all our methods of taxation."

"The bulk of China's taxation revenue is taken from the farmers," said Dr. Wong. "And the bulk of our farmers are small farmers. Until we take the burden off them and put it on the landlords and the big business interests, the Communists will continue a threat."

"Can you take if off? I am told that you cannot collect income tax because your bigger men keep two or more sets of books. They turn in false returns, and you have not the trained accounting machinery with which to check them up. Our system is so efficient that it is expensive to try to submit false returns."

"I know," said Dr. Wong; "we are weak there."

14. "You say you think that, if the government gives good and progressive administration, the Communist threat will disappear?"

"No, not disappear. But it will be reduced to very small proportions, up in the North West. We may have some trouble in the end, but it will not be on a large scale. If the government deserves the trust and support of the people, it will get them."

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"Going back to where we were: until you have established stable government, you cannot expect the outside world to buy your bonds."

"That is true," admitted Dr. Wong. "And that is where a gold loan could come in as a temporary measure. Gold could be sold to the people at the full market price and so could sweep up national currency just as a sale of bonds would sweep it up. But the sale of gold, up to the present, has not been effective. It has been bought up by the bigger interests, at a price so far below the black market as to constitute a bonus to the friends of the government who have been in the know."

"No amount of gold you could borrow -- say, $500,000,000 (U.S.) -- would have a very big effect in currency stabilization. By itself it would only be a temporary measure. The real things -- reduction of expenditure, increase of taxation, and the internal sale of bonds for the difference between tax revenue and inescapable expenditure must be the big features of any program."

"That is true."

15. Reverting to the Kansu oil production, Dr. Wong said that this Natural Resources Commission, of which he is head, is considering laying a pipeline from Yunnan, center of the Kansu oil field, to Kwangyuan, on the Chialing River, 200 miles north of Chungking and on the road between Chengtu and the rail and air junction at Paochi. The pipeline distance would be about 700 miles. Water transport down river from Kwangyuan to Chungking could be maintained throughout the year. The project is one for the future, however, as pipe is not yet available. It will have to be brought in.

Just now China is producing more oil from her shallow Kansu wells than she can refine, and she is refining more than she can transport. The war gave an impetus to China's oil production. In 1939 the first Yumen well was sunk. The production has risen steadily as more wells have been drilled. So shallow are the wells (about 1500 feet on the average) that, if good equipment were available, they could be sunk very rapidly. In North America, with modern rotary rigs, oil wells are drilled to a depth of 10,000 feet through hard formation in 6 months. Kansu wells could be put down in 3 weeks, including setting up and dismantling the rigs, if rotary equipment were available. China has one rotary rig, but it is very old and very decrepit. It is rather surprising that it works at all.

16. The National Geological Survey of which Dr. Wong has been the director since 1922, is now of the opinion that China's oil resources are really extensive. They stretch from the Tienshan Mountains in Sinkiang to the Chi Lien and Lu Pun ranges in Kansu and on to the Yellow River bend in Shensi and Shansi. The Yumen field is much larger than was at first believed possible. Three oil "sands" have been found, one of 6 feet at 200 meters depth, one of 36 feet at 350 meters depth, and a third of 75 feet at 600 meters. Yumen wells have not yet been drilled beyond that point. At Wusu, near Tihwa, there is another promising field, the production of which is holding up steadily.

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Dr. Wong thinks that Yumen and Wusu will produce 1,000,000 tons of gasolene in the fifth year after the war if the planned development is carried out. China will then need, it is estimated, 700,000 tons for her motor cars and buses, and 600,000 tons for aviation purposes. Dr. Wong believes that in the tenth year after the war China will be able to meet all her own needs in gasolene and oil.

17. Dr. Wong told me that on the floor of the Kuomintang Congress the ex-Governor of Sinkiang, General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, had been vigorously attacked for his record of ruthlessness. Tens of thousands of dead lay behind him. Instead of being promoted to the head of a ministry -- he is Minister of Agriculture and Forestry -- he should have been tried for his savagery.

The next day the Generalissimo himself rose to defend Sheng Shih-ts'ai. "It is true that the General," said Chiang Kai-shek, "has left a rough record behind him. But all that is over. He has seen the light. He has himself come to place his services at the disposal of the government, and he is now a loyal member of the Kuomintang. He has not only brought his services, but he has brought a very substantial gift of gold as well."

Dr. Wong laughed when he said that, with the Generalissimo's own long tale of dead behind him, he could not well do anything but defend Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

"The ex-Governor of Sinkiang", said Dr. Wong Wen-hao, "is neither a liberal nor a Conservative. He follows no pattern. He is just wild."

"A maverick?" I asked.

"Yes, a maverick," he said.

"Is he really a good Minister of Agriculture?" I asked.

"That Ministry is unfortunate," said Dr. Wong. "The first Minister was a general, the next an admiral and now there is the ex-governor of a province. None of them know or care anything about agriculture."

18. Dr. Wong told me that, when Hu Shih was "fired" as ambassador to Washington, he sent, in reply to the message he received from the Generalissimo (telling him that he was relieved of his post because the strain on his health was too great and offering him a position as "adviser" to the Executive Yuan), a reply saying that during the war he would remain silent; but, after the war, he proposed to attack the government and the Generalissimo himself and for that reason he did not deem it fitting to return to China to take up the junior post which had been offered to him.

19. I asked where Dr. Wong placed General Wu Te-chen in his gallery of eligibles for liberal leadership.

Dr. Wong replied, "He has position, but no power."

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"Is he a liberal? Opinions on this point are divided."

"He might be a liberal if he were free. But he would only be a mild one."

"I understand that he was once placed under arrest. What was the trouble?"

"That was long ago. I do not know."

20. "What about Prof. Fei Kung?" I asked.

"No one knows."

"Was it not publicly and officially announced that he was alive?"

"If that is so," said Dr. Wong, "he must be under arrest. He was in good health and was going to an appointment when he just disappeared. He had been attacking the government and the Generalissimo. After he was gone for some time, the president of his University produced his diaries and took them to the government for inspection. They were pored over very carefully, and the verdict was: ' There is nothing criminal in what he has written.' But he was not released."

"Some people want the case taken to the Generalissimo who probably knows nothing about the matter. Others are afraid. They say that if the Generalissimo starts one of his vigorous investigations, the police will probably get rid of Prof. Fei. He will completely disappear again and later his body will be found somewhere."

"What do you think?" I asked.

"I don't know," said Dr. Wong, throwing his head back and looking up at the ceiling.

21. I told Dr. Wong that I had received a call from three Canadian Chinese boys who had come over as delegates to attend the Kuomintang Conference. There are 5,000 Kuomintang members in Canada and another 5,000 in the United States. Three delegates had come from each country. The Canadian boys were:

G.C. Wong, of the Canadian Kuomintang Headquarters, at 57 Elizabeth St., Toronto.
Yetin W. Lim, President of the Chinese Nationalist League of Canada, at 529 Gore Ave., Vancouver.
C.P. Yee, Chief Editor of the Chinese daily paper, the New Republic, of 640 Cormorant St., Victoria.

Dr. Wong was very much interested. He asked me what the boys thought of the Kuomintang Congress.

"They were all very pleased," I said. "They thought that it showed a healthy democratic spirit and was really moving in the direction of democracy. They come from very advanced democratic countries, and they ought to know something of what they are talking about."

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Dr. Wong seemed a little nonplussed.

"I told them," I said, "that when they returned to Canada they should give to the Chinese there, and to the people of Canada generally, an absolutely honest and sincere report of what they had found. If the Kuomintang is going in a non-democratic direction, they will do China a real service by saying so.

"We had a long talk about the proposed method of elections under the new Chinese constitution," I went on. "They agreed that it was not democratic in our sense, that it followed the Russian pattern. I said that if they believed this they, representing the younger people, should do what they could to have the electoral features of the constitution changed."

22. Dr. Wong asked me what I thought of the 5 power theory of government -- Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "revolutionary" gift to China. Dr. Wong paused to explain that Dr. Sun Yat-sen had tried to be a student. He was more the student, the theorizer and the agitator than he was the man of action. The Generalissimo, on the other hand, was a man of action and not a student.

Before I could say what I thought, Dr. Wong went on to say that Dr. Sun had been completely mistaken. The Western democracies were right -- there were fundamentally only three branches to democratic government; the legislative, the executive and the judicial. When Dr. Sun added the Examination and the Control Yuan, he was only giving to these two "branches" of government tasks and duties which properly belonged to the Executive of the nation or if, in the case of "Control", the subject demanding investigation rose to the highest level, the legislature itself. In the Western democracies the Examination Yuan merely takes the form of some sort of civil service commission, functioning under the Executive or, if thought wise, directly under the legislature. The Control Yuan falls in the same category.

Dr. Wong could not see that two new branches of government were required. In China they merely clouded and observed the issue and, as a result, nothing was really being done. These two distinctly Chinese Yuan were merely names, and had become quite innocuous.

23. This despatch has been a rather difficult one for me to write. It knocks holes in much that I have previously sent you -- or at least it does if Dr. Wong can be given as much credit for sound political judgment as he deserves for his scientific knowledge, his ability and his honesty. I do not need to say that he should be much better informed than I can possibly hope to be. It is possible, however, that, since his criticism is so complete and so all-inclusive, there is somewhere underneath a cause for his distrust of the liberalism of so many of his colleagues. At some time he must have been in general agreement with them, or he would never have joined the government.

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24. At no time, since I commenced studying the political picture here, have I suggested that I had come to any final conclusion. I have merely been making progress reports as I have proceeded with my work. Long ago I decided that I could not study China; the subject was too vast. So I settled down to the careful study of the small group of men who, for the time being, have in their hands the power to direct China's short term course and influence her long term one. If I can understand them, know their characters and abilities, and find out what is in their hearts, I may be able to come to some helpful conclusions as to where they are leading China.

25. This talk with Dr. Wong Wen-hao is another milestone on the way. It suggests that I may somewhere have taken a wrong turning -- that I ought to go back a bit and re-examine the evidence. And of course I must do so, for Dr. Wong is too able, too important and too honest a man to be brushed thoughtlessly aside. As before, the crux of the whole problem is the Generalissimo himself. Dr. Wong confirms this. All admit it. I have spent many hours with the Generalissimo and have used all the faculties I have in an attempt to understand him. I had come to the conclusion that he was dynamic, that he was sincerely leading China, as fast as China could go, past the obstacles of old institutions and conceptions, towards a true democracy. Dr. Wong thinks he is not dynamic; that he has become static; and that those who surround him are even succeeding in bending him slightly backward and away from real democracy.

If Dr. Wong is right, the outlook is not too bright. For there is no other democratic and really liberal leadership in sight. There are liberal "words", thousands of them; but leadership is not in sight.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) Victor W. Odlum

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR.

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SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~MR. ROBERTSON~~ the Prime Minister

Credits to China

The official opinion is that the credit risk is bad and that the Canadian trade interest will be slight for many years. Any credit may well prove to have been a grant made in the form of a credit. There are nevertheless good reasons for using the credit form:- it is needless to offer a grant to China when she requests a credit and undertakes to repay it; and it is unwise to forego the chance of repayment, since there is a possibility that China may repay us by borrowing from others.

There is justification for Canada in extending some credit.

It is in Canada's political and economic interest that China be strong and prosperous. Recent developments have greatly enhanced China's chances for a sound, if slow, economic development. The agreement reached with the Soviet Union and the support of the United States and the United Kingdom have markedly strengthened the Government. The Communists have shown a new disposition to be co-operative and conciliatory and there is now good prospect for political stability in China.

If advantage is to be obtained from this new access of strength to the Kuomintang, reconstruction supplies must begin to move into China. China cannot pay for them and will have to obtain them as gifts or by credits. Perhaps the facilities of the International Bank will ultimately substantially aid the development of the country but it may be two years before the Bank is in operation. While some major projects can wait that long, unless supplies are brought into the country immediately, the Government will lose support; its programme will lose way and the new-found enterprise of the country will wane.

While Canada's interest in the reconstruction of the development of China is not so great politically as that of the United States or the United Kingdom, we do share the long-run interest in the upbuilding of the country as a means of raising the general standard of living and of expanding world trade. The United States and the United Kingdom have both made substantial loans to China during the war, the former to the extent of some $550,000,000, the latter £50,000,000. Canada has made no loans to China. Provided the United States extends substantial credits to China, Canada might well recognize some obligation to assist in post-war development. While the amount of Canada's contribution can only be slight in comparison to the Chinese needs or to United States assistance, nevertheless a show of confidence and interest by us

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will encourage China in her efforts, aid her in her negotiations with other nations and improve the excellent relations that have been built up with Canada during the war.

It might be awkward to refuse extending any credit to China in the face of our commitments to Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, the Netherlands Indies, Norway and the U.S.S.R., which are in the neighbourhood of $470,000,000. The only grounds for refusing could be that China was a bad credit risk, since in terms of population and need China might expect to receive more than any other country. The war with Japan has resulted in the loss of her industrial centres for eight years, serious interference with her agricultural production, blockade of the flow of goods into China, limited scope for taxation and dangerous monetary inflation.

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NOTE:

It was suggested to Cabinet on September 5th that credits be granted to cover an ordnance programme of $25,000,000. This programme included pistols; Sten guns; Bren machine guns; Bofors; anti-tank rifles; 6-pdr. anti-tank guns; 3.7 anti-aircraft guns; 25-pdr. self-propelled mounts; 25-pdr. field equipment; range-finders; binoculars; ammunition in scale for the weapons; one 9-mm. ammunition plant; one 303 ammunition plant to be converted to 7.92 mm. and motor vehicles. All the above items have already been produced with the exception of some wireless trucks and of the September production of Bren guns.

The $75,000,000 reconstruction programme discussed included raw materials (aluminium, copper, zinc, etc.) to the extent of $20-25,000,000; engineering services, civilian trucks, machine tools, communication materials and small steam power plants.

The total Chinese request is in the neighbourhood of $250,000,000. In addition to the two programmes mentioned above, there is a long list of specific projects which it is proposed should be examined individually by the Canadian authorities to determine their eligibility for financing under the guarantee provisions of the Export Permits Insurance Act. It is possible that many of them can await the establishment of the International Bank.

O.D.S.

September 7, 1945.
SDP/S

Agree Lash
9.9.45

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SECRET

INTERVIEW OF GENERAL ODLUM WITH MAO TSE-TUNG

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST LEADER

General Odlum gives a very full report of an interview he had with Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader, on September 7, 1945.

Mr. Mao impressed General Odlum as an unusual man, quiet and self-possessed, and not at all, as pictured by others, "bullheaded" and "fanatic". Comparing him with Chiang Kai-shek he says, "The minds are much alike. Both are quickly receptive. Each man is positive and confident. Both are determined. Both have courage. Both could be hard and cruel, and could kill."

Like the rest of the Communist Group Mao uses old words with new, hidden definitions. He does not do it, however, in any ignorant or fanatical spirit, but knowing how useful word "smoke-screens" may be. He readily followed General Odlum when he outlined a number of Western political concepts. He is evidently a great reader.

Democracy Mao defined as the welfare of all the people. The Communist Party he believes to be the most democratic group in China. After listening to General Odlum's explanation of the Western concept he said, "There is no democracy in China."

On being asked for his appraisal of the Communist Party, General Odlum suggested the value it would have if it would allow a campaign from within which might change its policy in the direction of liberalism. From Mao's response the Ambassador felt that no one would be admitted to the Party on such terms. Apparently however, Mao agreed, with an earlier statement by Lin Tsu-han that no great ideological difference existed between themselves and the Kuomintang.

Mao believes that a coalition period must precede real democratic government in China. If an agreement on coalition cannot be reached, there must be civil war. Nevertheless, said Mao, "civil war would be a bad thing for China. We fought each other for ten

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years and neither one could win. The situation has not changed."

On the possibility of the two parties getting together, Mao spoke quietly but with deep conviction: "We cannot give up our armies until the things we have stipulated are done."

The Ambassador believes the Communists are not concerned about an election for the present and are not disturbed over the lack of democracy in the draft constitution. They want a coalition with Mao Tse-tung as second man to Chiang Kai-shek. Then they would wrap the constitution around the coalition so that it might become self-perpetuating. Both the Kuomintang and the Communist parties are looking for power, the Ambassador believes. There is thus nothing in the Communist attitude to spur the Generalissimo on to greater democratic efforts. This is regrettable as democracy is a very blurred thing to the Generalissimo, nor does he understand the implications of the draft constitution. Mao Tse-tung does.

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Rec'd Jan. 11/46

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CHINA. October 19, 1945.

SECRET. SECTION 2.

[F 8592/1147/10] Copy No. 068 a

Sir H. Seymour to Mr. Bevin.—(Received 19th October.)

(No. 1054. Secret.)

Sir, *Chungking, 5th October*, 1945.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of certain notes prepared by Mr. Wallinger on his return to Chungking from Hong Kong on the 3rd October.

2. Mr. Wallinger's optimism about the prospects of the colony is shared by Brigadier Kay, the Canadian Military Attaché here, who has commented on the remarkable progress made towards rehabilitation in the course of the four weeks he recently spent in the colony; and by Mr. Keswick, who has also now returned to Chungking. The notes draw attention to certain immediate shortages, and I am studying what can be done from the Chinese side to remedy the situation. Any transfers of staff from British military organisations can, of course, only be a palliative and the problem of strengthening the Administration is not one upon which I can advise: but it becomes daily clearer to me that, if British interests in the Far East are to be re-established and expanded in the future, we shall have to rely entirely on our own efforts and are unlikely to be able to count on much Chinese assistance; it would appear that the best centre for the exertion of that effort is likely to be Hong Kong. To that extent I may be justified in urging that the earliest consideration be given to the requirements of the colony, both in personnel and in the provision of shipping, fuel and other commodities.

3. On specific matters to be taken up here I shall report in due course, as action is taken. In the meantime, I trust that the enclosed notes, which have been produced rapidly to catch this week's bag, will prove of interest to the departments concerned.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Commander-in-chief, Hong Kong.

I have, &c.

H. J. SEYMOUR.

Enclosure.

Notes on a Visit to Hong Kong, 26th September to 3rd October, 1945.

(Secret.)

TYPHOON conditions having prevented my proceeding to Hong Kong by R.A.F. from Kunming on any day from the 21st to the 25th September, I abandoned the project and returned to Chungking on the latter date. As, however, Admiral Fraser was still here and was leaving for the colony next day, on your instructions I obtained a lift from the commander-in-chief. We landed at Kaitak airfield in the early afternoon of the 25th September and proceeded forthwith to H.M.S. *Duke of York*. It was refreshing to see Japanese prisoners of war hard at work on the airfield unloading drums of petrol from a lighter under robust commando guards.

2. The commander-in-chief was visited at various times after our arrival by Admirals Harcourt (Commander-in-chief, Hong Kong), Daniel (Commander-in-chief of the Task Group in Hong Kong), and Fisher (Commander-in-chief of the Fleet Train and now Flag Officer, Western Areas—which is a tactful euphemism for the China coast), Air Commodore Brook, Air Officer Commanding, Hong Kong, and Mr. Keswick. Admiral Fraser gave accounts of his visit to Chungking and thereafter made a signal to your Excellency on the question of British aid in sweeping mines in south China ports. Admiral Fraser said that he had been convinced that the generalissimo was nervous about British ships proceeding to Chinese ports and felt that it would be a great mistake to allow them to do so under American orders. He insisted at the same time that he had pointed out to the generalissimo the obvious advantages of unified command in these matters.

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3. H.M.S. *Duke of York* was due to leave for Manila and Sydney the same evening, and I went ashore, just before her departure, with Admiral Harcourt and Mr. Keswick. Admiral Harcourt very kindly put me up at Government House, which the Japanese authorities had put into excellent shape, although a legacy of certain rooms in the Japanese style may become of problematic value. I had seen from the aircraft that a good deal of damage had been done in Hong Kong, and there are a number of sunken hulks all over the harbour. We actually landed at the Taikoo dockyard, which was very badly knocked about—the same applies to the Kowloon dockyard across the harbour—and proceeded through extensively damaged godown and labour residential quarters to the less-damaged business section of the town. There has been a lot of looting of the residential districts by the Chinese inhabitants and all wooden fitments have been removed for firewood.

4. The Secretary of State for War and his staff were staying with the commander-in-chief, and I had some conversation with Mr. Lawson, who made a cordial enquiry as to your well-being. I gave the Secretary of State some account of developments in Chungking, and he was particularly interested in the Kuomintang-Communist negotiations.

5. I am recording matters discussed in separate notes attached to this minute(1) : but some general observations may be of use. In general, I found that the navy had laid an excellent foundation on reoccupation and that the civil affairs people and other authorities have got to grips with their problems. Mr. Gimson and his team had made a gallant start in the period between the surrender and the arrival of Admiral Harcourt's task group. The Civil Affairs Department is shockingly understaffed, however, and cannot do more than meet problems from day to day, as they arise. At present most executive decisions except those of high policy are taken by a committee under the chairmanship of Admiral Harcourt's chief of staff (Captain Clifford, R.N.), which has a daily meeting attended by the chief Civil Affairs officer, Ministry of War Transport representative and representatives of the various service organisations in the colony. I attended the meetings of the committee during my visit and learned much about the problems, big and petty, which face these people, many of them amateurs in the realm of colonial administration. The team spirit is excellent, but lack of staff on the civil side must soon adversely affect efficiency.

The steps taken on the financial side to set up shop had, I felt, been markedly successful and I think the colony has a great chance to take a position in the Far East out of all proportion either to its size or to the amount the United Kingdom needs to contribute in the initial stage. If it can be shown that here is a soundly based, efficiently run centre, trade will flock there and Hong Kong will be off to a far better start than any Chinese port. To do this, present shortages must be remedied. I have already mentioned shortage of staff : other shortages are fuel and shipping and, of course, commodities to set up such manufactures as the island can undertake and the *entrepot* trade it has always had. I do not think food will provide a problem provided trade can be got going. These matters are more fully discussed in the attached notes; but I am sure there is a big opportunity here, and if I personally were so unfortunate as to have business interests in the Far East, it is upon Hong Kong that I would concentrate in my effort to get going again.

G. A. W.

5th October, 1945.

(1) Not printed.

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SDP /GSP/FR

November 28,1945.

S E C R E T

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C163976

Sale of Munitions to China

During the negotiations for the extension of export credits to China it was agreed that the Chinese Government would be given an export credit of $35,000,000 to assist in financing a $50,000,000 programme for the importation of reconstruction supplies from Canada and a further credit of $25,000,000 for the purchase of the munitions ordered for China under the Mutual Aid programme but not delivered when hostilities ended.

The munitions are already manufactured and could move forward on whatever shipping becomes available, as the Chinese know. They have begun negotiations to take up the credit. The outbreak of civil war in China, however, makes it necessary to consider the political implications of any shipment of munitions from Canada at this time.

The probability is that the controversy in China will be long continued. It is unlikely that $25,000,000 of Canadian munitions would prove to be a significant factor in settling the conflict. Even a considerable supply of munitions could hardly, in itself, be a determining factor in the struggle. A quick settlement would probably require foreign intervention and such settlement could only be temporary.

Hence we are justified in considering the effect which the furnishing of munitions would have on the political situation both in Canada and in China, and possibly also on relations among the three great powers. It seems likely that political controversy might arise in Canada and that the supplying of munitions might be interpreted abroad as a step towards intervention. The Chinese would

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no doubt appreciate our desire to avoid in Canada the type of controversy that has arisen in the United States - now intensified by the resignation of Ambassador Hurley - which would be harmful to Chinese and Canadian interests alike.

It may be that we can both satisfy the Chinese and avoid political difficulties for Canada by adopting the following course: - Allow the Chinese a credit of the originally contemplated amount of $60,000,000 to cover a programme of $75,000,000 but stipulate that none of this amount be spent on munitions.

This would be renewed evidence of our desire to assist the Chinese in the work of peaceful reconstruction.

For practical reasons also the Chinese Government might welcome such an adjustment. They know that the munitions are of little value to us, but they have indicated that they did not take advantage of this to drive a hard bargain. The transfer of the $25,000,000 to other projects might well enhance the value of the credit to them.

We could agree that if the disturbances should moderate before the full $60,000,000 is spent we would be prepared again to consider the shipment of munitions for which they could use any unspent balance of the credit.

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DATE OF MINUTE

July 15, 1946

INITIALS OF AUTHOR

ARM:McL

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTE

C163978

ON Despatch No. 569, dated May 21, 1946 from Canadian Embassy, Nanking, China.

Insert particulars of despatch, memorandum or other attached document.

CIRCULATION

Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, China's Minister of Foreign Affairs

In despatch No. 569 of May 21st (attached), General Odlum reports a conversation with Dr. Wang Shih-chieh who is now China's Minister of Foreign Affairs. It will be remembered that he headed the Chinese Goodwill Mission to Britain which visited Ottawa in 1944.

2. Asked when President Chiang Kai-shek would be able to leave China for a trip abroad, Dr. Wang said he could not leave while civil war continued. General Odlum thinks that these matters should be settled by the time the National Assembly is scheduled to meet in November. I am not inclined to be quite so optimistic about such an early settlement of the Kuomintang-Communist differences.

3. General Odlum comments on the important part now being played in the National Government by Dr. T. V. Soong, whose differences with the Generalissimo he sees as completely healed.

4. General Odlum sharply criticizes Dr. Wang's view that "if cooperation with the Communist can be brought about by giving them an area of China in which they will form the supreme government, the Communists will succumb to environment. He (Dr. Wang) believes that at heart they are more Chinese than Communist and that they can be won over to complete cooperation in the future government of China." General Odlum thinks they are more Communist than Chinese, that they are "world revolution" minded, and revolve on the Moscow axis.

5. Given the balance of power which apparently exists between the Kuomintang and Communists, a continuation of the division of local governments between the two parties seems inevitable, with the problem to be worked out now as to the degree of cooperation possible in the realm of national government. Some observers consider that China is too big and unwieldy and her communications too poor to permit a strong central government of the type being attempted by the present National Government and that some looser federative system is inevitable.

THIS MINUTE TO BE STAPLED TO, AND FILED WITH, THE DOCUMENT TO WHICH IT REFERS, UNDER THE DATE OF THE DOCUMENT.

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C163979

CANADIAN EMBASSY,
NANKING, China.

No. 569

May 21, 1946

Sir,

Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Foreign Affairs

I have the honour to advise you that yesterday afternoon, on my own initiative, I had an extended conversation with Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Foreign Affairs. I was anxious to discover from him the present situation insofar as the Generalissimo himself is concerned. It was in my mind that on Wednesday, when I am to have tea with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, I might present the volume of Canadian photographs which has just arrived. I did not want to do it, however, without knowing that the Generalissimo would be somewhat relaxed and in a mood to receive and appreciate the gift. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh told me that he knew all about the Wednesday afternoon arrangement. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang were to receive me as a friend in the home, and not as on a formal visit; consequently, he thought that the occasion might be a favourable one. He said, however, that he would make enquiries and would let me know what to expect.

2. With reference to the Generalissimo's plans for travelling abroad, he said that there was nothing definite at the present time. As long as the present civil war continued in China, it was unlikely that the President would be able to go away. As I had taken this for granted, I was not at all disappointed. I do not see how the President can leave China until after there has been some political realignment, and the convocation of the National Assembly becomes a possibility. I am inclined to think that within a month or two, after the National Assembly has been held and has performed its functions, the Generalissimo might feel free to visit the western democracies.

3. I think this is more possible now than it would have been a few months ago. The Generalissimo is learning to depend more and more upon Dr. T.V. Soong, and is, I think, trusting him completely. The Government changes which have just been made were announced by Dr. T. V. Soong, and appeared in the Press as if Dr. Soong himself had arranged them. This, of course, is only partially true. There is no doubt that Dr. Doong is assuming the public responsibility, but I cannot believe that he has acted without complete consultation with the Generalissimo.

/4.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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4. The last two years have seen a most remarkable change in the relations between these two men. Two years ago Dr. Soong was out of Court, and was being punished. Today he is, I think, the strongest man in China after the Generalissimo, and he appears to be discharging his duties with remarkable courage and energy. The misunderstanding between himself and his brother-in-law has apparently been completely cleared up. When last I talked with the Generalissimo, Dr. Soong was the interpreter, and there was not the slightest sign of strain in the whole course of the three-way conversation. The eyes of the two men tell a great deal, and on this occasion they satisfied me that there was harmony and understanding between them.

5. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh said that he had been anxious to arrange for a long talk with me. The confusion of moving to, and getting settled in Nanking had tied his hands for a time, but he was planning to ask me to have lunch with him and to take an hour or two for conversation. He added that the last picture I gave to him was so absolutely accurate that he wanted to talk again.

6. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh is not a courageous man. I do not say this in a critical spirit. I merely mean that he is almost afraid of his own opinions, and does not like to express them except in the most intimate conversation. He is loyally supporting the Generalissimo, but at heart he is not convinced that the present course is the right one. He has the idea that if cooperation with the Communists can be brought about by the supreme government, the Communists will succumb to environment and will gradually lose their anti-Chinese psychology. He believes that at heart they are more Chinese than Communist, and that they can be won over to complete cooperation in the future government of China.

7. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh has told me this on several occasions. I do not know of anyone who agrees with him; I certainly do not. My own opinion, for what it is worth, is that the group known as Communists are more Communist than Chinese. They are "world revolution" minded, and revolve on the Moscow axis.

8. In the new allotment of Government "portfolios" (using a Western and not a Chinese term), Dr. Wang Shih-chieh continues as Minister of Foreign Affairs, even though he had tendered his resignation some time ago. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh is a man known to you, and is a good friend of the western democracies. He has a great admiration for the British, and he likes Canada and Canadians, but he cannot be counted upon to take any strong stand. He will perform his functions as directed by higher authority, generally speaking, in an innocuous manner. He is neither evangelistic nor militant; he is quiet and unpresuming -- a very likable gentleman, but not a strong force.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

sgd: Victor W. Odlum

Canadian Ambassador.

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DATE OF MINUTE
July 17, 1946

INITIALS OF AUTHOR
ARM:McL

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS **SECRET**

MINUTE C163981

ON Secret despatch No. 583, dated May 25, 1946, from the Canadian Ambassador to China: Nanking, re American Journalists and China's problems.

Insert particulars of despatch, memorandum or other attached document.

CIRCULATION

This despatch reports a two-hour conversation with Phil Potter of the Baltimore Sun and H.R. Lieberman of the New York Times on the general political situation in China on May 23.

2. The politico-military situation, as they saw it, was fluid at the time but they expected another recognition of the status quo in a further temporary agreement between the Kuomintang and Communists to be reached soon. (para 2).

3. Militarily, Lieberman stated that the Communists were strong and their forces were strategically located. He argued that the Nationalist forces would never have got into North China, let alone Manchuria, if it hadn't been for the air lift and sea transport given them by the United States.(para 3)

4. They saw the United States as so entangled in Chinese affairs that it could not now withdraw.

5. They asked General Odlum if President Chiang Kai-shek would follow Marshall or break with him if he felt Marshall's proposals too favourable to the Communists.

6. General Odlum said that he personally "was convinced that the Generalissimo was determined to do everything in his power to assure complete cooperation amongst the democratic allies even though the form of the cooperation at times might appear injurious to what he thought were China's interests." In this he compared China's international policy to Canada's. He concludes that because President Chiang knows China is dependent on U.S. aid he "will work with General Marshall, all the time, of course, presenting and emphasizing his own opinions, until General Marshall becomes convinced by events that the course he is following cannot succeed." (Note: Other observers, bearing in mind President Truman's December 15,1945 statement of United States policy toward China, in which he said "As China moves toward peace and unity along the lines described above, the United States would be prepared to assist the National Government in every reasonable way to rehabilitate the country, improve the agrarian and industrial economy, and establish a military organization capable of discharging China's national and international responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order," consider that certain members of the Chinese National Government believe that all they need to do is pretend to cooperate with General Marshall in order to receive the benefits of United States aid.)

THIS MINUTE TO BE STAPLED TO, AND FILED WITH, THE DOCUMENT TO WHICH IT REFERS, UNDER THE DATE OF THE DOCUMENT.

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SECRET

CANADIAN EMBASSY

C163982

No. 583

NANKING, China,
May 25th, 1946.

Sir,

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS AND CHINA'S PROBLEMS

I have the honour to advise you that two days ago Mr. Phil Potter of the Baltimore Sun and Mr. H. R. Lieberman of the New York Times called to see me. Mr. Lieberman is temporarily replacing Mr. Tillman Durdin as representative of the New York Times in China's capital. Mr. Durdin has been given several months leave of absence so that he may write for General Marshall the report that the latter has to submit to President Truman. Mr. Lieberman was one of the journalists who were tied up by the Communists in Changchun. He had a most interesting although not a most comfortable experience there. He gave me many facts in connection with his life in Changchun but these did not tend to alter the general picture which had been formed by the world at large.

2. The three of us talked off the record for the best part of two hours. Both Potter and Lieberman were very frank with me. They said that the situation was bad and was deteriorating. They were definitely pessimistic but they said that there still remained an element of hope. They felt that, at a time which would suit their purpose, the Communists would again agree to a truce and would enter into some sort of a new understanding. This, the two men said, would not necessarily mean that the difference between the two parties would be bridged or would disappear. These differences are very deep and are likely to continue. Any agreement reached would merely mean the adoption of a new and purely temporary modus vivendi, which would in all probability be observed no better than the last one had been.

3. Practically everything said by the two journalists would tend to confirm what I have been writing to you for a considerable period. They do, however, differ from me in one aspect. They ascribe to the Communists a greater military strength than I had allowed. They say that last fall the Communists were not near defeat as I had maintained that they were, but were strong enough to prevent the Central Government forces from achieving their objective. They do not suggest that the Communist Army is a good one, but they do say that the disposition of that army is so sound, that the Government forces can make no important progress. Lieberman, in particular, asserted that had it not been for the air lift service and sea transport provided for the Government troops by the United States, the National Army would never have got into the north of China at all. And of course, in that case, it would not have reached Manchuria.

Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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4. I drew from the conversation a feeling that the top American correspondents fully recognise the awkward position in which the United States finds itself. It has become so entangled with China and China's fortunes that it cannot withdraw; at the same time it is neither in a position nor in a mood to carry through cooperation to the logical goal. Mr. Potter said that the United States had made a great mistake when it assumed the responsibility for identifying China as one of the four great powers. Having done this, it became compelled to recognise China as a great power, whereas, as a matter of fact, China is neither a great power nor, in international affairs, a power at all. Lieberman agreed with this. They both said that the United States would have a headache before it could succeed in disentangling its illogical position.

5. It was quite obvious throughout the conversation that the two correspondents wanted to ask a question; but the question did not reveal itself for some time. In the end it came out. They were anxious to know whether or not I thought that the Generalissimo would continue to follow General Marshall's lead; or would he, they asked, believing that Marshall's course was strengthening the Communists and weakening the National Government, break with General Marshall at some point?

6. My reply was along this line. I said that of course no one but the Generalissimo could say what the Generalissimo intended to do; but I was convinced that the Generalissimo was determined to do everything in his power to assure complete cooperation amongst the democratic allies even though the form of the cooperation at times might appear injurious to what he thought were China's interests. I cited the case of Canada. I said that Canada might have opinions and interests of its own to which it would certainly call attention, but in the long run it would cooperate with its two big friends, Great Britain and the United States. It would not attempt to set up a policy of its own which would conflict with the policy of either one or of both of these countries. I believe, I said, that the Generalissimo would do as Canada is doing; he would recognise that friendship with the United States is the most important single thing in the world as far as China is concerned. He would accept many handicaps and hardships before he would do anything to weaken or terminate that friendship and so make full American cooperation possible. I felt satisfied, I said, that although the Generalissimo might believe that certain American policies might strengthen the position of the Communists at the expense of the National Government, he would in the end accept the American view.

"Then," they both said, "there will be no breach between the Generalissimo and General Marshall?"

"I can only speak for myself," I said, "but I am thoroughly convinced that the Generalissimo will work with General Marshall, all the time, of course, presenting and emphasizing his own opinions, until General Marshall becomes convinced by events that the course he is following cannot succeed. Until General Marshall reaches that conviction, I do not think that the Generalissimo can possibly desert him. Without General Marshall and American logistical assistance, China will become very nearly helpless before the Communists and the power that lies behind them."

7. The two men looked at each other and nodded their heads. They agreed that what I had said was likely true; that there would be continued negotiations and an ultimate truce, probably shortly after the National Army had securely seized

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Changchun. They felt that the National Army was in a very precarious position, with its long slender salient threatened from both sides. They, however, felt that the National Army could not press much further forward because the stern facts of logistics would stop it. They believed, too, that there was a point beyond which Communist resistance would be stiffened by outside help. Putting in bluntly, they believed that there was no possible complete victory for the Central Government unless the United States decided to give all out practical aid. That decision was not in sight and so a stalemate with some kind of a working agreement seemed inevitable.

8. They asked me how General Ho Ying-chin would take his dismissal. I replied that they must know China well enough to understand that General Ho was not really dismissed. In China men appear before the footlights and some time after retire to the rear; but their retirement does not indicate dismissal. Later they reappear again, just as prominently as before. So it would probably be with General Ho. I knew, I said, that General Ho was accepting the situation without any illwill against the President. From a Chinese point of view he would "play the game." The outside world was too apt to believe that the Chinese would react to situations such as this just as our own people would be likely to react. Amongst us there would be resentment on the part of the man displaced; but in China resentment was not necessary. Each man who was within the accepted fold knew that if he lost one turn he would probably gain the next.

9. I propose to seek further information, from the best possible circles, as to the respective strengths of the Communists and National Armies. I am still convinced that I was right in the picture I gave to you, but I admit that an element of doubt has entered my mind. Potter and Lieberman are experienced and thoughtful men. They have not reached the conclusions, reported above, without some pretty good reasons. I know, of course, that the Communists have a great advantage in geography. They are basing themselves away to the north and it is easy for them to do so for they have little to move except the armies themselves; and the armies, as they move, live on the country. The Central Government forces, however, have to proceed with due regard for the population whose goodwill they are trying to win, and are compelled to maintain an orderly, or nearly orderly, supply system. This necessity slows them down and adds to the dangers of their exposed position.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) Victor W. Odlum

Ambassador.

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Oct 25 1946

SOUTH-EAST ASIA. August 2, 1946.

SECRET. SECTION 1.

[F 11201/87/61] Copy No. 068 a

Mr. Scott to Lord Killearn.—(Enclosure to Lord Killearn's despatch No. 27 of the 16th July; Received in Foreign Office 2nd August.)

TALK WITH DR. T. V. SOONG.

AFTER dinner last night, when your Excellency was talking to Wellington Koo and Chang Fu-yun, Dr. Soong took me aside. He began by questioning me about internment conditions in Singapore, Japanese atrocities, Japanese psychology, and so forth.

2. From the Japanese Kempei that talk led to Japan, from Japan to American policy, from America to Russia, Russia to the defence of Eastern Asia, thence to political developments in colonial territories and in India, to the Chinese attitude towards nationalistic movements in these countries, to the protection of Chinese communities there, to the position in China, and so back to Russia.

3. "Japan has her uses," he said, "America needs her, and America needs the Philippines, too." Both would be required as bases in a war against Russia. Everything depended on Russia; it was for Russia to say whether there was to be war or peace. If the Russians were in a "chastened" mood (by which he meant "lacking in arrogance") then war could be avoided. But the trouble was that they were intensely suspicious and quite blind to everyone's point of view but their own. The Russian attitude was, "those who are not with us are against us." Anything less than 100 per cent. support was regarded by a Russian as opposition. He paused for a moment and added bitterly, "you cannot convince them that you may be neither for them nor against them, but just for your own country; you can't convince them, it's impossible"; and he referred to his own experiences in Moscow.

4. If war comes, there were new factors that would affect defence problems in Asia, not only the new weapons, but the trend towards self-government and independence.

5. I asked him what were China's views on the Indonesian movement in the Netherlands East Indies. He answered at once, "We are indifferent," and embarked on a general dissertation on South-East Asia, in which he displayed unexpected antipathy to non-Chinese nationalism. "These movements," he said, "are all anti-Chinese. In the Philippines and in the Netherlands East Indies, if the protecting Power withdraws, it is the Chinese who will suffer. They will get their throats cut—as already happened in Java—and they will be discriminated against and squeezed out. We (the Chinese Government) will have to decide whether to protect them, to bring them out. We cannot at this stage protect them by force; they may have to come back to China. In Malaya it is not quite so bad, because we are in a majority, or at least the numbers are nearly equal. But even there they need protection—look at the anti-Chinese incidents that have taken place in Malaya."

6. He had had long conversations with Filipino leaders, and despite—" or perhaps because of "—the admixture of Chinese blood in political circles in the Philippines, there was reason to expect an anti-Chinese trend.

7. In Siam and Indo-China the same applied, but in a different way. The Siamese were afraid of China, and were too near each other to suit Siamese tastes, and the Chinese community in Siam was too numerous and powerful to be dislodged. But there was no love lost between them; it was fortunate for the Chinese that the Siamese were so inept and ineffectual, cowardly and frightened.

8. I asked about Indo-China—was it true that there was a certain amount of Chinese support for the nationalist movements there? Dr. Soong said that some Chinese locally had supported them, adding, "However, we were getting on very well with the French—they were being very co-operative—they offered us, without any pressure at all on our part, a free port in Northern Indo-China—I am not sure that we shall do as well if an independent Government takes over."

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9. "You can see it also in Burma." In spite of all that Chinese had done through the centuries for Burma, it was another dog-in-the-manger story. The Burmese did not like the Chinese and would not give them fair treatment.

10. I said to Dr. Soong, "There may be big changes in India in the near future. How will they affect China?" He said that they would not affect China much. China was not interested in what went on in India. She was more interested in South-East Asia. An independent India would not make much immediate difference to China. Chinese communities in India were not very large, and there was not much direct trade between the two countries. The standard of living and of skill in India was lower than the standard in China. China was not afraid of India as an industrial competitor in the world markets.

11. Protection of Chinese communities in the South was the duty of the Chinese Government. The younger Chinese and some of the workers were being subjected to Communist pressure, but with the right kind of guidance from China, this could be corrected. These Chinese made a big contribution to the trade and welfare of China, where hundreds of thousands depended on their relatives abroad. He summed up nationalism in East Asia, outside China, by saying:—

> "All these peoples dislike us because we are cleverer and more hard-working and successful than they are. They are jealous. In many ways it suits us better to have Western Powers controlling them than to have a group of unstable and inefficient independent little States in Asia."

12. He was worried by the attacks on Chinese in Java, which he said were typical of what Chinese might expect there or elsewhere if there was self-rule by the local inhabitants. The Chinese colonist was unwelcome because he was more efficient than the natives.

13. I looked across the room at John Keswick, and said to Dr. Soong: "Is there no parallel between the John Keswicks of China and the Chinese living in the South Seas—are you not here in China at the moment doing to British firms and subjects exactly what you complain is being done to Chinese in South-East Asia?"

14. He took this very seriously and expatiated on the difference between the treatment of foreign firms in China and of Chinese firms in South-East Asia. "There is no comparison," he said, "we need people like Keswick in China. The numbers involved in China are very small. Their status is quite different to the status of Chinese firms abroad, and we shall keep as many foreign firms in China as are necessary to us, and we shall make it possible for them to continue to do business."

15. Discussing the position in China, he said that Chinese economy was still based on agriculture, that she had amazing powers of resilience, and that with a couple of years of peace and good harvests she could achieve economic and financial stability. But whether she was allowed this breathing space depended on Russia, and he was very dubious about Russian intentions. Russia was the great problem to China.

R. H. SCOTT.

Hong Kong, 9th June, 1946.

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CHINA. August 8, 1946.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[F 11481/33/10] Copy No. 068a

Mr. Ogden to Mr. Wallinger (Nanking).—(Communicated by Shanghai Despatch No. 187 of 12th July; Received 8th August.)

(No. 199.)

Sir, *Shanghai, 12th July, 1946.*

AT the request of the Far Eastern Department of the Foreign Office I recently had a memorandum prepared on the subject of Soviet activities in Shanghai, copy of which was sent to embassy in my letter to Mr. Lamb of the 21st June, 1946. I felt at the time, however, that this report, while correct in its facts, needed, in order to give a true picture of the present situation, to be supplemented by a similar estimate of the American position, since in Shanghai—as in many other parts of the world at the present time—there is a silent struggle for influence between American and Soviet interests; it is an unequal struggle because while the latter side have a clear idea of what they want, an organisation through which to work, and a united and well-drilled official staff, the former do not appear to have clearly defined their objective, have to work with and through the party now in power in China, with much of whose activities they disagree, and must operate through a number of agencies—diplomatic, naval and military officers, business concerns, U.N.R.R.A. and so forth—so that there is little co-ordination of effort and frequent breaks in continuity of policy.

2. The situation is in many respects similar to that which obtained in China just after the last war when the immense potential value of the China trade had captured American imagination and the opportunity of taking advantage of the disappearance of one of their chief competitors and of the apparent weakness of Britain seemed to good to lose. There was, furthermore, in China a party hostile to the Government of the day which was only too anxious to enlist the help of the wealthy United States (and perhaps Great Britain) in its long struggle against the Central Government: in the event the American (and British) Government refused to become involved in a civil war and so this party (the Kuomintang), after toying with the idea of soliciting help from Japan (and abandoning it for various reasons, one being the temporary weakness of that country after the earthquake of 1923), finally turned to the Soviet for help, and with that help was able to overthrow the established Government at Peking and obtain control of the whole of China. The price the Kuomintang had to pay for this help was to join into a campaign against "imperialism" which manifested itself particularly in attacks on the British concessions at three Yangtse ports: later—and in places where there were no such obvious targets—other foreign interests such as the Chinese Maritime Customs property (at Wuhu) and missionary, consular and business premises at Nanking became the target for mob attacks. There was a difference, however, between the earlier and later phases of these attacks in that while those made on Hankow and Kiukiang concessions were carried out with the full knowledge and approval of the, then-called, Nationalist Government, the later attacks were engineered by the Left wing of the party which was still controlled by the Soviet leaders, Borodin and Galens, and were intended to embroil the Right wing (to which the Generalissimo and most of the present leaders of the Central Government belonged) with the Powers—Great Britain, the United States and Japan.

3. The origin of the breach between the Kuomintang and the Soviet was the decision of Chiang Kai-shek and his Finance Minister, T. V. Soong, to move down river after the party had established itself at Hankow and secure control of Shanghai with its wealth and accessibility to the outside world, whereas the Soviets wished him to continue his advance up the railway to Peking, the political capital, and so remain dependent on them for funds and munitions. The attempt to embroil Chiang with the Powers by the riots at Nanking failed and no serious trouble occurred at Shanghai owing to the forethought of the British Government in despatching a strong defence force to Shanghai in time to prevent disorder: and the change-over of control in the native city was

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facilitated by a bargain between Chiang and some of the Shanghai underworld, the chief of whom, the notorious Tu Yueh-seng, is still a prominent figure in Shanghai and used to be described as "a leading resident of the French Concession" (where he laid the foundations of his fortune in opium and gambling dens and rackets of all sorts) but has recently appeared as head of the shipping association or of the Stock Exchange.

4. After the surrender of the Japanese forces there was a general scramble to secure as much as possible of their assets and of any other property from which a profit could be extracted. One of the chief problems of this office, as of other consulates when they were subsequently reopened, was to prevent the replacement of Japanese civil or military occupants of British premises—whether hotels or apartment houses, hospitals, clubs, business premises or private residences—by Chinese military or in some cases civil bodies. In this struggle the American attitude was inconsistent and unpredictable: they claimed that they had only come in to disarm and repatriate the Japanese and as allies of the Chinese to help them to secure control of the city and that it was only their prompt action that had prevented the Communist forces in the vicinity from seizing it: and this latter claim was probably justified. Soon after our arrival I was able to arrange a triangular meeting at which it was agreed between General Tang En-po, who was then in nominal control of the area, the American authorities and myself that requisitioning of premises should be carried out in an orderly way through certain specified officers and that no British property was to be occupied except by agreement with the rightful owner or formal requisitioning through this office. In spite of this, however, it was frequently necessary to take strong action to eject unwanted Chinese occupants and sometimes premises were let to the American forces to forestall occupation by the Chinese or to secure their removal when other methods failed. At times, however, the Americans have behaved in a more high-handed and unscrupulous manner than any Chinese I have encountered, though it must be admitted that their victims were more often their own nationals than British or French concerns. Instances of the inconsiderate—to say the least of it—behaviour of certain American authorities were the seizure of Embankment Building and attempt to evict a number of ex-internees in favour of American troops (see my letter No. 180 of the 24th June, 1946) and their action in continuing for some months to send their ships to be refitted in the (British) Shanghai Dockyards which had been unlawfully occupied and operated by the Chinese navy. Another good illustration of their high-handed methods was the seizure of most of the berths and wharves on the river to the exclusion or inconvenience of all other traffic (including Chinese and, when it began to arrive, U.N.R.R.A.); it is only within the last few days, and owing to the departure of a large part of their fleet to more pleasant summer quarters at Tsingtao, that the control of the port has been handed back to the Chinese authorities—in theory and it may be a long time yet before this is so in practice.

5. In the city their behaviour has been similarly overbearing owing to the lack of discipline among both soldiers and sailors: so many accidents have been caused by the reckless driving of jeeps and trucks that a whole floor of the General Hospital was reserved for such cases, and there have been frequent incidents in which American individual soldiers and sailors or patrols have come to blows with Chinese police or military forces and not a few have been killed from time to time on both sides: a member of the Foreign Service who had been injured in an accident in Formosa and was treated for some weeks in the American military hospital stated that it was an almost nightly occurrence that military or naval personnel were brought in injured or killed in street brawls. Another disturbing factor has been their insistence on paying their forces in American dollar notes which has meant that most prices are quoted in American dollars: that this was not—as is sometimes claimed—inevitable is shown by the situation in Japan where, in spite of the fact that the Americans are in complete control, all forces are paid in yen at a fixed rate of exchange. A further complicating factor is the fixing of prices in restaurants and hotels used by American personnel by their Provost-Marshal and the exemption from the payment of certain local taxation of their personnel.

6. But perhaps the most disturbing feature is the general demoralisation caused by the flooding of the city with goods smuggled in or bought at special prices in "Post Exchanges" (soldiers' shops) or sold cheaply as surplus stores or by U.N.R.R.A. and C.N.R.R.A.: the combination of these influences creates a black market mentality which, when accompanied by rapid inflation of the currency and the absence of any system of rationing or price-control, leads to

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hoarding and makes any form of healthy trading and long-term planning impossible. The situation is being made even worse by the arrival of an increasing number of American "carpet-baggers" whose one idea is to make a quick profit and withdraw quickly. An extreme case of this was quoted in a recent scathing report in *Time* wherein a dentist was stated to have bought a practice and abandoned it and returned to the United States when he found that he could sell his professional equipment for a sum greater than he could hope to get by practising in China for several years. Attempts are, of course, made to prevent such procedure by means of restrictive banking and customs regulations but, as usual, it has been found that such measures are only effective and hampering to legitimate traders and easily avoided by those against whom they are aimed. To representatives of old-established American firms this atmosphere is as unwelcome as it is to British firms and their general view—which they do not hesitate to voice at every opportunity—is that there is no hope of a return to normal conditions so long as the army (or armed forces generally) are in control. It is a commonplace that owing to excessive labour costs it is more expensive to move cargo from ship to warehouse than to cover the freight and all other charges on the same goods from New York or London: congestion on the river is so bad that high demurrage has to be paid for days or weeks on nearly every ship and, in certain kinds of cargo at least, pilferage while ships are in harbour or in process of being delivered to the consignee may amount to one-third or more of the value or blackmail of the same value must be paid. At the same time it is the melancholy truth that with all the extravagant increase in wage rates there is no real rise in the standard of living from which an improved buying power could be expected.

7. The recent appointment of Dr. K. C. Wu to the post of Mayor of Shanghai gave rise to hopes of an improvement and in certain directions these appear on the way to being realised. For instance the short-sighted policy of trying to force into bankruptcy the foreign companies which maintain the public utilities appears to have been abandoned and they are now in comparatively easier water though their position is still far from satisfactory; it will be recalled that in the early days when the American-owned telephone company was seized and operated entirely by the Chinese, it required a personal visit from the United States Ambassador, General Hurley, and the threat of stopping all supplies to China to secure its release; (not having a similarly convincing argument we were unable to take parallel action and it required several stormy interviews before the three British firms were similarly released). This action on the part of the American Ambassador was of course secretly resented at the time and it and similar high-handed actions and the disorderly behaviour of their armed forces has on several occasions given rise to a regular anti-American campaign such as that through which we have recently passed. The effect of these campaigns varies; some Americans are genuinely surprised and hurt by such manifestations after all that their country has done and is doing for China; some take the view that the only honest and sincere Chinese are to be found among the Communists; others turn violently anti-Chinese and have been known to go out at nights and assault any—probably most inoffensive—Chinese they meet; others again take a more cynical view remembering that the Chinese would be unable to do without them for many reasons and laugh at the movement as unreal or suggest that it is merely a manœuvre on the part of the Russians to create difficulties for them (which, of course, it often is.) On the Chinese side there is a similar confusion of ideas; they are generally in a mood to demand their full rights and to resent anything in the nature of domination or patronage; to nearly everyone the continuation of the present situation means certain material advantages—whatever the ultimate consequences to the country may be; and there is a complacent thought—similar to that of the Americans—that the American Government cannot afford to let the present administration collapse because that would be playing right into the hands of the Russians. There is also reason to believe that while the rumours of impending trouble—general or partial strikes, attacks on public utility companies, organised assaults on American servicemen, &c.—give rise to some concern and that precautions are being taken to deal with any disorder that may arise, the authorities feel sure that should a situation materialise with which their normal forces and any American force that is present cannot cope, they have a trump-card to play in the ganster forces that Tu Yueh-seng can produce now as in 1927.

8. How far these troubles are being fomented by the Soviet representatives in Shanghai and what fear there is of a serious outbreak of an anti-foreign nature it is very difficult to estimate. I am informed that Soviet consular and military

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officers—in their cups and when they think there is no one present who understands their language—talk openly of what they will do " when " the Communists capture the city and always take it for granted that the American forces will be withdrawn as soon as the threat becomes serious. They have certainly not abandoned their ideas of world domination by revolution, but their experiences of twenty years ago when the Kuomintang successfully ejected them after the object of overthrowing the Peking Government had been achieved must, I feel, make them wary of becoming too prominently involved and incline them to wait and see how far the Chinese Communist Party is capable of winning the day by itself and whether it will remain amenable to Soviet direction after it has secured itself in certain areas and especially in the cities. The failure of the Japanese to consolidate their position in spite of overwhelming military force and the inability of the Powers owing to their preoccupation elsewhere to intervene effectively must surely give them to pause before taking a more active share in the struggle especially if the United Nations Organisation shows signs of being able to play the part for which it has been cast and no major economic or political change diverts the United States from its present course. The chief danger, as I see it, lies in the failure of the Americans to produce enough men of the type necessary to carry out their self-imposed task, men with the patience, moderation, integrity, and the sense of duty required in the admittedly very difficult circumstances I have attempted to describe. When recruits were being sought for U.N.R.R.A. staff in China, the Chinese let it be known that they wanted fresh blood and, as far as possible, no one with previous experiences in China—thinking presumably that they would get a more sympathetic and easily-controlled staff: their wishes were acceded to and a staff of the desired type was found—but the effect was just the opposite of that (presumably) intended, since those who came out with no more knowledge of the country and people than is to be obtained from newspapers and propaganda articles became very quickly the harshest critics of China generally and, except in cases where the high salary paid is a consideration, wish to leave at once; the waste and misuse of U.N.R.R.A. supplies and surplus military stores, the never-ending negotiations and the senseless civil war, the general war-weariness and nostalgia of the average American, all combine to incline them to find any way of withdrawing all forces except perhaps the navy which has had a traditional summer base at Tsingtao (and Chefoo) and the marines who, too, have been accustomed to a not unduly exacting garrison post in North China.

9. It is possible that a combination of these influences may cause a withdrawal of the Americans sufficient to appear to give their opponents a favourable opportunity and it is believed in some quarters that the Soviet authorities are already preparing the ground for it. I have the honour to enclose a further memorandum(1) by the security officer whose previous report was the basis of my despatch under reference and one(1) by an anonymous (but obviously Russian) contributor, and while I am inclined to discount much of the statements and forebodings I do not think, in view of our experiences of twenty years ago, that they can be wholly disregarded.

I have, &c.
A. G. N. OGDEN

(1) Not printed.

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(For release for use by Press and Radio on Thursday morning, October 10.)

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PRESS RELEASE

No. 51 Ottawa, October 9, 1946.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs announced today that the following message from the Government of Canada is being conveyed to the Government of China in connection with the October 10 celebration of the founding of the Chinese Republic:

> Canada sends greetings to the Government and people of China as they celebrate on the Double Tenth the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. It is a source of gratification that the bonds of friendship uniting our two countries, which were strengthened by our mutual participation in the war against the Axis Powers, have continued to develop as we both cooperate in the work of the United Nations. On this occasion, Canada salutes China and sends sincere wishes for the happiness and well-being of the people of China.

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LBP/WB
DEC. 5/46.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am attaching, hereto, correspondence we have had with Mr. St. Laurent regarding our extremely difficult property situation in China.

In order to relieve the immediate pressure there, we have asked our Nanking Mission to explore the possibility of extending the lease on a house which the Embassy presently occupies there. At the moment we are paying $650 U.S. per month for this house and the owner is now demanding, for an extension of the lease, $1,500 per month with two years' rent paid in advance. The Embassy feels that they might get an extension for four months, while our prefabricated houses are building, at $2,000 a month. This will give you some idea of the way tenants are being held up in Nanking.

Mr. St. Laurent, you will notice, agrees with the suggestions put forward to him in our letter but he feels that possibly you might wish the Standing Committee of the House to give an opinion on this proposition.

Pending a solution of the longer range problem, we will have to take some immediate steps if the Embassy is to function. In fact, the Embassy housing situation is so critical in Nanking, that if we do not take these steps, we will probably be forced to ask the Ambassador Designate, Justice Davis, to delay reporting in China until such time as we have been able to make satisfactory accommodation arrangements. You will agree, I am sure, that this would be a most unsatisfactory development, and should be avoided, if at all possible.

For the above reasons an immediate decision is required on the following:

1. Authorization of the Mission to acquire ten acres of land as a permanent site, at a cost of approximately $80,000;

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2. Move in two or three prefabricated units of the larger size now being designed, and

3. Try to obtain a four months' extension on one of the houses even if we have to pay $2,000 a month for it.

C B Pearson

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CANADIAN DELEGATION

C163994

BILTMORE HOTEL,
New York, N.Y.,
November 26, 1946.

Dear Mr. Pearson,

I have your letter of the 25th instant, concerning the acquisition of property for our Mission at Nanking. I am returning it herewith so that it may remain in the departmental files. Personally I am in favour of the plan suggested, but to carry it out would no doubt involve an expenditure of the order of two or three hundred thousand dollars. I do not think the Prime Minister would care to have us commit ourselves to an expenditure of that order without a recommendation from the External Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. Perhaps you might send him a memorandum about it and get his views.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Louis S. St.Laurent.

L. B. Pearson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
OTTAWA.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

C163995

Ottawa, 25th November, 1946.

Dear Mr. St. Laurent:

You will, I think, recall the attached Order-in-Council regarding the difficult property situation in China.

After having the benefit of General Odlum's advice, all our discussions here lead us to believe that we should plan on a rather more permanent basis than that visualized when the previous Order-in-Council was prepared. If this permanent planning is agreed to, it will involve:-

(a) A larger site, and

(b) More permanent buildings.

(a) It is estimated that the site should be about ten acres in extent. A compound of this size could contain, ultimately, the necessary offices, residences, servants' quarters and workshops. This, I might add, is considerably less than the space the British and Americans are planning for. It is, of course, certain that a much better price could be obtained on the ten acres, were the whole amount purchased at one time. We have authority to purchase three acres at $36,000. Our latest advice is that ten acres would probably cost about $80,000.

(b) After consideration of the plans of the prefabricated houses, it was decided that those put forward previously at an approximate price of $6,500 c.i.f. Nanking, would not be suitable for long-term occupancy. We, therefore, had discussions with the architect, who is now working on plans for somewhat larger units and houses that can be considered not as temporary structures but as buildings worthy of being incorporated in the permanent Embassy site.

The Hon. L. S. St. Laurent,
Head of the Canadian Delegation to the
United Nations,
Biltmore Hotel,
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

...

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These will, of course, be more expensive than those already quoted on. Our intention would be to send two of these better houses and to build any further buildings in the compound of brick, which is now reported as being available in Nanking.

One of the houses we rent is, from all reports, well suited as the Embassy residence. Even though a permanent compound is visualized, a residence a short distance away would not be a disadvantage. General Odlum started exploratory negotiations for the purchase of this house. Once we have indicated our intention of looking after ourselves in Nanking by acquiring land and erecting buildings, it is believed a much better price on this house than that now asked will be quoted. In General Odlum's view, the house might be obtained for something between $75,000 and $100,000 and would be a very good buy if such a price could be obtained.

We also had in mind sending to Nanking to direct these operations Mr. Walter Small, who has supervised building in China for many years for the Foreign Mission Board of the United Church of Canada. The Board has indicated that they would make his services available to us for six months, and I think we could interest him at a salary of about $5,000 per annum. Mr. Small sat in with us on our discussions in Ottawa and agrees with us that it would appear to be good policy to plan for a permanent compound of suitable size and permanent buildings.

I would appreciate receiving your agreement in principle to this suggestion of planning on a more permanent basis. I have asked our Mission to go ahead and have the ten-acre site surveyed and quoted on. It is, of course, since all the figures are so indefinite, impossible to make a formal submission to Treasury at this time, but, if you will let me have your views, I shall discuss the matter informally with them.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) L. B. Pearson

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 22 August 1946

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated 16th August, 1946, from the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, representing:

"That the Department of External Affairs expects to be faced with serious property difficulties in Nanking when the present leases on two houses, used as office space and living quarters for the staff, expire next spring. This present space is barely adequate for the staff now in China and it does not permit of the movement, which is desired, of the wives and families of staff members, neither would there be accommodation for further staff members to be sent.

The total rent now being paid is $1,250 U.S. per month, and it is expected on the termination of our short leases that renewals could be obtained only upon a very heavy increase in the rent.

In an endeavour to meet this situation, we have given thought to the purchase of some land in Nanking and the movement there of pre-fabricated houses. This, although it would not solve permanently our housing problems in China, would we feel, present a solution for, say, the next five years.

According to the latest advices from China, three acres of suitable land could be purchased for approximately $36,000 U.S. We are informed by the Precision Housing Company, of Vancouver, that the cost of a pre-fabricated unit would be $6,500 C.i.f. Nanking. It is expected that we would need four such units to begin with. It is our intention, before a final selection of these units is made, to have them looked at by the Ambassador, who will be returning to Vancouver.

It will be appreciated that the purchase of the land and the housing units will be only part of the costs of this undertaking. The cost of further units that may be needed, of erection in China, of a fence to enclose the property in a compound, and of furnishings will be additional, and will have to remain the subject of a later submission."

The Committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the Department of External Affairs be authorized:

(a) to start negotiations for the purchase of three acres of suitable land in Nanking at an approximate cost of $36,000 U.S.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs. ... ...

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The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for External Affairs. ... ...

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(b) to purchase four pre-fabricated houses at an approximate cost per unit of $6,500 c.i.f. Nanking.

A.M. Hill
Asst. Clerk of the Privy Council.

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CANADIAN EMBASSY

NANKING, China,
August 19th, 1947.

No. 461

Sir,

New Financial Regulations

You will no doubt have read from the press of the announcement of the promulgation of new financial regulations by the Government of China. I attach hereto a copy of these regulations which I have extracted from the press.

2. The official rate of exchange remains at NC$12,000 to US$1. Authorized importers of rice, wood, flour, cotton, coal, coke and fertilizers will be supplied with the necessary foreign exchange at this rate. This means that the Government will be in effect subsidizing the importation of these special commodities to the extent of the difference between the official rate and the open market rate.

3. Foreign exchange for all other authorized imports will be furnished to importers at the open market rate.

4. Exporters, instead of having as formerly to exchange their foreign funds resultant from export at the official rate, will now be able to sell these funds at the open market rate. By this action one of the strongest deterrents against export has been removed.

5. There has been a consistent decrease in overseas remittances which normally flow into this country at a tremendous rate from overseas Chinese. They naturally refuse to send their money here when they have to accept the official rate of 12,000 to 1 in exchange for their funds. These remittances will now be converted at the open market rate and thus there should be a great increase in the flow of overseas funds to China.

6. You will also note that funds coming from overseas to be spent in China will hereafter be converted at the open market rate. This will affect very advantageously religious missions and other similar organizations which have all been penalized by having to accept an abnormal rate in exchange for their dollars.

7. The regulations also seem to provide for the exchange of other remittances here at the open market rate. We are checking into this but I am sure that hereafter you will be able to send our funds by telegraphic transfer with the assurance that we will get in exchange therefrom approximately the same rate as we would secure if we converted these funds

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The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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in the open market. I hope that this turns out to be the case so that we can legally do what we have been doing.

8. I might say that I am positive that the Government here has been discriminating and has been giving special rates to certain persons in China up to the extent of NC$36,000 to US$1. I believe that some foreign diplomatic missions have been receiving this discriminatory treatment. I am not sufficiently sure of my facts to be able to charge this definitely but I have a very strong suspicion that this has been going on. This salves our conscience very much although I certainly did not feel that we should stand idly by these last few months and be deliberately robbed of more than two-thirds of every dollar sent out to us.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) T.C. Davis,

Ambassador.

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Enclosure No. 1
Despatch No. 461
August 19th, 1947.

REGULATIONS ON EXCHANGE DEALS RELEASED

(From the China Press, August 18, 1947)

The following is a list of temporary regulations in connection with foreign exchange transactions:

I. Functions Of The Central Bank

1. The National Government, with a view to stabilizing the currency, promoting economic recovery and implementing the International Monetary Fund Agreement, hereby temporarily authorizes and directs the Central Bank of China to exercise the following special functions with regard to foreign exchange transactions.

(a) To establish a Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee to coordinate the supply and demand of foreign exchange.

(b) To designate certain banks as Appointed Banks to act on behalf of the Central Bank of China to engage in foreign exchange transactions.

(c) To license persons to act as Brokers in Foreign Exchange to engage in foreign exchange brokerage transactions.

(d) To issue and execute the necessary regulations governing the Appointed Banks and the Brokers in Foreign Exchange.

(e) To control dealings in foreign currency securities.

(f) To regulate in accordance with the policy of the Government matters pertaining to the use and disposal of blocked property and property interest abroad of persons in China.

II. Appointed Banks And Brokers

2. The Central Bank of China shall select, from among the banks duly registered with the Ministry of Finance, those which have a satisfactory record in foreign exchange dealings and are capable of acting within regulations, and shall appoint them to act as agents of the Central Bank of China in operating in foreign exchange transactions. Such banks shall be known as "Appointed Bank" and shall be granted the necessary license.

3. The Central Bank of China shall select certain qualified brokers in foreign exchange who have a satisfactory record and are capable of acting within regulations and designate them as "Brokers in Foreign Exchange". The said Brokers shall be granted the necessary license.

4. Only Appointed Banks may undertake foreign exchange transactions. Brokers in Foreign Exchange may only

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act within the scope of their licenses in introducing their clients to the Appointed Banks for foreign exchange transactions.

5. Regulations covering other provisions governing the Appointed Banks and Brokers in Foreign Exchange shall be issued separately.

III. Exchange Transactions.

6. The Central Bank of China may only buy and sell foreign exchange at the official rate for purposes authorized by the National Government.

7. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee may adjust the open market rate of foreign exchange to meet market conditions.

8. Appointed Banks may buy foreign exchange at the open market rate arising from the following transactions.

(a) Exports or re-exports from China. An Appointed Bank, having bought or contracted to buy exchange arising therefrom, shall certify on a statement prepared by the exporter at time of shipment in a form prescribed by the Central Bank of China that it has bought or contracted to buy the relative exchange: Provided however that such certificate shall not be required in the case of a shipment valued at less than US$25 - or equivalent value and not for commercial purposes.

(b) Remittances from abroad to China.

(c) Foreign exchange sold for expenditure in China.

(d) Other Foreign exchange.

9. Appointed Banks may sell foreign exchange at the open market rate to the public only for the following purposes.

(a) To pay the cost in accordance with these regulations and rulings issued thereunder of imports approved by the Export Import Board other than those prescribed in Article 6 above.

(b) For legitimate personal requirements in accordance with these regulations and rulings issued thereunder.

(c) For other legitimate purposes authorized by the Executive Yuan.

10. The Appointed Banks shall settle their position in foreign exchange daily with the Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee.

11. No person may buy foreign exchange from Appointed Banks for transactions prescribed in Article 9 without the necessary documentary authorization.

12. A person applying to all Appointed Bank for foreign exchange shall sign a certificate in the form

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prescribed by the Central Bank of China stating that he does not possess and has not made and will not make arrangements to acquire from any other source the foreign exchange for which he applies.

13. In order to finance imports and exports under these Regulations, the Appointed Banks may, if necessary, do forward foreign exchange operations whose usance does not exceed three months, and may apply to the Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee for changeovers not exceeding 3 months.

14. Offices of Appointed Banks in places other than Shanghai may engage in foreign exchange transactions permitted under the Regulations but until further notice by the Central Bank of China any cover shall be obtained from their Shanghai Offices.

15. Any balances remaining in foreign currency accounts in banks as of the date of promulgation of these regulations shall be sold to the Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee in accordance with Article 10.

16. No bank shall make any loan in Chinese National currency on the security of foreign exchange, unless authorized by the Central Bank of China.

17. No appointed Banks of licensed brokers may deal in foreign currency securities unless specifically authorized by the Central Bank of China.

18. Appointed Banks may not engage in foreign exchange transactions for or in connection with export of Capital from China or speculative or arbitrary purposes whether for their own account or for the public. Appointed Banks prior to making a transfer of foreign exchange shall exercise reasonable diligence to satisfy themselves that the transaction is bonafide and in accordance with these regulations.

19. When an Appointed Bank has contracted to sell foreign exchange and the transaction giving rise thereto is cancelled in whole or in part, the purchaser shall be required to sell forthwith the entire amount of foreign exchange no longer required for the transaction at the original rate of purchase.

IV. Equalization Fund Committee

20. The Central Bank of China shall establish a Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee.

21. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee shall consist of three to five members to be appointed by the National Government, which shall also designate one of these members as Chairman.

22. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee shall establish a Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Account at the Central Bank of China.

23. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee shall be authorized to borrow foreign exchange and Chinese

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National Currency from the Central Bank of China from time to time under terms to be agreed between the Central Bank of China and the Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee.

24. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee may notify any Appointed Bank or Banks to buy or sell foreign exchange on its behalf at the open market rate.

25. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee shall submit a weekly report to the Executive Yuan specifying in detail the actions taken with regard to the foreign exchange market, the amount of foreign exchange bought or sold, etc. It may make recommendations to the Executive Yuan regarding the formulation and execution of foreign exchange and import and export policy.

26. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee shall have access to all documents and files of the Central Bank of China and of the Export-Import Board relating to foreign exchange transactions.

27. The Foreign Exchange Equalization Fund Committee in agreement with the Central Bank of China shall establish its own rules and regulations governing its foreign exchange transactions.

V. Reports

28. Appointed Banks shall report to the Central Bank of China in the form prescribed their position in the form prescribed their position in foreign exchange as of the close of business on each day, containing the following particulars:

(a) The names of all buyers of foreign exchange, the amounts sold to each client together with the rates, the deliveries and the purpose of each sale;

(b) The names of all sellers of foreign exchange, amounts bought from each client together with the rates, deliveries and origin or nature of the foreign exchange purchased: Provided however that items in the same currency involving amounts under US$500 or equivalent value thereof may be grouped in one amount without particulars.

Appointed Banks shall state in each such report that to the best of their knowledge, all the foreign exchange transactions listed therein are not contrary to the provisions of these regulations.

29. Brokers in foreign exchange shall keep in the form prescribed a complete record of daily foreign exchange transactions in which they are intermediaries and shall report to the Central Bank of China in the prescribed form all details of such transactions containing name of client, amount, delivery, rate and purpose.

30. All records and accounts of the Appointed Banks and licensed brokers shall be open to inspection and examination by the duly authorized representative of the Central Bank of China.

..... 5

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VI. Definitions

31. (a) The term foreign exchange as used in these regulations includes without limitation any of the following payable in a foreign currency or country whether blocked, partly blocked or free:

i. Deposits and credits of all kinds with banks, individuals, business firms and other organizations;

ii. Telegraphic transfers, demand, sight and time drafts, checks, traveller's checks, notes maturing within one year or less, documentary bills of exchange, and other orders or promises to pay, letters of credit, bank and trade acceptances;

iii. All other negotiable instruments maturing within one year of less, bonds, means of payment that are commonly dealt in by bankers.

(b) The term foreign currency securities as used in these regulations includes without limitation any securities, including shares stocks, bonds, debentures, expressed in a foreign currency or payable in a foreign country.

VII. Penalties

32. The Central Bank of China may temporarily suspend or cancel the licence to deal in foreign exchange of any Appointed Bank or Broker in Foreign Exchange who violates these regulations. The Ministry of Finance may be requested in accordance with law to impose a fine equivalent to not more than the amount of the underlying transaction. Cases involving criminal offence will be referred to the appropriate court for legal action.

33. Any non-Appointed Bank found engaging in foreign exchange transactions shall be subject to confiscation of the foreign exchange involved, and the manager may receive a sentence of imprisonment of not more than Five Years.

VIII. Miscellaneous

34. The import and export of foreign currency notes is prohibited without a licence from the Ministry of Finance: Provided however that a person may bring to or take from China for his personal use an amount not exceeding US$100 or equivalent value.

35. The import or export of foreign currency securities is prohibited without a licence from the Ministry of Finance.

36. Foreign Exchange requirements of all Government Organizations shall also be governed by the above regulations.

37. The date of the announcement of these regulations is August 16, 1947 and they shall enter into force immediately.

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C164006

August 23, 1947.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Visit of Chinese Parliamentary Mission.

You will recall that the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Liu Chieh, in his conversation with you on July 30 mentioned that a Chinese parliamentary mission which has been visiting the United States and the United Kingdom this summer would probably be coming to Ottawa early in September, and that he expressed the hope that you might receive them when they came. The Chinese Ambassador has now informed us that this mission will be in Ottawa from August 27 to September 1.

2. The Mission is headed by Dr. WU Shang-Ying, the secretary-general of the Legislative Yuan (Chinese Parliament). The other members are:

Dr. CHANG Chao-Yuan,	Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan.
Dr. SHENG Chen-Wei,	Member of the Legislative Yuan and Dean of the Comparative Law School at Soochow University.
Mr. KO Yin-Yue,	Adviser.

Dr. Wu and his colleagues are close associates of Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan and son of the founder of the Chinese Republic.

3. The Chinese Ambassador has stated that the Mission is primarily interested in the study of democratic institutions and parliamentary processes, and it is also in the nature of a goodwill mission for the promotion of friendship and better understanding between the peoples of China and Canada.

4. The Chinese Ambassador is aware that since the House is not in Session a good number of the persons whom the visiting Mission would most wish to meet will not be in Ottawa. It is hoped, however, that they will be able to arrange interviews with some members of the Government, representatives of political parties and Government officials who are in town.

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5. The Mission would greatly appreciate an opportunity to call on you. The Government might possibly wish to entertain Dr. Wu and his associates at a luncheon or a dinner during their visit to Ottawa.

6. The Chinese Embassy has also expressed the hope that the visiting Mission will be able to call on Mr. St. Laurent and it was suggested that it might also be appropriate for them to call on Mr. Heeney. Copies of this memorandum are accordingly being forwarded to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and Mr. Heeney.

7. Some biographical notes on the members of the visiting Mission and some notes on the Legislative Yuan will be forwarded to you shortly.

Laurent Beaudry

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FILE COPY J.R. Maybee/RR

C164008

August 23, 1947.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Visit of Chinese Parliamentary Mission.

You will recall that the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Liu Chieh, in his conversation with you on July 30 mentioned that a Chinese parliamentary mission which has been visiting the United States and the United Kingdom this summer would probably be coming to Ottawa early in September, and that he expressed the hope that you might receive them when they came. The Chinese Ambassador has now informed us that this mission will be in Ottawa from August 27 to September 4.

2. The Mission is headed by Dr. WU Shang-Ying, the secretary-general of the Legislative Yuan (Chinese Parliament). The other members are:

Dr. CHANG Chao-Yuan,	Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan.
Dr. SHENG Chen-Wei,	Member of the Legislative Yuan and Dean of the Comparative Law School at Soochow University.
Mr. KO Yin-Yue,	Adviser.

Dr. Wu and his colleagues are close associates of Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan and son of the founder of the Chinese Republic.

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C164010

August 26, 1947.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Chinese Parliamentary Mission

With reference to paragraph 5 of my memorandum to you of August 23 concerning the visit of a Chinese Parliamentary Mission, I regret that there is no further biographical information in the records of this Department respecting the members of the Mission.

2. You may be interested, however, in the following extract from a letter written by General Odlum to Mr. Pearson in June:

> "Dr. S.Y. Wu, Secretary General of the Legislative Yuan (the President of which is Dr. Sun Fo) is in Vancouver. He and a group of four or five who are with him are on a mission to study the legal codes and the law making machinery of the democracies. It is the intention of the Chinese Government to hold elections throughout China before December 25, the date on which the new constitution comes into force.
>
> "Dr. Wu, who is Dr. Sun Fo's right hand man, tells me that the harmony between Dr. Sun Fo and the Generalissimo is now greater than it was at any time while I was in China. Dr. Sun Fo and Dr. T.V. Soong are cooperating with the Generalissimo as they never did before.
>
> "When Dr. Wu reaches Ottawa he will be able to tell you something about the situation in Sinkiang. It is not at all a happy one."

3. I am attaching for your information the section of the Chinese Constitution which was finally adopted by the Chinese National Assembly on December 25, 1946, relating to the Legislative Yuan.

4. It would be appreciated if you could indicate a suitable time when the visiting Parliamentary Mission might call upon you.

Laurent Beaudry

28/8/14

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EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Article 57. - The Executive Yuan shall be responsible to the Legislative Yuan in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) The Executive Yuan has the responsibility to present to the Legislative Yuan its administrative policies and its administrative reports. Members of the Legislative Yuan have, in the sessions of the Legislative Yuan, the right to interpellate the President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan.

(2) If the Legislative Yuan dissents to any important policy of the Executive Yuan, it may, by resolution, ask the Executive Yuan to alter such policy. With respect to such resolution, the Executive Yuan may, with the approval of the President (of the Republic), request the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration. If, in reconsideration, two-thirds of the attending members of the Legislative Yuan uphold the original resolution, the President of the Executive Yuan shall either abide by the same or resign from office.

(3) If the Executive Yuan deems a resolution passed by the Legislative Yuan on a statutory, budgetary or treaty bill inexpedient and difficult for execution, it may, with the approval of the President (of the Republic), request, within ten days after the delivery of the said resolution to the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration. If, in reconsideration, two-thirds of the attending members of the Legislative Yuan uphold the original resolution, the President of the Executive Yuan shall either abide by the same or resign from office.

Article 58 - The Executive Yuan shall have an Executive Yuan Council to be composed of its President and Vice-President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions and the Executive Members without portfolio of the Executive Yuan, with the Yuan President as Chairman.

Prior to the submission to the Legislative Yuan of any statutory or budgetary bill or any bill concerning declaration of martial law, granting of general amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace, treaties or other important affairs, or concerning matters of common concern to the various Ministries and Commissions, the President and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan shall present the said bill to the Executive Yuan Council for discussion and decision.

Article 59 - The Executive Yuan shall, three months before the beginning of every fiscal year, present to the Legislative Yuan the budget for the following fiscal year.

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Article 60 - The Executive Yuan shall, within four months after the end of every fiscal year, present the Budget Statement to the Control Yuan.

Article 61 - The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be prescribed by law.

CHAPTER VI - Legislation

Article 62 - The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative organ of the State to be composed of Members of the Legislative Yuan elected by the people. It shall exercise the legislative power on behalf of the people.

Article 63 - The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide upon any statutory or budgetary bill or any bill concerning martial law, general amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace, treaties, and other important affairs of the State.

Article 64 - Members of the Legislative Yuan shall be elected in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) Those elected by Provinces and by Municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the National Government: five from each Province or Municipality with a population of less than 3,000,000; and, in case of a population exceeding 3,000,000 one additional Member for every additional 1,000,000 persons.

(2) Those elected by Mongolian Leagues.

(3) Those elected by Tibet.

(4) Those elected by various racial groups in the border regions.

(5) Those elected by Chinese Nationals residing abroad.

(6) Those elected by occupational groups.

The election of the Members of the Legislative Yuan and the allotment of their number in the preceding Second to Sixth Sections shall be determined by law.

The number of Women Members in the various Items of the First Section shall be determined by law.

Article 65 - Members of the Legislative Yuan shall serve a term of three years, and are re-eligible. The general election shall be completed within three months prior to the expiration of each term of office.

Article 66 - The Legislative Yuan shall have a President and a Vice-President to be elected by and from among the Members of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 67 - The Legislative Yuan may organize various Committees.

Such Committees may invite Government officials and private persons concerned to be present at their meetings for consultation.

Article 68 - The Legislative Yuan shall hold two regular sessions every year, to be convened by itself. The first session shall last from February to the end of May and the second session from September to the end of December. When necessary, a session may be extended.

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Article 69 - In any of the following circumstances, the Legislative Yuan may hold an extraordinary session:

(1) At the request of the President (of the Republic)

(2) Upon the petition of more than one-fourth of the Members of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 70 - The Legislative Yuan shall not make proposals for an increase in the expenditures listed in the budget presented by the Executive Yuan.

Article 71 - At the meetings of the Legislative Yuan, the Presidents of the various Yuan concerned and the Heads of the various Ministries and Commissions concerned may be present to present their opinions.

Article 72 - Statutory bills passed by the Legislative Yuan shall be sent to the President (of the Republic) and to the Executive Yuan. The President shall, within ten days after their receipt, promulgate them. The President may proceed with them in accordance with the provisions of Article 57 of the Constitution.

Article 73 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan shall be held responsible outside the Yuan for opinions he may have expressed and votes he may have cast in sessions of the Yuan.

Article 74 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan may, except in case of 'flagrante delicto' be arrested or detained without the permission of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 75 - No Member of the Legislative Yuan may concurrently hold a public office.

Article 76 - The organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be prescribed by law.

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C164014
J.R. Maybee/RR

August 28, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAURENT BEAUDRY:

Luncheon for Chinese Legislative Yuan Mission.

On the telephone this afternoon you remarked that the Chinese Embassy had suggested that a General Mow would be a suitable guest for the luncheon which was being planned for Tuesday, September 2, for the Chinese Legislative Yuan Mission. Mr. Maybee has been in touch with Mr. Mao of the Chinese Embassy and has procured some information about General Mow.

2. General T.T. Mow is the Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Air Force. He was one of the founders of the Chinese Air Force and has attended the civil aviation conferences at Chicago and the ICAO conference in Montreal as the Chinese representative. He is now stationed in Washington to look after the affairs of the Chinese Air Force in the United States. He is considerably senior to the Chinese Air Attache at the Chinese Embassy in Washington. General Mow is coming to Ottawa for a short visit on Monday, September 1.

POLITICAL III.

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28.8.47.

C164015

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re guests at the luncheon to be given by you in honour of the Chinese Mission at the Country Club, 1:30 p.m., Tuesday, September 2nd

---

The Ambassador of China has accepted your kind invitation to the Chinese mission and himself with a member of his Embassy to the luncheon and has requested that I should convey to you his gratefulness.

During the conversation he informed me that General T.T. Mow, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Air Force, who is now stationed in Washington to look after the affairs of the Chinese Air Force in the United States, would come to Ottawa on Monday and would be here on Tuesday. I therefore extended the invitation on your behalf to him.

There will be therefore a total of six as follows:

The Chinese Ambassador,
His Excellency Dr. Liu Chieh,
Dr. Wu,
Dr. Chang,
Dr. Sheng,
General T.T. Mow,
Counsellor - Chinese Embassy.

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C164016

A tentative list of your Canadian guests is submitted below:

The Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent,
The Rt. Hon. Mr. Howe,
The Honourable Alphonse Fournier,
Dr. Clark, Department of Finance,
Mr. Varcoe, Department of Justice,
Mr. Heeney, Privy Council,
Mr. L. Beaudry, External Affairs,
Mr. J.W. Pickersgill,
Mr. Measures, Chief of Protocol,
Mr. David Johnson, Chief of Political III.

The above mentioned will be in town on Tuesday and can be expected to be in a position to accept. Should this list meet with your approval, we will invite them as soon as we have received your approval.

Arrangements are being made at the Country Club.

Laurent Beaudry

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L.Beaudry/LB
28.8.47.

C164017

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

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---

The Ambassador of China has accepted your kind invitation to the Chinese mission and himself with a member of his Embassy to the luncheon and has requested that I should convey to you his gratefulness.

During the conversation he informed me that General T.T. Mow, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Air Force, who is now stationed in Washington to look after the affairs of the Chinese Air Force in the United States, would come to Ottawa on Monday and would be here on Tuesday. I therefore extended the invitation on your behalf to him.

There will be therefore a total of six as follows:

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Dr. Clark, Department of Finance,
~~Mr. Varcoe, Department of Justice,~~
~~Mr. Heeney, Privy Council,~~
Mr. L. Beaudry, External Affairs,
~~Mr. J.W. Pickersgill,~~
Mr. Measures, Chief of Protocol,
Mr. David Johnson, Chief of Political III.

The above mentioned will be in town on Tuesday and can be expected to be in a position to accept. Should this list meet with your approval, we will invite them as soon as we have received your approval.

Arrangements are being made at the Country Club.

Thos. Mackenzie

W. Ross Macdonald M.P.?

Geo. McCull

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C164019

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: Luncheon for the Chinese Parliamentary Mission.

Mr. Beaudry has advised me that the Chinese Ambassador has accepted your invitation to a luncheon on Tuesday, September 2nd, on behalf of the visiting Chinese Parliamentary Mission.

The Mission is headed by Dr. WU Shang-Ying, the secretary-general of the Legislative Yuan (Chinese Parliament). The other members are:

Dr. CHANG Chao-Yuan, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan.

Dr. SHENG Chen-Wei, Member of the Legislative Yuan and Dean of the Comparative Law School at Soochow University.

Mr. Beaudry has also invited, to the luncheon, the Chinese Ambassador and a member of his staff, and General T.T. Mow, head of the Chinese Air Force Mission in Washington, who will be in Ottawa next week.

a list of possible guests and other details are being prepared by External affs.

J.W.P.

August 28, 1947.

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

C164020

Re: Luncheon for Chinese Legislative Mission

Measures has secured the following information regarding the three members of the Legislative Yuan who will be present at the Luncheon :-

"Table of equivalents"

Dr. Wu

The Chinese Ambassador says there is no equivalent in Canadian institutions to the post of Secretary General of the Legislative Yuan. The Ambassador indicates that the Secretary General is the third ranking official of the Yuan.

(1) President of the Yuan (Sun Fo)
(2) The Vice President,
(3) Secretary General.

The Secretary General's rank and salary are equivalent to those of member of the cabinet, though he is not a cabinet minister.

Dr. Chang

The position of Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan is similar to that of the same official of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. In particular he deals with the ratification of treaties.

Dr. Sheng

Neither Dr. Sheng nor the other two above were elected, but were chosen or appointed by the Government of China. Later on, the members of the Legislative Yuan will be elected, but at present all are appointed.

- - - - - -

Attached is the present guest list and proposed menu as supplied by Mr. Measures. He tells me that the round table will only seat 16 although Mr. Beaudry had previously been under the impression that it would seat 20. So far, 14 have accepted assuming Mr. MacKinnon is free. Neither of the Air Marshals has been heard from and it is unlikely that more than one, if either, will be in town.

Sept. 1, 1947.

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Luncheon by the Prime Minister

in honour of

Members of the Chinese Legislative Yuan Mission

1.30 p.m., Tuesday, September 2, 1947: Country Club.

A Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

A His Excellency Liu Chieh, Ambassador of China
A Dr. Wu, Secretary General, Legislative Yuan
A Dr. Chang, Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, Legislative Yuan
A General T.T. Mow, Vice Commander-in-Chief, Chinese Air Force
A Dr. Sheng, Member, Legislative Yuan and Dean Comparative Law School, Soochow University
A Dr. Chu, Third Secretary, Chinese Embassy

A Rt. Hon. C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction and Supply
? Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce
A Rt. Hon. L.S. St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs
A Hon. Alphonse Fournier, Minister of Public Works

D Mr. W.R. Macdonald, M.P., Deputy Speaker, House of Commons
A Mr. George McIlraith, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to Minister of Reconstruction
D Mr. M.W. Mackenzie, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce
Air Marshal R.W. Leckie
Air Vice Marshal W.A. Curtis
A Mr. Laurent Beaudry, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs
14 A Mr. Howard Measures, Chief of Protocol

Others

Dr. Clifford Clark, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Finance
Mr. David Johnson, Department of External Affairs

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C164022

SUGGESTED MENU

Dry Martini

Tomato Juice

Melon "cocktail" Sherry

Celery Soup

Mixed Grill White wine

- Broccoli -

or, Fresh Chicken Broilers —broiler

Salad

Frozen Pear Pudding

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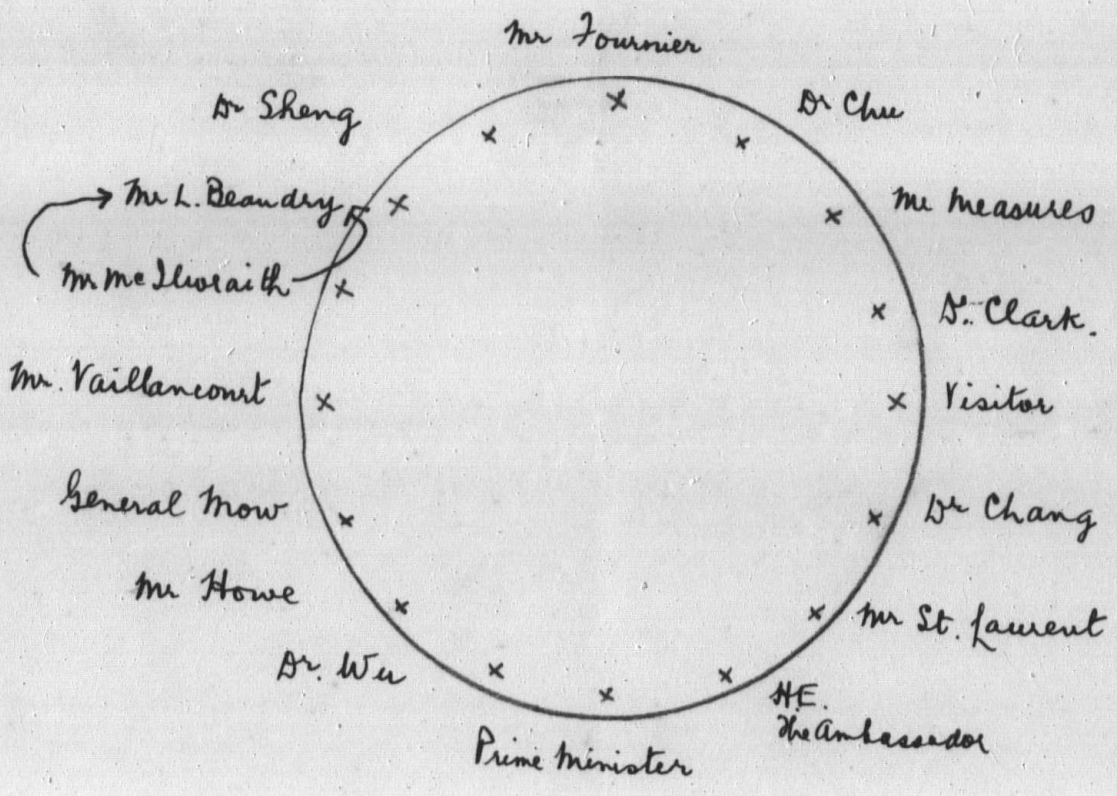
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C164023

Ottawa

Luncheon for
Chinese Mission

Canada Club
Sept 2nd 47



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Mr Pickersgill C164024 1.IX.47 4pm.

"Table of equivalents"

DR. WU

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① President of the Yuan (Sun Fo)
② The Vice President
③ Secretary General

The Sec Gen's rank & salary are equivalent to those of member of the cabinet, though he is not a cabinet minister.

DR CHANG

The position of Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan is similar to that of the same official of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. In particular he deals with the ratification of treaties

DR SHENG

Neither Dr Sheng nor the other two above were elected, but were chosen or appointed by the govt. of China. Later on, the members of the legislative yuan will be elected, but at present all are appointed. W.L.M.

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C164025

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 22

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 9, 1948.

A message of appreciation for Canadian relief assistance to China has been received by the Canadian Ambassador in Nanking, the Honourable T. C. Davis, from the Director-General of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Shanghai, Mr. P. H. Ho, the Department of External Affairs announced today.

In a letter to Mr. Davis, Mr. Ho said:

"The closure of CNRRA operations gives me an opportunity to express to you, and through you to your Government, my appreciation and that of the Administration for the great contribution your country has made to relief and rehabilitation in China.

"The material contribution from your Government has been a large one, but of equal importance to us has been the work of the Canadian nationals who have worked shoulder to shoulder with us during the past two years. Some of these have been programme personnel, who have had an opportunity of serving directly with their Chinese colleagues and in this way they have added to the success of this aspect of our Programme, which is one that has always been very close to our hearts. We know that the pattern which we have worked out in this connection will be one which can be followed whenever foreign assistance is given to China in the future.

"I am sure you share my satisfaction with the establishment of the Trusteeship and the Rehabilitation Commission which will be in a position to continue the work of UNRRA and CNRRA in certain long-term projects."

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China

C164026

Ottawa, March 25th, 1948.

Memorandum to the Prime Minister

Visit of the Canadian Ambassador at Nanking to Canton

During the recent visit of our Ambassador, Mr. Justice T. C. Davis, to Canton, he had the opportunity of talking with the Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces, Mr. T. V. Soong.

Mr. Davis has reported that Mr. Soong's first comment was a request for a report on your welfare. In this connection you might be interested in reading paragraph 12 of the attached despatch.

L B Pearson

27.3.18 (U.S.)

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Date of Minute

Initials of Author

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

SECRET

M I N U T E

ON Visit of Mr. Justice T.C. Davis, Canadian Ambassador at Nanking, to Canton in February 1948

C164027

CIRCULATION

Prime Minister

Mr. Justice T. C. Davis thinks that Mr. T.V. Soong, one of China's leading men, has been appointed Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces to prepare a last ditch haven for the present Government of China.

Physical barriers largely make for the isolation of this part of China. There is only one railway line from Canton to Hankow which could easily be cut. Though the area is not self-supporting, the volume of remittances from Chinese in Canada and the United States, who mainly come from these provinces, could finance all needed imports. Should the rest of China become Communist, and a war between Russian and the Western Powers eventuate, the area could form a spring-board for military operations.

The policy of China in maintaining the nationalistic spirit among Chinese abroad is making for uneasiness in Siam, Burma and Malaya.

T. V. Soong, in his conversation with Mr. Davis, gave no indication that he had been made Governor of the two provinces to establish a final base for the National Government. He criticized the National Government for bringing the Chinese constitution into effect at this time and for being over-centralized. He stated that an efficient non-political Civil Service was one of China's greatest needs. He stressed repeatedly that the only way to defeat the Communists was for the Government to create conditions wherein the masses of the people could be happy.

In discussing the military leadership of China, Soong claimed there was not a first class military brain in the Army and that such a one should be imported. The Generalissimo could make the Army accept a foreign leader. Since the great weakness of Chiang Kai-shek was his inability to delegate authority, the administration has bogged down. Soong seemed to have resigned himself to the collapse of the Government.

Finally, Soong said that his efforts to open the Yangtze River to foreign shipping had been blocked by a clique of shipping men in Shanghai.

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SECRET C164028

CANADIAN EMBASSY

Nanking, March 1, 1948.

No. 108

Sir,

Visit to Canton

By concurrent despatch No. 109 of this date, I have tried to give my impressions of Hong Kong and the area of China contiguous thereto which I visited on the trip which I have just completed.

2. I have decided to write this special despatch detailing some impressions formed as a result of my visit to Canton in Kwangtung province. As reported I had the opportunity of two lengthy chats with T.V. Soong.

3. It has been the general impression here since Soong's appointment as Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces that he was being commissioned to prepare a last ditch haven for the Generalissimo and the present government of China. I came away very much of this opinion. For what other reason has Soong, one of the leading men of China, been sent down to that more or less isolated portion of China?

4. Physical barriers to a great degree make for the isolation of that part of China from the main body of the nation. As indicated in my other despatch, a flight from Hong Kong direct to Nanking discloses a mountainous terrain through which no invading force could possibly move. There is one railway line from Hankow to Canton. This line could readily be cut. I am told that approaches to this area from the west must be made through mountain passes. There are some rivers flowing through some of these passes but none of these provide much in the way of possibility for large scale transportation. Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and the western portion of Hunan province form an economic unit. The rice needed for Kwangtung and Kwangsi comes largely from this portion of Hunan. Without adequate military force I believe that this portion of Hunan could be overrun but that Kwangtung and Kwangsi could be sealed off from the rest of China.

5. In the event of the sealing off of these two provinces through the loss of the area of western Hunan, the people of the two provinces could live by importing needed rice and other food supplies. Even with western Hunan included in the economic unit the area is not

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The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Department of External Affairs,
O t t a w a.

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self-supporting in respect of food.

6. The area has one great asset and that is that the bulk of the overseas Chinese in Canada and the United States hail from these two provinces and their remittances home constitute one of China's great assets. If this area were isolated and these remittances could be used exclusively for the purposes of the two provinces of the unit under discussion, then therewith all needed importations could be readily financed. At the moment such of this exchange as is available to China proper is being used for the general purposes of the nation and not for the specific needs of this section.

7. Should the Communists get control of Manchuria, North China, Central China and West China, then this area in question in combination with British Hong Kong would form a very excellent spring board for any future military operations which may come as the result of a future war involving Russia on one side and the United States and the British Commonwealth on the other. I would think that this thought should be borne constantly in mind.

8. I have a suspicion that as the Communist pressure increases in the North, the policy of the Government of China will be to increase its pressure on countries in the South. There are stirrings of trouble in Siam at the moment where the Siamese Government is attempting to stop the ever-increasing flow of Chinese into that country. Siam is also attempting to make the Chinese presently there conduct themselves as citizens of Siam and not of China. Difficulties are in the offing with respect to Chinese economic pressure in the Malay States, and the same is feared in Burma. We have had a chat with the new Burmese Ambassador who stated that Burma proposes to establish a Consulate in Kunming to make an attempt to control the infiltration of Chinese from Yunan Province to Burma. Chinese farmers and Chinese merchants who go in principally for smuggling, have been crossing the border in alarming numbers. The Burmese Ambassador said that they would welcome Chinese farmers and merchants into Burma if they would only decide to settle down and make Burma their permanent home, as he admitted that the Chinese were far more industrious than his own people. The fact remained, however, that the policy of China is to maintain the Nationalistic spirit in all of their overseas Nationals in order that they may remit a large proportion of their earnings to the homeland. Burma fears that it may be overrun to the same extent that Siam has already been overrun by Chinese, and they propose to take every step possible to prevent too great infiltration of Chinese.

9. The newly arrived Indian Counsellor tells me that there are stirrings of difficulties between India and China with respect to location of the boundary between the two countries. While all of this is just a murmuring at the moment it still indicates the tendency of China to increase its hold upon these nations through pressure of increased Chinese population and economic control.

10. American policy at the end of the war seemed directed to the breaking up of the British Empire, particularly the colonial Empire and in furtherance of

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this policy the United States apparently would have welcomed the return of Hong Kong to China. In fact it is alleged that overt acts towards this end were taken. The last few years have changed a lot of thinking in the United States, and after generations spent in the twisting of the Lion's tail, the United States is perhaps now coming to a realization that in a world wherein Russia is a great power and in which she is ever on the expand, with domination over increasing numbers of satellite powers, perhaps the United States had better start to look about for powerful friends. In former days it was Britain who had to look to the United States. Now the boot is on the other foot and the searching must be done by the Americans. I have a feeling that if the United States in the last twenty or thirty years had the knowledge which she now possesses, she would not have been howling to high heaven for the liquidation of the British Empire. She has never of course suggested the dismemberment of the British Commonwealth. I am positive that there is not an American out here who would now suggest that Britain surrender Hong Kong; in fact I think they will support to the full Britain's continued possession of this strategic point. Perhaps this comment is out of place in this despatch, and is likely irrelevant to the topics under discussion. It can be considered as a bit of obiter dicta.

11. To sum up this portion of this despatch let me say that if the worst comes to the worst, Kwangtung and Kwangsi with or without a part of Hunan, may become a separate little Chinese state providing a last ditch stand for the existing government of China and the leaders thereof. This is not too far removed from the realms of possibility.

12. Let me report upon my chats with T.V. Soong. His first comment was a request for a report on Mr. King, for whom both he and his wife have quite evidently a very great admiration and regard. I was happily able to tell them that Mr. King was fine and never more alert, and that as a matter of fact I had seen Mr. King just prior to my departure for China and never had I seen him look better. Dr. Soong laughingly told me of a day at the Quebec conference when he was in a room with President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Mr. King. Mr. King was called out of the room, and no sooner had he left than the President commented on the fact that Mr. King was in grave danger politically in the elections which must have been in the offing. Winston Churchill joined in and also expressed great regret that the axe seemed about to fall. Dr. Soong went on to say, "Look what happened. The President is dead, Winston Churchill is no longer in power, but the man over whose fate they were commiserating is still in power and still a leading figure on the world's stage."

13. We canvassed a wide variety of topics in our chat, dealing mostly with the problems which faced China. He told me that he was hoping to make the two provinces of which he was the Governor a model for all China. I felt that he was very, very sincere in this. He did not give any indication of what is generally deemed to be the chief reason for his presence in Canton.

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14. He said that in his opinion the decision of the Government to bring the new Chinese constitution into effect at this most critical period in the history of China was a very, very foolish thing. He said that the decision was impracticable and unrealistic; that it was utterly hopeless to try and convert China into a democratic state in the midst of a civil war. He agreed that this should definitely be the aim but he criticized the timing. He went on to say that the present government was too highly centralized; that even under the constitution there was not a clear-cut distribution of powers between the central government and the provinces; that in practice, constitution or no constitution, the present centralization was hampering the nation. He said that if he adhered to the letter of the law he could do nothing constructive in the job upon which he was engaged, and that he did as he deemed best regardless of the system in effect.

15. He said that one of the great faults of China was the lack of a properly organized, properly paid, and properly administered civil service. He said that of all the reforms which China required, this was one of the most urgent. He said that China must have a civil service free of political control, wherein promotion was based upon merit and not upon nepotism and political pull. A civil service open to all alike, rich and poor, and one where corruption and fraud could be eliminated by making the compensation such as to attract to it men who sincerely wished to make a contribution to the nation. He said that at the present time only the useless and inefficient were attracted to the service. He admitted, of course, that the present service contained many fine, honest, upstanding, loyal and patriotic persons but that they were the exception and not the rule. He said that one of the first things he was doing in his provinces was to create a civil service of the type he discussed.

16. He said that the Communists could not be defeated by military means and that the only way to defeat them was to create a condition wherein the mass of the people would be happy and content and would support the government. He said that too little attention had been paid to the small man, the labourer and the peasant farmer. He stressed and stressed this point of view.

17. He launched into a discussion of the military leadership of China. He said that there was a complete lack of an overall plan, a lack of a proper and intelligent strategic plan, and a complete lack of coordination of effort as between the various military leaders. He remarked that two generals who had been in charge in Manchuria should have been taken out and shot long since. He said that the truth of the matter was that there was no first class military brain in the Chinese army. The so-called leaders were all second-class. Above all else, China needed to call in from the outside world a real military leader and place him in control and charge of the armed forces. I remarked that the military would not accept such a man or such leadership and that even if the man came he would be so circumscribed with counter controls that he would be able to do nothing. His answer

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to this was that if the Generalissimo said so and cracked the whip the generals and rest would obey.

18. He went on to say that the great weakness of Chiang-Kai-shek was his inability to delegate power and authority; that everything down to the finest detail had to be decided upon by him and that in a country like China everything as a result bogged down. I found him to be terribly pessimistic as to the future of China, and he seemed to have resigned himself to the collapse of the government.

19. I asked Soong if he had any opinions with respect to British possession of Hong Kong. I got no direct answer from him. His only comment was that Hong Kong was being used as a center for smuggling but that the Hong Kong government was cooperating in trying to control this. He commented further that Hong Kong was the haven for enemies of the government of China. He was fair enough to make the further comment that Britain had always been the home of political refugees and he supposed that the same policy of haven was naturally followed in British possessions. I did not get very far with this one.

20. I asked him the reason for what I considered to be the short-sighted policy of the government in keeping the Yangtze River ports closed to foreign shipping. He said that he thoroughly agreed with my views, and that while he was Premier he had done his best to have the present policy reversed and the river opened. He said that a small clique of shipping men in Shanghai blocked his every effort and that they still stood in the way of the opening of the river. He deprecated their actions very much and expressed the opinion that they were allowing their personal interest to supersede the national interest.

21. My talks with him were most refreshing and very enlightening. I came away with the feeling that he was a patriotic citizen of his country and was trying to do his best for her in her hour of need.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd.) T.C. Davis
Ambassador.

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 42 NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 10:30 P.M. E.D.T. ON MAY 19.

May 19, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs has released the text of a message of congratulations which the Prime Minister of Canada has requested the Canadian Ambassador to China, the Honourable Thomas Clayton Davis, to convey to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on the occasion of his inauguration as President of the Republic of China on May 20. The message reads:

> The election by the National Assembly of a President of the Republic of China under the new Constitution will be a source of satisfaction and pride in all countries where representative government is cherished. I send hearty contratulations to Your Excellency upon being elected as the first President of the Republic, and cordial greetings and warmest of good wishes to you on behalf of the Government and people of Canada on the occasion of Your Excellency's inauguration.
>
> (Signed) W. L. Mackenzie King.

Congratulations were also sent to General Li Tsung-jen who is being inducted as Vice-President of China in the same ceremony.

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Chine
Dept. External Affairs D-12-3
1948

C164034

CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1948

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Dr. Chen Li-fu

Attached, for your information, is a confidential memorandum prepared in the Department regarding the career and influence of Dr. Chen Li-fu.

E.R.
(Escott Reid)

7-7-16.

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A.R.Menzies/MCK

CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1948 C164035

Dr. Chen Li-fu

Dr. Chen Li-fu was recently elected Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan of China. His supporters actually dominate that body. With his brother, Chen Kuo-fu, Dr. Chen Li-fu heads the "C.C. Clique" which has for many years controlled the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) political machine and most government jobs throughout China. Dr. Chen has usually held the post of Kuomintang Minister for Party Organization. He was Minister of Education from 1938 to 1944. He is probably second only to Chiang Kai-shek in influence in China today.

2. Dr. Chen Li-fu was born in 1900 in Chekiang province and is therefore a co-provincial of the Generalissimo. He got his Master of Science degree in mining engineering from Pittsburgh University in 1924. It is alleged that Dr. Chen did not have a particularly happy experience in the United States and from this has stemmed some of his anti foreign bias.

3. Dr. Chen's uncle, General Chen Chi-mei, a professional revolutionary and devoted follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, was a cunning conspirator and his special contribution to the Nationalist movement came from his wide and intimate contacts with the Shanghai underworld. The underworld gangsters of Shanghai were anti Manchu in their sympathies and were harnessed by General Chen Chi-mei to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Republican movement. After the 1911 revolution, General Chen Chi-mei became military chief of the Kuomintang and the virtual boss of Shanghai. He was the most stubborn opponent of Yuan Sheh-kai in his attempts to establish himself as Emperor of China. It was during this period that Chiang Kai-shek came under the tutelage of General Chen Chi-mei. When the latter fled to Japan from the murderous wrath of Yuan Sheh-kai during the first world war, he was accompanied there by Chiang Kai-shek. While in Japan General Chen Chi-mei introduced Chiang Kai-shek to Sun Yat-sen and this was the beginning of the close relationship between these two Chinese leaders. General Chen Chi-mei was assassinated in Japan in 1916 by an agent of Yuan Sheh-kai. Despite his death the close personal relationship between the Chen, Chiang and Sun families continued.

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4. Dr. Chen Li-fu was not as deeply involved in the early part of the development of the Kuomintang as his uncle and brother. He only returned to China from Pittsburgh in 1924 on the eve of the re-organization of the Kuomintang. Dr. Chen Li-fu threw himself with energy into the work of political organizer of the Nationalist Party and, like his brother Chen Kuo-fu, soon became a close confident of Chiang Kai-shek. From the beginning he strongly opposed collaboration with the Communists and was one of those instrumental in having them thrown out of the Kuomintang in 1927. Since His suspicion and hatred of the Communists have been maintained since that date and now, twenty years later, Chen Li-fu believes that his views with regard to the Communists and their tactics have been at last fully vindicated.

5. The Chen brothers organized a so-called Central Club, which is known better by its abbreviation "C.C.", within the Kuomintang to control government positions. The "C.C. Clique" has gradually increased its influence and control over the Kuomintang organization during the past twenty years until today its position is fairly well dominant. Rival elements within the Kuomintang are the Political Science group led by former Premier Chang Chun, the Whampoa Military Academy officers clique and the supporters of such individual strong men as Dr. H.H. Kung, Dr. T. V. Soong and Dr. Sun Fo, the son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

6. The "C.C. Clique" has increased its power by the organization of the Three Peoples Principles Youth Corps, which is the youth movement of the Kuomintang in the universities. Students prepared to toe the party line in the universities were found government jobs on graduation. This movement for party control in the educational field reached its climax during the period 1938-1944 when Dr. Chen Li-fu was Minister of Education.

7. During the war the "C.C. Clique" began to extend its influence in the field of banking. Starting with the Kiang Su Provincial Farmers Bank they succeeded in establishing, in 1945, the Farmers Bank of China which was reorganized from the individual Farmers Banks of four of the central provinces after the ousting of the Japanese from this area.

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The Farmers Bank of China has an interest in the Bank of Communications and together these two hold a controlling interest in the Central Trust which was organized to carry on, through the Universal Trading Corporation in New York, the marketing during wartime of China's staple products. The Central Trust was also handed the job of liquidating Japanese assets.in China. Many of the cotton and flour mills owned by the Japanese in the port cities were sold to adherents of the "C.C. Clique" so that today this group has a strong independent financial position in China.

8. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has endeavoured to maintain a precarious balance atop the various contending cliques within the Kuomintang. He has shown favouritism to one and then another. It is rumoured that Dr. Chen Li-fu decided to visit the North American continent because he had recently been rebuked by Chiang. The Generalissimo had evidently wished to keep Chang Chun as Premier (i.e. President of the Executive Yuan). However, Dr. Chen Li-fu is said to have forestalled this by taking a straw vote of the members of the Legislative Yuan who came out in opposition to Chang Chun as they were practically all hand picked supporters of the C. C. Clique. Hearing of this Chang Chun emplaned for his home in Szechwan. The Generalissimo was greatly angered and rebuked Dr. Chen Li-fu for thwarting his known wishes of retaining General Chang Chun, the leader of the Political Science Group, as Premier.

9. The C. C. Clique is regarded by many observers as an unhealthy influence in China because through its control of the Nationalist Party machine it maintains in positions of responsibility officials who are, to put it mildly, not among the most public spirited individuals available there. The Chen brothers are at once the masters and the puppets of this motley crew of self-seeking party members. Dr. Chen Li-fu is a strong China firster and believes that there is much in the Confucian political system that should be adapted for China's modern needs. Confucius had many good ideas on government including the idea of an expert Civil Service. He, however, did not conceive of responsible government as we know it today and, therefore, tends to encourage a type of paternalism on the part of China's officials which is not in keeping with the ideas of democratic government in vogue in western countries.

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D-12-J
1948

Dr. Chen Li-fu (born 1900)

Read July 1948

- Vice-President, Legislative Yuan of China

- Educated in Pittsburgh

  - M.Sc. in mining engineering 1924

- With his brother, Chen Kuo-fu, heads the "C.C. clique" which dominates Kuomuitang (Nationalist Party)

  - controls political machinery and also most of government jobs in China

- Entered Kuomuitang work in 1924

  - influential in expulsion of Communists from party in 1927

  - Minister of Education - 1938-44

- During war, "C.C.clique" organized Farmers Bank of China

  - group now has strong independent financial position

- Dr. Chen very close to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

  - but rumours of recent differences over choice of Premier (former premier Gen Chang Chun is leader of a group in party which opposes "C.C.clique".)

- "C.C. clique regarded by many as unhealthy influence in China

  - controls, and in part controlled by, bureaucracy which is often corrupt

  - basically conservative element

    - Dr. Chen strongly believes in adherence to Confucian principles.

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C164039 July 7, 1948

Notes for Possible Remarks at the Luncheon for Dr. Chen Li-fu

Welcome to Dr. Chen Li-fu,

- Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan of China
- a close associate of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for 25 years in the building of the new Chinese Republic
- Minister of Education during the war years (1938-44) - foresight and courage in maintaining educational facilities and number of students enrolled in the face of a national emergency.

Recall long traditions of Sino-Canadian friendship

- Canadian missionaries, doctors and educators in China for 75 years.
- Mutually advantageous pre-war trade.
- Wartime alliance against Japan.

- **Establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1943**

  China's first Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Liu Shih-shun, did much to establish a strong bond of friendship between Canada and China
  - has recently been appointed Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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Dr. Liu Chieh, the present Ambassador, also doing a fine job.

- Member of various Chinese delegations to United Nations conferences.
- recently elected President of the Trusteeship Council.

General Odlum, Canada's first Ambassador to China, often wrote of lucid explanations of China's problems by Dr. Chen.

Mr. T. C. Davis, during his year in China, has formed a warm friendship for the Chinese people.

Canada and China have common constructive objective in United Nations.

Both countries seek a peaceful and stable world.

- Ask Dr. Chen to convey greetings from Government and people of Canada to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as he deals with prodigious internal and external problems that face China to-day.
- and to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, whose visit to Ottawa is warmly recalled.

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Luncheon given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada
in honour of
Hon. Dr. Chen Li-fu, Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan of China
Wednesday, July 7, 1948, at the Ottawa Country Club

Mr. Arthur Menzies
Department of External Affairs

Mr. David Johnson
Department of External Affairs

Mr. M. W. Mackenzie
Deputy Minister of Trade & Commerce

Hon. J. A. MacKinnon
Minister of Mines & Resources

Hon. Douglas Abbott
Minister of Finance

His Excellency Liu Chieh
Ambassador of China

Mr. Y. T. Hsiung
Consul General of China, Toronto

Entrance from Lounge

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe
Minister of Trade and Commerce

Hon. Dr. Chen Li-fu
Vice President of the
Legislative Yuan of China

Dr. Huang Ting Young
Counsellor, Chinese Embassy

Rt. Hon. L. S. St. Laurent
Secretary of State for External
Affairs

Senator Norman Lambert

Dr. Clifford Clark
Deputy Minister of Finance

Mr. Escott Reid
Assistant Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Mr. Howard Measures
Chief of Protocol

Entrance from Bowling Green

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

C164042

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

No. 88 November 13, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs announced today that the Canadian Embassy in Nanking has warned Canadians that they should consider the desirability of leaving North and Central China, unless they have compelling reasons to remain. This warning is intended to anticipate any difficulties which may arise in the event of the spread of hostilities southward. It does not at present apply to the large number of Canadians resident in West and South China.

On November 1, all British subjects including Canadian citizens, were advised by the British Consuls General in Peiping and Tientsin to leave North China while transportation facilities were available, unless they had urgent reasons for staying. The Canadian Embassy in Nanking associated itself with the issue of this advice to Canadian citizens in North China.

The Canadian Ambassador to China, who has been in close consultation with his British and United States colleagues, has now extended similar advice to Canadians in the Shanghai-Nanking area. The following is the text of a letter circulated by the Canadian Vice-Consul in Shanghai to all Canadians within his district:

"To all Canadian nationals residing in the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhwei:

"Economic unrest, coupled with an increasingly acute shortage of food supplies and fuel, makes it appear that Canadians remaining in Shanghai and its environs during the forthcoming winter may be subjected to undue hardship. The uncertain military situation in North China also makes it appear possible that hostilities may spread further south, with the result that normal transportation facilities from Shanghai may be disrupted.

"It is suggested, therefore, that, unless you have compelling reasons to remain, you consider the desirability of evacuation while normal transportation facilities remain available. Expectant mothers, women with small children, and elderly persons, are especially advised to leave the Shanghai area before winter sets in".

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

No. 91

December 3, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs announced today that arrangements have been made by which some eighty Canadians now in Shanghai will shortly return to Canada by air.

The principal problem which at present confronts Canadians who wish to leave Shanghai is one of transportation. The eighty persons involved in this movement are not financially distressed and are travelling at their own expense. The Department of External Affairs has arranged for the chartering of two aircraft, the obtaining of necessary landing rights for the aircraft, and the solution of certain problems of foreign exchange which have resulted from the intending passengers being unable readily to obtain United States funds in China.

The Department of External Affairs has not yet been informed by its Officers in China of the names of the passengers. The first aircraft with forty passengers aboard is expected to arrive at Vancouver between December 12 and 16.

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

PRESS RELEASE

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

No. 91 December 3, 1948.

The Department of External Affairs announced today that arrangements have been made by which some eighty Canadians now in Shanghai will shortly return to Canada by air.

The principal problem which at present confronts Canadians who wish to leave Shanghai is one of transportation. The eighty persons involved in this movement are not financially distressed and are travelling at their own expense. The Department of External Affairs has arranged for the chartering of two aircraft, the obtaining of necessary landing rights for the aircraft, and the solution of certain problems of foreign exchange which have resulted from the intending passengers being unable readily to obtain United States funds in China.

The Department of External Affairs has not yet been informed by its Officers in China of the names of the passengers. The first aircraft with forty passengers aboard is expected to arrive at Vancouver between December 12 and 16.

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China July

HLK/JG July 26, 1941.

C164044

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS RECORDS
File No. 2172-40
Sub. 5 Chron. 5 Filed

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

The Chinese Consul General, Dr. Shih, has called on Keenleyside twice in the last week to discuss the possibility of the Canadian Government issuing a statement of general sympathy with the Chinese in their present difficulties. The Chungking Government feels that such a statement at the present time would be of considerable moral value to the Chinese people and they also believe that it would do something to assist in overcoming prejudice against Canada which exists and has existed for many years in that country as a result of the enforcement of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923.

Dr. Shih has pointed out that both the United Kingdom and the United States have recently given public utterance to views along the lines of the statement that is now asked for from Canada. In an exchange of notes dated May 26th and May 31, 1941, between the Secretary of State and the departing Chinese Minister in Washington, Mr. Hull wrote to Dr. Quo Tai-chi in part as follows:-

"It is very gratifying to receive in your letter reaffirmation of the endorsement by the Chinese Government and people of the general and fundamental principles which this government is convinced constitute the only practical foundation for an international order wherein independent nations may cooperate freely with each other to their mutual benefit.

"The Government and people of the United States long have had a profound interest in the welfare and progress of China. ... The Government of the United States, in continuation

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of steps already taken toward meeting China's aspirations for readjustment of anomalies in its international relations, expects when conditions of peace again prevail to move rapidly ... towards relinquishment of the last of certain rights of a special character which this country, together with other countries, has long possessed in China."

The British Government was even more specific in promising to give up its extraterritorial rights in China when an opportunity to consider this problem is reached at the end of the war.

Dr. Shih recognizes that Canada, as Canada, possesses no special rights in China, although Canadian nationals enjoy the privileges which are extended to all British subjects in certain concessions or leased areas. He would like to have the Canadian Government say that it is not interested, so far as Canadian nationals are concerned, in the enjoyment of a special or privileged position on Chinese territories.

Perhaps Dr. Shih's request could be met by the issuance of a press release, possibly at the same time that the Government announces the intention of appointing a Minister to China, in which might be combined (a) a statement of admiration for the valour with which the Chinese Government and people have met the trials of recent years; (b) an indication that the Canadian Government is not inclined to seek or maintain special privileges for Canadians in China; and (c) an expression of hope that the democratic ideals for which Canada and China are both fighting may be fully realized in both countries when the present conflict is ended.

Approved without 27-7-41

war

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HLK/ML, November 3, 1941.

Honourable Members will be interested to know, and it is my privilege to make the official announcement, that the Chinese Government has nominated, and His Majesty has signified his willingness to receive, Dr. Liu Shih Shun as Chinese Minister to Canada.

Canada has been highly complimented in this appointment. Dr. Liu is a man of outstanding qualities with long experience in the Foreign Service of his country. Since 1927 he has served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in China, and since 1931 has been in charge of the European and American Divisions of the Ministry. We are looking forward with satisfaction to an early opportunity of welcoming Dr. Liu to Canada. I hope also that it may be possible to announce the name of the Canadian Minister to China during the present Session of the House.

It has seemed to me that it might be appropriate to take this opportunity to place on the record a clear statement of the Canadian attitude towards the great country with whom we are now for the first time exchanging diplomatic representatives. Honourable Members will recall that during recent years, before the outbreak of hostilities with Japan, China had been going through a period of great trial and strain, but a period of construction and consolidation.

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Following the adoption of the republican form of Government after 1911 China gradually succeeded in establishing a central authority that was capable of exercizing effective control throughout the larger part of that great country. This process of consolidation and pacification was unfortunately interrupted by the outbreak of hostilities with Japan which began in September, 1931, and which have continued intermittently since.

As the Chinese Government gradually extended its control over the different parts of the nation foreign countries that had enjoyed extra-territorial rights within China found it impossible to relinquish these rights to the Chinese authorities. That process, although temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of war, will in all probability be recommenced on the conclusion of hostilities. The tremendous and successful efforts that have been put forth in the defence of China by the Government under Chiang Kai-Shek have aroused the admiration of the outside world and have given evidence that when the Chinese Government is re-established as the central authority over the whole of the Republic it will have such strength and experience that the continuance of extra-territorial rights will no longer be necessary. In this connection the House will recall that the Government of the United Kingdom has repeatedly stated that it proposes to relimquish such rights at the conclusion of the war. The Prime Minister, speaking in the House

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of Commons on July 18, 1940, used the following words:-

> "We wish for no quarrel with any nation in the Far East. We desire to see China's status and integrity preserved, and as was indicated in our Note of 14th January, 1939, we are ready to negotiate with the Chinese Government, after the conclusion of peace, the abolition of extra-territorial rights, the rendition of concessions and the revision of treaties on the basis of reciprocity and equality."

A year later, on June 11, 1941, Mr. Eden, the Foreign Minister, reiterated these views when he said:-

> "The policy of His Majesty's Government remains as stated by the Prime Minister on 18th July, 1940. He then said that when peace was restored in the Far East, His Majesty's Government were ready to negotiate with the Chinese Government the abolition of extra-territorial rights, the rendition of concessions and the revision of treaties on the basis of reciprocity and equality."

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The Government of the United States has also indicated that it expects to relinquish the last of "those rights of special character which that country, together with others, has long possessed in China by virtue of agreements providing for extra-territorial jurisdiction and related practices."

Canada has no special rights in China except in so far as Canadians, in the capacity as British subjects, have availed themselves of privileges obtained through Imperial treaties. No specific action by Canada, therefore, will be required to give effect to the decision that has been forecast by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden; but as rights heretofore enjoyed by Canadians in China will be affected it is desirable that we should now state explicitly that the Government of Canada welcomes the statements of policy made on behalf of the United Kingdom by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the similar declarations of intention that have been made by the authorities of the United States.

The Government of Canada and the people of Canada have felt profound sympathy for the people of China in the cruel sufferings that they have undergone, particularly during the last four years. The fortitude with which these sufferings have been borne and the valour with which aggression has been

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resisted has excited the admiration of all Canadians. Today Canadians and Chinese alike are fighting in defence of the ideals of freedom and democracy. It is the earnest hope of the Government and the people of Canada that tomorrow both nations will be able to develop these ideals in a spirit and atmosphere of friendly cooperation and to make their contribution each in its own way to the preservation of peace and the establishment of prosperity throughout the world.

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C164051

Prime Minister

I have had a word privately with Dr Chao-ying Shih, Consul-General of China, who tells me that he will be leaving Ottawa tomorrow evening. I mentioned that you had expressed a wish to see him before his departure. He volunteered the information that he would be free any time after 11:00 a.m. tomorrow, and I said that we would send word if you could fix a time on Tuesday.

(Telephone 3-6675)

24/11 6:00 pm

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China / D S

NAR/SR
22.11.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164052

The Chinese Consul General called on Friday to introduce the new Vice-Consul recently arrived from China, and to make his own farewells. He is returning to Chungking for service in the Department of Foreign Affairs as soon as he can make travel arrangements. The new Chinese Minister, who is to take his place, has not yet left Chungking, but is expected to start very shortly. When he arrives and the Chinese Legation in Ottawa is established, the Consulate General here will be abolished and a new Consulate will be opened in Toronto. The retiring Consul General asked me to give you his regards and to express his appreciation for the kindnesses he had received during his service in Canada.

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C164053 NAR.SR
17.2.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The new Chinese Minister, Dr. Liu, is arriving tomorrow morning at 12.45. He will be met by officers of the Department, as well as representatives of the Governor General. After consulting precedents, I do not think that you need to meet him yourself. He will call on you as soon as he has presented his credentials to the Governor General. I attach a telegram of greeting in your name, which could be delivered to him on his arrival in Montreal.

Mack

Seen by PM + approved for despatch J.O.V-pm 17/2

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C164054

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dr. Liu Shih Shun,
Chinese Minister-Designate to Canada,

Arriving Montreal Bonaventure Station from New York Wednesday, February 18, 1942, 8.10 a.m.

Ottawa, February 17th, 1942.

I extend to you warmest greetings and a most cordial welcome upon your arrival on Canadian Soil to take up your duties as first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of China.

W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Chg. External Affairs.

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NAR/ET DS/CM&Canada
6 March, 1942

C164055

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Chinese Minister, having presented his Letters of Credence to the Governor General, would like to start making his official calls. He feels his first call should be upon you as Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs. I have told him how busy this last week has been, but was wondering whether you could possibly see him for a few minutes this afternoon if he called on you at the House of Commons.

Mak

I have read the letter to him already called upon me

I could have seen him

I need seen him

7-3-42

3.30 of March 9. Room 212
Mr Turnbull + Chinese Minister
+ Police main door told.
W.S.M.
9.3.42

My thanks afternoon

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Daily Star

Date April 14, 1942

C164056

Subject D.S. Chinese Minister to Canada

CHINA SPEAKS

WITH the crystal-like clarity that characterizes the public utterances of so many of his cultured countrymen, Dr. Liu Shih-Shun, Chinese Minister to Canada, in an impressive address delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal yesterday, reviewed Sino-Canadian relations, emphasized the community of interests of the two countries, and declared China's determination to fight it out side by side with the United Nations till victory is won.

His address, which aroused a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm, the audience rising en masse to cheer him after his peroration, was at once a statesmanlike presentation of facts and an inspiring incentive to continuous all-out war effort. He emphasized the marked increase in friendly feelings between Canada and China since the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the valuable assistance sent from this country for the relief of destitute Chinese, and the equally important and urgently needed military supplies which have gone from this Dominion to China "and are being utilized by her to good advantage."

It was only natural that Dr. Liu should pay attention to the cultural relations between the two countries, for these have been of long duration, and, as he aptly termed it, "fruitful record." His analysis of the foundations of culture and traditions upon which the natural affinity between the Chinese and Canadian peoples is based was a masterpiece of clear thinking and eloquent expression. He admitted frankly that their mutual love of peace has not always inured to the benefit of the Chinese and Canadians, and that they had played rather into the hands of the aggressors who had caught them unawares and unprepared, but he added: "Fortunately, however, our latent and potential strength is immeasurably greater than theirs, and, given time and perseverance, we have every assurance of success in the final knock-out."

The part that democratic principles and ideas have played in both countries was a further point discussed by Dr. Liu, who expressed the hope that the happy relations now subsisting between Canada and China would be enhanced and enriched, and that their increased co-operation was destined to form a firm foundation for an ever-expanding and lasting friendship. His picture of China's achievements during five years of arduous struggle against Japanese aggression was profoundly moving: Millions of people dead; tens of millions rendered homeless and destitute; in a word, havoc and devastation at their very worst have been and are still the lot of the whole of China. "And yet," he added, "surprising as it may seem, the Chinese people are forging ahead and enduring their suffering and hardships with indescribable courage and fortitude."

This he explained by the traditionally undaunted spirit of the Chinese race, the special capacity of the Chinese for hard work and for bearing hardship, their implicit faith in their great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the fact that the strength of their resistance had been kept up by the moral support and material assistance they had received from the friendly Powers.

He closed by praising Canada's war efforts, and by declaring that the Chinese and the Canadians are today welded together in a common struggle against aggression. "Resolute and unswerving, they are marching hand in hand towards the noble goal of victory."

Here speaks the voice of the great Chinese people. Here is expressed their national spirit and the love of freedom which to them is dearer than life itself. It should be a powerful incentive to all Canadians to increase in every possible way whatever they are doing at present to help win the war.

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Legation of the Republic of China
O t t a w a.

The Chinese Legation presents its compliments to the Department of External Affairs and has the honour to make the notification that it has established its office today at 201 Wurtemberg Street, Ottawa, and that the telephone number of the house is 3-6675.

LM 26-5-42

Miss Z to pls note

31-LM433

May 22nd, 1942.

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SECRET

NAR/SR
26.9.42

C164058

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Re: Negotiations with Government of China concerning extra-territoriality.

Dominions Office is anxious to know by September 30th whether the proposals contained in D.O. Circular Telegram D.391 of September 18th are agreeable in principle to the Canadian Government.

The telegram states that the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States intend to approach the Chinese Government jointly with an offer to negotiate brief treaties for the relinquishment of extra-territorial and related rights.

The United Kingdom and the United States are already in agreement on this main proposal. However, the United Kingdom has suggested to the United States that the proposal be qualified in two respects:

(a) The Chinese should be ready to accord Shanghai a special status;

(b) There should be special safeguards for public and private property rights at Tientsin and Canton.

As for procedure, it is proposed that the treaty between the United Kingdom and China should contain a provision for its application to the Dominions, including Canada, by means of separate exchanges of notes between the Dominion Governments and the Chinese Government.

The suggested procedure is, in my opinion, hardly satisfactory in view of the development of direct diplomatic relations between Canada and China and of the political importance China attaches to the ending of the extra-territoria regime.

The United Kingdom Government have asked our approval not only on the basic question of giving up extra-territorial rights and on the question of procedure, but also on the two suggestions which the United Kingdom has made to the United States for qualifying the surrender of extra-territorial rights. I do not see why Canada should be called upon to approve expressly these two qualifications, but I do not see why we should object to them if the United Kingdom feels they are necessary.

Extra-territorial rights in China are, of course, based on

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a number of old treaties which are in force for all of His Majesty's dominions including Canada. It is therefore necessary and appropriate that the Canadian Government should be consulted before the United Kingdom Government offers to cancel these old treaties.

Ned

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C/XTT
C164060

NAR/SR
10.10.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Keenleyside and I saw the Chinese Minister this morning. I told him that the Canadian Government had warmly welcomed the initiative which the United Kingdom and the United States had taken in proposing the negotiation of agreements ending the extraterritorial rights which British and American nationals have enjoyed in China for many years. In view of the direct diplomatic relations now in effect between Canada and China, you had thought it would be more appropriate if the ending of the old regime, so far as Canada is concerned, could be accomplished by a treaty between Canada and China, which would be similar in content and signed at the same time as those the United Kingdom and the United States are prepared to negotiate with China. Dr.Liu said that he was sure his Government would appreciate Canada's readiness to cooperate in ending the old capitulatory system. The decision to open negotiations now, instead of waiting until after the war, would be of very great psychological and political importance to China, and would encourage her people in their struggle. He said he would advise his Government by cable at once, and had no doubt that they would warmly reciprocate it.

Mack

V Copy of Press Release attached

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

C164061

Ottawa, October 10th, 1942.

PRESS RELEASE

The Prime Minister announced today that Canada is prepared to negotiate a treaty with China, by which Canada would relinquish the extraterritorial and related rights which Canadians have enjoyed under the terms of existing agreements between China and Great Britain.

Discussions have already been initiated with the Chinese Minister in Ottawa.

Similar treaties with China are being negotiated by the United Kingdom and the United States.

The relinquishment of extraterritorial rights will not in any way adversely affect existing land ownership by Canadians in China or facilities for travel, residence and trade in that country.

The result of the negotiation of the proposed treaty should be a further strengthening of the existing ties of friendship between the two countries.

L[illegible]

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C164062

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

June 11, 1943.

F. C. Blair, Esq.,
Director of Immigration,
O t t a w a.

I am enclosing a copy of telegram No. 21 of June 10th from the Canadain Minister to China with reference to the possibility of training 100 young Chinese in railroad work in Canada with a view to their return to China to work on the Chinese railroads after the close of the war.

If this scheme is practicable it would undoubtedly create considerable good will towards Canada on the part of the Chinese people and Government. From this standpoint it naturally has the strong support of this Department.

I would be grateful for your comments on the proposal from the immigration standpoint.

(Sgd) N.A. ROBERTSON

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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C164063

FROM: THE CANADIAN MINISTER TO CHINA, CHUNGKING

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

CODE

NO. 21

CHUNGKING, June 10, 1943.

No. 21. Chinese Government is arranging to send 500 university graduates each to Britain and to the United States to take practical training in various departments of railroad work. Governments and railroads of both countries are cooperating. I have been asked to find out if you would be willing to make arrangements with the two big Canadian railroads to adopt a similar plan involving possibly 100 young men, first of whom would be ready to go to Canada next winter. If you agree in principle we would be working out details similar to those approved by Britain and would submit a formal proposal at an early date. Purpose of scheme is to train a corps of experts who will be absorbed when considerable expansion of Chinese railways takes place immediately after the close of the war.

CANADIAN MINISTER

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China

C164064

Ottawa, June 15, 1943.

TO :

The Deputy Minister of Fisheries,
OTTAWA.

I have received your letter of June 10, 1943, in which you enquire as to the opinion of this Department in regard to the policy that should be followed in handling applications from British subjects of Chinese racial origin who apply for fishing licences on the Pacific Coast.

In view of the fact that the applicants are all British subjects, that adverse action would be likely to arouse criticism in many circles in Canada as well as among those Chinese who follow carefully all instances of discrimination in foreign countries and that there is likely to be only a small number of applications in any case, it is the opinion of this Department that licences should be granted to such applicants, provided they are otherwise eligible, for the current season.

N. A. ROBERTSON

~~Assistant~~ Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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DS / Annex

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164065

July 12, 1943

MR. TURNBULL:

The Prime Minister asked me to look through this and, if it were O.K., to send it on to you, so that he might hand it to Lee on the first free day this week.

The statement has now been retyped to include consequential amendments.

Perhaps you will let Lee know and arrange for him to come to Room 212 on some likely day?

J.A.G.

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C164066

file

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

W.J.T., I.F.
24/9/43

P-100-L
1943

TO THE PRIME MINISTER

G-754
v.1

Mr. Bing Shuey Lee, Secretary of the Chinese Legation, is being transferred to Washington. He would like to call on you before he leaves to present you with a book which he has written. He would also like to receive, from you, a photograph, inscribed to Mrs. Lee and himself. I have told him that Wednesday would be the earliest date on which I could arrange for this.

W. J. T.
(W.J. TURNBULL)

Seen at L.H. 8.x.43 JWP

Mr King - Interviews China

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C/XTT C164067

NAR/SR
20.10.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Chinese Minister told me that when he brought Bishop Yu Pin to see you this afternoon he hoped to have a word with you about the immigration question. He was under the impression that in a conversation some two months ago you had said you expected to have the policy question considered in Cabinet. I told him that I did not think you had been able to arrange any Cabinet consideration of this matter recently.

As you know, we had hoped to get the extra-territoriality question satisfactorily out of the way before approaching the immigration question. The Chinese took several months to comment on our draft agreement on extra-territorial privileges and then replied with a much too comprehensive counter-proposal, which we could not accept. Since, legally, the question of extraterritoriality has been settled by the renunciation of British rights, I am inclined to drop the idea of a Chinese-Canadian treaty and confine ourselves to a unilateral declaration on the subject.

Noted

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C164068

China / XTT

NAR/SR
20.11.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Negotiations between Canada and China
on extraterritoriality

We are now considering the conclusion of a short treaty which would cover the points embodied in our original draft, namely:

(1) renunciation of extraterritorial rights

(2) agreement to cooperate in the abandonment of special privileges in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tsientsin and Canton

(3) protection of existing Canadian property rights in China

and which would, in addition, meet the Chinese request and include articles providing for:

(4) right to travel, reside and carry on commerce

(5) notification by local authorities to consuls of either country when their nationals are arrested

(6) agreement to enter into a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights.

2. The wording suggested by the Chinese for the articles covering points 4 and 5 is almost identical with that employed in the United Kingdom treaty, while the article covering point 6 follows almost exactly paragraph (1) of Article VIII of the same treaty.

3. A new draft, embodying the points listed above, is being prepared, in consultation with the Departments of Justice and Immigration, and should be ready very soon for submission to Council. The other Commonwealth Governments have been informed of the steps under consideration.

4. The difficulties presently being encountered by the

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Canadian Missions in China in connection with property sales have indicated the desirability of going beyond a simple renunciation of extraterritorial rights and of concluding a more comprehensive agreement which would, among other things, protect existing property rights. Recent international developments - particularly the action taken by the United States with respect to Chinese immigration - coupled with a modification in the phrasing of the original Chinese counter-draft of the Article on the right to travel, reside and carry on commerce, have made the prospects of agreement considerably brighter than they were a few months ago.

Noted

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C164070

December 16, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Chinese Minister called on Keenleyside this afternoon to say that his Government had informed him that it was proposing to appoint him as Ambassador in Ottawa. As you know, Dr. Liu has been very much afraid that due to his relative position in the Foreign Service, Chungking would not find it possible to give him this additional rank. Now, however, his doubts are put at rest and he is very happy over the result.

Dr. Liu also confirmed that the Chinese Government had expressed their agreement to the nomination of General Odlum as Canadian Ambassador to Chungking.

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DS/China NAR/SR
21.2.44

C164071

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Liu is presenting his credentials as first Chinese Ambassador on Saturday, February 26th.* Two years ago on that day he presented his credentials as Minister.

12 noon

He told me this morning that he was feeling a good deal better, but that the doctor did not want him to go out any more than was necessary until he had made a complete recovery. He expects to be quite all right by next week.

W.L.M.K.

2 years since date of presentation of letters of credence as Minister

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FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO Mr G

~~G A/G~~ 1640'72
DS/Chwa

Please speak to External Affairs on Monday re publicity for occasions of this kind. (Check the press on Monday morning; nothing said on radio on Saturday evening or Sunday).

27/2/44

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C164073

MEMORANDUM

February 25
1944

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Chinese Minister, Dr. Liu, is to present his Letters of Credence as Ambassador of China at Government House on Saturday at noon.

You wished to be reminded to call upon Dr. Liu at the Embassy after he has presented his credentials.

J.A.G.

Embassy: 201 Wurtemburg Street 3-6675

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C164074

CANADA

TREATY SERIES, 1944

No. 9

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

CANADA AND CHINA

ON THE PRINCIPLES

APPLYING TO THE PROVISION BY CANADA

OF CANADIAN WAR SUPPLIES TO CHINA

UNDER THE WAR APPROPRIATION (UNITED NATIONS

MUTUAL AID) ACT OF CANADA 1943

Signed at Ottawa, March 22, 1944

IN FORCE MARCH 22, 1944

OTTAWA
1944

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AGREEMENT BETWEEN CANADA AND CHINA ON THE PRINCIPLES APPLYING TO THE PROVISION BY CANADA OF CANADIAN WAR SUPPLIES TO CHINA UNDER THE WAR APPROPRIATION (UNITED NATIONS MUTUAL AID) ACT OF CANADA 1943

Signed at Ottawa, March 22, 1944

Whereas Canada and China are associated in the present war, and

Whereas it is desirable that war supplies should be distributed among the United Nations in accordance with strategic needs of the war and in such manner as to contribute most effectively to the winning of the war and the establishment of peace, and

Whereas it is expedient that the conditions upon which such war supplies are made available by one United Nation to another should not be such as to burden post-war commerce, or lead to the imposition of trade restrictions or otherwise prejudice a just and enduring peace, and

Whereas the Governments of Canada and China are mutually desirous of concluding an agreement in regard to the conditions upon which Canadian war supplies will be made available to China,

The Undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments for the purpose, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Government of Canada will make available under the War Appropriation (United Nations Mutual Aid) Act of Canada, 1943, to the National Government of the Republic of China such war supplies as the Government of Canada shall authorize from time to time to be provided.

ARTICLE II

The National Government of the Republic of China will continue to contribute to the defence of Canada and the strengthening thereof and will provide such articles, services, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply and as may from time to time be determined by common agreement in the light of the development of the war.

ARTICLE III

The National Government of the Republic of China will, in support of any applications to the Government of Canada for the provision of war supplies under this agreement, furnish the Government of Canada with such relevant information as the Government of Canada may require for the purpose of deciding upon the applications and for executing the purposes of this agreement.

ARTICLE IV

The National Government of the Republic of China agrees to use any war supplies delivered to it under this agreement in the joint and effective prosecution of the war.

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ARTICLE V

The National Government of the Republic of China will not without the consent of the Government of Canada sell to any other Government or to persons in other countries war supplies delivered to it under this agreement.

ARTICLE VI

The Government of Canada will not require the National Government of the Republic of China to re-deliver to the Government of Canada any war supplies delivered under this agreement except as specifically provided in Articles VII and VIII and subject to any special agreement which may be concluded in the circumstances contemplated in Article IX.

ARTICLE VII

Title to any cargo ships delivered under this agreement will remain with the Government of Canada and the ships shall be chartered to the National Government of the Republic of China on terms providing for their re-delivery.

ARTICLE VIII

Upon the cessation of hostilities in any major theatre of war, any war supplies which have been transferred to the National Government of the Republic of China under this agreement and are still in Canada or in ocean transit shall revert to Canadian ownership, except those supplies destined for a theatre of war in which hostilities have not ceased or supplies made available for relief purposes or such other supplies as the Government of Canada may specify.

ARTICLE IX

The Government of Canada reserves the right to request:

(a) the delivery, after the cessation of hostilities in any theatre of war, for relief and rehabilitation purposes, to another United Nation or to an international organization, of automotive equipment supplied under this agreement;

(b) the transfer to Canadian forces serving outside Canada after the cessation of hostilities of vehicles, aircraft, ordnance or military equipment supplied under this agreement to the National Government of the Republic of China if such war supplies are required for the use of such Canadian forces and are not required by the National Government of the Republic of China for military operations; and

(c) the return to Canada after the war, if required in Canada for Canadian purposes, of aircraft and automotive equipment supplied under this agreement which may still be serviceable, due regard being had to the degree of wastage likely to have been suffered by these articles, provided that when the identity of such Canadian equipment has been lost as a result of pooling arrangements or for other reasons, the National Government of the Republic of China may substitute equipment of a similar type.

The National Government of the Republic of China agrees to use its best endeavours to meet any such requests on such reasonable terms and conditions as shall be settled in consultation with the Government of Canada.

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ARTICLE X

The Governments of Canada and China re-affirm their desire to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between their countries and throughout the world. They declare that their guiding purposes include the adoption of measures designed to promote employment, the production and consumption of goods, and the expansion of commerce through appropriate international agreements on commercial policy, with the object of contributing to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Declaration of August 14th, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

ARTICLE XI

This agreement will take effect as from this day's date. It shall apply to war supplies furnished to the National Government of the Republic of China by the Government of Canada under the authority of the War Appropriation (United Nations Mutual Aid) Act of Canada, 1943, or substituted Act, including supplies furnished under the said Act before the conclusion of this agreement. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

Dated at Ottawa, this 22nd day of March, nineteen hundred and forty-four.

Signed for and on behalf of
the Government of Canada:

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

C. D. HOWE

Signed for and on behalf of
the National Government of
the Republic of China:

LIU SHIH SHUN

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C164078 McK
6.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Signature of treaty with China for abolition of extraterritorial rights

With reference to your inquiry as to the possibility of having this treaty signed on April 14 instead of April 15, the position is that the Chinese Embassy have undertaken to have the Chinese text painted in by hand on the same sheets as the English text. They have been informed of the necessity of having the treaty ready for signature by April 14 if it can possibly be done. To give them all possible leeway, it might be advisable to set the time for the signature fairly late in the afternoon.

Tues. 11

12-4-44

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C164079 NAR/SR 4.4.44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The ~~chief~~ treaty with China for the abolition of extraterritorial rights will be ready for signature on April 15th. Royal Full Powers, enabling you to sign the treaty, have already been received. The reason for fixing April 15th for the signature is that Dr. Liu has made arrangements to leave for the West on April 16th, and you will likely be away when he returns. The treaty is being prepared in two texts - English and Chinese - and preparation of the latter text is going to take a good deal of time. It will, however, I am assured, be ready by the 15th.

Noted

Hope text of this cannot be ready by the 14th at the latest. I expect to be away on the 15th.

K.
4.4-44

Noted - inquiries being made as to Chinese text.

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KBB/MB
April 11/44.

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164080

Arrangements are being completed for signature of the Treaty with China on relinquishment of extraterritorial rights on April 14 at 5:30 p.m. in your Office at the East Block.

It would be appreciated if you would confirm that these arrangements are satisfactory or, in the alternative, if you would suggest a time and place that would better meet your convenience.

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

(For publication at 6:00 p.m., E.D.T.)

PRESS RELEASE
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

C164081

No. 19

April 14, 1944.

SIGNING OF A TREATY BETWEEN CANADA AND CHINA FOR THE RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS

Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced today that Canada and China had concluded a treaty for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights and other special privileges which, under treaty provisions, Canada, together with other nations, has hitherto exercised in China.

The treaty was signed on behalf of Canada by Mr. King, ~~in his capacity as Secretary of State for External Affairs~~, and on behalf of China by Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Ambassador for the Republic of China in Canada.

The treaty is similar in its terms to the British extraterritorial treaty concluded on behalf of the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland and India on January 11, 1943, and to the United States treaty with China, concluded on the same day.

Upon the coming into force of the treaty, all international agreements which authorize any British or Canadian authority to exercise jurisdiction in China over Canadian nationals are abrogated. The Government of Canada agrees to cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China, to the extent that any Canadian interest may be involved, in arrangements for the abandonment by foreign Governments of special privileges hitherto held by them in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tientsin and Canton.

The relinquishment of extraterritorial rights does not affect existing rights of Canadian nationals with regard to real property in China. It is agreed that Canadian property in China will be subject to Chinese laws concerning taxation and national defence. Real property held by Canadian nationals in China may not be alienated to the Government or nationals of a third country without the consent of the Government of China. The Chinese Government agrees to apply this restriction on alienation in an equitable manner, and undertakes to take over the property in question and pay adequate compensation therefor, if the right to transfer is refused.

Canadian nationals in China are to be accorded the right to travel, reside and carry on trade in China. Each country is to endeavour to accord to nationals of the other treatment not less favourable than that enjoyed by its own nationals in regard to legal proceedings, the administration of justice and the levying of taxes.

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Consular officers of each country may reside in such places as are agreed on. They are to have the right to interview and to communicate with nationals of their country, are to be informed whenever any such nationals are under arrest, and may visit such nationals and receive communications from them.

The treaty provides that, not later than six months after the cessation of hostilities, the two Governments will enter into a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights; meanwhile, questions affecting the rights of Canadian nationals in China and questions affecting the sovereignty of the Republic of China, which are not covered by this or previous treaties, will be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law.

The treaty will come into force on the day ratifications are exchanged at Chungking. It will be tabled in the House by the Prime Minister at an early date.

Canada recently entered into a Mutual Aid Agreement with China, but the present treaty for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights is the first formal treaty which Canada has concluded with China.

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C164083

CANADA

TREATY SERIES, 1944

No. 11

TREATY
BETWEEN
CANADA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
CONCERNING THE
RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRA-TERRITORIAL RIGHTS
AND THE REGULATION OF RELATED MATTERS

(With Exchange of Notes)

Signed in Ottawa, April 14, 1944

(This Treaty has not yet been ratified)

OTTAWA
1944

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TREATY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONCERNING THE RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRA-TERRITORIAL RIGHTS AND THE REGULATION OF RELATED MATTERS (WITH EXCHANGE OF NOTES)

Signed in Ottawa, on April 14, 1944

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of Canada, and His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China;

Desiring to promote a spirit of friendship in the general relations between Canada and China, and for this purpose to adjust certain matters in the relations of the two countries;

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada:

The Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, and

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China:

His Excellency Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to Canada;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

In the present Treaty the expression "companies" shall be interpreted as meaning limited liability and other companies, partnerships and associations constituted under the laws of Canada or of the Republic of China as the case may be.

ARTICLE II

All provisions of treaties or agreements in force between Canada and China, which authorize any British or Canadian authority to exercise jurisdiction in China over Canadian nationals or companies are hereby abrogated. Canadian nationals and companies shall be subject in China to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China, in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

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ARTICLE III

The Government of Canada will cooperate, to the extent that any Canadian interest may be involved, with the Government of the Republic of China in negotiations and arrangements for the abandonment by foreign Governments of special privileges held by them in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tientsin and Canton, and will raise no objection to any measures which may be directed to the abolition of such special privileges.

ARTICLE IV

(1) Article II of the present Treaty shall not affect existing rights in respect of, or existing titles to, real property in China held by Canadian nationals or companies. Such existing rights and titles shall be indefeasible except upon proof, established through due process of law, that such rights or titles have been acquired by fraud or by fraudulent or dishonest practices, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the official procedure through which it was acquired. It is agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the Government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China. And it is further agreed that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in this Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if, and when, the Government of the Republic of China declines to give assent to a proposed transfer, the Government of the Republic of China will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the nationals or companies to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

(2) Should the Government of the Republic of China desire to replace by new and appropriate deeds existing documentary evidence relating to real property held by Canadian nationals or companies, the new deeds shall fully protect the prior rights and interests of the Canadian nationals or companies, and their legal heirs, successors or assigns.

(3) Canadian nationals or companies shall not be required by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the day of coming into force of the present Treaty.

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ARTICLE III

The Government of Canada will cooperate, to the extent that any Canadian interest may be involved, with the Government of the Republic of China in negotiations and arrangements for the abandonment by foreign Governments of special privileges held by them in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tientsin and Canton, and will raise no objection to any measures which may be directed to the abolition of such special privileges.

ARTICLE IV

(1) Article II of the present Treaty shall not affect existing rights in respect of, or existing titles to, real property in China held by Canadian nationals or companies. Such existing rights and titles shall be indefeasible except upon proof, established through due process of law, that such rights or titles have been acquired by fraud or by fraudulent or dishonest practices, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the official procedure through which it was acquired. It is agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the Government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China. And it is further agreed that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in this Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if, and when, the Government of the Republic of China declines to give assent to a proposed transfer, the Government of the Republic of China will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the nationals or companies to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

(2) Should the Government of the Republic of China desire to replace by new and appropriate deeds existing documentary evidence relating to real property held by Canadian nationals or companies, the new deeds shall fully protect the prior rights and interests of the Canadian nationals or companies, and their legal heirs, successors or assigns.

(3) Canadian nationals or companies shall not be required by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the day of coming into force of the present Treaty.

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ARTICLE V

The Government of Canada having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within the territory of Canada to travel, reside and carry on trade throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to Canadian nationals within the territory of the Republic of China. Each of the two Governments will endeavour to accord in territory under its jurisdiction to nationals and companies of the other country in regard to all legal proceedings and in matters relating to the administration of justice, and to the levying of taxes or requirements in connection therewith, treatment not less favourable than that accorded to its own nationals and companies.

ARTICLE VI

The consular officers of one High Contracting Party, duly provided with exequaturs, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities of the other High Contracting Party as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to interview, to communicate with, and to advise nationals or companies of their country within their consular districts; they shall be informed immediately whenever nationals of their country are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in their consular districts and they shall, upon notification to the appropriate authorities, be permitted to visit any such nationals; and, in general, the consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall be accorded the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

It is likewise agreed that the nationals or companies of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall have the right at all times to communicate with the consular officers of their country. Communications to their consular officers from nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties who are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in the territory of the other High Contracting Party shall be forwarded to such consular officers by the local authorities.

ARTICLE VII

(1) The High Contracting Parties agree that they will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty or treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights upon the request of either of them or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which

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they are both now engaged. The treaty or treaties to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedure and in the modern treaties which each of the Governments has concluded with other Powers in recent years.

(2) Pending the conclusion of the comprehensive treaty or treaties referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in the territory of the Republic of China of the Canadian Government or of Canadian nationals or companies should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes or by the provisions of the existing treaties, conventions and agreements between the Governments of Canada and the Republic of China which are not abrogated by or inconsistent with the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the two Governments and shall be decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

ARTICLE VIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes shall be discussed by representatives of the High Contracting Parties and decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

ARTICLE IX

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Chungking as soon as possible. The present Treaty shall come into force and be effective on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Ottawa this fifteenth day of April, 1944, corresponding to the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the thirty-third year of the Republic of China, in duplicate in English and Chinese, both texts being equally authentic.

W. L. Mackenzie King

Liu Shih Shun

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1944.No.11 7. (...)

Embassy of the Republic of China,
Ottawa,
April 14, 1944.

Sir,

In connection with the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada, I have the honour to state that it is the understanding of the National Government of the Republic of China that all rights and privileges relinquished by His Majesty the King, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, as provided in the Treaty and exchange of notes of January 11, 1943, between the Republic of China on the one hand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India on the other, have been similarly relinquished by His Majesty the King for Canada. This understanding, if confirmed by your Government, shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered to be effective upon the date of the entry into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm the above understanding on behalf of the Government of Canada

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Liu Shih Shun.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,

O t t a w a.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

Ottawa,
April 14, 1944.

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of today's date reading as follows -

" In connection with the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Repuclic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada, I have the honour to state that it is the understanding of the National Government of the Republic of China that all rights and privileges relinquished by His Majesty the King, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, as provided in the Treaty

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and exchange of notes of January 11, 1943, between the Republic of China on the one hand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India on the other, have been similarly relinquished by His Majesty the King for Canada. This understanding, if confirmed by your Government, shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered to be effective upon the date of the entry into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm the above understanding on behalf of the Government of Canada.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Liu Shih Shun"

I have the honour on behalf of the Government of Canada to confirm the understanding of the National Government of the Republic of China that all rights and privileges relinquished by His Majesty the King, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, as provided in the Treaty and exchange of notes of January 11th, 1943, between the Republic of China on the one hand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India on the other, have been similarly relinquished by His Majesty the King for Canada.

This understanding shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered to be effective upon the date of the entry into force of that Treaty.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

W.L. Mackenzie King.

His Excellency,
Dr. Liu Shih Shun,
Ambassador of the
Republic of China,
Chinese Embassy,
Ottawa.

Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

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April 17, 1944

(2)

TABLING OF EXTRATERRITORIAL TREATY
WITH CHINA

C164090

I ~~am~~ have tabling three copies ~~in English~~ of the Treaty concluded on April 14, 1944, between Canada and China for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights and the regulation of related matters. ~~Copies in French will be tabled at a later date.~~

The treaty is similar in its terms to the British extraterritorial treaty concluded on behalf of the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland and India on January 11, 1943, and to the United States treaty with China, concluded on the same day.

On the coming into force of the treaty, all international agreements which authorize British or Canadian authorities to exercise jurisdiction in China over Canadian nationals are abrogated. The Government of Canada agrees to cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China, to the extent that any Canadian interest may be involved, in arrangements for the abandonment by foreign Governments of special privileges hitherto held by them in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tientsin and Canton.

The relinquishment of extraterritorial rights does not affect existing rights of Canadian nationals with regard to real property in China. It is agreed that Canadian property in China will be subject to Chinese laws concerning taxation and national defence. Real property held by Canadian nationals in China may not be alienated to the Government or nationals of a third country without the consent of the Government of China. The Chinese Government agrees to apply this restriction on alienation in an equitable manner, and undertakes to take over the property in question and pay adequate compensation therefor, if the right to transfer is refused.

Read

revised Hansard p. 2065

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Canadian nationals in China are to be accorded the right to travel, reside and carry on trade in China. Each country is to endeavour to accord to nationals of the other treatment not less favourable than that enjoyed by its own nationals in regard to legal proceedings, the administration of justice and the levying of taxes.

Consular officers of each country may reside in such places as are agreed on. They are to have the right to interview and to communicate with nationals of their country, are to be informed whenever any such nationals are under arrest, and may visit such nationals and receive communications from them.

The treaty provides that, not later than six months after the cessation of hostilities, the two Governments will enter into a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights; meanwhile, questions affecting the rights of Canadian nationals in China and questions affecting the sovereignty of the Republic of China, which are not covered by this or previous treaties, will be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law.

treaty
This/ forges yet another bond with our great ally China, which has so long resisted our common enemy. It is evidence, not only of the solidarity of the United Nations in the present struggle, but of their determination to preserve the good relations which have been built up during the war and to continue them into a lasting peace.

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DS/China July 5, 1944
HLK/MM

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C164092

PROPOSED VISIT OF MMES. CHIANG AND KUNG

I attach a copy of a telegram from General Odlum in which he reports that Mme. Chiang Kai Shek and her sister Mme. Kung (wife of the Finance Minister) have accepted an invitation to visit Brazil where they are being given a villa, for the period of their stay, by President Vargas.

Odlum suggests that, as the two women will be passing through Canada to and from England, we should invite them to spend some time as guests of Canada at Lake Louise or Banff.

In a previous despatch (dated April 28, 1944, No. 220) which was sent to you Odlum wrote in part:

"Madame Chiang said that, for the sake of her health, she must get away to a cool place with a higher altitude and she said that she had thought seriously of going to Canada. Would it not be possible to invite her to go to Lake Louise, or Banff, during the hot months, as the guest of Canada? This would be the best single investment Canada could make as far as China is concerned. About the time Madame Chiang is ready to return to China, the Generalissimo could be invited over to join her there and bring her back. If he makes the turn to the left that I am expecting of him, he will be a very significant figure in history. And a visit paid by him to Canada would do as much good as the opening of the Northern air service to which I have so frequently referred."

According to Odlum's telegram the two sisters would be in Canada about the end of August en route to

9-7-44

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England and again on their return journey from the United Kingdom in perhaps the middle of September.

I take it from Odlum's cable that Mme. Kung will not be with her husband in the United States this summer, and therefore unable to come to Canada with Dr. Kung in the second week of August as you suggested.

From Odlum's last telegram it appears that a good many people in Chungking fear there may be a collapse of Chinese resistance. This may have something to do with Mme. Chiang's journey. It is not, however, a reason against inviting her to take a rest in Canada, although I should hope that if she went to Banff or Lake Louise, she and Mme. Kung would wish to pay their own expenses.

As you will see from the Ambassador's telegram, it is desirable that we should send him a reply at once.

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China /XTT

NAR/ET
10 Nov.1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C164094

I am attaching for your signature -

Signed

1. A submission to the King inviting him to authorise the ratification of the Treaty with China on Extraterritoriality and related questions, which was signed by you in Ottawa in April, 1944.

Signed

2. A letter of transmission to the Governor-General explaining that the text of the Treaty had been prepared in Ottawa for the King's signature in accordance with the precedent established during the King's visit to Canada in 1939.

returned

I am also enclosing the bound text of the Treaty which will be sent by Government House to Buckingham Palace for the King's signature, and will be returned by the Palace to us and given to the Chinese Ambassador as part of the ceremony of exchange of ratifications.

returned to Department 11/11/44 JKL

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164095

Prime Minister:

The Chinese Ambassador (Dr. Liu) asks if it would be possible for you to see him for a few minutes tomerrow (Friday).

J.A.G.

7:ii:46 (JAG)

(this message telephoned from East Block by Mr. Matte at 6:10 p.m.)

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DS / Arms

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164096

Prime Minister:

The Chinese Ambassador (Dr. Liu) telephoned to Mr. Pickersgill about his request to see you for a few minutes today. Mr. Pickersgill explained that it was an exceptionally heavy day, and that there appeared to be no chance to fit in an interview.

Dr. Liu then asked if he could have a word with you by telephone this evening.

Embassy telephone: 3-6675

J.A.G.

February~~###~~ 8, 1946

Spoke to on phone at 9.00 p.m.

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PAGE BARBOUILLEE

RGR:rb

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM **for the Prime Minister** File re

C164097

In connection with the enquiry by the Chinese Ambassador as to whether you would be able to see Dr. Chen Li-fu during his stay in Ottawa on July 6th and 7th, Mr. Measures asked this morning whether you might wish to accomplish this purpose by attending the luncheon which Mr. St. Laurent is giving for Dr. Chen Li-fu on Wednesday, June 7th. As you will be in Ottawa on that day for the meeting of Cabinet, it occurred to me that you might wish to consider the suggestion.

The luncheon is to be held at the Country Club at 1:30 p.m., and it is expected that about 18-20 people will be present, mainly Ministers and officials from the Department of External Affairs.

J. W. P.

July 5, 1948.

~~Mr. Handy~~
Miss Moore

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Chemin
Dept. of External Affairs

SFR/SR
16.2.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C164098

D-120-D
1943

C-750
V.1

We have been informed by the Chinese Legation here that General Hsiung Shih-fei, Head of the Chinese Military Mission to the U.S.A., will visit Ottawa tomorrow, February 17th. Major-General Chu Shih-ming, Military Attache to the Chinese Embassy at Washington, and Major-General Shen Teh-hsieh of the Chinese Air Force will accompany him. General Hsiung will also have with him two secretaries.

General Hsiung will only be here for a day or two, en route to the United Kingdom by the Ferry Bomber Command Service. Arrangements have been made by the Department of National Defence to have him see something of Canadian air training establishments in the vicinity of Ottawa, and I understand that a dinner, at which the three Services will be represented, is planned to be held at the Chateau Laurier tomorrow evening.

(N.A. ROBERTSON)

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PLEASE QUOTE: .....

C164099

By direction of the *Secretary of State for External Affairs*

the attached Letter No 32-L209 of Feb. 13th, 1943.

from The Chinese Legation, and our reply thereto of February 15th, Minister

is referred to the ~~*Minister of*~~ Principal Sec'y. to the Prime/

FOR INFORMATION AND ANY NECESSARY ACTION

Referred also to:

Nat. Defence (Army)
Governor General's Sec'y.
Director of Censorship

WHM.

Ottawa Feb. 16th, 1943.

N. A. ROBERTSON

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

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D-120-J
1943

LEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Ottawa.

C164100 G-754
V-1

32-L209

February 13, 1943. G-750
V-1

Dear Dr. Robertson,

I wish to inform you that General Hsiung Shih-fei, Head of the Chinese Military Mission to the U.S.A., will visit Ottawa on Wednesday next, February 17. Major-General Chu Shih-ming, Military Attache to the Chinese Embassy at Washington, D.,C., and Major General Shen Teh-hsieh of the Chinese Air Force will accompany him. General Hsiung will also have with him his secretaries, Dr. Ho Feng-shan and Captain Lee Ming-hsien, A.D.C., to the Chief of the Chinese Military Mission.

The party will leave Washington, D.C., by train at 4.30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 16th, pass the border at St. Johns at 8.09 a.m. on Wednesday, February 17th, and arrive at Ottawa at 12.45 p.m. the same day.

As General Hsiung is very much interested in air training in Canada, arrangements are being made for his party to visit the Air Training Camp at the Upland Airport.

After a brief stay at Ottawa, General Hsiung and party will proceed to Montreal to wait for air passage to the United Kingdom.

I should be most grateful if you would be good enough to see that facilities are accorded to the party at the port of entry and during their sojourn in Canada.

See 401
P.M. Feb 18

Yours sincerely,

Liu Shih Shun.

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Ottawa, February 15th, 1943.

Dear Dr. Liu:

I thank you for your letter of February 13th, your file No.32-L209, regarding the forthcoming visit to Canada of General Hsiung Shih-fei, Head of the Chinese Military Mission to the United States and the officials who accompany him.

The Deputy Minister of National Defence for Air has been asked to make all the arrangements on behalf of the Government of Canada, and I understand that Mr. Li Chao discussed with Mr. Measures and Flight Lieutenant A.A. Foster, R.C.A.F., (Tel.local 3949) preliminary arrangements.

We have asked the appropriate authorities to accord facilities at the ports of entry and exit.

I shall be pleased to learn in due course whether the arrangements for the visit proposed by the Department of National Defence for Air are agreeable to you.

Yours sincerely,
N. A. ROBERTSON

Dr. Liu Shih Shun,
Minister of the Republic of China,
201 Wurtemburg St.,
Ottawa.

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HHW/ET
24 March, 1943

C164102

R-100-R
1943
b-753
v.1
b-754
v.1

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TURNBULL: ✓ Making - Requests for Interviews
✓ China
✓ Canadian Foreign Policy
✓ Canadian Representation at Chungking

With regard to your memorandum of March 13th about Mr.King's interview with Bing-shuey Lee of the Chinese Legation, Keenleyside has prepared the attached note suggesting answers to the questionnaire submitted. These answers are as far as possible taken from statements already made by Mr.King or members of the Cabinet.

HHW

(H. H. WRONG)

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C164103

March 23, 1943.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

(For The National Herald, Chungking)

1. What is the significance of the establishment of the first Canadian Legation in China?

The establishment of the first Canadian Legation in China, following upon the appointment of a Chinese Minister to Canada, symbolizes the spirit of united effort which animates both our nations in their defence of the ideals of freedom and democracy. No less does it express the earnest desire of all Canadians, when the forces of aggression have been defeated, for the closest co-operation in the creation of an international order based on these ideals.

2. Comment on the forthcoming visit of Madame Chiang to Canada

In welcoming China's First Lady the Canadian people pay tribute not only to one of the most distinguished women in the world but also to the nation whose indomitable spirit she so strikingly typifies. No one is better fitted to interpret China to America than Mme. Chiang, who combines in her own person the ancient cultural heritage of her native land, its present achievements and its hopes for the future

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with an intimate knowledge of the American way of life, gained during the formative years of youth while she was a student here. It is our hope and belief that Mme. Chiang's visit to Canada will promote a better understanding between the Canadian and Chinese people and strengthen the bonds which now unite our two nations in defence of common ideals.

3. How do the people of Canada regard China's indirect contribution to the national security of this country?

We in North America cannot begin to measure the debt we owe to those countries which have been invaded and which, at a sacrifice of life altogether unparalleled, have continued fighting, often against tremendous odds, to preserve not only their own freedom but civilization itself. In the present world conflict China was the first to experience the shock of aggression and for years withstood it alone. Who can tell where the Japanese advance in the spring of 1942 might have ended, had the enemy been able to throw into the campaign the huge forces which he was compelled to maintain in China? If we on this continent have thus far escaped invasion from across the Pacific, it is in no small degree due to the gallant resistance of China, which

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has been, and continues to be, an example and inspiration to her allies in the ordeal through which all are now passing.

4. Statement on Canada's past assistance to China in the present world struggle against aggression.

We in Canada are determined to play our full part in providing China with everything that can be transported to her so that she may strike back at Japan quickly and effectively. We have already made a beginning and Canadian guns and ammunition are being employed against the Japanese in China. Scarcity of shipping and inadequacy of supply routes still constitute formidable obstacles. It is hoped that these may shortly be overcome and thus permit a greatly increased flow of Canadian war supplies to China.

The Canadian people, through subscriptions to the Red Cross, the China War Relief Fund and various local organizations, have contributed large sums towards the relief of Chinese war sufferers. The campaign now under way aims to double this assistance during the current year.

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5. Comment on the billion dollar appropriation to the United Nations and its effect on China's war effort.

The Mutual Aid Bill now before Parliament proposes to set aside the sum of one billion dollars for the purchase of war materials and supplies, to be allocated to other members of the United Nations on the basis of strategic needs. Where possible, Canada will hope to obtain reciprocal benefits, but no nation will be denied supplies because it cannot, in return, supply a Canadian need. The distribution of Canadian war supplies under the Mutual Aid Bill will be in the hands of a five-man board.

It is impossible at this stage to gauge the effect of this new appropriation on China's war effort. Parliamentary sanction must be obtained before any steps can be taken to set up the administrative machinery envisaged by the Bill. It will also be necessary, in the interests of the united war effort, to work out a system of clearances between the War Supplies Allocation Board of Canada and the appropriate Combined Boards in Washington with the object of gearing the two allocation systems together. No one would deny the strategic needs of China and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the new Canadian appropriation will result in increased Canadian aid to China. The extent of this aid, however, will depend also on the establishment of trans-

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portation facilities.

6. <u>To what extent will Canada look toward the Pacific and China to solve her post-war problems</u>?

At the conclusion of the war all countries will be faced with the immediate problems of transition from war to peace. In Canada these problems will be primarily economic. War production must be transformed to meet peacetime needs. Returning soldiers and persons now employed in war industry must find places in the work of peace. China will face in addition the gigantic task of repairing the physical ravages of war. In a sense the economic problems of the two countries will be complementary. Canada, as a country of small population, great natural resources and high industrial development, will need markets for her primary products and manufactured goods. China will need many of the products of Canadian industry in her tasks of rehabilitation and industrialization, and will be able, in turn, to supply Canada with commodities which cannot be produced here. It will be our concern in post-war years to do everything possible to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between our two countries.

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C164108

March 23, 1943.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

(For The National Herald, Chungking)

1. What is the significance of the establishment of the first Canadian Legation in China?

The establishment of the first Canadian Legation in China, following upon the appointment of a Chinese Minister to Canada, symbolizes the spirit of united effort which animates both our nations in their defence of the ideals of freedom and democracy. No less does it express the earnest desire of all Canadians, when the forces of aggression have been defeated, for the closest co-operation in the creation of an international order based on these ideals.

2. Comment on the forthcoming visit of Madame Chiang to Canada

In welcoming China's First Lady the Canadian people pay tribute not only to one of the most distinguished women in the world but also to the nation whose indomitable spirit she so strikingly typifies. No one is better fitted to interpret China to America than Mme. Chiang, who combines in her own person the ancient cultural heritage of her native land, its present achievements and its hopes for the future

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with an intimate knowledge of the American way of life, gained during the formative years of youth while she was a student here. It is our hope and belief that Mme. Chiang's visit to Canada will promote a better understanding between the Canadian and Chinese people and strengthen the bonds which now unite our two nations in defence of common ideals.

3. <u>How do the people of Canada regard China's indirect contribution to the national security of this country</u>?

We in North America cannot begin to measure the debt we owe to those countries which have been invaded and which, at a sacrifice of life altogether unparalleled, have continued fighting, often against tremendous odds, to preserve not only their own freedom but civilization itself. In the present world conflict China was the first to experience the shock of aggression and for years withstood it alone. Who can tell where the Japanese advance in the spring of 1942 might have ended, had the enemy been able to throw into the campaign the huge forces which he was compelled to maintain in China? If we on this continent have thus far escaped invasion from across the Pacific, it is in no small degree due to the gallant resistance of China, which

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6. <u>To what extent will Canada look toward the Pacific and China to solve her post-war problems</u>?

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C164113

March 23, 1943.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

(For The National Herald, Chungking)

1. What is the significance of the establishment of the first Canadian Legation in China?

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has been, and continues to be, an example and inspiration to her allies in the ordeal through which all are now passing.

4. Statement on Canada's past assistance to China in the present world struggle against aggression.

We in Canada are determined to play our full part in providing China with everything that can be transported to her so that she may strike back at Japan quickly and effectively. We have already made a beginning and Canadian guns and ammunition are being employed against the Japanese in China. Scarcity of shipping and inadequacy of supply routes still constitute formidable obstacles. It is hoped that these may shortly be overcome and thus permit a greatly increased flow of Canadian war supplies to China.

The Canadian people, through subscriptions to the Red Cross, the China War Relief Fund and various local organizations, have contributed large sums towards the relief of Chinese war sufferers. The campaign now under way aims to double this assistance during the current year.

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5. Comment on the billion dollar appropriation to the United Nations and its effect on China's war effort.

The Mutual Aid Bill now before Parliament proposes to set aside the sum of one billion dollars for the purchase of war materials and supplies, to be allocated to other members of the United Nations on the basis of strategic needs. Where possible, Canada will hope to obtain reciprocal benefits, but no nation will be denied supplies because it cannot, in return, supply a Canadian need. The distribution of Canadian war supplies under the Mutual Aid Bill will be in the hands of a five-man board.

It is impossible at this stage to gauge the effect of this new appropriation on China's war effort. Parliamentary sanction must be obtained before any steps can be taken to set up the administrative machinery envisaged by the Bill. It will also be necessary, in the interests of the united war effort, to work out a system of clearances between the War Supplies Allocation Board of Canada and the appropriate Combined Boards in Washington with the object of gearing the two allocation systems together. No one would deny the strategic needs of China and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the new Canadian appropriation will result in increased Canadian aid to China. The extent of this aid, however, will depend also on the establishment of trans-

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portation facilities.

6. To what extent will Canada look toward the Pacific and China to solve her post-war problems?

At the conclusion of the war all countries will be faced with the immediate problems of transition from war to peace. In Canada these problems will be primarily economic. War production must be transformed to meet peacetime needs. Returning soldiers and persons now employed in war industry must find places in the work of peace. China will face in addition the gigantic task of repairing the physical ravages of war. In a sense the economic problems of the two countries will be complementary. Canada, as a country of small population, great natural resources and high industrial development, will need markets for her primary products and manufactured goods. China will need many of the products of Canadian industry in her tasks of rehabilitation and industrialization, and will be able, in turn, to supply Canada with commodities which cannot be produced here. It will be our concern in post-war years to do everything possible to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between our two countries.

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IRD

C164118 NAR/SR
13.5.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Chinese Minister told me yesterday that he had just received a telegram from Chungking informing him that the Chinese Government were glad to agree to the nomination of a Canadian representative as Chairman of the Supplies Committee to be set up as part of the International Relief Administration. Dr. Liu explained that the readiness of his Government to agree to a Canadian Chairman was an indication of friendly feeling toward Canada and appreciation of the Canadian part in the common war effort.

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H. Pickersgill K

122

HLK/ELB
August 6, 1943

C164119

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERTSON

We can find no record of the Prime Minister's saying that he had sent a cable to General Odlum pointing out that there is nothing in Dominion Law to deprive persons of Chinese racial origin of the right to vote.

On July 12, 1943 Mr. King did say:

"Our people have not only come to know but greatly to admire, and, I will go further and say, to have a real affection for the Chinese people. Knowing that, when the government opened a legation in China we expressed to our minister the hope that when he reached Chungking he would explain to the government of China that there were certain difficulties in dealing with the problems which arose between us and the people of China on account of special circumstances in our own country. We asked him to explain the situation very fully and make it perfectly clear that the present administration hoped to be able to work out a solution which would remove any cause on their part to feel that they were being discriminated against as a race."

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C164120

MEMORANDUM

June 24, 1944

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Some days ago Mr. Robertson sent you a note enquiring whether an invitation should be sent to visit Canada to a delegation of Chinese officials who were visiting Washington for talks with United States authorities on CIVIL AVIATION. This delegation has now arrived in Washington; if it were desired to invite the members to visit Canada it should now be done as soon as possible,

J.A.G.

(J.A. GIBSON)

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C164121

LBP/SR
21.10.46

(L.B. PEARSON TO W.L.M.K.)

D-17-J
1946

D-10-C
1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

The Chinese Ambassador called on me this morning to tell me that General Chang Chun, former Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, and now Governor of Szechwan province, will arrive in Ottawa on October 30th for an overnight visit. He asked me to bring this to your attention. I believe the Ambassador has already mentioned it to you. He hoped that you would be able to receive General Chang, who is, of course, one of the important figures in China at the moment and very close to the Generalissimo. I told the Ambassador that you were leaving for New York shortly, and it was not certain that you would be back on October 30th. He himself is leaving for New York this afternoon to attend the United Nations Assembly, though he will be returning for General Chang's visit. I think the Ambassador hopes to have a word with you about that visit in New York if a convenient opportunity arises.

If you are not in Ottawa on the 30th, it might be possible for Mr. Howe to receive General Chang and possibly give him a small official luncheon. I would be glad to see that any instructions you give in this matter are carried out.

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C164122

MR. ROBERTSON:

The Prime Minister's notes on the original memo are:

"I expect to be back by the 30th, but if not would be pleased if you would arrange with Mr. Howe."

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

~~J.W.P.~~
~~G.I.M.~~
~~P.A.~~
~~Miss Horne~~

D-12-J
1946

MEMORANDUM C164123

For the Prime Minister:

Mrs. H. D. Robertson, formerly hostess at the Chinese Embassy, telephoned to say that she had been asked by the Chinese Ambassador to have General Chang Chun and his party to tea tomorrow (Thursday) afternoon at her apartment - 345a Kenniston Apartments - (Corner Waverley and Elgin Streets).

I explained to Mrs. Robertson that I feared the Prime Minister would be occupied all afternoon, but that I would be pleased to pass on the invitation.

J.W.P.

Oct. 30, 1946

Canada D-15-5
1946

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

~~J.W.P.~~
~~C.J.M.~~
~~P.A.~~
~~Miss Hopne~~

MEMORANDUM C164123

D-12-J
1945

For the Prime Minister:

Mrs. H. D. Robertson, formerly hostess at the Chinese Embassy, telephoned to say that she had been asked by the Chinese Ambassador to have General Chang Chun and his party to tea tomorrow (Thursday) afternoon at her apartment - 345a Kenniston Apartments - (Corner Waverley and Elgin Streets).

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J.W.P.

Oct. 30, 1946

Ruabo D-15-5
1946

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C164124

I-209
1940
M-305-61
(Confd)

P. C. 7722

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

TUESDAY, the 31st day of DECEMBER, 1940.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS the Minister of Mines and Resources reports that owing to conditions arising out of the war there are in China approximately eight hundred persons of Chinese origin, legal and permanent residents of Canada, who have registered out from Canada under Section 23 of the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923, who are unable through lack of transportation facilities and other factors altogether beyond their control, to return to Canada within a period of two years from the date of registration, as required by Section 24 of the said Act, and who, therefore, under the last mentioned Section, lose their right of re-entry to Canada;

That practically all of these persons of Chinese origin have resided in Canada for many years and in some instances have acquired interests therein which will be sacrificed if their return cannot be effected;

That there was no possibility of these persons knowing before departure from Canada of the situation described above, otherwise they would have undoubtedly remained in this country; and

That in his opinion it would be for the peace order and welfare of Canada to extend the visit of these persons of Chinese origin to their native land beyond the said period of two years;

THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Mines and Resources, and under the authority of Section three of the War Measures Act, Chap. 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and it is hereby ordered that all persons of Chinese origin or descent, who under Section 23 of the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923, have registered on or subsequent to December 1st, 1938, and all persons of Chinese origin or descent who may register under the said Section 23 on or before December 31st, 1941, may delay their return to Canada for a period of two years over and above the statutory period as set by Section 24 of the said Act.

Sgd. A.D.P.Heeney

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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CM / China

NAR/ET
29 April
1942

C164125

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

27 April I am enclosing a copy of a personal letter from Hume Wrong, reporting a conversation he had recently with Owen Lattimore, who will probably be in Ottawa for a day or two about May 7th or 8th.

Lattimore, you will remember, went out to Chungking after ~~Lochlan Curry's~~ Lauchlin Currie's return, as political adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek and personal liaison officer with him from President Roosevelt. He came back from Chungking on the same plane as the Chinese Minister here, and will be returning to China when he has completed arrangements for the establishment of the Chinese Military Mission which recently arrived in the United States.

He should be a useful man to talk to about the opening of the Canadian Legation in Chungking.

How you wish
V-5-42
WLMK

Hall.

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C164126

April 27th, 1942.

Personal.

My dear Norman:

I have just sent a message about arrangements for a visit to Ottawa of Owen Lattimore. I think that you will find him a highly intelligent and refreshing person to talk to about the Far Eastern situation, and I am sure that his advice in connection with the establishment of our Legation will be worth attention. He says that the Canadian part in securing the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance is still a green memory in Chungking and that there is a strong desire there to have effective diplomatic contact with Canada. He thinks that inevitably we shall have to play a more active role in Far Eastern affairs in the future.

He feels that the Japanese are very likely to attack Siberia within the next few months. It seems to him that the logical policy for the Japanese to follow is to dig themselves in in Malaya and the East Indies by developing production there in their own interests of

rubber/

N. A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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rubber, oil, and tin. He has little doubt that they are pushing this actively already. He does not expect a Japanese attempt to invade China from Burma - only that they will seek to get a firm hold on Burmese territory so as to break Chinese communications. He guesses that the Japanese will have a crack at India - perhaps not an effort at conquest in any complete sense, but an attempt to create sufficiently chaotic conditions to destroy the utility of India as a base for British operations; they will probably at least try out a movement against India in order to discover whether they come up against stiff resistance. Their main purpose, according to him, will not be permanent conquest on the western side of the Bay of Bengal, but protection for them while they are digesting their spoil in the Malayan region.

Russia is now the principal obstacle to the full development of Japanese plans. If Russia could be knocked out, they would englobe China on north and south. Therefore he thinks it logical and probable that the Japanese, while the tide is running in their favour, will turn in this direction.

This is merely an indication of the line which Lattimore will take when he goes to Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) H. H. WRONG.

hw.gm

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CM/China

August 14, 1942.

C164128

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

HARRY HUSSEY

Mr. Hussey called to see me this morning.

On his recent visit to England, which was made at the request of the British Government and in the arrangements for which we assisted, Mr. Hussey was requested to return to China. The British Government wish him to open a house in Chungking which would be similar to the establishment that he ran in Peking. It will be recalled that in the old capital, Mr. Hussey maintained a sort of open house where Chinese and British people could meet without the restraint imposed by official obligations. Mr. Hussey knew a great many of the leading Chinese and his house was often used for unofficial contacts, which in some cases proved most useful. The British Government is now supplying him with money to enable him to establish a similar meeting place in Chungking.

In the course of our conversation, Mr. Hussey commented upon the fact that both the British and the Americans are already aiming at securing a preferred position in Szechwan, northern Yunnan and other contiguous areas in which China possesses mineral deposits which are needed by other countries. These consist particularly of antimony, tin, graphite, tungsten, mica and asbestos. He suggested that when they have the opportunity, Canadian companies should also consider investment in this field.

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Mr. Hussey asked whether any decision had yet been reached in regard to a Canadian Minister and I told him that one was expected shortly. He expressed the hope that an appointment would be made and suggested that we needed a really competent appointee as the Canadian position in China was not altogether a satisfactory one. He said that our reputation was still being prejudiced by our legislation and by such regulations as that which keeps Chinese persons in transit through the United States from passing on the Michigan Central Line across Ontario. He reminded me that in a number of cases in recent years very senior Chinese officials had been held up either at Buffalo or Detroit by this regulation. The results, as might be expected, were not to our advantage.

Mr. Hussey expects to leave Ottawa some time on Saturday afternoon but he said that if the Prime Minister wished to see him he would be prepared to postpone his departure. He did not wish to be importunate and he has no special reason for calling but he will be available if his presence is desired. He is staying at the Chateau Laurier.

Mr. Hussey asked that his compliments should be presented to the Prime Minister.

HLS.

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Cn/Chile

NAR/SR
8.10.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164130

I saw Mr. Chipman last night and told him of the other arrangements in mind for Chungking and Moscow. He said if he had been a little younger, he would have liked nothing better than to go to China as the representative of Canada at a time like this. The idea had caught his imagination, but he realized that it would probably be a very hazardous assignment for a man with his family and perhaps his physique. I told him that you had been rather worried about the responsibility of asking a man with his responsibilities to take a post like that at a time like this.

I told him what the position was with regard to each of the new South American legations. I said I thought it probable that, in order of time, the Chilean Legation would have to be opened first, since we were already receiving a Chilean Minister here. Appointments to Peru and Mexico could be expected to follow fairly quickly, but the Government was not going to say anything about this prospect until it was in a position to make prompt appointments. I told him a little of the diplomatic importance of good Canadian representation in one of the key neutral countries of South America, and he appeared to be quite interested in the possibility of such an appointment, particularly since it would be possible for his wife and some of his family to accompany him there, which they could not do to either the Russian or Chinese posts.

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DS/Chile

November 3, 1942.

C164131

M E M O R A N D U M

Appointment of Canadian Minister to Chile.

The Government is glad to announce that it has persuaded Mr. Warwick F. Chipman, K.C., D.C.L. (Lennoxville), to accept the post of Canadian Minister to Chile.

The Government some time ago decided that it would be desirable to appoint a separate minister to Chile and to open a legation in Santiago. When the first Chilean minister, Dr. Eduardo Grove, arrived in Ottawa it became necessary to give immediate consideration to the establishment of full reciprocal diplomatic relations between Canada and Chile by the appointment of a Canadian Minister to Chile to reciprocate Chile's appointment of Dr. Grove to Canada.

Mr. Chipman, who is a member of the legal firm of Brown, Montgomery, and McMichael of Montreal, was born in Montreal and is a graduate of McGill University. He has had a distinguished career at the Canadian Bar, to which he was admitted in 1906. Mr. Chipman's legal abilities were signally honoured by his election this year as Batonnier General of the Bar of Montreal. Mr. Chipman is Professor of Civil Law at McGill University, President of the League of Nations Society in Canada, Church Advocate of the Diocese of Montreal, and Chairman of the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

While the Government is aware that the acceptance of this key post by Mr. Chipman, even temporarily, necessitates not only the interruption

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of his professional duties but also the abandoning, at least for the present, of a number of activities and functions which Mr. Chipman has much at heart, the Government is confident that to bodies of such public spirit the overriding claims of wartime service will be accepted as unanswerable.

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Cm / Chile

NAR/ET
6 Dec.
1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C164133

The dinner which the Canadian Inter-American Association gave in honour of Mr.Chipman in Montreal last week was a very successful occasion. Dr.Grove,Mr.MacKinnon and Senator Leon-Mercier Gouin all spoke - the last named very eloquently in English,French and Spanish. He would I am sure, if available, make a very acceptable and successful Minister in any Latin American country.

Mr.MacKinnon read to the dinner your message,which was very cordially received and quoted in all the Montreal papers. I have been on several occasions much struck by the faculty Mr. MacKinnon has of making himself and Canada liked by Latin Americans. He has gone out of his way to be friendly to their representatives here, and they very much appreciate his interest and attention. I think he would be encouraged to know that you welcome and appreciate his efforts to build up a friendly feeling toward Canada among the Latin American countries.

(no comment except "that's alright"

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CM/Chile

NAR/SR
12.12.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164134

The League of Nations Society are having a dinner in honour of Mr. Warwick Chipman in Montreal on Tuesday, to which they have invited a representative of the Dominion Government to be present. Senator Cairine Wilson will be one of the speakers at the dinner, and I thought it might be suitable to send her a message, which she could read, from you. This would obviate any need for special Government representation. A draft letter to Senator Wilson is attached.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

C164135

Ottawa, 12th December, 1942.

Dear Senator Wilson,

I am happy to learn that the Montreal Branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada is giving a dinner in honour of Mr. Warwick Chipman, the President of the Society. I am sorry that I cannot myself be present at the dinner since I should have liked to say a word of appreciation of the work which Mr. Chipman has done for the League ~~of Nations Society~~.

Mr. Chipman has been an officer of the League of Nations Society during very difficult years. He has realized how hard it has been at times to translate into terms of Government action our belief in the necessity of the establishment of a world order. He realizes how hard it is to-day to ~~draw up a blue print~~ outline of the free world order which we must construct after the war. ~~Yet we must now begin to draw up that blue print.~~

A just and enduring peace is going to be hard to win. We cannot win it unless we possess intellectual integrity and intellectual courage. For only by combining that kind of integrity and courage with the integrity and courage which we need to win the war will we be able to construct the international political and economic institutions of which the world stands in need.

The construction of the post-war international political and economic institutions has already begun. Their foundations are being laid as a result of the new relationships which are growing up during the war between the peoples and governments of the United Nations. ~~We must, therefore, as I have said before, take constant care that these new relationships provide sound foundations for the free world order.~~

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Mr. Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State of the United States, has recently emphasized this point. He has urged that the military relationships between the United Nations should be strengthened "by the removal of all semblance of disunity or of suspicious rivalry, and by the clarification of the free-world goals for which we are fighting, so that the form of international organization determined to be best suited to achieve international security will have developed to such an extent (during the war) that it can fully operate as soon as the present military partnership has achieved its purpose of complete victory".

Yours sincerely,

The Honourable Cairine Wilson,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

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Cm/Chile
NAR/SR
2.2.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164137

Arrangements for Chipman's departure for Chile have been delayed by shipping and transportation difficulties. He was planning to go down with his family on a Chilean steamship, sailing from New Orleans. In view of Chile's breaking relations with the Axis powers, there is a certain risk - to which I did not think he should be asked to expose his wife and children - in sailing on this vessel. Their furniture and supplies are, however, going by this boat and he and his family are going by air. They are scheduled to arrive about the same time as the boat bringing their belongings. The boat sailing has been postponed twice and, consequently, his air transportation has also had to be deferred.

Mr. and Mrs. Chipman have rather grander ideas than our "career" Ministers of what it takes to furnish a Legation, and we have had a bit of haggling about prices to be paid for china and table linen, etc. He is anxious to do things properly, realizing that the equipment and furniture purchased for the Legation will, of course, be Government property for permanent use. I felt we should put off postponable expenses wherever possible, but he argues, with a good deal of reason, that with supplies getting generally scarce and shipping arrangements uncertain it is desirable to start with a good working stock of all the things the Legation is likely to need.

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Rescinded by Chile CH/Chile HW 12

NAR/SR
20.2.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164138

Arrangements for Chipman's departure for Chile have been further complicated by the fact that all his clothes and effects, consigned to New Orleans over three weeks ago, had not arrived by the time the Chilean liner sailed. His departure by air was to be synchronized with the expected arrival of the boat carrying his belongings. He closed his house a month ago, has had his family in a hotel ever since, and has said all his farewells in the expectation of leaving at the end of this week.

In view of the time that has elapsed since his appointment was announced, I thought it was in every way desirable that he should get to Santiago as quickly as possible, even though he will not have his morning coat and top hat for the presentation of his credentials. After a conversation with Dr. Grove, I told him that we thought he should go ahead with his plans and wait for his luggage in Santiago. Dr. Grove is informing the Chilean Department of Foreign Affairs of Chipman's transport difficulties and assures me they will understand that war conditions make these emergency arrangements inevitable.

hdk

B12/12 {43
LD-2

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W.H.M.
2.8.45.

DRAFT PRESS RELEASE

C164139

It was announced by the Department of External Affairs today that Mr. Warwick F. Chipman K.C., Canadian Ambassador in Chile, is being appointed Ambassador to Argentina. Pending the appointment of Mr. Chipman's successor Mr. Jules Léger will be in charge of the Canadian Embassy in Santiago.

Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood has been in charge of the Canadian Legation in Argentina since the departure of the Hon. W.F.A. Turgeon, who is now Canadian Ambassador in Belgium.

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Copy of paper exactly as read D.B. Chisholm

30-644

C164140

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF PEACETIME SOCIETY

The Responsibility of Psychiatry

G. B. Chisholm, M.D.

William Alanson White's teachings and writings from his "Outlines" in 1917 to the last days of his life provided much of the impetus in the development of psychiatry which occurred during those years. His vision and humanity, honest thinking and devotion would have been of great value to the world in the troublous times ahead of us now. It would not however be a fitting memorial to William Alanson White to spend our time on this occasion looking backward at his work and bemoaning his absence and the loss to psychiatry. He would not have us at any memorial of his, talk about William Alanson White. The most sincere way we can honour him is to try to look forward, in the spirit of honesty, devotion and service which characterized his whole life, to face and deal with the vast problems which lie ahead.

He would recognize that there is much for psychiatry to do and we should be getting on with the job as he would be doing if he were here. He would recognize, as we must, that this is a sick world, with an old chronic but ever more extensive and serious sickness. Its sickness has recently become acutely dangerous and the future is uncertain indeed.

Man, again, and on a wider and more highly organized scale than ever before, has been indulging in one of his most consistent behaviour patterns, war. Though it seems that, among the people of the world, relatively few want or enjoy wars, and very many suffer in many ways during wars, man persists in this senseless behaviour century after century. Until recent years wars could take place locally without necessarily affecting or causing concern on the part of peoples in other parts of the world, but that time is past.

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Every war is now a threat to all the people in the world, either directly or through deprivation of materials or loss of trade.

This situation is widely recognized and no nation will ever again be able to formulate its policies on the basis of isolationism. The interdependence of all the people in this shrunken world is obvious. Fast air transport, and the atomic bomb are only the latest steps in that process, which has been going on for a long time, of breaking down the geographical barriers between groups of peoples. We are all now, perforce, citizens of the world, whether we are sufficiently mature adequately to carry that responsibility or not. In the face of this new status as world citizens we must accept the uncomfortable fact that we are the kind of people who fight wars every fifteen or twenty years. We always have, for as far back as we know anything of the race, and if we go on being the same kinds of people it is to be supposed that we will continue to fight each other.

Now that the latest war has just finished we must take one of several possible courses. First we can return to the kind of life and society we had before the war, go back to our peaceful pursuit of a living, or local social betterment, or political importance, or psychotherapy as the case may be. We could probably count with luck on fifteen years, or even twenty, of peace if we do that but those occupations would be completely futile as we would be taken over and enslaved, literally, and our comfortable social developments thrown into the discard by a "Master Race" to whom we would appear weak and unrealistic and not fit to run our own lives. Every present indication is that the next time any self styled master race is allowed to prepare and make such an attempt it will succeed. If our future concern is just the re-establishment of the pre-war society slavery is absolutely inevitable. We were before the war the kind of people who allowed the Germans, Italians and Japanese to prepare openly for war for years and to pick their

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own time and place to attack us. If we go on being that same kind of people we are indeed not fit to survive. We will have proven clearly our lack of ability to learn from even the most painful experience – a biologically intolerable condition.

The second possible course is to prepare earnestly for the next war, recognizing its inevitability, training our children from infancy to live dangerously, to be able to fight effectively with ever more efficient, ruthless and terrible weapons. They must be trained to strike first because there may be no second blow in the wars of the future. Constant alertness and ruthless killing of all potential enemies will be the price of survival if we go on as we always have.

The third possible course is to find and take sure steps to prevent wars in the future. While this possibility seems obviously preferable it is something that has never yet been undertaken successfully. Perhaps it can be said that such a course has never been undertaken at all. Perhaps there is no way of preventing wars, if so we must decide whether to be slaves or ruthless killers, but before accepting either of those uncomfortable alternatives let us at least explore possible ways of preventing war.

Before exploring such possibilities however, we should first consider war in relation to the human race so that we may be assured that it would indeed be good for the race to prevent future wars. It would seem to be true that, whatever the destiny of the race, the killing off of large numbers of its physically fit, intelligent and socially minded younger men can hardly be advantageous. A case might be made for wars if they could be fought by the old men and the mental defectives but that does not seem to be even a remote possibility as wars become ever more technical and demanding of all the fittest men. While the atomic bomb has been a dramtic weapon in the closing phases of the recent war other ~~most completely developed~~ possible weapons may be ~~are~~ still more terrible. ~~What of an invasion of a country by a few thousand immunized tourists loaded with anthrax or the toxin of botulinus or typhoid or~~ what of the introduction into major water supplies of a chemical which will prevent pregnancy in all females? What of the infinite capacity for killing in the hands of biologists and chemists all over the world?

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~~influenza or perhaps some new bacteria or filterable virus especially developed for the purpose, or the spreading of such materials by planes without warning.~~

Any country could be paralyzed and destroyed at leisure by a well organized attack of ~~this~~ any one of various new types - and without any development of heavy industries. In fact then the tendency is to involve not only fit young men, but every sign points to the killing in any future wars of large numbers of unselected whole populations, including women and children. This can hardly possibly be a useful procedure from a racial point of view unless conceivably it could serve to reduce population pressures in some parts of the world. This end could surely be attained, however, in less painful ways and with better selection, if such reduction of population should become necessary to the human race.

Some aspects of war are undoubtedly attractive to many people, but these advantages are clearly so far outweighed by the sufferings of others that no case can be made for continuing to wage wars on that score. Wars affect the economic status of millions of people, many of them for the better. Business booms, money flows freely, prosperity is widespread, but only where the war is not actually being fought. In the future, war may well be fought everywhere throughout the world without immediately compensating prosperity for anybody. Furthermore it ought to be possible for us to produce the same prosperity without killing, starving or enslaving millions of people.

Look as we may we cannot find a sensible reason, from the point of view of the welfare of the human race, for continuing to fight wars or for not preventing them. Then why do we go on doing it? Let me repeat - we are the kind of people who fight wars every fifteen or twenty years. Why? Shall we only throw up our hands in resignation and reply "human nature"? Surely other expressions of human nature are subject to extensive changes. Why not this one? We may not change nature but surely its expression behavior patterns can be modified very extensively.

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The responsibility for charting the necessary changes in human behaviour rests clearly on the sciences working in that field. Psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, economists and politicians must face this responsibility. It cannot be avoided. Even a decision not to interfere is still a decision and carries no less responsibility. We must earnestly consider what can be done to save the race from itself, from its insatiable desire for its own blood. Can this old habitual pattern of the race be eradicated by strong combinations of powerful nations, or by legislation, or by pretending that now everyone will love everyone else and there will be no more wars, or by prayer and fasting, or by control of enemy industries? These have all been tried repeatedly and uniformly unsuccessfully. There is nothing to suggest that any of them can be successful though they are all seriously being recommended again by many interested people. We are even being told we can prevent wars by controlling our potential enemies' heavy industries. I am reminded that when the Romans were concerned to keep the Britons from fighting them they cut down all the yew trees in England so the Britons could not make long bows. The Britons took to cross bows instead, which were much better weapons. Surely we have learned something in 2000 years! Or have we? We might as well forbid the Germans to make spears or breed horses for cavalry as control their heavy industries. Every lesson of history and of common sense would suggest the futility of these methods. It is clear that something new is needed - but what?

Can we identify the reasons why we fight wars or even enough of them to perceive a pattern? Many of them are easy to list - prejudice, isolationism, the ability emotionally and uncritically to believe unreasonable things, excessive desire for material or power, excessive fear of others, belief in a destiny to control others, vengeance, ability to avoid seeing and facing unpleasant facts and taking appropriate action. These are probably the main reasons we find ourselves involved in wars. They are all well known and

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recognized neurotic symptoms. The only normal motive is self defence, to protect ourselves from aggression, but surely we should be able to see the aggression coming long before it breaks out in warfare and take appropriate action to satisfy or suppress it. Even self defence may involve a neurotic reaction when it means defending one's own excessive material wealth from others who are in great need. This type of defence is short sighted, ineffective and inevitably leads to more wars.

When we see neurotic patients showing these same reactions in their private affairs we may also throw up our hands and say "human nature" or "psychopathic personality of this or that type" or we may go to work to try to help the person in trouble to grow up over again more successfully than his parents were able to do. This can be done frequently but it would have been still better if his parents had been able to help him to grow up successfully in the first place.

It would appear that at least three requirements are basic to any hope of permanent world peace.

First - security, elimination of the occasion for valid fear of aggression. This is attainable, at least temporarily and as a stopgap until something better can be arranged, by legislation backed by immediately available combined force prepared to suppress ruthlessly any appeal to force by any peoples in the world. The administration and command of such a force is a delicate problem but can be devised if and when the great powers really want it. A less effective substitute for this method but one which may work well enough for long enough is for the great powers to assume this function themselves. To work even well enough it will be necessary that all disputes between nations be submitted to arbitration by a world court of the highest integrity.

Second - opportunity to live reasonably comfortably for all the

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people in the world on economic levels which do not vary too widely either geographically or by groups within a population. This is a simple matter of redistribution of material, of which there is plenty in the world for everybody, or of which plenty can easily be made. This can easily be attained whenever enough people see its necessity for their own and their children's safety if for no more mature reason.

It is probable that these first two requirements would make wars unnecessary for mature normal people without neurotic necessities, but their attainment depends on the ability of enough people in the right places to want to implement them, and few people are mature and without neurotic necessities. So far in the history of the world there have never been enough mature people in the right places. We have never had enough people anywhere who have been able to see and accept these facts and who are sufficiently well developed and responsible to tackle these problems.

It follows inevitably then that the third requirement, on which the attainment and the effectiveness of the others depend, is that there should be enough people in the world, in all countries, who are not as we are and always have been and will not show the neurotic necessities which we and every generation of our ancestors have shown. We have never had enough people anywhere who are sufficiently free of these neurotic symptoms which make wars inevitable.

All psychiatrists know where these symptoms come from. The burden of inferiority, guilt and fear we have all carried lies at the root of this failure to mature successfully. Psychotherapy is predominantly, by any of a variety of methods, the reduction of the weight of this load. Therefore the question we must ask ourselves is why the human race is so loaded down with these incubi and what can be done about it.

Strecher and Appel have recently defined maturity in terms of abilities which, if attained by enough people, could ensure the continutiy

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and continued development of the race along the lines of its inherent destiny without wars. To quote "Maturity is a quality of personality that is made up of a number of elements. It is stick-to-itiveness, the ability to stick to a job, to work on it, and to struggle through until it is finished, or until one has given all one has in the endeavor. It is the quality or capacity of giving more than is asked or required in a given situation. It is this characteristic that enables others to count on one; thus it is reliability. Persistence is an aspect of maturity: persistence to carry out a goal in the face of difficulties. Endurance of difficulties, unpleasantness, discomfort, frustration, hardship. The ability to size things up, make one's own decisions, is a characteristic of maturity. This implies a considerable amount of independence. A mature person is not dependent unless ill. Maturity includes determination, a will to achieve and succeed, a will to life. Of course, maturity represents the capacity to co-operate: to work with others, to work in an organization and under authority. The mature person is flexible, can defer to time, persons, circumstances. He can show tolerance, he can be patient, and above all he has the qualities of adaptability and compromise. Basically, maturity represents a wholesome amalgamation of two things: 1 - dissatisfaction with the status quo, which calls forth aggressive, constructive effort, and 2 - social concern and devotion. It is morale in the individual.

Let me repeat parts of that "The ability to size things up, make one's own decisions, is a characteristic of maturity", "A mature person is not dependent unless ill","and above all he has the qualities of adaptability and compromise". Can anyone doubt that enough people reaching maturity in those terms would not want to start wars themselves and would prevent other people starting them. It would appear that this quality of maturity, this growing up

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successfully, is what is lacking in the human race generally, in ourselves and in our legislators and governments, which can only represent the people.

This fact puts the problem squarely up to psychiatry. The necessity to fight wars, whether as aggressor or as a defender who could have, but has not, taken steps to prevent war occurring, is as much a pathological psychiatric symptom as is a phobia or the antisocial behavior of a criminal who has been dominated by a stern and unreasonable father. They are alike irrational behaviour patterns resulting from unsuccessful development and failure to reach emotional maturity. It is evident that this failure is usual in the whole human race and has been so throughout historical time.

For a cause we must seek some consistent thread running through the weave of all civilizations we have known and preventing the development of all or almost all the people to a state of true maturity. What basic psychological distortion can be found in every civilization of which we know anything? It must be a force which prevents the rational use of intelligence, which discourages the ability to see and acknowledge patent facts, which teaches or encourages the ability to dissociate and to believe contrary to and in spite of clear evidence, which produces inferiority, guilt and fear, which makes controlling other people's personal behaviour emotionally necessary, which encourages prejudice and the inability to see, understand and sympathize with other people's points of view. Is there any force so potent and so pervasive that it can do all these things in all civilizations? There is - just one. The only lowest common denominator of all civilizations and the only psychological force capable of producing these perversions is morality, the concept of right and wrong, the poison long ago described and warned against as "the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the old Hebrew story God warns the first man and woman to have nothing to do with good and evil. It is interesting to note that as long

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ago as that, "good" is recognized as just as great a menace as "evil". They are the fruit of the one tree and are different aspects of the same thing.

We have been very slow to rediscover that truth and to recognize the unnecessary and artifically imposed inferiority, guilt and fear, commonly known as sin, under which we have almost all laboured and which produces so much of the social maladjustment and unhappiness in the world. For many generations we have bowed our necks to the yoke of the conviction of sin. We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers, our politicians, our priests, our newspapers and others with a vested interest in controlling us. "Thou shalt become as gods, knowing good and evil", good and evil with which to keep children under control, with which to prevent free thinking, with which to impose local and familial and national loyalties and with which to blind children to their glorious intellectual heritage. Misguided by authoritarian dogma, bound by exclusive faith, stunted by inculcated loyalty, torn by frantic heresy, bedevilled by insistent schism, drugged by ecstatic experience, confused by conflicting certainty, bewildered by invented mystery, and loaded down by the weight of guilt and fear engendered by its own original premises, the unfortunate human race, deprived by these incubi of its only defences and its only reasons for striving, its reasoning power and its natural capacity to enjoy the satisfaction of its natural urges, struggles along under its ghastly self-imposed burden. The results, the inevitable results are frustration, inferiority, neurosis and inability to enjoy living, to reason clearly or to make a world fit to live in.

The crippling of intelligence by these bandages of belief in the name of virtue and security for the soul, is as recognizable as that of the

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feet of the Chinese girl who was sacrificed to the local concept of beauty. The result is, in both cases, not beauty of character or of feet, but distortion and crippling and loss of natural function. Intelligence, ability to reason clearly and to reach and implement decisions appropriate to the real situation in which he finds himself are man's only specific methods of survival. His unique equipment is entirely in the superior lobes of his brain. His destiny must lie in the direction indicated by his equipment. Whatever hampers or distorts man's clear true thinking works against man's manifest destiny and tends to destroy him.

Man's freedom to think freely is as essential to his survival as are the specific methods of survival of the other species to them. Birds must fly, fish must swim, herbivorous animals must eat grasses and cereals and man must think freely. That freedom, present in all children and known as innocence, has been destroyed or crippled by local certainties, by gods of local moralities, of local loyalty, of person salvation, of prejudice and hate and intolerance, frequently masquerading as love, gods of everything that would destroy freedom to think and would keep each generation under the control of the old people, the elders, the shamans and the priests.

Let us go back to part of Strecker and Appel's definition of maturity. "The ability to size things up, make ones own decisions is a characteristic of maturity." "A mature person is not dependent unless ill." "He has the qualities of adaptability and compromise." Were you and I brought up in that direction? No, we were taught to be absolutely loyal and obedient to the local concept of virtue whatever that happened to be. We were taught that Moslems, or Mohammedans or Jews or Democrats or Republicans (with us in Canada, Grits or Tories) or capitalists or trade unionists or socialists, or communists or Roman Catholics or Methodists or any of all other human groups were wrong or even wicked. It almost

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always happened that among all the people in the world only our own parents, and possibly a few people they selected, were right about everything. We could refuse to accept their rightness only at the price of a load of guilt and fear, and peril to our immortal souls. This training has been practically universal in the human race. Variations in content have had almost no importance. The fruit is poisonous no matter how it is prepared or disguised.

"The mature person is flexible, can defer to time, persons and circumstances. He can show tolerance, he can be patient, and above all he has the qualities of adaptability and compromise" say Strecker and Appel. Is family or school, or church teaching in that direction? Almost never, and yet it is surely true that helping their children to reach this state of maturity successfully is the first responsibility of each generation. Only when that has been done successfully can we hope to have enough people able to think clearly and freely enough to be able to prevent the race going on as we have gone, from slaughter to bigger and better slaughter.

Psychiatrists everywhere have spent their lives trying, more and more successfully with a variety of methods, to help individuals who are in trouble to approach near enough to this state of maturity to be able to live comfortably for themselves and for the group but surely it would be more advantageous to the world for psychiatrists to go into the preventive field where the big job needs to be done. The training of children is making a thousand neurotics for every one psychiatrists can hope to help with psychotherapy. To produce a generation of mature citizens is the biggest and more necessary job any country could undertake but the reward in saving of misery and suffering would be colossal.

The eradication of the old concept of right and wrong

The re-interpretation and eradication of the concept of right and wrong which has been the basis of child training, and its reinterpretation the substitution of

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intelligent and rational thinking for faith in the certainties of the old people, these are the belated objectives of practically all effective psychotherapy. Would they not be legitimate objectives of original education? Would it not be sensible to stop imposing our local prejudices and faiths on children and to give them instead all sides of every question so that in their own good time they may have the ability to size things up, and make their own decisions.

The suggestion that we should stop teaching children moralities and rights and wrongs and protect their original intellectual integrity instead, is of course always met by an outcry of heretic or iconoclast, such as was raised against Galileo for finding another planet, and against those who claimed the world was round, and against the truths of evolution, and against Christ's re-interpretation of the Hebrew God, and against any attempt to change the mistaken old ways or ideas. The pretense is made, as it has been made in relation to the finding of any extension of truth, that to do away with right and wrong would produce uncivilized people, immorality, lawlessness and social chaos. The fact is that most psychiatrists and psychologists and many other respectable people have escaped from these moral chains and are able to think freely. Most of the patients they have treated successfully have done the same and yet they show no signs of social or personal degeneration, no lack of social responsibility, no tendency toward social anarchy. This bugbear has no basis in fact whatever. Freedom from moralities means freedom to think and behave sensibly, to the advantage of the person and the group, free of outmoded types of loyalties and the magic fears of our ancestors.

We all recognize these as the reactions of the immature, the inferior, the guilty which are not found in the mature integrated personality.

If the race is to be freed from its crippling burden of good and evil it must be psychiatrists who take the original responsibility. This is a challenge which must be met. If psychiatrists decide to do nothing about it but continue in the futility of psychotherapy only, that too is a decision

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and the responsibility for the results is still theirs. What the world needs from psychiatry is honest, simple and clear thinking, talking and writing. It needs the same from psychology, sociology, economics and politics. Clear and honest thinking can almost always be expressed in simple words which are understandable by the people who matter in a democracy. The people who matter are the teachers, the young mothers and fathers, the parent-teacher associations, youth groups, service clubs, schools and colleges, the churches and sunday schools - everyone who can be got at and given help toward intellectual freedom and honesty for themselves and for the children whose future depends on them. Can we give up our protective device of hiding behind a specific, difficult and variable vocabulary to avoid our obvious responsibility?

The battle, if it to be undertaken, will be long and difficult but truth will prevail - whenever enough people want it to. With luck we have perhaps fifteen or even twenty years before the outbreak of the next world war if we remain as we are, twenty years in which to change the dearest certainties of enough of the human race, twenty years in which to root out and destroy the oldest and most flourishing parasitical growth in the world, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, so that man may learn to preserve his most precious heritage, his innocence and intellectual freedom, twenty years in which to remove the necessity for the perverse satisfactions to be found in warfare, and to ensure that enough people are not able to close their eyes to the awful threats facing them as we were able to do from 1910 to 1914, and 1917 and from 1933 to 1939 and 1941.

We are the horrible example. We are the people who fight wars every fifteen or twenty years. We must at whatever cost prevent our children and their children from being as we have been, but freedom from the tyranny of these faiths and fears is not to be gained in one generation.

It is therefore necessary that, for so long as it may take to change the bringing up of children in enough of the world, our close watch on each

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other and everyone in the world should not be relaxed for a moment. Let us all be prepared, not for the last war with navies and armies and airforces, but for the next war with rockets and atomic bombs and ~~bacteria and toxins.~~ all the mobilized power of our laboratories. These are the weapons of the future and with them the whole world can be reached from any place on the earth in a few minutes. The people who definitely do not want to fight any more wars must promise total annihilation to any nation which starts to fight and must be prepared immediately and ruthlessly to carry out that promise without parley or negotiation. This involves the continual upkeep of widely dispersed atomic rocket stations covering the whole world and a continual high pressure research program to discover ever more efficient methods of killing to keep ahead of any possible competition. This must go on until we all the people, are re-educated to be able to live in peace together, until we are free to think and behave sensibly.

The most important thing in the world today is the bringing up of children. It is not a job for economic or emotional misfits, for frightened, inferiority-ridden men and women seeking a safe, respectable and quickly attainable social and emotional status, nor for girls filling in their time before marriage. Fortunately there are recent signs of intellectual stirrings amongst teachers which give some hope. To be allowed to teach children should be the sign of the final approval of society. The present ~~situation is~~ scale of values is clearly illustrated by the disparity between teachers' salaries and those of movie actresses or football coaches,* Because these are psychopathological matters, psychiatrists must take the responsibility of interpretation and initiative.

Can such a program of re-education or of a new kind of education be charted? I would not presume to go so far, except to suggest that psychology and sociology and simple psychopathology, the sciences of living should be made available to all the people by being taught to all children in primary and secondary schools and that the study of such things as trigonometry,

* (Insert) I am reminded of a group whose responsibility was the reclamation, training and rehabilitation of all the unmarried mothers in a certain community. The procedure was to have an "I Q" done and then to train the girl according to a chart which was very simple. The upper levels rated various types of useful training. Those at the bottom, not fit for anything else were trained as nursemaids, to bring up children. Hundreds of defenceless children in that large community have been brought up by moronic unmarried mothers - perhaps an improvement on their own!

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algebra, latin, religions and others of specialist concern should be left to universities.

Only so I think can we help our children to carry their responsibilities as world citizens as we have not been able to do. Only so can we prevent their having to live in a world of fear, and chaos and cruelty and death, far more horrible than we can know.

We have never had a really peaceful society in the world, only short interludes of forgetting and then frantic preparation between wars. Can the world learn to live at peace? I think so, but only if individual psychiatrists and psychologists can live up to Strecker and Appel's definition,- "Basically maturity represents a wholesome amalgamation of two things, one, dissatisfaction with the status quo, which calls forth aggressive, constructive effort, and two, social concern and devotion." If we cannot, the job will be left to what survivors there may be after the next war, or the intellectually more honest or braver people who may get a chance a few generations later. With the other human sciences, psychiatry must decide the future of the human race. No one else can. This is the responsibility of psychiatry.

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C164156

LORING CHRISTIE WILL WED
LEGATION SECRETARY

Washington, Nov. 20. Announcement was made today of the engagement of Loring Christie, Canadian Minister to the United States, to Miss Marian Trumbull, social secretary of the Canadian legation here. Mr. Christie, who came to Washington a year ago, is a widower.

The announcement was made by Miss Trumbull's mother, Mrs. Thomas Conway Trumbull. The wedding is expected shortly.

Miss Trumbull, a graduate of the Holton Arms School in Washington, also is social secretary of the Brazilian and Belgian embassies and The Netherlands legation. She is a descendant of the Jonathan Trumbull family of Connecticut.

Extract from Ottawa E. Citizen,
5.00 o'clock edition.
November 20, 1940

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C164157 file

Mrs. Thomas Conway Trumbull

announces the marriage of her daughter

Marian

to

Mr. Loring Cheney Christie

on Saturday, November the twenty-third

Nineteen hundred and forty

Washington, District of Columbia

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CM/DJ.

ODS/AH

December 2nd, 1940.

C164158

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Loring Christie.

I have had a letter this morning from Mrs. Christie, supplemented by a 'phone message from Mahoney, who is just returned to Washington from New York, both indicating that Christie is definitely better and that immediate danger seems past. I gather from Mahoney that Christie was ill from the time he reached New York and took all his meals in bed. Thursday morning he was taken into the Rockefeller Institute for tests and observation, though the doctors considered it was not at all serious. It was after his arrival at the hospital Thursday morning that he suffered the serious attack. On Friday morning the doctor thought the odds were definitely against his recovery but that afternoon he began to pull up. Dr. Cohn said on Sunday that he confidently looked forward to his complete recovery. At best, however, it will mean weeks in bed followed by weeks of convalescence.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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CM/US

ODS/AH

December 11,1940.

C164159

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Mahoney tells me that the Legation received a wire from Mrs. Christie to the following effect:

> All well. Dr. Cohn quite cheerful today and suggests returning to Washington from here and no convalescence in the South.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Canadian Legation
Washington 1941

JAG/MAC
13.2.41

C164160

Department of External Affairs

Press Criticism of Organization
and Representation Abroad.

1) Canadian Legation at Washington

Two principal attacks upon the present Canadian Minister at Washington have been made by

The Toronto Globe & Mail (February 5) (EXHIBIT A)

The Montreal Gazette (February 8) (" B)

The first says that from the very moment Mr. Christie's appointment was announced (September, 1939)

"shrewd judges have entertained grave doubts about his ability to represent Canada adequately."

Comment:

"shrewd judges" are not named.

The Globe adds, with a grudging implication, that

(a) as "a career man", Mr. Christie was "reasonably efficient in a routine post in the Department of External Affairs at Ottawa."

(b) Mr. Christie had "limitations as an ambassador"; he had "none of the imagination of the Marquess of Lothian and did not shine in circles where it was essential that Canada should be represented by a man of great personal magnetism."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

(c) "no one ever thought of him as an interpreter of Canada to tne United States."

(d) he has exerted "little or no influence on policies."

Comment:

(a) Mr. Christie was Counsellor of the Department at the moment of his appointment. So far from being a "routine" post, it was one charged with increasing responsibilities.

(b) Mr. Christie had ministerial, not ambassadorial, rank. He was a personal friend of the late Marquess of Lothian, and was well-known and much respected by the State Department at Washington, in which he had once served.

(c) this is wholly a matter of opinion. The Government considered, at the critical moment when Mr. Christie was appointed, that he had special qualifications for this post, backed by many years of experience.

(d) this is quite untrue.

It may be remarked that in September 1939, the Globe & Mail said, editorially (EXHIBIT C)

"...it is vital in this time of war that there shall be complete co-operation and unity of purpose as between the British and Canadian envoys in Washington.....

(see comment (b) above).

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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The Montreal Gazette says, editorially (EXHIBIT B)

(a) The Washington office has been allowed to fall into a "gravely unsatisfactory condition".

(b) Mr. Christie was taken out of a "subordinate" position in the Department.

(c) .....the increasing responsibilities have not been discharged; - the Christie administration has been "negative and unproductive"; - the legation has been "inactive and without influence"; - national and international interests of the most transcendant importance have been in weak hands and have been allowed to suffer, if they have not been wholly neglected.

(d) "The plain fact is that Mr. Christie has at no time measured up to the exacting position in which the Canadian Government placed him.

(e) "His lack of qualifications for the office would have been sufficiently detrimental under normal international conditions; it can be disastrous now."

(f) It is the Government's clear duty to act promptly to remedy an intolerable condition.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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CANADA

COMMENT:

(a) This appears to be a matter of opinion. It is true that the accredited head of the mission has been away from the legation because of serious illness since the last week of November.

(b) The position was subordinate only to that of the Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretary.

(c) The Legation has been concerned with negotiations of great delicacy and the highest importance:

war purchases	passport regulations
material assistance	trade treaties

and many cases of consultation with State Department following upon discussions at Ogdensburg.

(d) This is a question of opinion rather than of fact.

When Mr. Christie was appointed in September, 1939, the Gazette itself wrote:

".....without his expert service and that of men similarly equipped and trained, the business of the State would not go on ..... Mr. King has not hesitated to entrust him with far weightier responsibilities (than Mr. Christie had at the Peace Conference)

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CANADA

C164164

(e) Again a matter of opinion rather than of fact.

The Gazette itself said (September 19, 1939) (Exhibit D)

".....The selection of Mr. Christie has a very great deal to commend it since his qualifications are so exceptional and at the same time so numerous."

(See also Exhibit "G" below).

OTHER COMMENTS ON WASHINGTON LEGATION.

Ottawa Citizen - February 5: (Exhibit E)

says there has never been less evidence of Canada's presence at Washington since the Legation was opened in 1926.

Comments on "significant departure from precedent" at Foreign Office in London

Sir Stafford Cripps to Moscow

Lord Halifax to Washington;

urges provision, at an early date, for a Canadian Minister "fit to carry the increasing weight of responsibility" at Washington.

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C164165

Ottawa Citizen - February 6: (Exhibit F)

Mahoney, Charge d'Affaires, described as "the most experienced man in the diplomatic service at Washington... thoroughly competent with a background of over twenty years continuous service at the same post".

Ottawa Journal - February 11: (Exhibit G)

A spirited reply to attacks in Globe and Gazette (Exhibits A and B above).

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

XA Citizenship & General. A

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication: Toronto Globe and Mail

Date: Feb. 5/41.

C164166

Subject:

OUR ENVOY AT WASHINGTON.

From the very moment that his appointment as Canadian Minister to Washington was announced a year ago last September shrewd judges have entertained grave doubts about the ability of Mr. Loring C. Christie, K.C., to represent adequately this Dominion as its envoy in the United States.

In diplomatic circles Mr. Christie was what is known as "a career man." He had been to Imperial Conferences in London and the Peace Conference in Paris as legal adviser to Sir Robert Borden and it is fair enough to say that he was reasonably efficient in a routine post in the Department of External Affairs at Ottawa.

But even in the enjoyment of good health Mr. Christie had his limitations as an ambassador. He had none of the imagination of the Marquess of Lothian and did not shine in circles where it was essential that Canada should be represented by a man of great personal magnetism. No one ever thought of him as the interpreter of Canada to the United States.

During his regime the Canadian Legation at Washington, instead of being the rendezvous of important personages, has been virtually deserted and its Minister has exerted little or no influence on policies.

To make matters worse, the Minister has been gravely ill for several months and there is no prospect that he will ever recover sufficiently to carry out properly the important duties which a Canadian Minister ought to be discharging in the second most important capital of the world, so far as Canadian affairs are concerned. It therefore becomes a matter of urgency that the Prime Minister should consider replacing Mr. Christie without delay. If ever there was a time when Canada should be represented in Washington by one of her most brilliant sons, that time is now.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

B

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date February 8, 1941

C164167

Subject Diplomatic Service (Washington)

CANADA AT WASHINGTON.

Before the Government gives more of its attention to the proposed establishment of Canadian legations in South America—at more expense to the taxpayer—it should, with far more advantage to this country, consider and deal with the gravely unsatisfactory condition into which the important office at Washington has been allowed to fall. Loring Christie is the accredited Canadian Minister there, appointed to succeed the late Sir Herbert Marler who had been a former federal minister and was in addition an experienced diplomat. Mr. Christie was taken out of a subordinate position in the Department of External Affairs and sent to the United States capital at a time when the responsibilities of the office called for the selection of the ablest, the most resourceful and tactful envoy that the Government could possibly have found. Those responsibilities have steadily increased in weight as the months have passed, and they have not been discharged. The Christie administration has been negative and unproductive, the legation inactive and without influence; national and international interests of the most transcendent importance have been in weak hands and have been allowed to suffer, if they have not been wholly neglected.

It is not enough to say that the Canadian Minister at Washington has done his best, if he has done that. It would be an acknowledgment of his unfitness. It is fair to say that Mr. Christie's health has not been good, but physical indisposition cannot be accepted as an adequate explanation of a failure so complete. In any event, an incapacitated Minister should have been replaced, in his own interest as well as in that of the Dominion, but the plain fact is that Mr. Christie has at no time measured up to the exacting position in which the Canadian Government placed him. His lack of qualifications for the office would have been sufficiently detrimental under normal international conditions; it can be disastrous now. To Canada has been ascribed the role of interpreter as between the United States and Great Britain, and that role has been accepted. If it is ever to have any meaning it is during this war, and more particularly during the discussions now in progress, discussions upon which the measure of aid to Britain will be based and the future of civilization decided. The issue is even at this moment in the melting pot.

The lease-lend plan sponsored by the United States Government is running the gauntlet of bitter and determined isolationist opposition, and of some opposition that is obviously pro-German.

There never has been and will never be again as great an opportunity for the kind of international interpretation which Canada is expected to afford and should be supplying—and Canada has no one in Washington capable of rendering the necessary service. Infinite good might be accomplished, enough, conceivably, to turn a delicately balanced scale—and nothing is being done. It is the Government's clear duty to act, and act promptly, to remedy an intolerable condition.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date Sept. 13/39

C164168

Subject

OUR ENVOY IN WASHINGTON.

The retirement of Sir Herbert Marler as Canadian Minister to Washington, due to critical illness, will occasion widespread regret. As the Prime Minister told Parliament, few Canadians have rendered such fine service to the nation. For some years he represented in Parliament one of the most important constituencies in Montreal and served as a Minister of the Crown. Later he went to Tokyo as the first Canadian envoy to Japan, thence going to Washington, where, as Canadian Minister-Plenipotentiary and Envoy-Extraordinary, he had much to do with the consummation of the reciprocal trade agreement now in force between the two countries.

Sir Herbert's resignation not only comes as a severe blow to the Canadian diplomatic corps, but it leaves both Ottawa and Washington unrepresented by a Minister in the United States and Canada owing to the recent retirement of Hon. Daniel C. Roper, envoy of the neighboring republic in Canada during the visit of Their Majesties.

It is of supreme importance that the Dominion shall appoint an outstanding Canadian as Minister to Washington at the earliest possible moment. Apart from the magnitude of diplomatic problems that will concern the two countries because of the war, it is not improbable that Canadian trade with the United States will be more than doubled within a year or two, if past experience is any criterion. During the Great War our imports from the friendly country to the south reached a peak of $800,000,000 a year, and our exports to the United Kingdom aggregated $845,000,000 in one year. They are now down to one-half in each case, but the prospects are that the record of Great War years will be eclipsed. Canadian exports of food and munitions to the United Kingdom in the final year of the Great War were $800,000,000 in excess of our imports from the United Kingdom. The implication, therefore, is that problems of a colossal character will demand the full-time consideration of the ablest man who can be sent to Washington in place of Sir Herbert Marler.

The new Canadian Minister, whoever he is, will rank second only to the Marquis of Lothian, the British Ambassador, and will conduct negotiations with President Roosevelt and the United States Government and be the channel of communication between the United States and Canada. It is vital in this time of war that there shall be complete cooperation and unity of purpose as between the British and Canadian envoys in Washington to provide for well-balanced protection of Imperial and Canadian interests, and for the maintenance of friendly relations with the great English-speaking republic of the United States.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

C164169

Date Sept. 19/39

Subject

NEW MINISTER TO WASHINGTON.

The Government has chosen a specialist in foreign affairs to succeed Sir Herbert Marler as this country's Minister to the United States capital. In this it has done wisely. The appointment of Loring C. Christie is, moreover, a non-partizan one. It may be doubted if Mr. Christie has any politics in the strict party sense, but he was in the first instance a Conservative appointee, having been "discovered" by Sir Robert Borden, who established him in the Department of External Affairs and had in him a trusted adviser and friend. The general public have known little or nothing of the services rendered by Mr. Christie as Counsel to the Department of External Affairs over a very long period. His work has been done behind the closed doors of offices wherein are transacted and recorded the more delicate and confidential dealings of one government with another. The spotlight of publicity never reaches the inner sanctum of a man like Loring Christie, and yet, without his expert service and that of men similarly equipped and trained, the business of the state would not go on.

Once again we have an example of the intellectual richness of the Maritime Provinces and of the fertility of those provinces in producing men of distinction in all walks of life and to be found in all parts of the Dominion. The new Minister is a Nova Scotian, educated at Acadia University and going thence to Harvard. For some time thereafter he was on the staff of the Department of State at Washington and it was from there Sir Robert Borden brought him back to Canada, finding in him an invaluable aide during the exacting conditions of the World War, the difficulties of the peace conference, and of the peace itself. Subsequent Prime Ministers have had in Mr. Christie a no less valuable and no less loyal helper and Mr. King has not hesitated to entrust him with far weightier responsibilities. It is only necessary to look back upon his career to find how large is the measure of his fitness for the high office to which he has been appointed. He is fully familiar with Washington and its official life, and stands upon terms of personal friendship with the new British Ambassador, Lord Lothian, with whom his work will bring him into close and constant contact. The selection of Mr. Christie has a very great deal to commend it since his qualifications are so exceptional and at the same time so numerous.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister D 2

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE C164170

Date SEP 14 1939

Subject

THE WASHINGTON EMBASSY.

The resignation of Sir Herbert Marler creates a vacancy in an office which under present international conditions has assumed an importance never before attaching to it. Mr. Mackenzie King has said on many occasions that Canada's role should be that of interpreter as between Great Britain and the United States. It need not be said that interpretation at this time can be and may be a tremendous influence in affecting the relations between the United States and the British Empire—and France—in the immediate future, and upon those relations may depend the fate of the world. In these circumstances, grave and critical as they are, pregnant as they are with possibilities of transcendent concern to the belligerent and the presently neutral democracies, two things become imperative. The first is that a new Ambassador be appointed with the least possible delay, that even days lost or hours lost may mean opportunities irrevocably gone. The second is that only a man of very exceptional qualifications should be entrusted with the heavy responsibilities which must be discharged, the exceedingly delicate tasks which must be performed in what has become a major field of diplomacy. The new Canadian representative must be endowed with personal qualities which will ensure his ability to co-operate upon friendly, even intimate, terms with President Roosevelt, on one hand, and with the British Ambassador, the Marquess of Lothian, on the other. Preferably he should be a man of ample means if he is to do effective work in a capital where affluence has never been a negligible factor. He should be a man of ripe judgment, of proven business capacity and possessed of very positive social gifts. The standard is an exacting one but no appointee who falls short of it can hope to do what needs to be done in the interests of this country and of other countries whose interests have become identical with ours.

The Prime Minister ought to resist whatever temptation there may be to name as Ambassador any one of the intellectual pundits who too often have the first call upon his confidence, though the man selected should have brains and to spare. Neither the times nor the conditions will permit the elevation of a civil servant to this supremely important position. Familiarity with the atmosphere at Geneva or even with the official atmosphere and routine at Washington, can be regarded as only minor qualifications, falling far short of what the conditions demand. There are outstanding Canadians, not necessarily in public life, any one of whom could go to the Washington Embassy and render the service that it so urgently required. No one of them at such a time as this would decline the appointment, whatever might be the personal sacrifice involved. The Prime Minister's clear duty is to seek out the best man for the post, irrespective of age or of party affiliation, and, having found him, to establish him at Washington as expeditiously as possible. Vital interests are concerned in this matter and delay might easily mean disaster.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

D 2

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE C164170

Date SEP 14 1939

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

E

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date February 5, 1941

C164171

Subject Diplomatic Service (Washington)

Canada at Washington

Never has the Canadian Legation at Washington been more needed than at present. Never has there been less evidence of Canada's presence at Washington since the opening of the Canadian Legation in 1926.

It is to the credit of Prime Minister Mackenzie King that he sent an able young Canadian in Hon. Vincent Massey to serve as the first minister. Another Canadian of equal ability, Hon. W. D. Herridge, followed. He likewise gave Canada five years of invaluable service as minister to Washington. Illness has since incapacitated both subsequent Canadian representatives, Sir Herbert Marler and latterly Loring Christie, with regrettable consequences.

Washington is, of course, within easy telephone calling distance of Ottawa, but it is impossible to carry on the work of the Canadian Legation at the national capital of the United States by long distance telephone. There is the friendliest desire at the White House to assist Canada through this year of intensive war strain. With the best will in the world, however, President Roosevelt cannot be calling up Prime Minister Mackenzie King over the telephone to suggest a new Canadian move to obtain aid from the United States. It is most desirable that Canada should be represented at Washington by an experienced public servant, preferably as well known to senators, members of Congress, permanent officials and the American public in general as Mr. Massey or Mr. Herridge.

Under Prime Minister Churchill's leadership there have been some significant departures from precedent at the Foreign Office in London—the appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps to Moscow no less than the appointment of Lord Halifax to Washington. Equally in Canada the need is to make the greatest possible use of available ability irrespective of former differences in the field of politics. The main concern of Canadian statesmanship must of necessity be to bring Canada forward to the optimum state of service in the war. One desirable step would be to provide at an early date for a Canadian minister fit to carry the increasing weight of responsibility at Washington.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

F

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date February 6, 1941

Subject Diplomatic Service (Washington)

C164172

Charge d'Affaires At Washington Is Competent Officer

C6

Merchant Mahoney Has Been 20 Years in Post. No Hint of New U.S. Minister.

The charge d'affaires at the Canadian legation at Washington, Merchant Mahoney, was described here yesterday in official circles as "the most experienced man in the diplomatic service at Washington" and as "thoroughly competent, with a background of over twenty years continuous service at the same post."

This comment was aroused by the suggestion in several newspapers that, in these tense days, when international relations are close, Canada should have a minister, on the job, at the legation.

Loring Christie, K.C., who succeeded the late Sir Herbert Marler in the post, is in New York with a heart condition calling for prolonged rest. He was stricken last fall.

If any new appointment is being considered, no indication of it is yet available here.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

G

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date February 11, 1941

C164173

Subject Diplomatic Service (Washington)

An Unfair Attack.

Two Canadian newspapers—the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the Montreal *Gazette*—have combined in a bitter attack upon Mr. LORING CHRISTIE, Canada's Minister at Washington. The *Gazette* speaks of a "gravely unsatisfactory condition ... at Washington", adds:

> "Mr. Christie was taken out of a subordinate position in the Department of External Affairs and sent to the United States capital at a time when the responsibilities of the office called for the selection of the ablest, the most resourceful and tactful envoy that the Government could possibly have found.
>
> "The Christie administration has been negative and unproductive, the legation inactive and without influence; national and international interests of the most transcendent importance have been in weak hands and have been allowed to suffer, if they have not been wholly neglected."

Mr. CHRISTIE was a veteran member of the External Affairs Department, and his "subordinate position" happened to have been that of the Department's Counsellor. Long the trusted adviser of Sir ROBERT BORDEN, he attended practically every international war and post-war conference held in Europe; served in a similar capacity under Mr. MEIGHEN, Mr. BENNETT and Mr. KING. Moreover, Mr. CHRISTIE had connections in Washington possessed by perhaps no other Canadian. He was the long-time friend of men like the late Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES (who was a Washington legend), and of the famed FELIX FRANKFURTER; he knew President FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT personally; and he was on intimate terms with the ranking officials of the United States Department of State. It was in the light of these unique qualifications that Prime Minister KING, fortified by the advice of the late Dr. SKELTON (who surely knew what the United States job was about), sent Mr. CHRISTIE to Washington.

What "transcendent" or other interests have been "allowed to suffer"? Or have been "neglected"?

If anybody wants the answer, they might inquire of Canada's Minister of Munitions, Mr. C. D. HOWE. Or try to find out what happened when, in the dark days of last July, Canada had to turn to the United States for 'planes for the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

There are people who seem to imagine that the business of a diplomatic representative is to go about making speeches, to manage somehow to make the headlines. Mr. CHRISTIE, brought up in diplomacy, knows better than that. He knows that an Ambassador or a Minister Plenipotentiary is merely an "agent" of his Government; that his task is not to discuss policies or measures nor to make commitments nor to engage in propaganda, but simply to carry out quietly and efficiently the instructions given him.

The newspapers criticizing Mr. CHRISTIE do not appear to be aware of these things. It is particularly a pity that their bitter attack upon Mr. CHRISTIE comes at a time when he is stricken by severe illness.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

G

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date February 11, 1941

C164173

Subject Diplomatic Service (Washington)

An Unfair Attack.

Two Canadian newspapers—the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the Montreal *Gazette*—have combined in a bitter attack upon Mr. LORING CHRISTIE, Canada's Minister at Washington. The *Gazette* speaks of a "gravely unsatisfactory condition ... at Washington", adds:

> "Mr. Christie was taken out of a subordinate position in the Department of External Affairs and sent to the United States capital at a time when the responsibilities of the office called for the selection of the ablest, the most resourceful and tactful envoy that the Government could possibly have found.
>
> "The Christie administration has been negative and unproductive, the legation inactive and without influence; national and international interests of the most transcendent importance have been in weak hands and have been allowed to suffer, if they have not been wholly neglected."

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SECRET

NAR/SR
17.2.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C164174

Dr. Keenleyside just telephoned from New York that he had not been able to see Mr. Christie this morning as he had hoped - Monday morning being the regular hospital time for routine medical tests, etc. He is lunching with Mrs. Christie and expects to see Loring early this afternoon. He will telephone a report of his conversation with him immediately.

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NAR/ET
6 April,1941
1.30 p.m.

C164175

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr.Wrong telephoned from Washington just now to say that he had had word from the Rockefeller Clinic that Christie's condition had become very grave and that he was not expected to live more than 48 hours.

Mrs.Christie had also called Wrong this morning confirming this news. She has asked him to come to New York as soon as everything is over. This he will do.

I had been wondering about asking Keenleyside to go down in order to help Mrs.Christie in the necessary arrangements, but I think probably that Wrong, whom she has asked for, will be enough.

W.L.M.K.

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8.4.41

C164176

Tribute to Mr. Loring Christie

It is with deep regret that I ~~have to~~ inform the House of the death in New York, this morning, of Mr. Loring C. Christie. Honourable members may recall that, on February 17th, I stated that the condition of Mr. Christie's health would necessitate a prolonged absence from his post as Canadian Minister at Washington. At that time it was our earnest hope that a period of rest and relief from the duties and anxieties of his office would result in the restoration of his health. Unhappily that hope has not been realized.

In the passing of Mr. Christie, Canada has lost ~~an able~~ and devoted public servant ~~who had an important~~ influence in the shaping of national affairs and international relations during two very critical phases of our history. Mr. Christie was an adviser of the late Sir Robert Borden on questions of Imperial and international relations throughout the last war, and at the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919. During the latter part of the Conference on the limitation of ~~arms~~ armaments, which met at Washington in 1921-22, Mr. Christie acted as secretary-general of the British Empire delegation.

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In 1923, Mr. Christie resigned as Legal Adviser of the Department of External Affairs to form a business association. ~~I~~ He returned to the public service in 1935. In the four years which preceded the outbreak of war, he served as Counsellor in the Department of External Affairs ~~at Ottawa~~ where his extensive and intimate knowledge of constitutional and international law, his wide experience of international affairs, and his judgment were invaluable.

Mr. Christie had, from the days when he was a student at Harvard University, a long and intimate connection with the United States. Before he came to Ottawa at Sir Robert Borden's invitation in 1913, he had held for a short time a post in the administrative service of the United States.

In September, 1939, ~~Mr. Christie~~ he was appointed Canadian Minister to the United States. In that position he continued to render services of great value to Canada.

In Mr. Christie's death, the diplomatic service of Canada has lost one who had ~~greatly~~ largely contributed to its development, and whose premature passing will be felt as a great loss not only in Canada, but also in the United Kingdom and the United States.

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FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

C164178

Mr. N. A. Robertson:

Please arrange with Wrong that either McCarthy or himself expresses a proper appreciation of these courtesies at Washington.

Dom - Lab

11.4.41

W.L.M.K.

4/9/41

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C164179 NAR/SR
8.4.41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER = Mr. Churchill's funeral.

Mr. Wrong telephoned from New York just now (1.30 p.m.) that arrangements are being made for taking the body to Washington tonight, for private funeral service there tomorrow noon . The following announcement about the funeral arrangements will be given out by the Legation in Washington this afternoon, after it has been finally approved by the United States State Department:

> "The body will be placed temporarily in the Receiving Vault at Arlington National Cemetery, pending final plans for interment. Private services will be held at the Receiving Vault on Wednesday, April 9th at 12 noon".

I told Mr. Wrong that I was sure that these arrangements would meet with your approval and that they could go ahead with them on that assumption. As soon as the State Department have approved the proposed statement to the press about funeral arrangements, we shall see that the same statement is released here.

Mack.

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MEMORANDUM RE MR. LORING C. CHRISTIE

Mr. Christie entered the Department of External Affairs as Legal Adviser on the 15th April,1913 and resigned on the 1st September, 1923. During this period he was a permanent official and paid into the Superannuation Fund. On his resignation, a refund was made to him of the amount he had paid into the Fund. Mr. Christie re-entered the Department on the 1st September,1935. He was appointed Minister to Washington on the 24th September, 1939, where he served until his death on the 8th April, 1941.

Mr. Christie again paid into the Superannuation Fund from the 1st September, 1935, until the 24th September, 1939, when he was transferred to Washington and became ineligible under the present Act to continue his payments as such appointment was made by the Crown, and accordingly, not subject to the Superannuation Act. At the time of his death, Mr. Christie had paid into the Superannuation Fund $1218.95. The proposal under the Amendment would provide that arrear payments might be made for the period that he was Minister at Washington; thus enabling his widow to draw a small Superannuation allowance. The amount to be paid for this period is approximately $651.60.

Mr. Christie's widow would draw superannuation of about $670.00 per year until she re-marries or dies.

OTTAWA, July 18th, 1942.

KAM/IN

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Later (6.05pm, Dec. 29.)

C164181

Mr Howe's secretary has just telephoned to say that word has just come from Washington that Lord Beaverbrook is not arriving this evening (monday), and in all probability will not come to Ottawa at all.

Mr Howe will keep me informed of any further word he may get on Tuesday morning.

Cancelled
See Note 7.24

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164182

EH

Meakins says he will go to Airport to meet Beaverbrook plane Tuesday morning.

Unless otherwise instructed he will invite to dinner at LH for 8.15

Lord Beaverbrook only

(not Harriman, sat he already)

Private

(If Harriman is to be invited, the invitation to come one of the Ministers will have to be recalled).

8.16 pm
29/12

WLK.

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C164183

Mr Handy

Laurier House:

Dinner. Laurier House
Monday, Dec. 30. 8.15 pm.
for 14 - Black tie

Would you please keep this list before the Prime minister.

The invitations have been issued and accepted, but the King said he might include Mr E.H. Harriman if either Mr Power or Mr Richard do not come. (See attached note)

You might warn macLeod that one or even two Scotland Yard men might have to be given something to eat.

Also the Police escort may need to come in out of the cold.

(Neal knows about the Black tie)

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DEBATES OFFICE
House of Commons

C164184

Mr. SPEAKER: Your Royal Highness, Mr. Churchill, honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons, ladies and gentlemen: I would ask the Right Hon. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, to introduce the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain.

Right Hon. W.L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister of Canada): Mr. Speaker, hon. members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I have the honour this afternoon to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. (~~Applause~~) I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented, while in our capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. (~~Applause.~~) Nor need I tell him how completely he is, to us, the personification of Britain's greatness. (~~Applause.~~) That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both houses when I say that the parliament of Canada was never

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more sure of its ground than when, at the very beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than to-day, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of parliament of the man who, by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom. ~~(Loud applause.)~~

Again I speak for all members of parliament and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination we are also resolved to put forth our utmost efforts until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world. ~~(Applause.)~~

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the divine power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavours. ~~(Loud and prolonged applause.)~~

Mr. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill. ~~(Loud cheers.)~~

B - follows

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Churchill visit.

C164186

CHURCHILL

Churchill, thou noblest man, we welcome thee,
Child of the brave and leader of the free,
In whom high destiny with fateful power
Conspired to make thee Captain of this hour.
Though all might be dismayed thy heart beat on
With certain hope, thy courage brighter shone;
Through Dunkirk dire, through flood and flame and fire
You led, and unafraid the poet's lyre
Made in thy hands great music, heard before
When holy Freedom sang from England's shore;
Thus we acclaim thee, thus we follow true
The light which Shakespeare saw, which Milton knew,
And on the walls of Freedom tend again
The fires of faith which you hold high for men.

Ottawa, Canada.

James H.Stitt.

To Mr. Mackenzie King
with my thanks
and appreciation Sincerely
James H Stitt

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C164187 D.

PRIME MINISTER'S INTRODUCTION OF MR. CHURCHILL

(Suggested topical heads)

1. Mr. Churchill

Personifies Britain in her greatest hour:

dogged courage;
imperturbability;
inflexible determination;
contempt for odds;
strength in adversity;
proof that freedom can be reconciled with vigour and action.

Captain of the great host of free men:

throughout the years, the outstanding exponent of joint defence of freedom;

for many years, a voice crying in the wilderness;

in the hour of danger, free men everywhere turned to the man whose warnings were long unheeded;

the consistent advocate of Anglo-American co-operation;

gallant leadership is marshalling the forces of freedom throughout the world.

The great orator:

You have lifted the cause of freedom from the brink of despair to the summit of hope;

You have filled humble men and women with a stern resolve to endure, to suffer and to die rather than compromise with evil;

You have restored men's faith in the ultimate strength of free government by free men;

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You have recalled to the minds of men the forgotten truth that evil is not justified by success and that no lasting good and no permanent order can be established by aggressors, gangsters and murderers;

By the nobility of your expression, you have inspired mankind with renewed faith in the triumph of justice and a new determination to bring about a new world order in which enduring peace will be based upon the one sure foundation of the reign of law among men and nations.

2. Mr. Churchill and Canada.

Just as the people of the United States feel a particular kinship for you who are half-American, so we, in Canada, welcome in you a man who, over the years, has shared our vision of the destiny of Canada in the great company of free peoples who speak the English tongue.

You have given eloquent expression to the mission of this free North American nation of the British Commonwealth which stands as the half-way house between the Old World and the New; where the free men of both may meet and commune in understanding and fellowship.

3. Canada at Britain's Side.

From the outset, Canada was with Britain in this struggle;

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Great as our admiration for Britain, we did not enter the war for Britain, but, at the side of Britain, for Canada and for the preservation of the freedom we share in common;

From the start, the Canadian people realized that isolation was a myth and that the whole world was in danger;

We are proud that Canada was the first nation in the new world to take up the struggle against a foe who threatened everything for which the new world stands;

Today the whole western hemisphere is alive to the danger and the forces of freedom the world over are gathering their mighty strength to oppose as one the appalling menace of barbarism and chaos;

In this day when the whole world of free men has joined with us, it is a source of deep satisfaction to be able to rejoice with you, who kept hope alive in those dark days when our free British nations stood almost alone to face the mighty onslaught of the foe.

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Consommé

Filet of sole meunière

Roast Crown of Lamb
String beans Minute Potatoes

Chaud-Froid of Chicken

Salad
(Endive and watercress)

Orange Soufflé

Demi tasse

Wines:

Before lunch: in Reception Room
Choice of: Dry Martini, Sherry, Scotch and soda, Tomato juice
At Table: Sherry with soup,
Australian Hock during rest of meal.

Query: Should Champagne, Port and brandy be offered.

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C164191 B.

The following will stay at Government House:

The Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.	
Commander Thompson	Personal Assistant
Captain F.D.W. Brown	Private Secretary
Sir Charles Wilson, M.D.	Physician
Inspector Thompson	Detective
Sergeant Dudgeon	Detective
Mr. Patrick Kenna	Stenographer
Sawyers	Mr. Churchill's Valet

The following will stay at the Chateau Laurier:

Name	Room No.	Designation
Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal	Suite E	Chief of the Air Staff
Brigadier L.C. Hollis, R.M.	378	Secy. Chief of Staff Committee
Wing Commander Oulton	360	A.D.C. to Sir Charles Portal
One Clerical Officer, W.R. Jones	362	
One Marine Orderly Harding	364	

6 Photographers

7 R.H. Cypher Officers

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The following will stay at Government House:

at lunch 29th	✓ The Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.	
"	✓ Commander Thompson	Personal Assistant
	Captain F.D.W. Brown	Private Secretary
"	✓ Sir Charles Wilson, M.D.	Physician
	Inspector Thompson	Detective Scotland Yard
	Sergeant Dudgeon	Detective " "
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~~6 Photographers~~

~~7 R.H. Cypher Officers~~

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Prime Minister

Sir Charles Portal

Sir Charles Wilson

Brigadier L. Hollis

Commander C.R. Thompson

1 Private Secretary Captain J. Brown

Wing Commander Oulton

Leave – Dudgeon and Thompson

1 male stenographer Mr. Kinnear Capt Horner

1 female stenographer Miss Macaulay

1 clerical officer Mr. W. Jones

1 Marine orderly Harding

~~6 R.M. Photographers~~

7 Royal Naval officers, cypher staff

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1PN37

CHURCHILL VISIT (SUBS PREVIOUS) C164194

TORONTO--BRITAIN'S WARTIME PRIME MINISTER-WINSTON CHURCHILL --IS COMING TO CANADA.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE TODAY BY PREMIER GEORGE DREW OF ONTARIO, WHO DISCLOSES THAT MR. CHURCHILL WILL RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO WHILE VISITING THE QUEEN CITY.

COLONEL DREW SAID THAT WHEN THE FORMER BRITISH LEADER WAS PLANNING HIS HOLIDAY IN FLORIDA, THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT INVITED HIM TO THE PROVINCE. AT FIRST, HE DID NOT BELIEVE HE COULD MAKE IT. NOW, HOWEVER, MR. CHURCHILL IS PLANNING TO VISIT CANADA'S GOVERNOR-GENERAL-DESIGNATE, VISCOUNT ALEXANDER, LATER THIS YEAR AND WILL PAY A VISIT TO THE PROVINCE AT THAT TIME.

OL1158AES

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1PN37

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C164194

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OL1158AES

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C164195

CHURCHILL TEXT ESPY WD

London, May 28 - (AP/- The text of Prime Minister Churchill's statement in the House of Commons today follows:- (350)

The House will be aware that the King of the Belgians yesterday sent a Plenipotentiary to the German Command asking for suspension of arms on the Belgian Front.

The British and French Governments instructed their Generals immediately to dissociate themselves from this procedure, and to persevere with the operations in which they are now engaged.

The German Command agreed to the Belgian proposals and the Belgians ceased to resist the enemy's will at four o'clock this morning. I have no intention of suggesting to the House that we should attempt at this moment to pass judgment on the action of the King of the Belgians in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian Army.

This army fought very bravely, and both suffered and inflicted heavy losses. The Belgian Government has dissociated itself from the act and declared itself to be the only legal Government of Belgium and formally announced its resolve to continue the war by the side of the Allies, who came to the aid of Belgium on her urgent appeal.

Whatever our feelings from facts so far known to us, we must remember that that sense of brotherhood between the many peoples who have fallen into the power of the aggressor and those who still confront him will play its part in better days than those through which we are passing.

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The situation of the British and French armies now engaged in a most severe struggle/and beset on three sides and/from the air/is evidently extremely grave.

Surrender of the Belgian Army in this manner adds appreciably to the grievous peril, but our troops are in good heart and fighting with the utmost discipline and tenacity. I shall, of course, abstain from comment on what, with the powerful assistance of the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force, they are doing or hope to do. I expect to make a statement to the House on the general position when the result of the intense struggle now going on can be known and measured.

This, perhaps, may not be until the beginning of next week.

Meanwhile, the House must prepare itself for hard and heavy tidings. I have only to add that nothing which can happen in this battle can in any way relieve us of our duty to defend the world cause to which we have bound ourselves, nor can it destroy our confidence in our power to make our way - as on former occasions in our history - through disaster and grief to ultimate defeat of our enemy.

END TEXT.

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CANADA

May

C164197

COPY

Add London Churchill XX Commons.

The Text of Mr. Churchill's statement:-

"The German armored forces which made their way through the breach in the French Army have penetrated into the rear of the Allied Army in Belgium and are now attempting to derange their communications. Abbeville is in enemy hands and heavy fighting is proceeding around and in Boulonge.

"It is too early yet to say what the result of this Coastal fighting may be but it evidently carries with it implications of a serious character. Meanwhile, General Weygand, who is in supreme command, is conducting operations involving all the Allied Armies with a view to restoring and reconstituting their combined front."

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

file

C164198

Mr. Pickersgill:

Highlights of Mr.Churchill's speech:

Withdrew 335,000 British and French troops.

Killed,. wounded and missing, 30,000.

Germans control all coastal ports.

Evacuation not to be considered victory. (Strongly stressed.)

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CANADIAN PRESS REPORT OF MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH.

Prime Minister Churchill opened his statement in the House of Commons on the course of the war today by declaring that "only rapid retreat could have saved the British and French armies" after the Germans broke through at Sedan on the Meuse River. The French High Command had hoped "they would be able to close the gap" at Sedan and on the Meuse, Mr. Churchill said. The strategical plan of retirement "was not immediately realized," he declared, because such retirement would have involved "destruction of the fine Belgian army of over 20 divisions and abandonment of the whole of Belgium." Mr. Churchill said the force and scope of the German penetration was not realized until General Maxime Weygand took command of the allied armies. An effort was made by the French and British armies to keep on holding the "right hand of the Belgians" and to give their own right hand to the newly-created French army which was to have advanced across the Somme River in great strength to grasp it, Mr. Churchill said. But, he added, the German "eruption swept like a sharp scythe around and to the rear of the armies and cut off all communication between us and the

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main French army." The movement "severed our communications" for food and ammunition and sheared its way "up the coast almost to Dunkerque," he said. British forces holding Calais were given one hour to surrender, Mr. Churchill said, and after four days of bitter fighting there were only 30 unwounded survivors, who were rescued by the Navy. The Germans had "eight or nine armored divisions, each of about 400 armored vehicles," in the vanguard which slashed allied communications, the Prime Minister declared. Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught came a number of German divisions in trucks, and behind them plodded the "dull, brute mass of the ordinary German army," he said. This army, he declared, was always ready "to be led to trampling down any other land which has the liberty and comfort they have never known in their own." "This armored scythe stroke almost reached Dunkerque -- almost but not quite --" he said, adding that Boulogne and Calais were scenes of desperate fighting. The guards defended Boulogne for a while and then were withdrawn on orders from England, he disclosed. The British Commander at Calais was given one hour to surrender, an offer which he "spurned," and with a rifle brigade of the 60th Rifles and Queen Victoria's Rifles, a Battalion of

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tanks and one thousand French defended Calais "to the last." "Only 30 unwounded survivors were brought off by the Navy and we do not know the fate of their comrades," Mr. Churchill added. These troops "added a page to the glory of the light division," Mr. Churchill declared. "Their sacrifice was not, however in vain. Two armored divisions which otherwise would have been turned against the British Expeditionary Force had to be sent to overcome them." The time gained by the resistance at Calais "enabled the Gravelines water line to be held by French troops: And thus it was that the Port of Dunkerque was kept open," Mr. Churchill continued. "Only one test remained" when the allies found it impossible to reopen communication with the main French armies, Mr. Churchill related. That test, he said, seemed "indeed forlorn" because the armies "were almost surrounded and their sole line of retreat was through a single port and neighboring beaches." The troops were "pressed on every side by heavy attacks and far outnumbered in the air," the Prime Minister told the House, declaring that although some good judges told him 20,000 or 30,000 men might be embarked, "it certainly seemed" as though the whole French first army and the B.E.F. North of the Amiens-Abbeveille gap might be lost. "We must be very careful," he warned, "not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. "Wars are not won by evacuations."

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But Mr. Churchill reminded the House that "there was victory inside this deliverance" because the "whole might of the German Air Force" was unable to prevent the evacuation. Alluding to the capitulation of King Leopold of the Belgians, the Prime Minister recalled that it was the allies "who rescued Belgium from extinction in the last war" and declared that had the Belgians "not sought refuge in fatal neutrality" the allies might well have saved "not only Belgium, but, perhaps, even Poland." "The brave and efficient" Belgian army was on our eastern flank and this was on "our only line of retreat to the sea," Mr. Churchill explained. Suddenly, "with the least possible notice and without the advice of his Ministers, upon his own personal act," Leopold sent a plenipotentiary to the German command, "surrendering his army and exposing our whole flank without means of retreat." At this utterance the House rang with cries of "shame! shame!". Belgium's surrender forced the British Army "at shortest notice" to cover a flank to the sea more than 30 miles long or be cut off and "Share the fate to which King Leopold had condemned the finest army his country ever formed." Reminding the House that he had asked it a week ago to suspend judgment on King Leopold's surrender, the Prime Minister declared "I do not feel that

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any reason now exists why we should not form our own opinion upon this pitiful episode." The House echoed with shouts of "treachery!" Mr. Churchill declared Britain had lost "nearly 1,000 guns and transport and armored vehicles" in Flanders in battles in which "the enemy attacked with all force" and threw his "main power," the Air Force, into the battle concentrated on the beaches of Dunkerque. The Germans began to fire with artillery on the beaches, they sowed magnetic mines in the channels and "sent repeated waves of hostile aircraft, sometimes more than 100 strong," to bomb troops as they were arriving for evacuation, Mr. Churchill said. "The intense struggle" raged for four or five days while "great masses" of German Infantry and Artillery hurled themselves upon "the ever-narrowing, contracting appendix in which was the French and British armies," the Prime Minister narrated. Meanwhile, he declared, "the Royal Navy, with a whole host of merchant shipping," embarked troops, using 220 light warships and 620 other vessels. He described the evacuation from Dunkerque as a "miracle of deliverance," achieved by "valor, perfect disciple, faultless service and the resource and skill of all." Mr. Churchill called the withdrawal a "great trial of strength" between the British and German Air Forces and asked if there could have been an objective

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of greater military importance to the Nazis than sinking of "all those ships." "The thousand ships carried over 335,000 men, French and British, off those shores back to their native lands out of the jaws of death," he said. "They tried hard and they were beaten back," he declared, with air losses at a rate of four to one. As cheers rolled out of the musty well of the House, he declared that "very large formations" of German fliers --" and we know that it is a very brave race" -- ran away from attacks by "a quarter of their number of the Royal Air Force." "Against the feats of our youth in the air, the story of the Knights of the Round Table falls back into a distant and prosaic past," Mr. Churchill said. He declared the defence of Britain against "overseas attack" had been strengthened by the showing of the R.A.F. and "I will pay my tribute to these young airmen." He declared Britain would "reconstitute and build up the B.E.F. once again under its gallant Commander in Chief, Lord Gort." He warned the nation that "we must put our defences in this Island in such a high state that the forces required to give effective security and effort may be realized." Fifth Columnists will be dealt with "until we are satisfied that this malignancy in our midst" has been "effectually stamped out." Expressing belief that Britain in a few months would "overtake this serious loss," he warned that "our thankfulness at the escape of our army must not blind us to the fact that what has happened is a collossal military disaster."

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He reminded the House that when Napoleon's "Grande Armee" lay at Boulogne for a year they were told: "There are bitter weeds in England," and the Prime Minister sharply added: "There are certainly a good many more bitter weeds since the B.E.F. returned."

In the long series of fierce battles, "sometimes on three fronts," British losses in men "exceeded 30,000 killed wounded and missing," he said. But he held out hope that "very many reported missing will come back here some day in one way or another." Moreover, against this loss, the Prime Minister declared, "We have set a far heavier loss" on the Germans.

He said "enormous" material losses would further delay extension "of our military strength" and that this expansion "had not been proceeding as fast as we had hoped."

"The best we had to give had gone to the B.E.F., "he said.

An effort "the like of which has never been seen in our records" is being made to furnish material and "the work is proceeding everywhere night and day, Sundays and Weekdays," he declared and added:-

"Already the flow of munitions has leapt forward."

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Reminding the House that there never had been a period when the British nation could have "an absolute guarantee" against invasion, Mr. Churchill declared that the chance one might be successful had "excited and befooled the imagination of many tyrants."

Mentioning measures against "fifth columnists", the Prime Minister said these powers will be used without "the slightest hesitation" and that he was sorry for those "passionate enemies of Nazi Germany" who are affected by orders against aliens.

After viewing Germany's "originality of malice and ingenuity of aggression," he said, Britons can "certainly prepare ourselves for every kind of novel strategem and every kind of brutal and treacherous manoeuvre."

"We shall ride out the storms of war," he declared.

The Prime Minister added that Britain will fight "the menace of tyranny" for years and, "if necessary, alone."

"The British Empire and the French Republic" will defend "to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength."

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Churchill

ODS/HMP.
June 4th, 1940.

C164207

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

PRIME MINISTER -

You will, of course, have noted the following statement in Mr. Churchill's speech today:-

> "We shall never surrender and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island, or even part of it, is subjugated and starving, then our Empire across the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, will carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, the new world, in all its strength and might, sets forth to the rescue and liberation of the old."

ODS

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For telegram

C164208

P M to Churchill June 14

Re telegram to Reynaud

See R/F I

Collapse of France

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C164209

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C164210

MESSAGE FROM MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL
TO MR. MACKENZIE KING

I have heard of the success of the Canadian Third Victory Loan and of the great response which the Canadian people have made. I send them through you my warmest congratulations.

Hitler has good reason to know the might of Canada's armed forces, of her ships and planes and weapons of war. Her sailors, soldiers and airmen have answered every call in all parts of the world. Her workers in shipyards and munition factories have delivered and are delivering of their full measure. Meanwhile from coasts, prairies, forests and rivers come many resources on which the United Nations depend in their battle for freedom. Canada's unbending will to share to the full the burden and sacrifices of the war is manifest. She has accepted the challenge which threatens all freedom loving peoples alike and her people have given proof of their readiness to make every contribution to Victory which victory demands.

BC.

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Churchill

C164211

Prime Minister.

Harvie Watt, M.P.
Parliamentary Private See'y.
Link with Members, etc.
Reports weekly.

J. R. Martin
Principal See'y.

Supervision
Honours
Press- through
George Steward.

Commander Thomson
Personal Assistant - A.D.C.
Travel - Marine orderlies

Bevir

Patronage
Ecclesiastical appointments
Trustee, Nat'l. Gallery
Commissions, Boards, etc.
Civil Pension List
Funds under control
Promotion, recruiting of staff, etc.
Share of general duty.

Rowan

Home front (Supplies)

Man Power (allocation)

Reports of Committees

Miss Watson

Parliamentary Answers, etc.
General correspondence with public

Peek

Domions
Colonies
Indian Affairs
Post War questions
General correspondence with public.

Brown

Foreign Affairs
Telegrams
Engagements
General correspondence.

Night and weekend duty shared by Martin, Rowan, Peek and Brown. Bevif on occasion.

Lines of responsibility not rigid. Every secretary keeps in touch with other members of staff. Circulate copies of minutes.

Social - informal -- Thomson and Brown.

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C164212

Mr. Churchill's Box

1. Top of the Box.
2. Foreign telegrams.
3. Service telegrams.
4. Dominions, etc.
5. Cabinet, Agenda, etc.
6. Periodical returns, reports of production, losses, etc.
7. To see - most urgent reports.
8. Signature.
9. General Ismay - reports not covered by telegrams, recommendations, etc.
10. Replies and other reports from the Departments.
11. Miscellaneous.

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C164213

CHURCHILL:

Text of Radio Broadcast
reviewing 6 months of warfare.

March 30, 1940.

See European War, 1940, Vol. IX, Exhibit 642.

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CHURCHILL:

Statement in House of Commons

on blockade and naval actions

off Norway.

April 11, 1940.

See European War, 1940, Vol. IX, Exhibit 654.

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PRESS RELEASE May 23rd, 1940.

C164215

The following is the text of a message received by the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Great Britain:

"I am very grateful for your appreciative reference to my broadcasted speech on Sunday.

At this grave hour the whole hearted assurances of Canada's support in the trials which lie before us is a very real encouragement. The crisis of battle will but spur us to yet greater efforts and the knowledge that you are with us in the determination to achieve the triumph of justice will strengthen our resolve."

Noted WLM

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Copy of a message from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London, dated August 18th, 1940, and marked: Most Immediate, Most Secret and Personal Cypher, and Unnumbered:

C164216

"Following from Prime Minister for Mr. Churchill, Most Secret and Personal, Begins:

1. You will have seen statements given by the President to the press Friday at noon. At two o'clock, same day, the President telephoned me personally from Washington inviting me to dine with him and spend Saturday night aboard his train near Canadian border.

2. We met at seven o'clock last night. Secretary of State for War, Mr. Stimson, was also present with the President. Conversations began before dinner and after dinner continued till nearly midnight. This morning (Sunday), with the President and Mr. Stimson, I attended military service Pennsylvania Regiment. I said good-bye at noon and have just reached Ottawa on return.

3. The President gave me full account communications between you and himself of which I had already been fully advised by you. I found both the President and the Secretary of War greatly pleased at outcome of conversations with yourself and quite obviously anxious to render all assistance possible.

4. I have President's authority to let you know he hopes to be able to arrange, before present week is out, to begin supplying you with destroyers and to let you have fifty in all. Arrangement proposed is to have destroyers brought to Halifax or one or two other Canadian ports by United States seamen, there to be delivered to us on your behalf. They require crew of 150 but skeleton crew of 70 should be sufficient for taking destroyers across Atlantic. President emphasizes importance, if possible, of having men selected to take ships across who would likely man them permanently and thus save time in accustoming crew to their use. They will not have anti-aircraft equipment.

5. The President hopes to arrange all this without necessity of having special authorisation from Congress. He feels that by being supplied with bases on Atlantic Islands, he is obtaining a defence quid pro quo which justifies him in letting you have destroyers which some might otherwise feel should be kept for American use.

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6. Answering my enquiry as to how matter might be viewed in Germany and by Congress, the President replied that the Germans have already said they have no intention of coming to this side and therefore cannot take exception to what is a matter of defence, and that what he, the President id doing is wholly for purposes of defence. As far Congress, it has already declared that the United States would not acquiesce in any foreign power acquiring territory on this side.

7. The only impediment in way of guaranteeing immediate delivery of destroyers is certain legal difficulties which have been raised and have still to be met satisfactorily but which the President expects will be met by Thursday of this week. Some destroyers would then become available immediately. The President believes he can keep on delivering them as fast as crews can be supplied. The President authorized me to say that it might be well to begin at once to have crews cross the Atlantic to take back destroyers.

8. The President is also arranging to have you supplied with twenty motor torpedo boats, this to be effected in another ten days. The boats are not as yet finished but as soon as they are, the President proposed to have them stricken from the United States navy list as being too small and will place orders for larger size for United States. The twenty would then be available for purchase from contractors by the United Kingdom.

9. The President also hopes to let you have ten flying boats, five being big navy planes and five big army planes. These will ostensibly be for experimental purposes, in other words to test out their usefulness in active operations. They will be without bomb sights. They will be flown across the sea under their own power. The President suggested British crews ought to learn how to fly them over, or possibly American civil pilots might be engaged for this purpose.

10. The President believes he can also let you have 250,000 rifles. It is almost impossible, however, to supply ammunition. The President also informed me that he has been able to secure for you 150 to 200 aircraft supplied with engines which were ordered for Sweden.

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11. The President will take up direct with your Government matters pertaining to bases in colonies including matters pertaining to Newfoundland. As you are aware, Canadian government is already assisting in defence of Newfoundland and is, at the moment, contemplating additional large expenditure for developments there. There will probably be necessity for co-operation between the three governments in matters pertaining to that island.

12. As regards Canada, results of the conference with the President can best be given in the following joint statement agreed upon between the President and myself to be released at nine o'clock tonight:

'The Prime Minister and the President have discussed the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States.

It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board of Defence shall be set up at once by the two countries.

This Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material.

It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence will consist of four or five members from each country, most of them from the services. It will meet shortly.'

13. The wording of the jurisdiction of the Board has purposely been so framed as to permit of joint action of Canada and United States in defence of Pacific as well as Atlantic coasts. The personnel of the Joint Board will include senior officers of both United States and Canadian defence services with one civil authority on each side. The first meeting of the Joint Board will be held in Ottawa probably before end of present week. We will not either sell or lease land but will work out jointly naval and air facilities and may arrange to permit manoeuvres by American army in say parts of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick and similarly manoeuvres of our military forces in the State of Maine.

14. The President has agreed to let us have some guns and some other necessary equipment. He is quite agreeable that four or five of the fifty destroyers should be made available to Canada if really

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needed for such purposes as convoying out of Halifax, etc. I,nhowever, have agreed to leave to you final word in disposition of any of the fifty destroyers to be supplied.

15. In conversations with the President and Mr. Stimson, I stressed the fact that Canada viewed so strongly the significance of the conflict in the United Kingdom area as constituting the first line of defence of this continent; that we had parted not only with our own destroyers and aircraft to the extent we had but were also allowing you to retain guns which some time ago we had ordered for Halifax. I also mentioned the extent to which we had been assisting with ammunition and told the President of Canadians serving in Newfoundland, Iceland and Bermuda. He had not known of Canadians being also in Iceland.

16. The President expressed himself as quite satisfied with the statement you propose making, similar to the one in June last, which will afford the assurance he felt so greatly in need of in considering the defence of this hemisphere and the lengths public opinion might be counted upon to let him go in parting with material, etc., which might otherwise have had to be retained. I explained I felt sure one ground for any hesitation on your part in this matter had been that you did not wish to give any assurances which you, yourself, might not be in a position to see carried out, and that naturally you would wish to proceed in the constitutional manner of tendering your resignation rather than to any settlement which might involve the danger feared. The President feels that when you, yourself, do all that is within your power in securing the object desired, nothing more could be expected of you.

17. The President tells me he is having a very difficult time with Congress. He, himself, looks very well and is in splendid spirits. I am convinced that outside the British Commonwealth, you have no truer friends or stronger allies than are to be found in the President and Secretary Stimson.

18. I strongly urged upon the President the utmost expedition with respect to all matters referred to in this communication. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. "

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Copy of text of joint press statement issued at Ottawa, August 18, 1940:

"The Prime Minister and the President have discussed the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States.

It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board of Defence shall be set up at once by the two countries.

This Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material.

It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence will consist of four or five members from each country, most of them from the services. It will meet shortly."

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C164221 August 20/1940 Aug 20 40

The text of Prime Minister Churchill's speech today to the House of Commons follows:-

Almost a year has passed since the war began. It is natural for us, therefore, to pause on our journey at this milestone and survey the dark, wide field. It is also useful to compare the first year of this second war against German aggression with its forerunner a quarter of a century ago.

Although this war is, in fact, only a continuation of the last, very great differences in its character are apparent. In the last war millions of men fought by hurling enormous masses of steel at one another. Men and shells was the cry and prodigious slaughter was the consequence.

In this war nothing of this kind has yet appeared. It is a conflict of strategy, of organization, of technical operators, science, mechanics and morale.

The British casualties in the first 12 months of the (first) Great War amounted to 365,000. In this war British killed, wounded, prisoners and missing including civilians are about 92,000, but of these a large proportion are alive as prisoners of war. Throughout all Europe for one man killed or wounded in this first year perhaps five were killed or wounded in 1914-15.

The slaughter is but a fraction, but the consequences to the belligerents have been even more deadly. We have seen great countries with powerful armies dashed out of

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coherent existence in a few weeks. We have seen the French Republic and the renowned French Army beaten into complete and total submission with less than the casualties which they suffered in any one of half a dozen of the battles of 1914-18.

The entire body -- it might almost seem at times the soul -- of France has succumbed to physical effects incomparably less terrible than those which were sustained with fortitude and undaunted will power 25 years ago.

Although up to the present the loss of life has been mercifully diminshed the decisions reached in the course of the struggle are even more profound upon the fate of nations than anything which has ever happened since barbaric times.

Moves are made upon scientific and strategic boards, advantages are gained by mechanical means as the result of which scores of millions of men become incapable of further resistance or judge themselves incapable of further resistance and a fearful game of chess proceeds from check to mate by which the unhappy players seem to be inexorably bound.

There is another and far more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are involved -- not only soldiers, but the entire population; men, women and children.

The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug

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in the towns and the streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred.

The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers, with different weapons but the same courage.

There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and resources of the British nation and Empire, and that once we get properly equipped and properly started a war of this kind will be more favorable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele.

If it is a case of whole nations fighting and suffering together, that ought to suit us, too, because we are the most united of all the nations. Because we entered the war upon the national will and with our eyes open, because we have been nursed in freedom and individual responsibility and are the products, not of totalitarian uniformity, but of tolerance and variety.

Turning to Italy's African drive, the Prime Minister said the French defection had been "deeply damaging" in the defence of British Somaliland, now in Italian hands. France might have fought on, he said.

"If we had been put in the terrible position of France, how happily impossible, it would have been the duty of all war leaders to fight on here to the end. It would have also been their duty to provide as far as possible for

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the naval security of Canada and our Dominions and to make sure that they had the means to carry on the struggle beyond the oceans.

"That France lies prostrate at this moment is the crime not of a great and noble nation. Our old comradeship with France is not at an end.

"The day will come as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow when again there will be a France restored in a liberated Europe to its full freedom and ancient fame."

Besides Frenchmen still fighting with Britain, he said, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Netherlanders and Belgians also "are still in the field, recognized by Great Britain and the United States as the sole representative authorities and lawful governments of their respective states."

Mr. Churchill did not discuss Britain's peace aims further than to say:-

"I do not think it would be wise at this moment while the battle rages and the war is still perhaps only in its earlier stages to embark upon elaborate speculation about the future shape which should be given to Europe or the new securities which must be arranged to spare mankind the miseries of a third world war.

"Before we can undertake the task of rebuilding we have not only to be convinced ourselves but to convince all other countries that the Nazi tyranny is going to be finally broken.

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"The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory. We are still toiling up the hill. We have not yet reached the crestline. We cannot survey the landscape or even imagine what its condition will be when that longed for morning comes."

Discounting the loss of British Somaliland, Mr. Churchill said "It had been decided sometime before the beginning of the war not to defend the Protectorate" and the British troops were withdrawn "virtually intact for action elsewhere."

Of the 99-year leases on the naval bases for the United States, he said:-

"Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.

"For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings.

"I could not stop it if I wished. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll (cheers) let it roll on fullflood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days."

There will be no transfer of sovereignty nor action taken against the wishes of the colonies concerned, but "His Majesty's Government is entirely willing to accord

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defence facilities to the United States on a 99-year leasehold basis, and we feel sure our interests no less than theirs and the interest of the colonies themselves and of Canada and Newfoundland will be served thereby," the Prime Minister said.

Mr. Churchill made the announcement during an hour's review of the war in which he said Britain must refuse all suggestions to lift the blockade of Europe in order to feed the people of German-occupied countries.

The responsibility for feeding the people of such countries is Germany's, he said, because the Nazis claimed to possess sufficient food for themselves and had robbed those countries of their reserves.

But Britain, he emphasized, is ready to arrange in advance for food reserves to be sent to "any part of the enslaved area when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces" and has genuinely regained its freedom.

He added with emphasis that this offer of immediate food, freedom and peace once the Nazis' power has been shattered is open to the people of Germany and Austria.

Mr. Churchill declared that Britain is infinitely stronger today than ever before. The army is bigger and the navy is bigger.

But he expressed hope that "our friends across the ocean will send us timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941."

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This was taken as a reference to British requests that the United States sell her 50 overage destroyers which would be useful for convoy work and other operations which have strained the energies of the British destroyer fleet.

Touching on the air battle over Britain, Mr. Churchill said:-

"We hope and believe we shall be able to continue the struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases, and the longer it continues the more rapid will be our approach first towards that parity and then to that of superiority in the air upon which in a large measure the decision of the war depends."

Britain, the Prime Minister declared, has more fighters, more bombers, than ever before and in new production of aircraft is ahead of Germany.

Some months ago, he said, Britain came to the conclusion that the interest of the United States and the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for naval and air defence of the western hemisphere against attack by Nazi power.

"We have therefore decided spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement to inform the government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our transatlantic possessions for their

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greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future.

"Presently we learned that anxiety is also felt in the United States about the air and naval defence of their Atlantic seaboard and President Roosevelt has made it clear that he would like to discuss with us and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland the development of American naval and air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies.

"Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.

"For my part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings.

"I could not stop it if I wished. Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll fullflood, inexorable, irresistable, benignant, to broader lands and better days."

Mr. Churchill declined to speculate about what terms Britain would demand from a beaten Germany "to spare mankind the miseries of a third world war."

"We are still toiling up the hill," he declared, "we have not yet reached the crestline."

He explained, even before the start of the war

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no prolonged defence in Somoliland was contemplated. The British troops in Somaliland, he said, were withdrawn "virtually intact" to fight elsewhere.

He warned that bigger operations are coming in the middle east.

As for Britain, he insisted, "invasion becomes much more difficult week by week."

If all these qualities are turned, as they are being turned, to the arts of war, we may be able to show the enemy quite a lot of things they have not thought of yet.

Since the Germans drove out the Jews and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs.

Our geographical position, enables us to draw resources from the friendship of the United States, enables us to draw resources from the whole world and to manufacture weapons of war of every kind, but especially of the superfine kinds, on a scale hitherto practised only by Nazi Germany.

Hitler is now sprawled over Europe. Our offensive springs are being slowly compressed, and we must resolutely and methodically prepared ourselves for the campaigns of 1941 and 1942.

Two or theee years are not a long time, even in our short precarious lives. They are nothing in the history of nation.

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And when we are doing the finest thing in the world, and have the honor to be the sole champion of the liberty of all Europe, we must not grudge these years, or weary as we toil and struggle through them.

It does not follow that our energies in future years will be exclusively confined to defending ourselves and our possessions. Many opportunities may lie open to amphibious power, and we must be ready to take advantage of them.

One of the ways to bring this war to a speedy end is to convince the enemy, not by words but by deeds, that we have both the will and the means not only to go on indefinitely but to strike heavy and unexpected blows.

The road to victory may not be so long as we expect. But we have no right to count upon this.

Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end.

It is our intention to maintain and enforce a strict blockade not only of Germany, but of Italy, France and all other countries that have fallen into the German power.

I read in the papers that Herr Hitler has also proclaimed a strict blockade of the British Islands.

No one can complain of that.

I remember the Kaiser doing it in the last war.

What indeed would be a matter of General complaint would be if we were to prolong the agony of all Europe by allowing food to go in to nourish the Nazis and aid

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their war e ffort, or to allow food to go in to the subjugated peoples which would certainly be pillaged off them by their Nazi conquerors.

There have been many proposals, founded on the highest motives, that food should be allowed to pass the blockade for the relief of these populations.

I regret that we must refuse these requests.

The Nazis are boasting that they have created a new unfieid economy in Europe.

They have repeatedly stated that they possess ample reserves of food and that they can feed their captive peoples.

In a German broadcast of June 27 it was said that while Mr. Hoover's plan for relieving France, Belgium and Holland deserved commendation, the German forces had already taken the necessary steps.

We know that in Norway, when the German troops went in, there were food supplies to last for a year.

We know that Poland, though not a rich country, usually produced sufficient food for her people.

Moreover, the other countries which Herr Hitler has invaded all held considerable stock when the Germans entered and are themselves very substantial food producers.

If all this food is not available now it can only be because it has been removed to feed the people of Germany and to give them increased rations there during the last few months.

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At this season of the year, and for some months to come, there is the least chance of scarcity, as the harvest has just been gathered in.

There is another aspect.

Many of the most valuable foods are essential to the manufacture of vital war materials. Fats are used to make explosives, potatoes to make the alcohol for motor spirit. The plastic materials now so largely used for aircraft construction are made of milk.

If the Germans use these commodities to help them bomb our women and children, rather than to feed the populations who produce them, we may be sure that any imported food would go the same way, directly or indirectly, or be employed to relieve the enemy of the responsibilities he has assumed.

Let Herr Hitler bear his responsibilities to the full, and let the peoples of Europe who groan beneath his yoke aid in every way the coming of the day when it will be broken.

Meanwhile we can arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area, when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces and has genuinely regained its freedom.

We shall do our best to encourage the building up or reserves of food all over the world, so that there

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will always be held out before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including -- I say it deliberately -- the German Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace.

Rather more than a quarter of a year has passed since the new government came into power in this country. What a cataract of disaster has poured out upon us since then!

The trustful Dutch overwhelmed, their beloved and respected sovereign dirven into exile, the peaceful City of Rotterdam the scene of a massacre as hideous as anything in the 30 years war, Belgium invaded and beaten down, our own fine expeditionary force, which King Leopold called to his rescue, cut off and almost captured, escaping as it seemed only by a miracle and with the loss of all its equipment; our ally France out, Italy in against us.

All France in the power of the enemy, all its arsenals and vast masses of military material converted to the enemy's use; a puppet government set up at Vichy which may at any moment be forced to become our foe; the whole western seaboard of Europe, from the North Cape to the Spanish Frontier, in German hands; all the ports, all the airfields upon this immense front employed against us as potential springboards of invasion; the German air power, numerically so far outstripping ours, has been brought so close to our

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island that what we used to dread has come to pass, and the hostile bombers not only reach our shores in a few minutes and from many directions but can be escorted by their fighters.

If we had been confronted at the beginning of May with such a prospect, it would have seemed incredible that at this point of a period of horror and disaster we should stand erect, sure of ourselves, masters of our fate and with the conviction of final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts.

Few would have believed we could survive;none would have believed that we should today not only feel stronger, but should actually be stronger, than we have ever been before.

Let us see what has happened on the other side of the scales. The British nation and the British Empire, finding themselves alone, stood undismayed against disaster. No one flinched or wavered; nay, some who formerly thought of peace now think only of war, our people are united and resolved as they have never been before.

Death and ruin have become small things compared with the shame of defeat or failure in duty.

We cannot tell what lies ahead. It may be that even greater ordeals lie before us.

We will face whatever is coming to us. We are sure of ourselves and of our cause. Here, then, is the

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supreme fact.

Meanwhile we have not only fortified our hearts but our island. We have rearmed and rebuilt our armies in a degree which would have been deemed impossible a few months ago. We have ferried across the Atlantic, thanks to our friends over there, an immense mass of munitions of all kinds: Cannon, rifles, machine-guns, cartridges and shells; all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round. The output of our own factories, working as they have never worked before, has poured forth.

The whole British Army is at home. More than 2,000,000 determined men have rifles and bayonets in their hands tonight, and three quarters of them are in regular military formations. We have never had armies like this in our island in time of war. The whole island bristles against invaders from the sea or from the air.

As I explained to the House in the middle of June, the stronger our army at home the larger must be the invading expedition; and the larger the invading expedition the less difficult will be the task of the navy in detecting its assembly and in intercepting and destroying it on passage, and the greater would be the difficulty of feeding and supplying the invaders if ever they landed in the teeth of continuous naval and air attack upon their communications.

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As in Nelson's Day, the maxim holds -- our first line of defence is the enemy's ports. Now air reconnaissance and photography have brought to an old principle a new and potent aid. Our navy is far stronger than at the beginning of the war. The great flow of new construction set on foot at the outbreak is now beginning to come in.

We hope our friends across the ocean will send us a timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941.

The seas and oceans are open. The Uatboats are contained. The Megnetic Mine is mastered. The merchant tonnage under the British Flag after a year of unlimited U-Boat war, after eight months of intensive mining attack, is larger than when we began. We have, in addition, under our control 4,000,000 tons of shipping from the captive countries, which has taken refuge here or in the harbours of the empire. Our stocks of food of all kinds are many times as great as in the days of peace.

Why do I say all this? Not, assuredly, to boast; not to give the slightest countenance to complacency. The dangers we face are still enormous. But so are our advantages and resources. I recount them because the people have a right to know that there are solid grounds for the confidence we feel, and that we have good reason to believe ourselves capable, as I said in a very dark hour

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two months ago, of continuing the war, if necessary alone, if necessary for years.

I say it because the fact that the British Empire stands invincible and that Nazidom can still be resisted will kindle again the spark of hope on the breasts of hundreds of millions of downtrodden or despairing men and women throughout Europe and far beyond its bounds, and that from these sparks there will presently come a cleansing and evouring flame.

The great air battle which has been in progress over this island for the last few weeks has recently attained a high intensity. It is too soon to attempt to assign limits either to the scale or duration of the great air battle. We must certainly expect that greater efforts will be made by the enemy than any he has so far put forth. Hostile air fields are still being developed in France and the low countries and the movement of squadrons and material for attacking us is still proceeding.

It is quite plain that Herr Hitler could not admit defeat in his air attack on Great Britain without most serious injury. If, after all these boastings and blood-curdling threats and lurid accounts trumpeted round the world of the damage he has inflicted, of the vast numbers of our air force he has shot down, so he says, with so little loss to himself; after tales of panic-stricken British crouched in their holes, cursing the plutocratic government which has led them to such a

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plight -- his whole air onslaught were forced tamely to peter out, the Fuehrer's reputation for veracity of statement might be seriously impugned.

We may be sure, therefore, that he will continue as long as he has the strength and as long as any preoccupations he may have in respect of the Russian Air Force allow him to do so.

On the other hand, the conditions and course of the fighting have so far been favorable to us.

I told the House two months ago that whereas in France our fighter aircraft were wont to inflict a loss of two or three to one upon the Germans, and in the fighting at Dunkerque, which was a kind of No-Man's Land, of about three or four to one, we expected that an attack on this island we should achieve a larger ratio.

This has certainly come true.

It must also be remembered that all the enemy machines and pilots which are shot down over our island or the seas which surround it are either destroyed or captured, whereas a considerable proportion of our machines and also of our pilots are saved, and soon again come into action.

A vast and admirable system of salvage directed by the Ministry of Aircraft Production ensures the speediest return to the fighting line of damaged machines and the most provident and speedy use of all the spare parts and material.

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At the same time the splendid -- nay, astounding-- increase in the output and repair of British aircraft and engines, which Lord Beaverbrook has achieved by a genius of organization and drive which looks like magic, has given us overflowing reserves of every type of aircraft and an ever-mounting stream of production both in quantity and quality.

The enemy is, of course, far more numerous than we are. But our new production already largely exceeds his, and the American production is only just beginning to flow in.

Our bomber and fighter strength after all this fighting is larger than it has ever been.

We hope and believe that we shall be able to continue the struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases; and the longer it continues the more rapid will be our approach, first towards that parity and then into that superiority in the air upon which, in a large measure, the decision of the war depends.

The gratitude of every home in our island, in our empire and indeed throughout the world, except in the abodes of the guilty, goes out to the British airmen who, undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger are turning the tide of world war by their prowess and by their devotion. Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

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All hearts go out to the fighter pilots whose brilliant actions we see with our own eyes day after day; but we must never forget that all the time, night after night, month after month, our bomber squadrons travel far into Germany, find their targets in the darkness by the highest navigation skill, aim their attacks -- often under the heaviest fire, often with heavy loss -- with deliberate, careful discrimination, and inflict shattering blows upon the whole of the technical and war-making structure of the Nazi power.

On no part of the Royal Air Force does the weight of the war fall more heavily than on the day-light bombers, who will play an invaluable part in the case of invasion and whose unflinching zeal it has been necessary in the meanwhile, on numerous occasions, to restrain.

We are able to verify the results of bombing military targets in Germany, not only by reports which reach us through many sources, but also by photograph.

I have no hesitation in saying that this process of bombing the military industries and communications of Germany, and the air bases and storage depots from which we are attacked -- and which will continue upon an ever-increasing scale until the end of the war and may in another year attain dimensions hitherto undreamed of -- affords one, at least, of the surest, if

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not the shortest, of all the roads to victory.

Even if the Nazi legions stood triumphant on the Black Sea, or indeed upon the Caspain; even if Hitler was at the gates of India, it would profit him nothing if at the same time the entire economic and scientific apparatus of German war power lay shattered and pulverized at home.

The fact that the invasion of this island upon a large scale has become a far more difficult operation with every week that has passed since we saved our army at Dunkerque, and our very great preponderance of sea power enable us to turn our eyes and to turn our strength towards the Mediterranean and against that other enemy who, without the slightest provocation, coldly and deliberately, for greed and gain, stabbed France in the back in the moment of her agony and is now marching against us in Africa.

The defection of France has of course been deeply damaging to our position in what is called, somewhat oddly, the middle east.

In the defence of Somaliland, for instance, we had counted upon strong French forces attacking the Italians from Jibuti.

We had counted also upon the use of the French naval and air bases in the Mediterranean, and particularly upon the North African shore.

We had counted upon the French fleet. Even though Metropolitan France was temporarily overrun there was no

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reason why the French Navy, substantial parts of the French Army, and the French Empire overseas should not have continued the struggle at our side.

Shielded by overwhelming seapower, possessed of invaluable strategic bases and of ample funds, France might have remained one of the great combatants in the struggle.

By so doing, France would have preserved the continuity of her life and the French Empire might have advanced with the British Empire to the rescue of the independence and integrity of the French motherland.

In our own case, if we had been put in the terrible position of France--now happily impossible, although of course it would have been the duty of all war leaders to fight on here to the end--it would also have been their duty, as I indicated in my speech of June 4th, to provide as far as possible for the naval security of Canada and our Dominions, and to make sure they had the means to carry on the struggle from beyond the oceans.

Most of the other countries that have been overrun by Germany for the time being have persevered valiantly and faithfully. The Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians are still in the field, sword in hand, recognized by great Britain and the United States as the sole representative authorities and lawful governments of their respective states.

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That France alone should lie prostrate at this moment is the crime, not of a great and noble of nation, but of what are called the men of Vichy. We have profound sympathy with the French people.

Our old comradeship with France is not dead. In General De Gaulle and his gallant band that comradeship takes an effective form. These free Frenchmen have been condemned to death by Vichy, but the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, when their names will be held in honor and graven in stone in the streets and villages of a France restored in a liberated Europe into its full freedom and ancient fame.

But this conviction which I feel of the future cannot affect the immediate problems which confront us in the Mediterranean and in Africa.

It had been decided some time before the beginning of the war to defend the Protectorate of Somaliland. That policy was changed when the French gave in, and when our small forces there -- a few battalions, a few guns -- were attacked by all the Italian troops -- nearly two divisions -- which had formerly faced the French at Jibuti.

It was right to withdraw our troops virtually intact for action elsewhere. Far larger operations no doubt impend in the middle east theatre and I shall

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certainly not attempt to discuss or prophesy about their probable course.

We have large armies and many means of reinforcing them. We have the complete sea command of the eastern Mediterranean. We intend to do our best to give a good account of ourselves and to discharge faithfully and resolutely all our obligations and duties.

A good many people have written to me to ask me to make on this occasion a fuller statement of our war aims and of the kind of peace we wish to make than is contained in the very considerable declaration which was made early in the autumn.

Since then we have made common cause with Norway, Holland and Belgium. We have recognized the Czech Government of Dr. Benes, and we have told Gen. De Gaulle that our success will carry with it the restoration of France.

I do not think it would be wise at this moment, while the battle rages and the war is still in its earlier stage, to embark upon elaborate speculation about the future shape which should be given to Europe or the new securities which must be arranged to spare mankind the miseries of a third world war. The ground is not new. It has been frequently traversed and explored and many ideas are held in common by all good men and all free men.

But before we can undertake the task of re-building we have not only to be convinced ourselves but

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convince all other countries that the Nazi tyranny is going to be finally broken.

The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory. We are still toiling up the hill. We have not yet breasted the crest line. We cannot survey the landscape or even imagine what its condition will be in that longed-for hour.

The task which lies before us immediately is at once more simple and more stern. I hope, indeed, I pray, that we shall not be found unworthy of our victory if after toil and tribulation it is granted to us. For the rest we have to gain the victory.

There is, however, one direction in which we can see a little more clearly ahead.

We have to think not only for ourselves but for the lasting security of the cause and principles for which we are fighting.

Some months ago we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the Naval and Air Defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have acquired temporary but lengthy control of a large part of western Europe and its resources.

We have therefore decided, spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the

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government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our Transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future.

The principle of association of interests for common purposes between Great Britain and the United States had developed even before the war in the various agreements reached about certain small islands in the Pacific Ocean which have become important as air fuelling points. In all this line of thought we have found ourselves in very close harmony.

Presently we learned that anxiety was also felt in the United States about the air and naval defence of their Atlantic seaboard, and President Roosevelt has made it clear that he would like to discuss with us and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland the development of American Naval and Air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies.

There is of course no question of any transference of sovereignty or of any action being taken against the wishes of the various colonies concerned, but for our part His Majesty's government are entirely willing to accord defence facilities to the United States on a 99-years leasehold basis, and we feel sure that our interests no less than theirs and the interests of the colonies themselves and of Canada and Newfoundland will be served thereby.

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Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.

For my part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings.

No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full-flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days.

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Canadian Press Report of Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons

LONDON, AUG. 2- (CP) - Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today this war is in fact "only a continuation of the last" although very great differences in its character are apparent.

Mr. Churchill said about 92,000 Britons have been killed, wounded or missing, including civilians, in this war, as compared with the "prodigious slaughter" of the last war.

Conflict of millions of men against masses of steel has been replaced by combat of strategy, organization of technical apparatus, science, mechanics and morale, he said.

He said British casualties in the first year of the first Great War amounted to 365,000.

"In this war, I am thankful to say, British killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, including civilians, are about 92,000. But of these a large proportion are alive as prisoners of war".

Despite the diminution in casualties, Mr. Churchill said the "consequences to the belligerents have been even more deadly" than in the last war.

"We have seen great countries with powerful armies dashed out of coherent existence in a few weeks", he said.

"Although up to the present the loss of life has been mercifully diminished, the decisions reached in the course of the struggle are even more profound upon the fate of nations than anything which has happened since barbaric times".

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Britain will maintain "a straight blockade of Germany, Italy, France and every other country that has fallen into Germany's hands", Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today.

"We must refuse to allow food to be passed through the blockade".

The Prime Minister, in his eighth war review, repeated that "we must prepare for the campaign of 1941 and 1942".

Loud cheers greeted his announcement that Britain will maintain "a strict blockade of Germany, Italy, France and every other country that has fallen into the hands of "Germany".

"We must refuse to allow food to be passed through the blockade", he said.

Mr. Churchill said there seemed to be every reason to believe that modern war, involving whole populations, is "well suited to the genius and the resource of the British nation and empire, and that once we get properly equipped and properly started a war of this kind will be more favorable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Paschendaele".

"Our offensive springs are slowly being compressed, and we must resolutely and methodically prepare ourselves for the campaign of 1941 and 1942", he said.

Command of the Sea and "the friendship of the United States", he added, "enables us to draw resources from the whole world".

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Two or three years "are nothing in the history of a nation", he said, "and when we have the honor to be the sole champion of the liberties of all Europe we must not grudge these years or weary as we toil and struggle through them.

"The road to victory may not be so long as we expect but we have no right to count upon this. Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end."

Mr. Churchill laughed at Hitler's blockade of Britain, saying:-

"No one can complain of that. I remember the Kaiser doing that in the last war".

Allowing food to reach the nazis would "prolong the agony of all Europe", he said, expressing regret that "we must refuse requests that food should pass the blockade such as Mr. Hoover's plan for relieving France, Belgium and Holland."

Germany found vast stores of food in each country overrun, Mr. Churchill said, "and if all this food is not available now, it can only be because it has been removed to feed the people of Germany...

"The only agencies which could create famine in any part of Europe during the coming winter would be German exactions or German failure to distribute the supplies they command."

Prime Minister Churchill appealed today to "our friends across the Ocean" -- the United States -- for "reinforcements to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and

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the war flotillas of 1941" -- a reference to the proposed sale of United States destroyers to Britain.

"Let Herr Hitler bear his responsibilities to the full and let the peoples of Europe who groan beneath his yoke aid in every way the coming of the day when it will be broken" he said.

"We can arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces and has genuinely regained its freedom."

Prime Minister Churchill declared today that Britain's "new production" of airplanes now exceeds that of Germany.

He appealed to "our friends across the Ocean" to send Britain the warships which will "bridge the Gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941".

In a calmly-confident war statement to the House of Commons, his first in more than a month, he placed total British dead, wounded and missing at 92,000 in this war and summoned the Empire to prepare for the "campaigns of 1941 and 1942".

"We shall do our best to encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world so that there will always be held before the eyes of the peoples of Europe including -- I say it deliberately -- the German and Austrian peoples the certainty that the shattering of Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace."

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Declaring the people had a right to know there were "solid grounds" for his confidence, Mr. Churchill said:-

"The enemy are still far more numerous than we in the air but our new production exceeds his largely."

Reviewing "the cataract of disaster" of the last few months, he said the puppet government at Vichy "may at any moment be forced to become our foe" and all the ports from the North Cape, in Northern Norway, to the Spanish frontier are "potential springboards" for a German invasion.

Mr. Churchill's appeal for "timely reinforcement" of the Royal Navy Fleet was apparently a reference to British requests that the United States authorize the sale to Britain of some 50 over-age destroyers.

The Prime Minister, jeering at Hitler's proclaimed total blockade of England, declared bluntly that no food would be allowed to reach any country which has fallen to Hitler. He said he regretted that he had to refuse American requests that food be allowed to go to the people of France, Belgium and Holland.

He conceded that "the enemy are still far more numerous in the air than we," but declared that British plane production now exceeds Germany's "largely."

Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today that "far larger operations are impending in the middle East" and declared that invasion of Britain becomes "much more difficult week by week."

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"We are sure of ourselves and our cause," said the Prime Minister, and he declared that, with control of the seas and the friendship of the United States, Britain can "draw resources from the whole world."

Two or three years mean nothing in the life of a nation, he said and, be the road "long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end."

He based his refusal to allow food to pass the British blockade on the premise it would only "prolong the agony of all Europe."

Then, somberly, he reviewed this summer's "cataract of disaster," warned that "the Puppet Government" of France may be forced to become Britain's foe at any moment and declared that all the ports "from the North Cape to the Spanish Frontier" might be used for an invasion of Britain.

Yet, he said, immense amounts of munitions from the United States had been landed in England "without the loss of a gun or a round" of ammunition, and he predicted that Britain eventually would get superiority in the air.

Until that time, he declared, Britain will keep on fighting Germany in the Air "indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases."

Mr. Churchill said:

"We hope and believe that we shall be able to continue the air struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases and the longer it continues the more rapid

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will be our approach, first towards parity and then towards that superiority in the air upon which in a large measure the decision of the war depends," Mr. Churchill continued.

Immense masses of munitions ferried across the Atlantic from the United States, Mr. Churchill said, include "cannon, rifles, machine guns, cartridges and shells, all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round."

Merchant tonnage under the British flag, he added "is larger than when we began."

"The whole British Army is at home. More than 2,000,000 determined men have rifles and bayonets in their hands, and three quarters of them are in regular military formations."

British food stocks "of all kinds are many times as great as in the days of peace," Mr. Churchill declared.

"As in Nelson's day, the maxim holds: 'Our first line of defence is the enemy's ports.'"

And, he said, "we have never had armies like this in our island in time of war. The whole island bristles against invaders from the sea or from the air."

Lauding Britain's airmen, Mr. Churchill said " never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."

British bombing squadrons, Mr. Churchill said, are inflicting "shattering blows upon the whole technical and warmaking structure of the Nazi power."

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"Even if the Nazi legions stood triumphant on the Black Sea or, indeed, upon the Caspain, even if Hitler was at the gates of India it would benefit him nothing if at the same time the entire economic and scientific apparatus of German war power lay shattered and pulverized at home."

Mr. Churchill said "It is quite plain Hitler could not admit defeat in his air attack on Britain without most serious injury."

He said Britain has overflowing reserves of every type of aircraft and an ever mounting stream of production" because of "the astounding increase" in output and repair under Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Aircraft Production.

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C164256

Churchill Before Congress

Now stronger than the thunderbolts of Jove
Are noble words, spoke from a noble soul:
How pure and sure the answering flame that burns,
An instant, in our un-heroic breasts,
To give the God within us real release,
And tread one measure as a god would tread:—
Oh, this is proof we are not all of clay.
When bravery and long patience are made flesh,
Wrapped gloriously in full experience;
When all that men said could not be, is here,
Embodied in one who had refused to fail,
Though friends and fellows stood aloof, aghast;
When to a giant's task a giant comes,
Clad in the humbleness of generous strength;
We know the Great Denial is a Lie;
And we lean down, and take again the staff
Of faith, content to sojourn in a world,
Wherein such goodly company exists.

—James S. Macdonnell

Pasadena, California
December, 1941

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NAR/ET
23 Dec.,1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C164257

Mr.Wrong telephoned this afternoon to say that Mr. McCarthy and the other Dominions Ministers had seen Mr. Churchill this morning. Mr.Churchill had left Mr.McCarthy with the impression (1) that his visit on this side of the water would be longer than press forecasts allowed,and would perhaps last a fortnight; (2) that he was counting on coming to Canada before his return. The Washington timetable is still pretty indefinite. Staff talks with the President and his advisers are beginning this afternoon. It seems probable that the purely United Kingdom - United States talks will be concluded by Thursday night or Friday. Wrong suggested we should notify the United States Minister here as soon as possible of the probable composition of the party so that the State Department can make the necessary arrangements to fix the timetable for their reception with the President.

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C164258

Tel. No. 616

From Legation

To External

Despatched December 27,1941. 3.50 p.m.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL

CYPHER

Prime Minister Churchill's party will include Sir Charles Portal; Sir Charles Wilson; Brigadier Hollis; Commander Thompson; one private secretary; Wing Commander Oulton; two security officers; one male stenographer; one female stenographer; one clerical officer; one Marine Orderly; six Prime Minister's photographers; seven Royal Naval Officers, as cypher staff.

Travelling arrangements follow as soon as available.

ha:mt

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C164259

Tel. No. 617

From Legation

To External

Despatched December 27, 1941 5.30 p.m.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL CYPHER

[I]DIATE PRIORITY

My telegram No. 616, December 27th.

Special train carrying Prime Minister Churchill and party and Canadian Prime Minister and party and press due to arrive Ottawa 9 a.m. Monday morning, leaving Washington tomorrow afternoon about three. Mr. Churchill and party and press leaving Ottawa after lunch Wednesday, arriving Washington 9 a.m. Thursday. Press number about twenty. No reservations made for anyone.

ha/vc

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TO. W.L.M.K

CONFIDENTIAL

J.W.P.
December 27, 1941

Churchill, Winston

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH LORD BEAVERBROOK C164260

I showed Lord Beaverbrook the schedule of proposed engagements, all of which he thought exceedingly appropriate. He suggested that Mr. Churchill would probably appreciate lunching intimately with the Prime Minister and possibly one or two colleagues, on Monday after the War Committee meeting. He also thought that it would be desirable to arrange a press conference for Monday afternoon.

As for Tuesday, he felt that Mr. Churchill would want to be left free until the time came to go to the House of Commons for his speech at three o'clock, and he suggested that so far as Wednesday morning is concerned, it would probably be wiser to leave it open for the present and decide in the light of circumstances what would be ~~the~~ most appropriate when the time came.

Lord Beaverbrook took a note of the suggestions which he proposed to mention to Mr. Churchill when he saw him this evening.

J. W. P.

J.W. PICKERSGILL

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Churchill, Winston C164261

Ottawa, December 28th, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PICKERSGILL OR MR. HANDY:

Attached are four copies of Draft II, for the information of the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill and others concerned, who are on the special train.

Detailed arrangements for Tuesday's joint meeting of the Senate and House of Commons will be available after your arrival.

Mr. Measures will be at Laurier House, on Mr. King's return, to complete arrangements for the Cabinet luncheon at the Chateau, and the War Committee dinner at Laurier House.

Time should be fixed for the press conference (item 6) as soon as possible and Mr. Herbert, who will be on the train, informed.

Confirmation of arrangements for a Guard of Honour, representative of the three Services (item 8) should also be obtained as soon as possible. Tentative plans are in hand.

A more or less final revision will be available on arrival.

A. D. P. H.

A. D. P. HEENEY

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C164262

PROPOSED ITINERARY REGARDING VISIT TO OTTAWA

1. Sunday, December 28, 1941

3.00 p.m. - Leave Washington by special train.

2. Monday, December 29, 1941

9.00 a.m. (10.00 a.m. D.S.T.) - Arrive Ottawa.

11.00 a.m. - Meeting with members of War Committee

p.m. - Meeting with representatives of the press.

- Dinner at Government House.

3. Tuesday, December 30, 1941

- Morning free.

- No luncheon engagement.

3.00 p.m. - International broadcast, Address to members of both Houses of Parliament.

8.00 p.m. - Dinner, Laurier House, with self and members of War Cabinet.

4. Wednesday, December 31, 1941

- Leave Ottawa after lunch on Wednesday.

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CONFIDENTIAL

A 2 1

PROPOSED ITINERARY REGARDING VISIT TO OTTAWA

1. Unless a special train will be arranged for (which is probable according to information given to Mr. Lait, of Canadian National Railways),

Prime Minister would leave Washington at

4.50 p.m. (Sunday) Dec. 28
8.25 a.m. (Monday) " 29 - Arr. Montreal,
8.50 a.m. " " - Lv. Montreal,
12.05 p.m. (Monday) 29 - Arr. Ottawa.
(1.05 p.m. D.S.T.)

2. 3.00 p.m. - Monday - Dec. 29 - Meeting with members of War Cabinet, East Block, (Chiefs of staff present ?)

4.00 p.m. - Monday - Meeting with members of Cabinet.

3. Evening - Monday - Dec. 29 - dinner at Government House.

Tuesday - December 30, 1941

4. Morning free.
No luncheon engagement.

3.00 p.m. - International broadcast,
Address to members of both Houses of Parliament,

4.00 p.m. - Off record meeting with Canadian Journalists (?).

8.00 p.m. - Dinner, Laurier House, with self and members of War Cabinet.

Wednesday - December 31, 1941

5. Kept free. No engagements at present.

What time does Prime Minister wish to arrive Washington?

Train leaves Ottawa 4.00 p.m. (Standard Time)
7.15 p.m. - Arr. Montreal
9.15 p.m. - Lv. Montreal
12.55 p.m. - next day (Thursday, Jan. 1)
Arr. Washington.

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C164264

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Commander Thompson came to Car 100 this evening and made the following suggestions for the Prime Minister's consideration:

(a) Re: War Committee:

(Invitations extended through Commander Thompson)

In addition to Mr. Churchill,
Sir Charles Portal,
Brigadier Hollis, and
Commander Thompson might be invited to attend.

(b) Re: Luncheon at the Chateau Laurier.

In addition to Mr. Churchill, the following persons might be invited:

(Invitations extended through Commander Thompson)

Sir Charles Portal,
Brigadier Hollis,
Sir Charles Wilson,
Commander Thompson.

(c) Re: Dinner at Laurier House.

In addition to Mr. Churchill,
Sir Charles Portal,
Commander Thompson,

and Lord Beaverbrook, if he is in Ottawa,

might be invited.

Commander Thompson said there was no need to consider other names as it is understood it will be a small dinner - number perhaps not exceeding 14.

(d) Sir Charles Wilson would appreciate meeting leading medical authorities in the Canadian Government. This could perhaps be done while his colleagues are at War Committee.

Commander Thompson said he would be pleased to give any additional information on request. He will be staying at G.H. He has had pleasure in giving me the initials of the members of Prime Minister Churchill's party.

E.H.

December 28, 1941

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1.30 C164265 WHM 28.xii.41.

The Prime Minister's luncheon for the Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill
Monday, December 29, 1941, 1.00 for 1.15 p.m. (D.S.T.)
Chateau Laurier Hotel, Quebec Suite.

Invitation List

The Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.	Prime Minister of Canada.

Mr. Churchill's party

The Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.	Prime Minister of Great Britain.
Air chief marshal Sir Charles Portal	
Sir Charles Wilson, M.D.	
Brigadier L.C. Hollis, R.M.	
Commander Thompson	

The Cabinet

The Rt.Hon. R. Dandurand	A Member of the Administration and Minister without Portfolio.
The Hon. T.A. Crerar, M.P.	Minister of Mines and Resources.
The Hon. J.L. Ralston, M.P.	Minister of National Defence.
The Hon. P.J.A. Cardin, M.P.	Minister of Public Works and Minister of Transport
The Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P.	Minister of Pensions and National Health.
The Hon. C.G. Power, M.P.	Associate Minister of National Defence and Minister of National Defence for Air.
The Hon. J.L. Ilsley, M.P.	Minister of Finance.
The Hon. J.E. Michaud, M.P.	Minister of Fisheries.
The Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P.	Minister of Munitions and Supply.
The Hon. J.G. Gardiner, M.P.	Minister of Agriculture.
The Hon. N.A. McLarty, M.P.	Secretary of State.
The Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, M.P.	Minister of Trade and Commerce.
The Hon. W.P. Mulock, M.P.	Postmaster General.
The Hon. C.W.G. Gibson, M.P.	Minister of National Revenue.
The Hon. A.L. Macdonald, M.P.	Minister of National Defence for Naval Services.
The Hon. J.T. Thorson, M.P.	Minister of National War Services.
The Hon. L.S. St.Laurent, ~~M.P.~~	Minister of Justice.
The Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, ~~M.P.~~	Minister of Labour.

Chiefs of Staff

Vice Admiral P.W. Nelles	Chief of the Naval Staff
Air Marshal L.S. Breadner	Chief of the Air Staff
Lieut.-General K. Stuart	Chief of the General Staff

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C164266 G. WHM 28.xii.41.

The Prime Minister's dinner for the Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill
Tuesday, December 30, 1941, ~~8.00~~ 8.15 p.m. (D.S.T.)
Laurier House.

Dress: Black tie.

Invitation List

(9) The Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.	Prime Minister of Canada

Mr. Churchill's party

(10) The Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.	Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Great Britain
(11) ~~The Rt.Hon. Lord Beaverbrook~~ - arrives Uplands Airport Sunday 9.01 pm D.S.T. ~~Mr E.H. Harriman - arrives ditto U.S. Lend Lease Admin. in U.K.~~ ~~See attached note;~~	(Sir Charles Portal - Chief of Air Staff (12) Sir Charles Wilson - Govt. House (13) Commander Thompson - Govt. House (14) ~~Brig Hollis - Chief of Staff~~

The War Committee

(1) The Rt.Hon. R. Dandurand	A Member of the Administration and Minister without Portfolio
(2) The Hon. T.A. Crerar, M.P.	Minister of Mines and Resources
(3) The Hon. J.L. Ralston, M.P.	Minister of National Defence
(4) The Hon. J.L. Ilsley, M.P. not at lunch	Minister of Finance
(5) The Hon. J.E. Michaud, M.P. not at lunch	Minister of Fisheries
(6) The Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P.	Minister of Munitions and Supply
(7) The Hon. A.L. Macdonald, M.P.	Minister of National Defence for Naval Services
(8) The Hon. C.G. Power, M.P. not at lunch	Associate Minister of National Defence and Minister of National Defence for Air

Mr Malcolm Lunchroom

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(Correct) A. Dec. 28, 1941

Confidential

VISIT TO OTTAWA

C164267

List of Engagements.

Monday, December 29, 1941

10.00 a.m. - Arrive Ottawa.

11.30 a.m. - War Committee of the Cabinet,
Chiefs of Staff to be present.

12.00 noon - Mr. Churchill arrives at War Committee -
Sir Charles Portal to be present.

1.30 p.m. - Mr. Churchill meets members of Cabinet and
Chiefs of Staff at Chateau Laurier luncheon,
(Quebec Suite).
Ministers of United States, Belgium and
The Netherlands, to be present.

Also other members of Mr. Churchill's staff.

Also High Commissioners of United Kingdom,
Australia and South Africa.

Afternoon -

Evening - Dinner at Government House.

Tuesday, December 30, 1941

Morning - Free.

- No luncheon engagement.

3.00 p.m. - International broadcast - Address to
members of Both Houses of Parliament.

Guard of honour in front of Houses of Parliament.

Leaders of political parties in the Senate and
House of Commons to meet Mr. Churchill at
entrance.

After broadcast, visit Speaker's Apartments,
House of Commons [illegible]

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- Private meeting with leading publishers and journalists in Railway Committee Room - Mr. Churchill to speak off the record.

6.15 p.m.- Government House - Mr. Churchill to meet leaders and members of official Opposition.

8.15 p.m.- Dinner at Laurier House with members of War Cabinet.

(Lord Beaverbrook, Sir Charles Portal.

Wednesday, December 31, 1941

11.00 a.m. - Press conference, Government House.

- Followed by visit to Uplands Airport.

- (Mr. Churchill to lunch with H. Commr. for U.K.)

- Leave Ottawa for Washington.

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C164269

Draft 1

N. 305-78

1941

Visit of Prime Minister of Great Britain

Arrangements

Monday, December 29th

Time (E.D.T.)

Approx. 1:30 p.m. 1. Arrive at Union Station by special train, accompanied by:

Canadian party -

Prime Minister

Minister of National Defence

Minister of National Defence for Air

Minister of National Defence for Naval Services

Minister of Munitions and Supply.

United Kingdom party -

Lord Beaverbrook

(and others)

2. To be met by:

A representative of the Governor General - (Sir Shuldham Redfern)

Mr. Crerar and other members of the Cabinet, in Ottawa

The United Kingdom High Commissioner

The United States Minister

The Mayor of Ottawa, who will be introduced to Mr. Churchill by the Prime Minister (Mr. Measures).

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3. Mr. Churchill and party, after saying good-bye to Prime Minister and others, leave station by side entrance, for Government House.

Approx. 2:00 p.m. 4. Lunch - Government House.

2:50 p.m. 5. Mr. Churchill (and Lord Beaverbrook?) leave Government House for East Block (Privy Council door

3:00 p.m. 6. Mr. Churchill to be met at door by Prime Minister and attend meeting of Cabinet War Committee, Privy Council Chamber.

4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m. 7. Meeting of full Cabinet.

5:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. 8. Return to Government House.

8:00 p.m. ? 9. Dinner at Government House.
Reception at Government House.

<u>Tuesday, December 30th</u>

10. Press conference at Government House (?)
(Government House, with Director of Public Information).

11. Lunch.

2:45 p.m. 12. Leave Government House for House of Commons.

2:50 p.m. 13. Arrive at Main Door, Centre Block
Met by Prime Minister and Speakers of Senate and House of Commons, conducted to Chambers of Speaker of House of Commons, and thence accompanies Prime Minister into House of Commons.

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3:00 p.m. 14. Addresses joint meeting of House of Commons and Senate, in House of Commons Chamber (see detailed programme).

4:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. 15. Return to Government House.

8:00 p.m. ? 16. Dinner at Laurier House with Members of War Committee

(Mr. Measures)

Responsibilities:

Train arrangements -
(Deputy Minister of Transport)

Motor cars -
(Government House with Assistant Under-Secretary of State)

Police protection escort and route -
(Commissioner R.C.M.P. and City police)

Publicity -
Press, radio, motion and still pictures,
(Director of Public Information with C.B.C., and National Film Board)

Procedure and Invitations -
Clerk of House of Commons, Clerk of Senate, Black Rod, Secretary of State Department.

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CONFIDENTIAL

Draft 11

C164272

Visit of the Prime Minister of Great Britain

Monday, December 29th

Daylight Time

10:00 a.m. 1. Arrive at Union Station by special train, accompanied by Prime Minister and:

United Kingdom party -

Lord Beaverbrook (probably)

Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal

Sir Charles Wilson

Brigadier Hollis

Commander Thompson

Private Secretary

Wing Commander Oulton

and secretarial and clerical staff (20).

Canadian party -

Prime Minister

Minister of National Defence for Air

Minister of National Defence for Naval Services

Minister of Munitions and Supply.

2. To be met by:

Representative of the Governor-General (Sir Shuldham Redfern)

Mr. Crerar and other members of the Cabinet, in Ottawa

The United Kingdom High Commissioner

The United States Minister

The Mayor of Ottawa, who will, if opportunity offers, be introduced to Mr. Churchill by the Prime Minister.

(Mr. Measures).

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Other members of the Diplomatic Corps, Commonwealth Representatives and Consular Representatives of Allied countries will be advised, privately, of time of arrival and, if they wish, may attend. There will, however, be no formal introductions.

(Mr. Measures).

3. Mr. Churchill and members of party to stay at Government House, will leave station by side (Sussex Street) entrance and proceed to Rideau Hall by route arranged.

11:30 a.m. 4. Cabinet War Committee meeting - Privy Council Chamber, East Block.

(Mr. Churchill to be met at door by Prime Minister and Mr. Heeney).

1:15 p.m. 5. Luncheon with members of Cabinet and Chiefs of Staff - ~~Tudor Room~~, Chateau Laurier

(Mr. Measures).

Late afternoon Time to be fixed 6. Press Conference - Government House

(Secretary to Governor-General and Director of Public Information).

8:00 p.m. ? for 8.15 7. Dinner at Government House; followed by reception. (9.45)

(Dress jacket)

Tuesday, December 30th

2:45 p.m. 8. Arrive at Centre Block; met by Prime Minister and Speakers of Senate and House of Commons; inspect Guard of Honour (?); conducted to Chambers of Speaker of House of Commons.

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C164274

3:00 p.m. 9. Joint meeting of Senate and House of Commons - House of Commons Chamber.

(see detailed programme).

8:00 p.m. 10. Dinner at Laurier House with Members of War Committee.

(Mr. Measures).

Responsibilities -

(1) General security, protection, escorts and routes -

Commissioner R.C.M. Police and City Police.

(2) Train arrangements -

Deputy Minister of Transport.

(3) Motor cars -

Government House with Assistant Under-Secretary of State.

(4) Publicity -

Press, radio, motion and still pictures.

Director of Public Information with C.B.C., and National Film Board.

(5) Procedure and Invitations - (House of Commons meeting)

Clerk of House of Commons, Clerk of Senate, Black Rod, Secretary of State's Department.

(6) Guard of Honour (if decided upon)

National Defence, Army, Navy, Air.

(7) Government Hospitality -

Mr. Measures, Mr. Herbert (press)

December 28th, 1941.

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CONFIDENTIAL Draft 111

C164275

Visit of Prime Minister of Great Britain

Arrangements

Daylight Time — Monday, December 29th

10:10 a.m. 1. Arrive at Union Station by special train, accompanied by Prime Minister and:

United Kingdom Party -

Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal
Sir Charles Wilson
Brigadier Hollis
Commander Thompson
Private Secretary
Wing Commander Oulton
and secretarial and clerical staff (20).

Canadian Party -

Prime Minister
Minister of National Defence
Minister of National Defence for Air
Minister of National Defence for Naval Services
Minister of Munitions and Supply.

2. To be met by:

Representative of the Governor-General
(Sir Shuldham Redfern)
Mr. Crerar and other members of the Cabinet,
in Ottawa
The United Kingdom High Commissioner
The United States Minister
The Mayor of Ottawa
who will, if opportunity offers, be
introduced to Mr. Churchill by the Prime Minister.

(Mr. Measures).

Other members of the Diplomatic Corps, Commonwealth Representatives and Consular Representatives will be advised, privately, of time of arrival and, if they wish, may attend. There will, however, be no formal introductions.

(Mr. Measures)

Arrangements for meeting and conducting to hotel - members of Mr. Churchill's staff not staying at Government House - (Air and Naval officers and External Affairs)

Press representatives -
(Director of Public Information)

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CANADA

3. Mr. Churchill and members of party to stay at Government House, will leave station by Sussex Street exit and proceed to Rideau Hall by route arranged.

11:30 a.m. 4. Cabinet War Committee meeting - Privy Council Chamber, East Block .

(Mr. Churchill to be met at door by Prime Minister and Mr. Heeney)

1:00 p.m. for 1: 15 p.m. 5. Luncheon with members of Cabinet - Chateau Laurier (Mr. Measures)

Late afternoon - time to be fixed 6. Press Conference - Government House

(Secretary to Governor-General and Director of Public Information).

8:00 p.m. for 8:15 p.m. 7. Dinner at Government House

9:45 p.m. Reception at Government House

Tuesday, December 30th

2:45 p.m. 8. Arrive at Centre Block; met by Prime Minister and Speakers of Senate and House of Commons; inspect Guard of Honour (?); conducted to Chambers of Speaker of House of Commons.

3:00 p.m. 9. Joint meeting of Senate and House of Commons - House of Commons Chamber

(detailed programme)
(to be prepared by Clerk of House of Commons with Clerk of Senate)

Immediately following meeting 10. Reception in Chambers of Speaker of House of Commons?

(Speaker and Clerk)

8:00 p.m. 11. Dinner at Laurier House with Members of War Committee

(Mr. Measures)

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Responsibilities

(1) General Security, protection, escorts and routes -
Commissioner R.C.M. Police and City Police

(2) Train arrangements -
Deputy Minister of Transport.

(3) Motor cars -
Government House with Assistant Under-
Secretary of State.

(4) Publicity - Press, radio, motion and still pictures,
Director of Public Information with
C.B.C. and National Film Board.

(5) Procedure and Invitations - (House of Commons meeting)
Clerk of House of Commons, Clerk of Senate,
Black Rod, Secretary of State's Department.

(6) Guard of Honour (if decided upon)
National Defence, Army, Navy, Air.

(7) Government Hospitality -
Mr. Measures, Director of Public Informatinn.

A. D. P. H.

December 28th, 1941.

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Luncheon by the Prime Minister of Canada in honour of
The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Great Britain.

C164278

Mr. W.J. Turnbull
Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister

Captain Houghton

Mr. Arnold Heeney
Clerk of the
Privy Council

Hon. A.L. Macdonald, M.P.
Minister of National Defence (Navy)

Mr. Victor Podoski
Consul General of
Poland

Hon. N.A. McLarty, M.P.
Secretary of
State

Mr. D.de W aal Meyer
South African Acc.
Representative

Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P.
Minister of Pensions
and National Health

Brig. L.C. Hollis, R.M.
Sec. Chief of Staff
Committee

Hon. J. Pierrepont
Moffat
United States Min.

Rt.Hon. R. Dandurand
Leader of the Govt.
in the Senate

Sir Charles Wilson, M.D.

Mr. F.E.H. Groenman
Netherlands Minister

Hon. P.J.A. Cardin, M.P.
Minister of Public
Works

Sir William Glasgow, K.C.B.

Hon. W.P. Mulock, M.P.
Postmaster General

Air Marshal L.S. Breadner
Chief of the Air Staff

Hon. J.T. Thorson, M.P.
Min. of Nat. War Serv.

Mr. Norman Robertson
Under Sec. External
Affairs

Hon. L.S. St. Laurent
Minister of Justice

Lt.-General K. Stuart
Chief of the General Staff

Hon. J.G. Gardiner, M.P.
Minister of Agriculture

Commander Thompson
Assistant to Mr.
Churchill

Hon. C.D. Howe, M.P.
Minister of Munitions
and Supply

Baron Silvercruys
Belgian Minister

Hon. T.A. Crerar, M.P.
Minister of Mines and
Resources

Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.
Prime Minister and Min.
of Defence of Gr. Br.

Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Air Chief Marshal
Sir Charles Portal, K.C.B.
Chief of the Air Staff

Hon. J.L. Ralston, M.P.
Minister of Nat. Defence

Rt.Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.
U.K. High Commissioner

Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, M.P.
Minister of Trade and Commerce

Vice Admiral P.W. Nelles
Chief of the Naval Staff

Hon. Colin Gibson, M.P.
Minister of Nat. Revenue

Sir Shuldham Redfern, K.C.V.O.
Sec. to the Governor General

Hon. Humphrey Mitchell
Minister of Labour

ENTRANCE

Mr. W.H. Measures
Dept. of External Affairs.

Monday,
December 29, 1941.

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C164279

Mr. Churchill's visit to Ottawa

December 29, 30, 31/1941

LIST OF EXHIBITS

A - Itinerary regarding visit to Ottawa.

B - List of names of members of Mr. Churchill's party.

C - Notes - Mr. King's speech, at Luncheon, Chateau Laurier. (List guests attending &c)

D - Notes prepared by Mr.Pickersgill - topical heads for P.M.'s introduction of Mr. Churchill.

E - Introduction of Rt.Hon.Winston Churchill by the Prime Minister of Canada (text)

F - Text of Rt.Hon.Winston Churchill's speech to Parliament

G - Prime Minister's dinner for Mr.Churchill (list of guest, menu &c)

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Copy for Prime Minister

C164280

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE
- Army -

H.Q.293-155 (A.D.)

OTTAWA, Ontario.

29th December, 1941.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GUARD OF HONOUR
VISIT OF THE RT. HON. WINSTON
CHURCHILL, P.C., C.H., M.P.

Reference Adjutant-General Order No. 29
1941

1. Arrival of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill

The salute will be given after Mr. Churchill's car has cleared the archway and Mr. Churchill is facing the Guard at the top of the steps outside the arch.

2. Departure of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill

The salute will be given as Mr. Churchill's car commences to move off.

(E.W. Browne),
Major-General,
Adjutant-General.

DISTRIBUTION:

Guard Commander - 6 copies
Area Commandant - 6 copies
Colonel Willis O'Connor - 6 copies
Secretary to the Prime Minister - 6 copies

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C164281

PRESS RELEASE December 29, 1941

1. Sunday afternoon, December 28, Mr. Churchill and Mr. King left the White House and drove to the station together. Then went aboard special train for Ottawa.

2. Mr. Churchill and Mr. King conferred together during afternoon, and in the evening Mr. Churchill dined with the Prime Minister and his Ministers.

3. Mr. Churchill and Mr. King spent the evening together discussing matters together.

4. Monday, December 29:

   Canadian War Committee meets during morning, Mr. Churchill will attend the meeting.

5. After War Committee, Mr. Churchill will meet members of the Cabinet at a private luncheon.

6. Note: No meeting with the Press this afternoon. Changed to later.

7. Mr. Churchill will be dining at Government House this evening, Monday.

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BF 3

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164282

December 29, 1941

For the Prime Minister:

Arrangements have been made for extra police to be on hand at Laurier House tomorrow night. I have been in touch with Mr. Heeney and there is no duplication in this connection.

Tunwell will be on duty tomorrow night at Laurier House.

W.J.T.

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BF 30

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C164283

MEMORANDUM

December 29, 1941
7:24 p.m.

Prime Minister

Mr Robertson telephones that he has just received a telegram from Washington saying that

Lord Beaverbook,

Mr Averill Harriman, and (probably)

General McCready

will fly from Washington tomorrow (Tuesday) morning, reaching Ottawa about 9 a.m. S.T.

D

Dec

Rod on table
level with his elbow =
about between table
Speaker's
feet
plan of room turned out
Rod solar
other not enough
more task + faith
more trained out
one cartridge for L.K.

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Dec. 29, 1941

C164284

Welcome to Canada.
Thanks for giving time for visit,
" addressing members.
Length of stay in Capital.

Personifies the greatness of Britain:

In vision,
in courage,
dauntless strength in adversity,
determination,
qualities of the mind and the spirit
that have inspired men through
the ages,

seeing great truths.

Leadership:

in Parliament
and in the country,
in war
and in peace.

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Conception of British Empire,

self governing.

Anglo-American co-operation,

martialling forces of freedom.

Conclusion:

Canada at Britain's side.

Come through the perils of war.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C164286

December 29, 1941

For the Prime Minister:

Mr. Churchill has sent word, through his secretary, that he is very much honoured at the message sent by the Prime Minister re the Privy Councillorship, and that he will be ready for the ceremony of swearing in before dinner tonight.

W.J.T.

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WLMK Dec. 30, 1941 E.

Original Address Dec 30-41

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

C164287

Churchill, Winston ✓

Mr. Speaker,
Honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him, also, for having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is, to us, the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the very beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom.

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Canada was never prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination, we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker, — the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

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C164289

WHM
30.xii.41.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Mr. Churchill's visit to Parliament Buildings,
December 30, 1941.

Suggested detail for the Prime Minister of Canada

2.25 p.m. Lv. Laurier House

2.40 p.m. (approx.) Arr. Main Entrance of Parliament Buildings under Peace Tower.
Mr. King alights, retains overcoat and fur cap and awaits arrival of Mr. Churchill.

2.45 p.m. Mr. Churchill arrives, is greeted by Mr. King.
Mr. Churchill takes salute and probably inspects Guard of Honour; Mr. King waiting at top of steps.
Mr. Churchill returns from Guard of Honour and the two Prime Ministers enter the Parliament Buildings together;
Mr. King presents Senator Dandurand, the two Speakers, Mr. Hanson and other leaders and the party proceed to House of Commons Speaker's Chambers where Mr. Churchill and Mr. King leave their hats and coats; (Room 212 will be open).
Mr. King conducts Mr. Churchill to House of Commons Chamber.

After Mr. Churchill's speech, Mr. King conducts Mr. Churchill to Speaker's Chambers for refreshments, and later conducts Mr. Churchill to Railway Committee Room to meet publishers.

After publishers meeting, Mr. King conducts Mr. Churchill to House of Commons Speaker's Chambers (Photograph - private); thence to Main Entrance where they say Goodbye.

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SFR/LF
December 31, 1941.

C164290

CONFERENCE HELD FOR CANADIAN EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS BY PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL, DECEMBER 30, 1941

Following Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons he held an informal and "off the record" Press Conference for about 100 Canadian editors and publishers. In introducing Mr. Churchill, Mr. King assured those present that they might ask any questions they wished. In reply to various questions raised Mr. Churchill's comments may be summarized as follows:

1. Canadian diplomatic relations with Vichy:

In reply to this question raised by Mr. King Mr. Churchill stated that the maintenance of relations between Canada and France was justified by the reports which Mr. Dupuy had given him following the latter's visits to Vichy. It was important to keep at least one window open Mr. Churchill stated, and while Mr. Dupuy's reports were obviously not the only ones on which he depended, they were of considerable value, particularly in the early days following the French collapse. On the reverse side of the picture was the fact that the Vichy representatives in Canada could do little harm. If the situation changed, as it might still change, suddenly, it would not be difficult to arrange for the withdrawal of the Vichy representatives here. This was the situation as Mr. Churchill and Mr. King had discussed it during the latter's recent visit to London.

2. Occupation of St. Pierre et Miquelon by the Free French:

Mr. Churchill stated that some time ago he had personally been favourable to the proposal to occupy St. Pierre et Miquelon advanced by General de Gaulle. The Service Departments of the Foreign Office were consulted, and while the advice from the Service Departments was favourable to de Gaulle's plan, the Foreign Office urged the necessity of checking at Washington and Ottawa. It was subsequently learned through the State Department that the United States had entered into an agreement with Admiral Robert at Martinique and were, therefore, opposed to any occupation of French territory adjacent to this continent by the Free French. In view of the importance of the broad question of Anglo-American relations, and the comparative insignificance of St. Pierre et Miquelon, Mr. Churchill had informed General de Gaulle that he was not to carry out his plan. General de Gaulle then proceeded to occupy the Islands without further consultation. Mr. Churchill suggested to the editors present that the question might well be played down, and said that it was likely that a solution satisfactory to the United States, Canada, and the Free French would probably be worked out.

3. The French fleet:

Mr. Churchill's information was that while Admiral Darlan might be prepared to hand over the French fleet to the Germans, officers and men in charge of the

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fleet would prefer to scuttle the ships rather than to turn them over. The British authorities would be prepared to take any steps necessary to stiffen their resolution, even to the point of participating in the scuttling of the vessels.

4. The shipping situation in the Atlantic:

There was cause for optimism on the general position in the Atlantic on the basis of recent communications. The situation in February had been extremely acute, but progress had been made both in ship building and in ship repairs, which had greatly eased the situation.

5. The Pacific:

Mr. Churchill did not under estimate the difficulties in the Pacific situation. It was impossible to defend all points simultaneously and the Japanese were now in the position where they had both air and naval superiority, and thus were able to land troops and reinforcements at many points in the Pacific virtually without opposition. It would be many months before the Allies would be strong enough to take the offensive against Japan.

6. Italy:

In reply to a question as to whether there was any chance of negotiating a separate Peace with Italy Mr. Churchill said: "The organ grinder still has hold of the monkey's collar".

7. Russia:

Mr. Churchill was full of praise of the achievements of the Russians under Stalin. He stated that the Germans had lost roughly 4,000 aircraft, ~~7000~~ several thousand tanks and not less than 3,000,000 men. The wound which the Russians had inflicted on the Germans was "grievous and possibly mortal". The situation for the Germans this winter would be extremely difficult in view of their losses, the difficulties of winter operations, and the typhus conditions which were developing in various parts of German-occupied Russia. Referring briefly to Mr. Eden's recent visit to Moscow Mr. Churchill implied that the negotiations had been extremely successful.

8. Bombing offensive against Germany:

It was unfortunate that this past year when the Allies were rapidly gaining air superiority, weather conditions had been unfavourable to mass bombing attacks. Mr. Churchill's advice to the Air authorities was that they were not to ask pilots to fight both the Germans and the weather at the same time. In cheerful mood, he stated that good weather would be coming along shortly and that there would be many opportunities to deal Germany a powerful blow from the air. Mr. Churchill pointed out that while the Royal Air Force restricted its operations to military objectives, it was understood that civilian morale in Germany was a military factor which the Air Force would have to take into account.

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9. Case of Rudolph Hess:

He said that Hess was on the verge of insanity, but that from the British point of view in view of his long and close association with Hitler, he occasionally unwittingly provided information which was extremely useful. Hess' flight had been based on a misconception. He had met the Duke of Hamilton at a sporting event in Germany and having heard that the Duke had the title of Lord Steward of Scotland assumed that the latter was on extremely close and intimate terms with the King. Mr. Churchill pointed out that the Duke of Hamilton was an honourable and loyal member of the British Forces. Hess' objective was to return to his fuehrer after his flight with the assurance that England would not continue the war. Churchill stated that it was unfortunate that the Germans were not as naive and unrealistic in military matters as in political matters.

10. Ireland:

Churchill stated that Ireland's position at the present time was tragic and that if Irish leaders persisted in their present attitude, Ireland at the close of hostilities would be a country without a name. Churchill reminded those present that he had strenuously opposed the return of the British bases in Ireland many years ago, which he said the Irish had requested but had never expected to obtain. Ireland had always been a country to fight for great causes and for the rights of small nations, which made their present opposition all the more tragic. He, however, did not give up hope that the Irish Government would come to see their true interests and with assistance from the United States the position might well be changed in the future.

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N305-78
1941
File 4-703
Vol 1

Ottawa, December 31st, 1941.

(Malcolm MacDonald)

MEMORANDUM FOR OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER:

-- The attached parcel contains various "V" symbols carved by a Mr. Lecavalier, a friend of Mr. J. A. Bonnier, M.P., of Montreal. Any number of these symbols are intended as a gift for Prime Minister Churchill, the balance of the symbols to be returned to Mr. Bonnier.

It was explained that Mr. Churchill was very much pressed for time, and with a limited amount of baggage accommodation might not be able to accept any of these articles.

W. J. Turnbull,
Principal Secretary
to the Prime Minister.

WJT/MDS

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N.305-76
NAR/SR 1942
22.1.42
h-203
v. 1
P-650
1942

C164294

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I have checked the press reports of Prime Minister Churchill's two press conferences in Ottawa, and have had a word with Blackburn of the Canadian Press on the subject. His recollection, which tallies with the newspaper reports, is that Churchill's specific references to the maintenance of the Vichy Legation here were made at the press conference given the newspaper publishers in the House of Commons and not at Government House.

In the circumstances, and since Churchill's attitude on the question is now well known, and he authorized you in London to quote his views on the subject, there cannot be any argument about the substance of your answer. There could, however, be a rather profitless controversy between newspaper men about the exact occasions on which he expressed his views.

After talking with Mr. Turnbull, I would suggest, for your consideration, that it might be better simply to table the completed Departmental answers for record without raising the question of the quotation from Churchill.

h.a Robertson

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Churchill

C164295

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

LONDON, April 29th, 1942

CYPHER

NO. 97

No. 97. Secret. Following for Prime Minister from Prime Minister, Begins:

We are all cheered and fortified by the memorable decision which Canada has taken at what may well be the hinge of the war. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

. W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Churchill

EXTRACTS FROM: TELEGRAM C164296

FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN GREAT BRITAIN
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

Secret

Cypher LONDON. November 9, 1942

No. 2764

No. 2764. Secret. Your telegram No. 2063 of November 7th, prisoners of war. .....

.....

As regards the question raised in your last paragraph concerning the co-ordination of policy by the main Inter-Governmental Committee, the opportunity of raising the question at the main Committee did not arise during the shackling issue. As you will have gathered from my previous telegrams the question was decided by the War Cabinet, and especially by Mr. Churchill. The main Inter-Governmental Committee would not have had any more authority to decide on the issue than the Sub-Committee concerned, or for that matter any other body, in view of Mr. Churchill's personal stand on the question.

.....

MASSEY

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C164297

Message from Mr. Churchill to Mr. King, Begins:

/I send to you and to all the people of Canada my warm thanks for your very kind message. The unity of purpose and the resolution for victory of our two countries remained unshaken during the dark days, and I am confident that together we shall share the final victory./

(Signed) Winston S. Churchill

(Message EX-3109 - December 3, 1942)

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(C O P Y)

C164298

From The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

To The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

IMPORTANT

CODE

LONDON, December 17, 1942

NO. 261

No. 261 Following from the Prime Minister for Mackenzie King, Begins:

Please accept my warm greetings for your birthday and my best wishes for a victorious future. You have been a good friend and comrade in these tremendous times. Winston S. Churchill. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

Rec'd. 7:46 a.m.

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(C O P Y)

Telegram

C164299

From: The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

To: The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London

IMPORTANT

CODE

Ottawa, December 18th, 1942

NO. 270

Following from the Prime Minister for Mr. Churchill,

Begins:

Personal: No message received yesterday afforded me more pleasure than the words contained in the telegram of birthday greetings received from you. I can ask for nothing better than to be privileged to be, as I pray I may be, at your side to the end of the present struggle. Mackenzie King. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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(R.-A. Benoît)

WINSTON CHURCHILL VU D'AMERIQUE

Radio-Canada (10) Le mardi 9 février 1943 - 6 h. 30

Pour la quatrième fois depuis que la guerre en a fait des compagnons de lutte, Churchill et Roosevelt se sont rencontrés en vue d'étudier, de concert avec leur généraux, amiraux et diplomates, les problèmes de l'heure et hâter la marche de nos armées vers la victoire.

Aux Etats-Unis comme en Angleterre, on a été quelque peu désappointé de ne pas apprendre qu'il était résulté de la conférence de Casablanca un pacte entre les quatre Grandes Nations Alliées, l'institution d'un Conseil suprême de haute stratégie, une politique mieux définie en ce qui concerne l'Afrique du Nord. Mais les circonstances exigent peut-être que de telles décisions, si elles ont été prises, ne soient pas immédiatement révélées au public. Il suffit que l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis se soient rapprochés davantage pour justifier le rapport sensationnel que la radio nous a apporté de cette réunion. L'âme noire d'Hitler doit y trouver suffisamment matière à tourments.

Churchill et Roosevelt sont, certes, de taille à l'inquiéter. L'un a brisé toutes les traditions présidentielles de son pays pour se rendre en Afrique et y siéger dix jours, passer en revue les troupes de Libérie, visiter le président du Brésil, inspecter la base navale de Trinidad et couronner 5,000 milles de vol en célébrant son 61e anniversaire à bord d'un avion. L'autre, après avoir accompli un voyage aérien de 10,000 milles et mystifié les pays de l'Axe en apparaissant successivement en Turquie, à Chypre, au Caire, à Tripoli,

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est rentré à Londre, l'humeur joviale et débordant de santé, le vingt-sixième jour d'une randonnée aussi mystérieuse que mouvementée.

La popularité de Churchill n'a jamais été plus grande aux Etats-Unis. Les caricaturistes se complaisent à la représenter, tantôt aux côtés de Roosevelt, tantôt seul, tenant Hitler et Goering en alerte et leur causant les pires cauchemars.

Churchill commença très jeune à passionner l'opinion publique chez nos voisins avec son odyssée au Transvaal, dont il saisit lui-même les journaux dans des dépêches d'une verve endiablée. A peine sorti de l'Ecole militaire de Sandhurst, Winston Churchill avait acquis le goût de la bataille en allant combattre à Cuba, aux Indes et au Soudan. Attiré par le conflit du Transvaal, il s'y était rendu à titre de correspondant de guerre. Surpris dans un train blindé que les Boërs avaient cerné, il fut fait prisonnier. Ne pouvant endurer la captivité, il s'évada d'une façon tellement fantastique que sa tête fut mise à prix, et que ses prodigieuses aventures remplirent la presse de deux continents.

Un motif particulier portait les Américains à mettre en relief la renommée que venait d'acquérir ce jeune Anglais. Issu d'une des plus nobles familles de Grande-Bretagne, et descendant du fameux duc de Marlborough, Winston avait pour mère une Américaine, Jennie Jerome, dont l'extraordinaire beauté et la grâce avaient conquis lord Randolph Churchill.

Ce lord Randolph avait eu une carrière parlementaire singulièrement brillante. Son fils ne tarda pas à lui succéder. A 26 ans, il entrait au Parlement et s'y assurait d'emblée une place de premier plan. Le parti conservateur qui avait mis ses espérances en

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lui eût bientôt à s'inquiéter. Aristocrate par hérédité, et démocrate par nature, Winston Churchill n'entendait pas s'immobiliser dans le sillage d'une vieille garde qui estimait sacro-sainte une politique mal adaptée aux nécessités du moment. Churchill n'avait pas terminé trois sessions qu'il passait au parti libéral où l'attiraient des idées plus avancées. Son tempérament fougueux et impatient devait l'entraîner à changer maintes fois d'allégeance. Après avoir fait partie d'un ministère libéral, il entrait dans le cabinet de M. Asquith en 1908, pour devenir trois ans plus tard premier Lord de L'Amirauté. A 34 ans il se trouvait ainsi chargé, en face du péril allemand, de réorganiser la flotte britannique. Il se révéla extraordinairement clairvoyant et capable d'une puissance de travail presque surhumaine. Il ne manquait pas d'audace. Le 30 juillet 1914, cinq jours avant la déclaration de guerre et sans se soucier de l'attitude indécise de ses collègues, Churchill mobilisa la flotte et lui fit prendre son poste de combat dans la Mer du Nord. Cette énergique décision fut le salut de l'Angleterre et de la France.

L'échec de l'expédition des Dardanelles contraignit Churchill à abandonner son poste ministériel. Cette entreprise hardie, qui eut pu déterminer une victoire rapide, a été la grande tragédie de sa vie. Désirant combattre au front, il partit aussitôt pour la France comme simple officier. Bientôt il était promu au rang de colonel, et commandait le 6ème Fusilliers des Régiments écossais. Sa bravoure est restée légendaire.

Devenu chef du Gouvernement, Lloyd George rappela Churchill du front pour lui confier l'important ministère des Approvisionnements, et successivement ceux de l'Air et de la Guerre.

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Désabusé par le désaccord qui régnait au sein du parti libéral, Churchill retourna à la vie privée. Peu de temps après, les conservateurs le réclamèrent comme un de leurs candidats, ce qui lui valut de subir un échec électoral. Du coup il se livra à la rédaction d'un ouvrage qu'il méditait depuis longtemps: "La crise mondiale". Ces quatre volumes demeurent son oeuvre maîtresse avec le récit de ses "Aventures de jeunesse".

De retour à la Chambre des Communes, Churchill n'eut qu'une passion: mettre les Anglais en garde contre l'esprit de revanche qui se manifestait en Allemagne. Sa persistance à lancer le cri d'alarme lui mérita le surnom d' "alarmiste".

Pendant plusieurs années, il continua ainsi à supplier vainement son pays de se mieux préparer à faire face à l'orage. Il fallut l'envahissement de la Norvège pour éveiller l'Angleterre au péril imminent qu'elle courait.

Churchill se vit confier la tâche colossale de réparer d'urgence le mal incalculable qu'avait causé une criminelle imprévoyance. On sait comment il a galvanisé tout son peuple au lendemain d'une débâcle tragique et sous les pires raids aériens. Sa détermination de vaincre est devenue le mot d'ordre des Alliés.

Le peuple s'attache à un homme de cette trempe, et il n'est pas étonnant que les Américains s'enthousiasment, à l'égal des Anglais, pour un chef d'état dont la vie tient du roman et qui ne cesse d'étonner le monde par la hardiesse de ses conceptions et la célérité avec laquelle il les exécute.

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Churchill est un prodigieux travailleur, à la fois consciencieux et méthodique. A 68 ans, il ne s'accorde que sept heures de sommeil sur ving-quatre. Il emploie six secrétaires, et abat la besogne à une vitesse qui désespère ses collaborateurs. Il ne comprend pas ce qu'on appelle "repos" au sens social du mot. Le golf et le bridge lui apparaissent une perte de temps. Pour se remettre de ses fatigues, il a constaté qu'il n'y avait de meilleure recette que de s'employer à autre chose.

De là lui vient un talent de peintre fort acceptable. A titre de distraction, il a pris des leçons de peinture et a réussi assez bien dans cet art difficile pour vendre une de ses toiles $150, sous un pseudonyme, à l'Exposition de Paris. Il s'est même amusé au rôle de briqueteur, quitte à s'affilier à une union ouvrière pour pouvoir se livrer, sur son domaine, à un de ses passe-temps favoris.

Le métier d'écrivain a pratiquement rempli tous les loisirs que lui a laissés la politique. Vingt-deux volumes sont à son crédit, et la plupart ont obtenu un succès de librairie que les auteurs les plus courus peuvent lui envier. Le style en est clair, vivant, original. Sa collaboration, tant aux journaux d'Amérique que d'Europe, lui a été particulièrement profitable. Lloyd George est le seul à avoir touché, pour ses articles, des honoraires plus élevés.

N'ayant hérité que d'une petite fortune, Churchill s'est, par son travail, assuré suffisamment de revenus pour répondre aux besoins de sa famille. Le privilège d'avoir épousé une des plus belles jeunes filles d'Angleterre ne va pas sans obligation, surtout quand il s'y ajoute de nombreux enfants qui tiennent du père le goût des voyages et des aventures romanesques.

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La scrupuleuse honnêteté de Churchill dans l'administration de la chose publique est un de ses traits les plus caractéristiques. On l'a vu refuser des cadeaux, alors qu'il était ministre, de peur que les donateurs ne s'en autorisent pour solliciter une faveur.

En dépit de l'éclat de malice qui perce dans son oeil bleu, il est essentiellement humain et s'intéresse au sort des pauvres gens. Il a réclamé éloquemment, et à maintes reprises, la suppression des bas quartiers et des taudis de Londres. On lui doit d'importants projets de législation ouvrière: la réduction de la journée de travail et l'extension des services sociaux. Friand de bonne chère, il avoue qu'il lui est souvent arrivé, au milieu d'un banquet, de penser à ceux qui ne connaissent qu'une nourriture grossière et insuffisante.

Profondément attaché à la France, il a contracté des goûts français, et un dîner qui n'est pas arrosé d'une bonne bouteille de vin ne constitue pas selon lui un véritable repas.

On ne sait pas s'il s'est habitué au cigare à la Havane, mais son ancienne secrétaire, Phyllis Moir, ne nous cache pas qu'il se permet d'en fumer jusqu'à quinze par jour, ce qui ne l'empêche pas d'avoir une mémoire encyclopédique. Il prétend que le cigare l'aide à mieux travailler sous pression.

Sa maîtrise de lui-même est remarquable. Elle l'a aidé à triompher du bégaiement et à devenir un des plus grands orateurs d'Angleterre. Sans doute doit-il moins cette réputation aux nuances de sa voix et à son geste énergique qu'aux phrases lapidaires qu'il a le don de formuler. Plusieurs des pensées frappantes qu'il a exprimées au cours de cette guerre resteront dans

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l'histoire, ainsi: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few:" ou encore: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job."

Winston Churchill est décidément l'homme, - Mesdames, Messieurs, - qui mènera à bon fin la tâche de mettre les Nazis à la raison. Il n'en demande pas davantage. Il a déjà annoncé qu'il se retirerait de la vie publique aussitôt la guerre terminée.

Ce ne sont pas uniquement les libertés de son peuple qu'il entend sauver, mais celles du monde entier. Son instinct chevaleresque le convainc que tous les hommes de coeur sont prêts à donner leur vie à cette fin. Avec calme, et dans une confiance presque joyeuse, il porte, au retour de Casablanca, son regard sur la carte du monde, et il est heureux que sa mission aura été d'apporter à toutes les nations, avec l'aide des siens, le respect des contrats, l'amour du prochain, la décence et la paix.

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C164307

REVIEW OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
March 31, 1943

Sequels to Mr. Churchill's Broadcast of March 21

	Page
1. Peace planning is less urgent than winning the war - American preoccupation with peace plans - Swing on the dangers involved	1
2. Priorities for Europe - the Far East must wait - Far Eastern opinion - American opinion - Mr. Eden's efforts to dissipate misunderstanding	3
3. The proposed Council of Europe - role of the smaller powers - the second *Times* editorial - the United States and the smaller powers	6
4. Domestic affairs - the Beveridge plan apparently shelved - proposed four-year plan - Keynes proposal for an international clearing union - political repercussions to Mr. Churchill's proposal for a four-year plan	9

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Sequels to Mr. Churchill's Broadcast of March 21

During the past ten days, reactions to Mr. Churchill's broadcast of March 21 have continued to indicate its acceptance both by the Prime Minister's supporters and by his critics as one of the most detailed and authoritative statements yet delivered in the United Kingdom on the subject of post-war problems. In the domestic field it has apparently had a considerable effect on the position of the government and of the parties forming the coalition. In the international field it has served to bring into clearer focus a prospect hitherto blurred by much uncertain argument as well as by reticences growing out of a natural reluctance to create divisions among allies who still have a war to win.

Going back to Mr. Churchill's address itself and examining it in relation to events of the past ten days, the following may be selected as items which have roused special comment:

1. Peace planning less urgent than winning the war

Mr. Churchill began with an assertion that he could not share the sanguine hopes that the war would soon be over. He advised everyone to concentrate even more zealously upon the effort to achieve victory and not to relax for even a moment. He himself was dealing in his address with post-war and domestic issues, contrary to the advice he had just given, only because he hoped by this means 'to simplify and mollify political divergencies and enable all our political forces to march forward to the main objectives in unity and, so far as possible, in step.'

In the United States, where a great deal of attention was being paid to the seven measures proposed for Congressional action in relation to post-war organization, Mr. Eden kept repeating the warning - as in his Annapolis speech on March 26 - that

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the climax of the war has not been reached and that utmost strength will have to be put into the effort to win victory. American commentators continued to insist, however, that discussions in the United States of post-war international policy were an important part of the war effort and that the readiness of American opinion to accept a collective security system, which Mr. Eden found more marked than he had expected, is capable of dissipating part of the uncertainties which now harass British statesmen, for if it becomes clearer still that the United States will not again withdraw from international collaboration as in 1920, both British plans and those of the other United Nations can be made with greater confidence than has been felt up to the present.

Raymond Gram Swing, on the other hand, has indicated as clearly as any American writer the danger inherent in current discussions of post-war policy. He has questioned the usefulness of pushing through at the present time the bi-partisan resolution sponsored by Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch and Hill pledging the United States to cooperate in post-war rehabilitation and in maintaining security. In the first place the measure is not really necessary at the moment, since it would be no more than an expression of existing sentiment and would not be binding on the Senate in the future. In the second place, the country wants the measure, and for that reason in due course the Senate is bound to come round to it. Furthermore, it may prove difficult to set up immediately the United Nations organization the resolution calls for, and impossible to spend for rehabilitation assets which the United States may not possess when the time comes. The chief objection to the resolution, however, is not in what it proposes but rather that its discussion at this moment would stir up a debate which would inflame feelings both abroad and at home and invoke a controversy which the country cannot afford at the moment of its greatest crisis.

As if to prove Mr. Swing's point, Representative

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Woodruff of Michigan on March 24 warned the House of the likelihood that the United Kingdom would abandon its commitments when the war ended. 'There was not a single note in the Churchill speech', he said, 'to indicate that they intend to adhere in spirit and in letter to the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.' No American could misunderstand or misinterpret what Mr. Churchill meant when he said that Britain for the second time had saved civilization. It was clear that Americans were not expected to take any credit for their contributions of men, money and materials. 'There are many Americans who believe that we were the ones who saved civilization in the first world war, and that America will have contributed the balance of power to save civilization this time.' This is only a foretaste of what is to be expected from isolationists should the Foreign Relations Committee allow the bipartisan resolution to reach the floor.

2. Priorities for Europe
rather than the Far East

In discussing general international policy Mr. Churchill began by hazarding a suggestion that Hitler might be disposed of 'some time next year or the year after.' Immediately, he said, all necessary additional forces and apparatus would be transported to the other side of the world to rescue China from her long torment, free British and Dutch colonial territories and drive the Japanese menace forever from Australian, New Zealand and Indian shores. But a very different arrangement of forces would be required, and partial demobilization would be in order, in which connection care must be taken to avoid the mistakes committed so freely after the last war. It would then be time for the United Nations, headed by the British Commonwealth, the United States and Soviet Russia, to confer without delay on future world organization, disarmament of guilty states, punishment of war crimes and restitution of mechanical resources and artistic treasures of which subjugated countries have been pillaged, and prevention of wide-spread famine. There might come into being a Council of Europe and a

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Council of Asia under a world organization embodying or representing the United Nations - and some day all nations. If the war with Japan were still raging, the first practical task would be centred on creation of the Council of Europe and on the settlement of Europe.

FAR EASTERN OPINION: Mr. Curtin appears to be completely resigned to the necessity of a long holding war in the Pacific before Australia can hope for final relief. In China, however, the strategy decided upon by the United Nations is still questioned. Ta Kung Pao, on the day after Mr. Churchill's broadcast, attacked the policy of concentrating first on the defeat of Hitler. Japan would continue to be the weakest link in the Axis chain only until it had consolidated its gains. Thereafter it would be the strongest. Now was the time to strike in the Pacific. Hsin Min Pao, a popular tabloid, opposed deferment of the creation of a Council of Asia until some time after the Council of Europe had begun operation. Yi Shis Pao, a Catholic journal, believed there ought not to be two councils unless it were definitely understood that they would act in concert.

AMERICAN OPINION: Walter Lippmann wrote on the 26th that the point in Mr. Churchill's speech which had caused the chief misunderstanding was his exclusion of China from the small group of 'great victorious powers' who would head the United Nations in planning post-war organization.* Mr. Churchill's reason for naming only the British Commonwealth, the United States and Russia had doubtless been that they alone had vital interests both in the Pacific and the Atlantic. 'It is no slight to the dignity of China to recognize in the practical work that lies ahead that she has no direct interest and no direct responsibility in the policing of Europe, Africa and the Atlantic Ocean.' There should be no boggling at the idea that the fundamental responsibility for organizing peace must rest primarily on nations having vital interests backed by adequate power. It must be admitted,

* Mr. Eden won the gratitude of Mme Chiang Kai-shek by saying in the course of his Annapolis speech on March 26 that 'The United Nations, and in particular the United States, the British Commonwealth, China and the Soviet Union must act together in war and in peace.'

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however, that Mr. Churchill's proposal would have been less open to misunderstanding if relations between London and Chungking were better. Americans regard the friendship of China as the only possible guarantee that the Asiatic war will not degenerate now, or explode later, into an endless conflict between West and East. Therefore Americans have a right to try to ask both British and Chinese to submerge their feelings about each other for the general good. The Chinese, Mr. Lippmann said, resent the fact that British official opinion about China 'has been too greatly influenced by the least attractive side of that older British imperialism which is dead or dying in the United Kingdom and in the great Dominions.' Yet Chinese leaders on the other hand ought not to intervene in India as partisans of Hindu leaders who are opposed to waging war with Japan, since the liberation of China depends in a decisive measure on the force which Great Britain can assemble in India. Neither is it in China's interest even to seem to be opposed to the strategy of defeating Hitler first. For substantial action in the East, it is imperative that the Mediterranean should first be opened; only after that can the Burma Road function as an adequate transport route to China.

Some Americans were displeased when Mr. Churchill described Hitler's coming defeat as 'the grand climax of the war.' Harold Callender reported in the New York Times for March 28 that his allusion to partial demobilization when the war in Europe is won had been interpreted by some responsible critics in Washington as a hint that the conflict with Japan would be left largely to the United States to carry on. 'The fact that these suspicions could be expressed in this connection ... is a sign of the proportions of the mental barriers between Americans and Britons, and between official Washington and official London, that even now remain to be overcome before the cooperation of the two powers can be based upon anything like real mutual confidence.' *

* To counteract these suspicions Mr. Eden at Annapolis said, 'We no less than you ... have a score to settle with the Japanese; nor shall we cease fighting until that evil growth in the Pacific has been cut back. We shall be with you in this to the end.'

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3. The Council of Europe

In planning the Council of Europe, Mr. Churchill said, leaders should not cast aside lightly all the immense work accomplished through the League of Nations. The Council of Europe should be made a really effective league with a high court to adjust disputes and armed forces to ensure compliance with its decisions and prevent renewed aggression. Confederations or groupings of smaller powers might play a part along with the great powers in the work of the Council. The aim would be to achieve the largest common measure of the integrated life of Europe that is possible without destroying individual characteristics and traditions of its many races.

Nothing could be more foolish at this stage than to plunge into details and try to prescribe the exact groupings of states or to lay down precise machinery for their cooperation or to argue about frontiers now while the war even in the West has not yet reached its full height, the struggle with the U-boats is still raging and war in the Far East is only in its first phase.

Many tentative discussions were now in progress, but it must be remembered that agreements would have to be reached with great and friendly equals and that rights of weaker and smaller states must be respected, and that it would not be given to any one nation to achieve the full satisfaction of its individual wishes.

THE ROLE OF SMALLER POWERS: This portion of Mr. Churchill's address pleased many of his American hearers considerably because the Prime Minister had described an international organization in which Great Britain's role would be less dominant than heretofore and because he offered a plan whereby smaller European powers could combine to qualify for equal representation with the great powers on the proposed Council. As Dorothy Thompson pointed out, they would enjoy self-responsibility instead of being tied to the policy of more powerful neighbours, and they would be strong enough not to offer continual temptations to

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aggressors.

Mr. Churchill's reference to the part which might be played in the Council of Europe by groups of smaller powers interested the European governments in exile, which immediately began to discuss once more the possibility of creating regional blocs. Some months earlier they had dropped the subject owing to the opposition of Russia, which did not welcome the prospect of an alliance of eastern European states stretching possibly from the Baltic to the Aegean and serving perhaps as a barrier between the Soviet Union and western Europe. Finding the United Kingdom government disposed to support the principle of federation in all parts of the world, the exiled governments now issued statements for the most part in support of Mr. Churchill's proposal. The Netherlands Foreign Minister, Dr. Kleffens, however, published a latter in The Times complaining that Great Britain, the United States and Russia seemed to intend to rule the community of nations themselves, sometimes with the help of China. One of the great aims of the war was to restore the right of each nation to speak for itself democratically, and it was in defence of this right that Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Jugoslavia and Greece had refused to submit meekly to German aggression.

The Times itself on March 23 carried a leading editorial on the position of smaller powers in Europe, amplifying its previously expressed opinions that peace in Western Europe depended on peace in Eastern Europe and on the continuous vigilance of Russia and the United Kingdom, and that Russia had the same right as its allies to judge what was necessary for the security of its own frontiers. The Times now added that Russia - the only country east of Germany powerful enough to keep the latter in order - was Britain's natural partner for the maintenance of peace in Europe. Since small nations could no longer live by exploiting the rivalries of more powerful neighbours, any more than they could depend

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on a policy of strict neutrality, their independence must be tempered by interdependence in a way which would enable them to occupy a confined continental living space without constantly impinging upon one another's security and well being. The system The Times proposed was that employed in the case of South America - a 'Monroe doctrine' guaranteeing small powers immunity from external attack, coupled with a 'good neighbour policy' implying that issues arising between European nations should be settled not by coercion but by free discussion between those nations themselves, untrammelled by extraneous intervention. The present obstacle to such an arrangement was the lack of confidence existing among European nations. It was particularly necessary to allay Russian apprehensions that their country would not be accorded the rights of full partnership in the future settlement.

THE UNITED STATES AND SMALLER POWERS: In the United States, too, there has been a tendency to insist that small European powers must defer to the requirements of the great powers - also that the United States must not be cold-shouldered out of European affairs. (The idea that it might be proved curiously repugnant to a number of isolationists.)

Walter Lippmann has protested that the name 'Council of Europe' should be changed to 'Council of the West' in recognition of American concern for what goes on in Europe. 'We all know, of course, that there are continental European affairs that do not concern us immediately, as there are inter-American affairs that do not concern the trans-Atlantic states immediately. Nevertheless, the larger issues of peace and war are not European but Western ... We must not by inadvertance get off to a false start.'

Mr. Lippmann argued, however, that the United States must not be placed in the position of having to underwrite every disputed pre-war frontier in Europe. The Atlantic Charter was

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erroneously supposed by many to intend that every nation should recover its pre-war boundaries. What it actually did was to guarantee that boundary changes should take place in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. What concerned the United States was not the ownership of territory in dispute but to see that the dispute was settled not by force but by negotiation and consent.

The Herald Tribune went a step further. 'To this newspaper it seems that the small peoples of Eastern Europe stand to gain infinitely more in genuine freedom, security and prosperity from the peace that would be possible under a cordial understanding among the great powers than they could ever gain from a restoration of all the bitterly disputed frontiers, the weak sovereignties and jealous rivalries of a pre-1939 international anarchy ... [To apply the Atlantic Charter in that sense could only mean] the entanglement of the United States in a hopeless and disastrous attempt to reorganize Europe in opposition to its greatest land power.'

Mr. Hull has refused to be drawn out on the subject of the status of smaller European states. Those who were immediately concerned should have the privilege of talking the matter over first, he declared.

4. Domestic affairs

Without referring by name to the Beveridge report, Mr. Churchill urged his radio audience to beware of trying to make the government bind itself to impose great new expenditures on the state without relation to circumstances which may prevail at the close of the war, or without relation to other extremely important aspects of Britain's post-war needs. He himself was not going to make promises regardless of whether they could be performed or not, and it would be contrary to British parliamentary tradition that members should become pledge-bound dele-

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gates. Their right and duty to serve the public as well as possible on any given occasion must not be prejudiced by forced, premature contraction of obligations.

Mr. Churchill was, however, attracted by the suggestion of a four-year plan to cover five or six measures of a practical nature fitting into a larger scheme and capable of later expansion. When ready it should be submitted to the country either by a government representing the three parties as at present or by 'a national government comprising the best men in all parties who are willing to serve.' The four-year plan should include a scheme for amalgamation and extension of the nation's incomparable insurance system. There would be large savings in administration when the whole system of insurance became unified, compulsory and national. Here was the real opportunity for bringing the magic of averages to the rescue of the millions. The four-year plan should also cover questions relating to agriculture, health, welfare, education, public works, production and trade. Already some tentative suggestions had been laid before the United Nations for the future management of exchanges and of international currency, which would shortly be published.

THE KEYNES PLAN: This last statement was a reference to the proposal of J. M. Keynes, adviser to the British Exchequer, for the creation of a currency union based on international bank money which would be accepted as gold for settlement of international balances by all members of the international clearing union. Each member country would receive a maximum debit balance, and initial quotas would be based on export and import averages of each during the three years preceding the war. When debit balances of any member grew excessive the governing board might order the latter to reduce the value of its currency and surrender part of its gold or other reserve, or else to exercise stricter control over transactions involving export of capital. The governing board might also recommend internal measures that

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seemed necessary to restore the equilibrium of international balances of the member in question. Value of the international currency in terms of gold could be adjusted if stocks of gold turned in by nations whose debit balances had grown too large proved to be excessive.

The proposal would facilitate dealings of small nations with larger powers. It would make price stability easier to maintain, and permit a certain degree of control over trade cycles through adoption of contractive or expansionist policies. It would expedite the restoration of normal trade. The system might be used to finance an international police force, which in turn could recommend a financial blockade of any country that became an aggressor.

Mr. Churchill hoped the Keynes proposal would be regarded by the public only as a first instalment in a series of practical proposals.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS: Conservative members were said to have been complacent about Mr. Churchill's virtual shelving of the Beveridge report or its reduction to 'proper proportions as a minor and alterable factor of national policy.' Liberal members found his statement good. Labour members, however, were described as being 'piqued and surly' and inclined to force the Prime Minister to state more plainly what he intended to do about the Beveridge report. Some were expected to call for withdrawal from the coalition both because of the apparent shelving of the report and because Mr. Churchill's reference to a national government seemed to imply that he was ready to absorb the Labour opposition. Mr. Churchill, however, denied that this was what he had meant.

Many Labour members are of the opinion that Labour Ministers should have resigned rather than accept the indefinite promise that certain portions of the Beveridge plan would be put into force at a future date. As things now stand the Prime

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Minister has made it clear to the people that he believes social insurance to be only part of the general scheme of reconstruction. In the words of Raymond Daniell, 'he has stolen Labour's main issue of social reform from them while arguing that nothing much can be done about it until the war is won, and at the same time he has asserted that the coalition government will be needed not only to prosecute war but to guide the country through the transition period between war and peace. What is more, he has indicated that he does not much care whether it is a coalition government made up of leaders of all parties or just the best men available regardless of their politics.' The situation in which the Labour party finds itself is thus not particularly comfortable. It wishes to aid in prosecuting the war, but fears that its own political prospects may be eclipsed for a generation if it accepts Mr. Churchill's post-war program of domestic reconstruction.

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(C O P Y)

T E L E G R A M

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

C164320

SECRET

LONDON, March 30th, 1943

CYPHER

CIRCUIAR D. 181

Circular D. 181. Secret. Following for the Prime Minister, Begins:

Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs has handed His Majesty's Ambassador memorandum containing following personal views:

1) He hoped that in the event of an Allied victory British views would prevail upon the Continent.

2) Germany would have a contribution to make towards European peace and it was impossible to leave 80,000,000 Germans outside a European settlement.

3) The longer war continued the greater were the social problems confronting the world. Spanish Government are interested in British programme of social reform, particularly the Beveridge Report, but social reform would not be an effective obstacle against Communism unless there were concerted action among all the countries of Europe. However, it would be best for the future of Europe if the United States concentrated its main activities in the Pacific area. It was also important that the United States should keep out of Africa, Africa being for political purposes an extension of Europe.

2. Minister for Foreign Affairs then commented upon Mr. Churchill's latest speech. He enquired what was to be the position in a future Europe of neutral European States and whether Spain was to be excluded from having a say in future settlement of Europe.

3. His Majesty's Ambassador said he would transmit questions to the United Kingdom Government and in the meantime pointed out that:

I. Mr. Churchill had declared himself to be a "good European."

II. Real danger was Nazism and there was no hope for peace while it existed. Germans admittedly could not be ignored in a future peace settlement but the basic condition must be that they should not be allowed to plunge the world once again into war.

III. Most of the ills suffered by Europe after 1918 had been due to American isolationism. If there was to be lasting peace not only the United States but also Russia must take their full part in the settlement.

IV. Any danger of Communism was largely due to bad administration and could be allayed by a general programme of social reform and improvement in administration. Ends.

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

Rec'd 2:32 a.m.

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(COPY)

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA

C164320

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Churchill

NAR/SR
7.5.43

C164321

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I spoke to Mr. McCarthy this morning at the Waldorf Astoria. He is in New York today to accept, on behalf of the Government of Canada, two Service ambulances, which are being presented to the Canadian Navy. One of them is a gift of Mrs. Burnham Moffat, Pierrepont's mother.

I told him that you had definite though indirect word that Mr. Churchill was expected in Washington next week. He was very surprised, having seen Lord Halifax and Colonel Llewelyn yesterday at lunch, and having heard nothing from either of them on the subject. He is ready to change his plans on short notice and return direct to Washington from Kingston, where he has to go on Tuesday to receive an honorary degree. I told him I would keep in touch with him over the weekend and let him know, as soon as we could, any direct word on the subject.

I am returning Sir William Glasgow's letter to you of May 6th, for your records.

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C164322

MOST SECRET

Ottawa, August 7th, 1943.

MEMORANDUMFOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

After speaking to you on the telephone, this morning, I spoke to the Adjutant-General, and told Coleman he could go ahead with arrangements for having the District Officer Commanding and the Mayor of Niagara Falls meet Mr. Churchill's train, with cars available for Mr. Churchill and his party.

I spoke to Mr. Robertson who wondered whether there would be any embarrassment in having no Provincial representative participate in the welcome. Perhaps any difficulties with regard to the Premier, might be overcome by having the Lieutenant-Governor present.

A. D. P. H.

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OFFICE OF THE
DEPUTY MINISTER

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
CANADA

C164323

At Quebec, August 14, 1943.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister: Train Movements

The definite schedule for the special train carrying the Right Honourable Winston Churchill and party is as follows:

Lv.Hyde Park, 10.30 p.m.,Saturday,14th,
Ar. Wolfe's Cove Stn.,Quebec, 10.50 a.m.
Sunday, 15th.

The schedule for the special train carrying the President of the United States has been set up,subject to change,as follows:

Lv. Washington, 8.00 p.m., August 16th,
Ar. Albany, 6.20 a.m., August 17th,
Ar. Wolfe's Cove 6.00 p.m., August 17th,
(Tuesday).

This schedule for the moment is purely tentative and subject to alteration.

Yours respectfully,

C. P. Edwards.

C. P. Edwards
Deputy Minister of Transport

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
The Citadel,
Quebec.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

QC

MEMORANDUM

C164324

Secret

For the Prime Minister:

Dr. Coleman mentioned to me today that he had learned that during her stay in Washington Mrs. Churchill had had a nasty fall, in which she broke one elbow. The injury was painful, but not serious.

J. A. G.

September 16, 1943.

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JAG/Z
21-9-43

C164325

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Bible presented to Mr. Churchill.

During the Quebec conference, a rare Bible, printed in England in 1645, was sent to you by the Reverend Ivan W. Hutchins, of Toronto, with a request to have it presented to Mr. Churchill. This was done.

In accepting this gift, Mr. Churchill said he felt the volume itself should remain in Canada, and he asked, through his secretary, whether this office would arrange to have it presented to some Canadian Library or appropriate institution.

We have since written to Mr. Hutchins, asking if he would be agreeable to our offering the volume, for safekeeping and exhibition, to the Public Library of Toronto (which seemed in all the circumstances to be the most suitable repository. I may mention that the Public Archives of Canada stated that it was their practice not to accept religious books, of whatever age or value.)

Mr. Hutchins replied that this was entirely acceptable, and we then wrote to the Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library.

Mr. Sanderson has now written that the Library will "most gladly accept and preserve" the Bible.

Mr. Sanderson asks whether you would indicate in some way that the volume was presented to you by Mr. Churchill and that it is being preserved in Canada on Mr. Churchill's request.

Would you care to sign the attached statement, which I have drafted, or something similar? The note could then be pasted carefully inside the front cover of the Bible.

J.A.G.

It seems odd to sign a statement such as mine in it
The statement is OK. - but
would not a covering
letter enclosing it
be better?
K.
3-10-43

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COPY

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM
Earnscliffe, Ottawa
28th February 1944

950Q/572

Dear Mr. Robertson,

I enclose a further telegram in our "Press Guidance" series.

C164326

Yours sincerely,

J.J.S. Garner

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa

AC

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THIS TELEGRAM MUST BE PARAPHRASED IF THE COMMUNICATION OF ITS CONTENTS TO ANY PERSONS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT SERVICE IS AUTHORISED

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS LONDON
TO HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM OTTAWA

C164327

Recypher CONFIDENTIAL Sent 9.55 p.m. 26.2.44
No.W.19 Recd.11.30 p.m.26.2.44
IMPORTANT

Guido Ministry of Information

The Prime Minister's review of the war in the House of Commons gives rise to the following reflections:

1. Yugo-Slavia

(a) His speech involves the final rejection of Mihailovitch and the fullest support and recognition of Tito and "his gallant bands" as military and social force.

(b) Attention may be drawn to Prime Minister's statement that while we do not dissociate ourselves from King Peter we must leave to Yugo-Slavia decision as to its form of Government,Monarchical or otherwise.

(c) Conflicts referred to by Prime Minister should not be elaborated upon but may be linked with Simovitch's appeal to rally behind the National Liberation movement and fight common enemy.

(d) Recriminations against Mihailovitch should be avoided.

2. Greece

Extreme caution manifested by Prime Minister in handling the Greek situation is an example which may well be followed.

3. Poland

U.K.attitude is now made clear. We admire unquenchable national spirit of the Poles. We hope to see(group omitted) and maintenance of strong and independent Poland,which is also the settled policy of the Soviet Union,as defined by Marshal Stalin.

(b) While believing that all questions of territorial adjustment should stand over until after the war there is advantage in allowing impression to arise in Europe that we regard Curzon Line as not unreasonable frontier.

(c) We can bring out that Prime Minister emphasised essential need for friendly working agreement between Russians and underground army (steps towards which have now been taken) in order to enable anti-Hitlerite forces to fight together against the common enemy.

4. Italy

(a) Such active contribution as the Italians are making to war against Germany may be (group omitted).

(b) Military war would not be helped by political or constitutional changes before the fall of Rome,when the whole political situation will be reviewed. This in no way contradicts previous declarations about Italy e.g.,at Moscow.

5. Secret Weapons

Extreme caution in speculation should be maintained. Prime Minister did not refer to pilotless planes or rockets as secret weapons.

* Repetition has been requested of last sentence of this telegram

AC/28/2/44

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COPY

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

950Q/502
CONFIDENTIAL

1 March, 1944

C164328

Dear Mr.Robertson,

With reference to my letter of yesterday enclosing a copy of a telegram W.19 in the Press Guidance series, we have received a correction from the Dominions Office to say that the last sentence should read "Prime Minister did not refer to pilotless planes or rockets as 'secret weapons'".

The name in paragraph 1(c) of the telegram should, of course, be "Simovitch".

Yours sincerely,

J.J.S.Garner

N.A.Robertson, Esq.,

Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,

Ottawa

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Churchill

House of Commons Debates (U.K.) March 29, 1944, Cols.1516-17

Education Bill (Question of Confidence)

C164329

MR. PRICE (Forest of Dean): I am very sorry that the Prime Minister should have taken this matter so much to heart that he sees fit to raise what I cannot help feeling is a grave constitutional issue. I quite agree that the Government of the day must have power to say they regard this or that matter as a Vote of Confidence and, if necessary, will dissolve Parliament and threaten a General Election. But it is impossible to say that, because this House has on this occasion voted against the Government, therefore there is no confidence in the Government. I often think that the power that Congress has in the United States can be and is abused. It is right that the Government should have more power over the Legislature here than the President has under the United States Constitution over Congress. There there is too great freedom for the legislature. Surely the Prime Minister is going to the other extreme. He is claiming for the Executive now to dissolve Parliament and go to the country --

THE PRIME MINISTER: I never said anything of the sort. I must make it absolutely clear that it does not rest with any Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament. The utmost he can do is to tender advice to the Crown.

MR. PRICE: That, of course, is the law, but in actual fact the advice comes from the Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is one of the exceptional occasions when the Prerogative of the Crown comes into play and where in doubtful circumstances the Crown would refer to other advisers. It has been done on several occasions. I must make it absolutely clear that it does not rest with the Government of the day. It would be most improper on my part to use any language which suggested that I have the power to make such a decision.

MR. PRICE: I accept that statement of the Prime Minister. The main point of my argument is that the Prime Minister is derogating to the Executive power over the House of Commons which, if it is carried on, will hamper and hamstring the future activities of this House in a way which even in war-time is very undesirable. Like other Members on both sides of the House, I say that the Prime Minister has no right to associate with the conduct of the war a domestic issue of this kind, and a post-war issue too. I can understand when 18 months ago a Motion was moved in the House after the disaster in Libya to the effect that the House had no confidence in the central direction of the war, that that was a Vote of No Confidence and was intended to be. That was a serious issue and the Prime Minister was right to regard it as such. He was right also to regard his own position as impossible if it had been carried or if a large vote had been given in its favour. That is one thing. The present issue is another. I presume that the Prime Minister knows, and the Government should know, that on this issue there is a large body of opinion in the country which

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feels that the time has come when the economic status of women should be equal to that of men. Just as the last war brought about equal political rights for men and women, so it has required this war to do the same in the economic field. Even if we had some indication from the President of the Board of Education that he was sympathetic and had recognised it in his speech yesterday, and if he had given us some hope that he would deal with it in some way or that it would be dealt with on a wider scale, this position would not have arisen. Unfortunately, his speech was a stonewalling speech.

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Churchill file re

C164331

Following is the text of a personal message sent by the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill to Mr. Mackenzie King, August 7, 1944:

"I learn you are today celebrating Silver Jubilee of your assumption to the leadership of your party. In the whole history of free Parliamentary institutions few, if any, can claim to have led a party of state so long and pre-eminently. Throughout these 25 years you and we have watched Canada advance along the road of liberty and progress with admiration and pride. Yet never perhaps has the world held Canada in higher esteem than in these last five years of bitter conflict during which, under your inspiring guidance as Prime Minister, she has played so splendid a part in the now imminent overthrow of the powers of evil. It is a particular pleasure therefore to offer you at this time my warmest congratulations and, if I may, to add my sincere good wishes for a prosperous future."

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C164332

Excerpt from Speech of
Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill

House of Commons, Westminster,
December 15, 1944

"We know, however, that the Government and people of the United States have set their hearts upon a world organisation to prevent the outbreak of future wars, and this world organisation will be fatally ruptured by a quarrel between any of the three most powerful empires which compose the grand alliance of the United Nations."

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Churchill

C164333

COPY

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

Earnscliffe, Ottawa

December 15, 1944

Dear Mr. Robertson,

To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding owing to incomplete or inaccurate press reports, we were asked by the Dominions Office to let you have the exact text of the question and answer in the House of Commons on the 14th December on the subject of consultation with the Dominion Governments regarding the position in Greece.

I accordingly enclose the text herewith.

Yours sincerely,

STEPHEN HOLMES

N. A. Robertson, Esq.,

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,

Ottawa.

Copies also in W O/1
Greece
W S/44
W O/7

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, DECEMBER 14, 1944

Mr. Edgar Granville asked the Prime Minister if he can give an assurance that the Dominion Governments have been consulted at each stage in the action taken by His Majesty's Government in Greece; and whether this aspect of foreign policy has been approved by them.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill): "It is not physically possible to consult the Dominion Governments as to every step which the fast moving developments of the war render necessary. They have, however, throughout been kept closely and continuously informed of what is taking place".

Mr. Granville: "Does that reply mean that the Dominion Governments were consulted before the War Cabinet decision was taken and before military action was taken and not merely informed afterwards? Can the Prime Minister say if it is still the practice as enunciated by him in this House that the representatives of the Dominion Governments shall be invited to War Cabinet meetings when questions of this kind are being discussed?"

The Prime Minister: "The honourable gentleman is mixing up several different kinds of things. Great questions of policy like whether we should go to the aid of Greece after the Germans were driven out are made manifest to the Dominions by the continued succession of telegrams which are sent from this country and which give them a perfect picture of the situation. The executive measures which are sometimes forced to be taken with the greatest speed owing to danger to life and limb - these measures it is not possible to refer to Governments all over the world. But they have been kept fully informed of everything that happens as it goes forward and the Dominions Secretary informs me that I could rightfully say that we have received from the Dominions Governments no indications that they dissent from the action we have been compelled to take."

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Churchill 4

JAG/DR
27.12.44

C164335

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Mr. Churchill's speech of December 8, 1944
on disturbances in Belgium, Italy and Greece

I notice in reading this speech two points of interest to Canada as matters which Mr. Churchill has tended to "lump together" with the British side, or to pass over entirely.

1) Speaking of the opening up of "the great port of Antwerp," Mr. Churchill is reported to have said: "After all, we British lost 35,000 to 40,000 men. And our Navy has cleared the Scheldt River."

(This was said before Field Marshal Montgomery had singled out the 2nd Canadian Corps for its part in the liberation of French Channel ports and in the Battle for the Scheldt)

2) Speaking of relief measures in Greece, Mr. Churchill also was reported to have said:

"The Americans and ourselves began to accumulate large masses of food and shipping and UNRRA began to grow up in Alexandria and other arrangements for food distribution were actively made at the cost of the food of this country.

A large part of this and supplies for medical relief were provided by America out of her riches.

The rest of the burden fell upon us.

The Canadian contribution of wheat cannot be said to have been made at the cost of the food of Canada, but I think it represented a considerable share of the food resources actually reaching Greece.

J. A. G.

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Office of
The Prime Minister
C164336

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date Dec 8/44

Subject J.G.

Prime Minister Churchill Defends British Action in Greece and Italy

(By Associated Press.)

LONDON, Dec. 8.—Referring to Greek and Belgian insurgents as mobs and ruffians, Prime Minister Churchill defended British intervention in liberated European countries in a vigorous speech before Commons today.

Mr. Churchill said in part:

Before I come to particular countries and cases, let me present to the House the charge which is made against us.

It is that we are using His Majesty's forces to disarm the friends of democracy in Greece and in other parts of Europe and to suppress these popular movements which have valorously assisted in the defeat of the enemy.

Direct Issue

Here is a pretty direct issue and one on which the House will have to pronounce before we separate this evening.

Certainly the British Government would be unworthy of confidence if His Majesty's forces were being used by them to disarm the friends of democracy in Greece and other parts of Europe.

The question, however, arises, and one may be permitted to dwell on it for a moment: Who are the friends of democracy? and also, How is the word democracy to be interpreted?

My idea of it is that the plain, humble, common man—just the ordinary man who keeps a wife and family, who goes off to fight for his country when it is in trouble and goes to the poll at the appropriate time and puts his cross on the ballot paper, showing the candidate he wishes to be elected to Parliament—that is the foundation of democracy.

If that is democracy, I salute the work for it. . . .

(Emanuel Shinwell, Labor, interjected a reference to Spain.)

I am not at all afraid to go into that discussion, but I have a great deal of ground to cover. It is one of those great misrepresentations that I have said pleasant words about Franco.

All I said was that Spanish politics did not really consist in drawing rude cartoons about it. It is really no use for my honorable friend to screw his face up as if he was taking a nasty dose of medicine.

Deplores Mob Law

We stand upon the foundation of fair, free elections based on universal service and suffrage. That is what we consider the foundation of democracy.

I feel quite different about a swindle democracy—a democracy which calls itself a democracy because it is left wing.

It takes all sorts to make democracy, not only left wing or even Communists....

The last thing that resembles democracy is mob law with bands of gangsters armed with deadly weapons forcing their way into Greek cities, seizing police stations and key points of government and endeavoring to introduce a totalitarian regime.

The last thing that represents democracy is mob law that attempts to introduce a totalitarian regime and clamors to shoot everyone who is politically inconvenient as part of a purge of those who are very often said to be—but often have not been—collaborators with the Germans during the occupation.

Do not let us rate democracy so low as if it were merely grabbing power and shooting those who do not agree with us. That is not democracy. That is the antithesis of democracy....

(William Gallacher, Communist—That is what happened).

Gallacher Rebuked

Mr. Gallacher must not get so excited, because he is going to have much the worse of the argument and much the worse of the division. . .

Democracy is not based on violence or terrorism, but on reason, on fair play, on freedom, on respecting other people's rights as well as our own ambition.

Democracy is not a harlot to be picked up in the street by a man with a tommy-gun. We have trusted the mass of the people in almost every country, but we would like to make sure that it was the people and not a gang of bandits from the mountains or countryside who thought that by violence they could overturn state authority.

That is a general description of the foundation upon which we should approach the various incidents on which I am going to dwell.

During the war, of course, we have had to arm anyone who could shoot a Hun. We accepted them as friends and tried to enable them to fulfill their healthy instincts.

Paying In Blood

We are paying for it in having this debate today which personally I have found rather enjoyable so far.

We are paying for it also with our treasure and our

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blood. We are not paying for it with our honor or by defeat.

But when countries are liberated it does not follow that those who have received our weapons should use them in order to engross themselves by violence and murder and bloodshed in all those powers and traditions, the continuity of which many countries have highly developed. . .

If what is called in this amendment the action of the friends of democracy is to be interpreted as a carefully planned coup d'etat by murder gangs and by the iron rule of ruffians seeking to climb into the seats of power without a vote ever having been cast in their favor—if that is to masquerade as democracy:

I think the House will be united in condemning it as a mockery.

. . . war criminals, the betrayers of their countrymen, the men who sincerely wish Germany might win—these may be the object of popular disgust, of boycott and maybe in extreme cases should be brought before the courts of law and punished with death.

But I hope they will be courts of law with fair trials, not mere expressions of mob juries or political rivals.

But let me try to establish this point: That these men who went up into the hills with rifles and machine-guns given them by the British Government have by fee simple claimed the right to govern vast complex communities such as Belgium, Greece or Holland, it may be next.

Repulses Claims

I say I repulse that claim. They have done good service and it is for the state and not for them to judge the rewards they should receive.

It is not for them to claim ownership of the state. It can not be admitted. That is what is being fought out now.

I say we march along our onerous and painful path. Poor old England, perhaps I should say poor old Britain, we have to assume the burden and the most thankless tasks and be shot at, criticized and abused from every quarter.

But at least we know what is our aim, our object. It is that these countries shall be freed from the German armed power and that, under conditions of normal tranquility, they shall have a free universal vote to decide the government of their country, except the Fascist regime, and whether that government shall be to the left or to the right.

The amendment on the paper has particular reference to Greece, but it is a general attack on the whole policy of His Majesty's Government as supporting reactionary forces everywhere, trying to install by force dictatorial governments contrary to the wishes of the people.

Whole Policy

I deal therefore not only with Greece. I pin myself at this moment in the first instance to other parts of Europe, because this time is also to some extent opened up in the last sentence of an American press release with which we were confronted a few days ago.

Belgium is another case of what the amendment calls the friends of democracy being disarmed in favor of the organized constitutional administration.

German Putsh

If so that is grave and it deserves scrutiny. At the end of November there was to be what the Germans called a putsch organized in Belgium to throw out the government of M. Pierlot, which government was the only constitutional link with the past and the only link we have recognized during the war.

This government has received a vote of confidence of 132 members to only 12, with six abstentions, from the Belgium Parliament.

However, the friends of democracy, the valorous assisters in the defeat of the enemy, took a different view. They organized an attack upon the Belgian state.

A demonstration, largely attended by women and children, marched up to the Belgian Parliament House and lorry loads of friends of democracy came along from Mons and other places heavily armed.

Protected Parliament

Here you see the hard-worked Britain, whom we are asked to censure. What did this reactionary undemocratic government do? Its orders were sent to stop the lorries on the way and to disarm their loads.

Moreover, the British placed light tanks and armored cars in the streets near the front of the Parliament House which the Belgian gendarmerie were defending in the name of the Belgian constitutional government.

Now here was interference in a marked form. Here was an attempt to stand between the friends of democracy and the valorous anarchic overthrow of the Belgian state. And we British stood in the way of that. I have to admit these things to you.

But on whose orders and under whose authority did we take this action? General Erskine, the British officer, made various proclamations like those General Scobie (commander in Greece), has made under the press of the situation.

These proclamations had a highly salutary effect, and those concerned in the movement of the Allied force acted accordingly.

Who is General Erskine? He represents, he is directly responsible to, and derives his authority from, General Eisenhower, that remarkable American supreme commander, whose wisdom and goodfellowship we admire and whose orders we have promised to obey.

Wise, Sensible Orders

I have no hesitation in saying, not only did we obey General Eisenhower's orders, but we thought those orders were wise and sensible.

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After all, we British, who are now said to be poor friends of democracy, lost 35,000 to 40,000 men in opening up the great port of Antwerp.

And our navy has cleared the Schelde River. The sacrifice of these men has also to be considered as well as the friends of democracy advancing in lorries from Mons to start up a bloody revolution.

It would be pretty hard in Europe if, after four or five years of German tyranny, she liquified and degenerated and plunged into a series of brutal civil and social wars.

If there is a democracy, and its various defenders believe they express the wish of the majority, why can't they wait until the general election—a free vote of the people, which is our sole policy in every country into which British and American armies are marching?

Carries Lessons

The story of Belgium, which I submit with the utmost respect and affection to the American people as well as to the House of Commons, carries many lessons which are applicable to other parts of the world.

Now I come to the case of Italy, which as I gather oddly enough, embodies in it the case of Count Sforza.

It is a great mistake, as the foreign secretary has said, and not only a mistake but quite untrue to say that we have vetoed Count Sforza's appointment to be the prime minister or the foreign secretary of the Italian Government.

The Italians alone could do that. The Italians, having unconditionally surrendered, have a perfect right to choose anyone they please for any office of the state.

All that we should have to say about it is that we do not trust the man and we de not think he is a true and trustworthy man nor would we put the slightest confidence in any government in which he is a dominating member.

(Emanuel Shinwell, Labor, interrupting, asked whether the Prime Minister had not previously made a statement reflecting upon Gen. de Gaulle).

How little helpful it is to our debate to have such interruptions. I am not speaking about France today. I certainly never felt about de Gaulle the sentiments which experience has engendered in me about Count Sforza.

De Gaulle is a man of honor and has never broken his word and that is what I am coming to because these things have to come out.

I say we should have to put a great deal of responsibility on those who called Sforza to power. We are not avid of becoming deeply involved in the politics of the liberated countries.

All we require from them is a government which will guarantee us the necessary protection and facilities for the lines of communication from Naples to Ravenna, lately taken, and to the north.

Interest In Italy

Our interest in Italy is the front where we have armies engaged under Gen. Alexander and Gen. Mark Clark, that daring and skilful American general under whom we have confidently placed an army which is at least three-quarters British or British controlled.

We have a joint arrangement with America about Italy and we should be very sorry if it were proved that we have broken away from this joint arrangement. We have not done so in any way.

When in the shifting tangles and contortions of Italian politics, with six parties ruling over one another, with all their personal and political interests, none of them being hampered by having been elected by anyone, in this confused scene we were suddenly told that Count Sforza was to become foreign secretary.

The British minister did undoubtedly say to the Italian enquiry that we did not think Count Sforza a particularly good choice or words to that effect.

Had Perfect Right

We had a perfect right to say this. We could not stop him being chosen, but we had a right to say our say . . .

I must go back to the time of the Italian collapse and surrender in 1943. Count Sforza had been living for 20 years in America.

He was very anxious to get back to Italy. We did not think this would be a good thing in the disordered and tumultuous state in which Italy was left on the morrow of her revolt against Germany.

On September 23 Count Sforza sent the following message to Marshal Badoglio and repeated it in a letter to Mr. Berle (Adolf Berle), then an American assistant secretary of state, from which I have the President's permission to quote:

Quotes Letter

(Mr. Churchill quoted Count Sforza as writing that he would support Marshal Badoglio fully and that "the only way to destroy the last criminal remnants of Fascism," was to adjourn the matter of internal Italian politics for the period of the struggle. Count Sforza added that "I pledge my honor to do this myself and urge this course upon many friends and associates.")

When Count Sforza passed through London I was anxious to ascertain whether this was his sincere resolve . . . I went through this letter with Count Sforza almost line by line and he assured me that it was his most profound conviction.

But no sooner, however, had Count Sforza got back to Italy than he began a long series of intrigues, which ended in the expulsion of Marshal Badoglio from office.

Now I come to Greece, which forms the mainspring of the vote of censure we have to meet today.

I have taken great responsibilities for our foreign policy toward Greece and also in respect of what has taken place in Athens, and the foreign secretary and I have worked in the closest agreement...

We have a right to express this point of view on the Greek

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 244, pages C163762-C164464

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C164338

Name of Publication .....

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S .....

After all, we British, who are now said to be poor friends of democracy, lost 35,000 to 40,000 men in opening up the great port of Antwerp.

And our navy has cleared the Schelde River. The sacrifice of these men has also to be considered as well as the friends of democracy advancing in lorries from Mons to start up a bloody revolution.

It would be pretty hard in Europe if, after four or five years of German tyranny, she liquified and degenerated and plunged into a series of brutal civil and social wars.

If there is a democracy, and its various defenders believe they express the wish of the majority, why can't they wait until the general election—a free vote of the people, which is our sole policy in every country into which British and American armies are marching?

Carries Lessons

The story of Belgium, which I submit with the utmost respect and affection to the American people as well as to the House of Commons, carries many lessons which are applicable to other parts of the world.

Now I come to the case of Italy, which as I gather oddly enough, embodies in it the case of Count Sforza.

It is a great mistake, as the foreign secretary has said, and not only a mistake but quite untrue to say that we have vetoed Count Sforza's appointment to be the prime minister or the foreign secretary of the Italian Government.

The Italians alone could do that. The Italians, having unconditionally surrendered, have a perfect right to choose anyone they please for any office of the state.

All that we should have to say about it is that we do not trust the man and we do not think he is a true and trustworthy man nor would we put the slightest confidence in any government in which he is a dominating member.

(Emanuel Shinwell, Labor, interrupting, asked whether the Prime Minister had not previously made a statement reflecting upon Gen. de Gaulle).

How little helpful it is to our debate to have such interruptions. I am not speaking about France today. I certainly never felt about de Gaulle the sentiments which experience has engendered in me about Count Sforza.

De Gaulle is a man of honor and has never broken his word and that is what I am coming to because these things have to come out.

I say we should have to put a great deal of responsibility on those who called Sforza to power. We are not avid of becoming deeply involved in the politics of the liberated countries.

All we require from them is a government which will guarantee us the necessary protection and facilities for the lines of communication from Naples to Ravenna, lately taken, and to the north.

Interest In Italy

Our interest in Italy is the front where we have armies engaged under Gen. Alexander and Gen. Mark Clark, that daring and skilful American general under whom we have confidently placed an army which is at least three-quarters British or British controlled.

We have a joint arrangement with America about Italy and we should be very sorry if it were proved that we have broken away from this joint arrangement. We have not done so in any way.

When in the shifting tangles and contortions of Italian politics, with six parties ruling over one another, with all their personal and political interests, none of them being hampered by having been elected by anyone, in this confused scene we were suddenly told that Count Sforza was to become foreign secretary.

The British minister did undoubtedly say to the Italian enquiry that we did not think Count Sforza a particularly good choice or words to that effect.

Had Perfect Right

We had a perfect right to say this. We could not stop him being chosen, but we had a right to say our say . . .

I must go back to the time of the Italian collapse and surrender in 1943. Count Sforza had been living for 20 years in America.

He was very anxious to get back to Italy. We did not think this would be a good thing in the disordered and tumultuous state in which Italy was left on the morrow of her revolt against Germany.

On September 23 Count Sforza sent the following message to Marshal Badoglio and repeated it in a letter to Mr. Berle (Adolf Berle), then an American assistant secretary of state, from which I have the President's permission to quote:

Quotes Letter

(Mr. Churchill quoted Count Sforza as writing that he would support Marshal Badoglio fully and that "the only way to destroy the last criminal remnants of Fascism," was to adjourn the matter of internal Italian politics for the period of the struggle. Count Sforza added that "I pledge my honor to do this myself and urge this course upon many friends and associates.")

When Count Sforza passed through London I was anxious to ascertain whether this was his sincere resolve . . . I went through this letter with Count Sforza almost line by line and he assured me that it was his most profound conviction.

But no sooner, however, had Count Sforza got back to Italy than he began a long series of intrigues, which ended in the expulsion of Marshal Badoglio from office.

Now I come to Greece, which forms the mainspring of the vote of censure we have to meet today.

I have taken great responsibilities for our foreign policy toward Greece and also in respect of what has taken place in Athens, and the foreign secretary and I have worked in the closest agreement...

We have a right to express this point of view on the Greek

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question because in an attempt to redeem our pledged word we had sustained 30,000 casualties in what might perhaps be called the chivalrous resolve to share the miseries of Greece when she was invaded by Germany and Italy in 1941.

At that time we were all alone . . .

Quebec Decision

My honored friend, the President, was of the opinion we should certainly have plans made and accordingly at the Quebec conference it was proposed by the combined chiefs of staff that the British should prepare the forces to occupy the Athens area and pave the way for the commencement of relief and for the establishment of law and order and for the installment of the Greek Government, which we and the great bulk of the United Nations had formally recognized.

The Americans and ourselves began to accumulate large masses of food and shipping and UNRRA began to grow up in Alexandria and other arrangements for food distribution were actively made at the cost of the food of this country.

Provided Relief

A large part of this and supplies for medical relief were provided by America out of her riches.

The rest of the burden fell upon us. The proposal of the combined chiefs of staff was initialled by the President and me and on September 14 a directive was issued.

At the same time we prepared in deep secrecy our British expedition. We did not think it necessary to tell anyone about it, not even the Greek Government.

When he (Papandreou) came out he restored order to the Greek Government, which is the constitutional government of Greece and can only be displaced by the free vote of the people.

Mixed Body

Meanwhile the forces of E.L.A.S. were planning to descend upon Athens as a military political operation and the seizure of power by armed force.

E.L.A.S. is a mixed body and it is unfair to stigmatize them all as being self-seeking in their aim and action. Nevertheless during the years of Greek captivity E.L.A.S. devoted more attention to beating up and destroying representatives of E.D.E.S. commanded by Colonel Zervas, a man of the left by our standards but less extreme than E.A.M.

For the last two years E.L.A.S. have devoted themselves principally to preparations for seizing power . . .

Helped Germans

As to E.L.A.S., they did not hesitate on occasions to help the Germans catch and kill supporters of E.D.E.S.

From the depredations and ravages of E.L.A.S. there developed, as we can now well see, a well-organized plot by which E.L.A.S. should march down to Athens and seize it by armed force and establish a reign of terror under the plea that they were purging collaborationists.

How much the Germans knew about this beforehand I can not tell, but a number had been left behind and are acting in E.L.O.S. ranks.

. . . We came therefore to Greece with American and Russian consent at the invitation of the government of all parties, bearing with us such good gifts as liberty, order, food and the assurance of an absolute right to determine their own future as soon as conditions of normal tranquility were regained.

I told the House I would be frank with them. I have stated our action in detail. I must admit that not everyone agrees with the course we have taken, for which I accept the fullest responsibility . . .

But the government . . . agreed that we should see what we could do to give this unfortunate people a fair chance of extricating themselves from their misery and starting on a clear road again.

I repudiate the idea that democracy can stand upon the violent seizure of power by unrepresentative men or by terrorism and the killing of political opponents. No doubt there are others who take a different view.

Must Intervene

Moreover, I do not feel it compatible with our honor or with the obligations into which we have entered with many people in Greece in the course of our presence there to wash our hands of the whole business, make our way to the sea as we easily could, and leave Athens to anarchy, misery and tyranny.

We have always been ready to risk our blood in defense of our honor. In the small hours of Tuesday morning . . . I directed General Scobie to assume complete control of Athens and the districts around and to use what force was necessary to drive out and if necessary to extricate E.L.A.S. bands . . .

I also directed our ambassador to do his utmost to prevail on Papandreou, who seemed to wish to resign, to remain in power.

If I am blamed for this action I will gladly accept dismissal of the House, but if I am not dismissed, make no mistake, we shall persist in this policy of clearing Athens and the Athens regions of all rebels to the constitutional Government of Greece.

They are mutineers to the order of the supreme commander in the Mediterranean, under whom all guerillas have undertaken to serve.

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C164340

Parliamentary Debates
(Hansard)
House of Commons
January 17, 1945

Page 166

ELECTORAL REGISTER
(Dissolution Date)

MR. ATLEE: I have been authorized by the Prime Minister to make the following statement:

On 31st October when moving the Second Reading of the Prolongation of Parliament Bill my right hon. Friend said that, between the date when the war with Germany can be officially declared over, and a General Election, there must be an interval. He felt it was inconceivable

"that anyone would wish that election to be held in a violent hurry or while we were all rejoicing together and rendering thanks to God for our deliverance." -(Official Report, 31st October, 1944: Vol. 404, c. 664.)

My right hon. friend went on to point out that under the electoral arrangements then in operation there would have to be a prolonged interval between the polling date and the date of the issue of the writs.

It is now proposed to alter by legislation the electoral arrangements which involved the preparation of an electoral register after the date of the proclamation and to substitute a system by which a fixed register will be in operation from 7th May. As a consequence of this change, there will not be the prolonged interval between the proclamation and the poll which was necessitated by the 1943 Act. There will be a reversion to the pre-war time-table and the interval between the proclamation and polling day will be 17 days.

This change in technical requirements does not, however, affect the broad considerations to which the Prime Minister referred in his speech of 31st October, and there will, he thinks, be general agreement with his view that when in the circumstances contemplated advice is tendered to the Crown in respect of a Dissolution, knowledge of the date should be

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available more than 17 days in advance.

The Prime Minister has, therefore, submitted to His Majesty that should He be pleased at any time to dissolve the present Parliament, it would be desirable for an announcement to be made of the actual date of the dissolution in advance of the Royal Proclamation, and His Majesty has authorized him to say that, in the exceptional circumstances which may be expected, He is willing that an announcement of the date of the dissolution shall be made three weeks in advance of the formal proclamation. My right hon. friend is therefore in a position to give the House an assurance that, whenever the contemplated General Election is decided on, an announcement of the date will be made at least three weeks plus 17 days before polling day.

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T E L E G R A M

From The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

C164342

To The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

IMPORTANT
TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL
CYPHER
NO. 18

London, January 26th, 1945

No. 18. Top Secret and Personal. Following from Prime Minister for Mr. Mackenzie King, Personal and Top Secret, Begins:

1. I do not wish to add in any way to your difficulties, but I must take exception to General McNaughton's statements about the U-boat warfare. As you know, it has been agreed between the President and me and yourself that the monthly statements only shall be issued. General McNaughton is now reported to have said:

Firstly. The Atlantic is "alive with German submarines." This is not true. There are only two U-boats on your side and about twenty-five in the approaches to the British Isles. This is far less than we have had at this time in any other year.

Secondly. "Ships are being sunk day by day." This again is quite untrue. Only three ships have, in fact, been sunk in the Atlantic this year.

Thirdly. General McNaughton is also reported as saying he was unable to go to his constituency because he was spending the weekend at Ottawa watching over the safe arrival of a troopship containing Canadians. This is of course ridiculous, as he could in no way influence the fate of such a ship by any orders that he would be called upon to give.

2. I do not intend to make any public reference unless compelled to do so by questions in the House. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

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PAGE BARBOUILLEE

Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill - March 15, 1945 -

Re: Great & Small Powers

Parliamentary Debates - Volume 409 - No. 49:

> We have made a perfectly voluntary agreement with the other two Great Powers gathered at Yalta, and it prescribes a differentiation between the greatest and the smallest Powers. We may deplore, if we choose, the fact that there is a difference between great and small, between the strong and the weak in the world, but there undoubtedly is such a difference, and it would be foolish to upset good arrangements which are proceeding on a broad front for the sake of trying to obtain immediately what is a hopeless ideal.

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C164344

CANADIAN DELEGATION

May 8, 1945

The following is the text of a message from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to the Prime Minister of Canada, dated London, May 8, 1945:

On this historic day when the forces of tyranny in Europe have met their final doom, I send on behalf of the people of the United Kingdom to the Government and people of Canada our heartfelt congratulations on Canada's magnificent contribution to our common victory. For nearly six long years we have marched together in a common crusade against an enemy who twice in our generation has sought to dominate and enslave the free nations of the world.

Canada may well be proud of the glorious deeds of her sons in arms. On land, on the sea and in the air she has played a nation's part. Her valiant army was the sure shield of this country during its darkest days and has now contributed powerfully to the liberation of Western Europe. At sea, in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in the air, over Europe, the Canadians have ever been to the fore. The immense achievement of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan under Canadian administration has provided the solid foundation for air supremacy without which victory could not have been won. We remember, too, the aid so generously accorded in the sphere of finance, in the production of munitions of every kind and of the naval and merchant vessels urgently needed to meet the peril of U-boat warfare and in the supply of the foodstuffs on which the life of this country has depended.

In the comradeship which flows from the sharing of common ideals we have overcome the perils of the dark days which threatened our existence and emerged into the sunshine of the glorious victory that has crowned the Allied arms. In this spirit of fellowship we now face the final struggle with our remaining foe and look forward at no distant time to building a new era of security and peace.

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Text of Message from Mr. Churchill
to Prime Minister of Canada, May 18, 1945

C164345

"Many thanks for your kind personal message. It was a great occasion and we were all in good heart. I cannot forget how much we owe to Canada and to you yourself for victory which has been vouchsafed to us. My very best wishes for all that lies before us."

Original in
VE Binder

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Churchill

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British House of Commons,
Parliamentary Debates.

Tuesday
5th June, 1945. C164346

QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS

The Prime Minister:

May I make a short statement containing a suggestion to the House. I remember after the last war, when I become Secretary of State for War and Air, Questions were put on the Paper, running, I think, to well over 1,000 a week, and it was absolutely impossible to answer them in the Chamber. I, therefore, delegated the task of seeing Members who wished to ask Questions merely for information, and not, as it were, for public instruction, to a colleague who would receive them in a private room and give answers very quickly. I suggest that some arrangement like that, if agreeable, should be established at present. The Secretary of State for War has had 70 Questions today, of which more than half must have been unanswered. I suggest that by conversations arranged between the parties through the usual channels, Members can get a good many of their Questions answered by arrangement either by the Under-Secretary, or the personal private secretary in a room which will be at their disposal. In my case after the last war Mr. McCallum Scott, who was shortly afterwards killed, certainly did, to the great satisfaction of the House, answer a vast number of Questions of this kind which arose out of the period of demobilization.

Mr. E. J. Williams: Where would the room be -- here, or at the Foreign Office?

The Prime Minister: We must find a room here at the House.

Mr. Attlee: That is a matter that might well be discussed through the usual channels. I take it that Members would still be entitled to put down Questions.

The Prime Minister: Oh, yes. It is just a case of relieving pressure.

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S/1945/O
Churchill

COPY

British House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates. Tuesday 5th June, 1945. C164346

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re Churchill.

JAC/LF
25.1.46

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER: C164347

A Mr. Forwood recently called at the High Commissioner's Office in London and explained that he wanted to present on behalf of the British Empire Union, for your confidential information, a plan which the Union has in hand to honour Mr. Churchill.

The proposal is to secure a piece of ground near St. Paul's Cathedral for a memorial garden to Mr. Churchill, to be known as Churchill Close. He said that the Lord Mayor of London had approved the idea and that it could be worked into the new City of London plan.

He said that the Union did not want any publicity given at this stage, but that they wanted to let us know about it, as they would hope to receive contributions from Canada and from all the countries of the Empire in order that it would be a truly Empire tribute.

Canada House agreed to bring the matter to your attention and Mr. Forwood said that he would welcome any comments or suggestions which you may wish to make. In the meantime, he hoped that the whole matter would remain strictly confidential.

The project appears rather vague at the present time; little information could be obtained as to what the memorial garden is to be and nothing about what it would cost -- it should be a fairly expensive proposition, as it is to be on land in the City.

I do not see any objections in principle to allowing solicitation of contributions in Canada for such a project. No doubt a Canadian committee would have to be established to direct the operations in this country, so that the Canadian share would be presented in one piece. This would take time, but the project is still vague and in any case the main share of the contribution will likely come from the people of the United Kingdom.

I think some more appropriate response
Noted Yes Mr. Churchill's answer to this enquiry should be thought of. — meanwhile it
may be necessary to file any comment
26-1-46

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FROM: THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO C164348

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

CYPHER-O.T.P.

NO. 38 MEXICO CITY, February 15th, 1946.

No. 38. Secret. British Ambassador has asked my wife and me to join him and Mrs. Bateman in meeting Churchill at Vera Cruz on Monday next. Churchill cannot come to Mexico City because of the altitude and is thinking of going on to Yucatan. Our responsibilities, however, will end with Vera Cruz.

When in Ottawa the Prime Minister told me he was thinking of seeing Churchill in Florida. As this did not materialize it has occurred to me that Mr. King might wish to send a message to Churchill through me. I should be glad to act as messenger if this is the case. We shall be leaving Mexico City on Sunday morning.

16-2-46

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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3-2-47

C164349

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am returning herewith Mr. Churchill's letter to you regarding the Provisional Launching Group to promote the idea of United Europe.

My own view is that this idea, desirable though it may be, is one which should not be given any official support of any kind in Canada. Such support would probably be misinterpreted and might cause us trouble in the future. It would, of course, be quite another thing for Mr. Churchill or the promoters of this idea to secure Canadians for their Committee who are interested in it and desire to support it; providing this was done entirely unofficially and without the intervention of the Government in any way.

My suggestion, therefore, would be to send a telegram somewhat along the lines of the following:

> "Interested to receive your letter of January 24th re United Europe Launching Group. Feel, however, that it would be unwise and open to misinterpretation if Government here were officially associated with it in any way. Government statement issued last Thursday on German Peace Settlement emphasized impossibility of separating German settlement from European settlement and desirability of building up political and economic ties between Germany and European countries. I am asking Canada House to send you copy."

3/2/47

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3-2-47

C164349

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am returning herewith Mr. Churchill's letter to you regarding the Provisional Launching Group to promote the idea of United Europe.

My own view is that this idea, desirable though it may be, is one which should not be given any official support of any kind in Canada. Such support would probably be misinterpreted and might cause us trouble in the future. It would, of course, be quite another thing for Mr. Churchill or the promoters of this idea to secure Canadians for their Committee who are interested in it and desire to support it; providing this was done entirely unofficially and without the intervention of the Government in any way.

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LBP/WS

PERSONAL

17-2-47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C164350

Mr. Robertson has just cabled that he handed your message on the United Europe proposal to Mr. Churchill on Saturday afternoon, and he received subsequently the following reply for transmission to you:

"Thank you so much for your message. I quite understand all your difficulties when so many fine ships are foundering in the cruel ocean. I am quite sure, however, that the light on the small barque of united Europe will not be blotted out, but will burn and glow till better days come and harbour is gained. Always your friend. Winston.

17/2/47

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TELEPHONE
WHITEHALL 8181 (PRIVATE BRANCH EXCHANGE)

TELEGRAMS
CONSTITUTE, SOWEST, LONDON

CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST CENTRAL OFFICE

C164351

CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY
THE RT. HON. LORD WOOLTON, P.C., C.H.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
MR. J. P. L. THOMAS, M.P.
MISS MAXSE

GENERAL DIRECTOR
MR. S. H. PIERSSENÉ

ABBEY HOUSE,
2/8, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

9th October 1948

ADVANCE OF MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Please note that as usual this text is subject to alteration in delivery.

GERALD O'BRIEN
Press Officer

Corrected Copy

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SPEECH BY THE RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL AT A MASS MEETING
At LLANDUDNO, ON SATURDAY, 9th October, 1948.

C164352

INTRODUCTION

When we look back across the years that have passed since the disastrous election of 1945 we can all feel satisfaction at the recovery of our Party and the ceaseless progress and expansion of its organization. Everything that I said to you about this at Brighton last year could be repeated here today in stronger terms and with greater confidence.

The appeal Lord Woolton launched for a million pounds which I endorsed at Brighton was triumphantly successful. Now at this Conference he has been able to tell us that he has succeeded, not only with his million of money but with this million additional members. Here is proof of the strength, virility and broad-based popular appeal of the Conservative and Unionist Party - or Tory Party. We need not be ashamed of that historic name.

In the growing strength of our organization and in the careful study of the bye-election figures, we have solid & sober ground for confidence in the result of the next Parliamentary election if only we do not relax our efforts. We have now to make special preparation not only for the General Election but for the local government elections next Spring, which will precede it and may well exert an important influence upon it.

We have come to Wales for this Conference. The cuase of freedom is at stake and have we not often been told Freedom dwells among the mountains? We look to Wales to play an increasing part in British affairs. Should we be returned to power we propose, among other steps, to make provision for a Cabinet Minister especially responsible for Wales. There are other proposals which Mr. Butler has described to you, (Mr Butler has done splendid work) which will shortly be published, and I commend them to your approval and to the good will of the people of Wales.

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CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST CENTRAL OFFICE

PART I. **RELEASE TIME**

C.17.

2.30 p.m.

Speech by the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, O.M., C.H., M.P.,
at a Mass Meeting held at Llandudno on Saturday,
9th October, 1948.

On the other hand the state of the world and the position of our country in it, have sunk to levels which no one could have predicted. Our minds are oppressed by the accounts of our relations with Soviet Russia, which we read every day in our restricted newspapers and in the speeches of Cabinet Ministers of one kind or another. We are confronted with the deadly enmity and continued aggression of the Russian Communist Government and its imprisoned satellites. No words which I could use could surpass the declarations of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, or of Mr. McNeil, the Minister of State, and their words are only on a par with what is said by the leading responsible statesmen of America, of France, of our Dominions, and of all the smaller States of Europe outside the Iron Curtain. In fact the Assembly of the United Nations which we fondly hoped would be the majestic centre of world security and later on of world co-operation and finally of world government has been reduced to a mere cockpit in which the representatives of mighty nations and ancient States hurl reproaches, taunts and insults at one another, to marshal public opinion and inflame the passions of their peoples in order to arouse and prepare them for what seems to be a remorselessly-approaching third world war. Bolshevik Russia is already heavily armed and her forces in Europe far exceed those of all the western countries put together.

The United States are re-arming on a large scale. Efforts are being made to build up a front of resistance in the West by France and the Low Countries, under our leadership and with indispensable American support.

Issued by the Press Department, Conservative Central Office, Abbey House, 2-8, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1
(Telephone : WHItehall 8181)

/Our....

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Our Socialist Government who now call upon us in quavering tones to take all kinds of serious half-measures of preparation and precaution, are the same people who assured the electors in 1945 that they alone possessed the secret of dwelling on good terms with Soviet Russia, and boasted of the underlying affinities and comprehension subsisting between Left-Wing parties and doctrines all over the globe. The exposure of these pretansions may vex those who were taken in by them at the time - and they were many; but in fairness I must state that the gulf which was opening between Asiatic Communist Russia and the Western Democracies, large and small, was already brutally obvious to the victorious War Cabinet of the National Coalition even before Hitler was destroyed and the Germans laid down their arms. In fact, as we can all now see, the growing aggressiveness and malignity of the Soviet Government and its complete breaches of good faith at that time should have made both the British and American Governments refrain from dispersal of their armies so completely before there had been a resolute attempt to reach a solution. Nor should they have carried out their great withdrawals in Germany until after there had been a general confrontation along the line upon which the Western and Eastern allied armies had met. It would also have been wiser and prudent to allow the British Army to enter Berlin, as it could have done, and for the United States armoured divisions to enter Prague, which was a matter almost of hours. I and my colleagues of all parties foresaw at that time that the armies of democracy would melt in the sunlight of victory, while the forces of totalitarian despotism could be held together on a gigantic scale for an indefimite time.

Therefore whatever I may think of the unskilful manner in which our foreign affairs have been handled, I do not reproach the British Socialist Government with creating the abyss which now yawns across Europe and the

/world...

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world. This was inevitable once the Russian Communist leaders gave full rein to their instincts of Imperialism and expansion. Indeed I only wondered that it took the British and American peoples, in spite of all the lessons of the past, so long to realise the fearful challenge to their life and freedom which was being opened upon them from the East.

I will not encourage you with false hopes of a speedy friendly settlement with Soviet Russia. It may be that some formula will be found or some artificial compromise effected which will be hailed as a solution and deliverance. But the fundamental danger and antagonisms will still remain. The 14 men in the Kremlin, who rule over 300 million human beings with an arbitrary authority never possessed by any Czar since Ivan the Terrible, and who are now holding down nearly half Europe by Communist methods, these men dread the friendship of the free, civilized world as much as they would its hostility. If the Iron Curtain were lifted, if free intercourse, commercial and cultural, were allowed between the hundreds of millions of good-hearted human beings who dwell on either side, the power of this wicked oligarchy in Moscow would soon be undermined and the spell of their Communist doctrines broken. Therefore, for the sake of their own interests and skins, they cannot allow any intercourse or intermingling. Above all they fear and hate the genial influences of free and easy democratic life, such as we have gradually evolved for ourselves in varying forms in the Western World. These they know would be fatal, not only to their ideological theories and to their imperialistic appetites ~~desires for domination~~ but even more to their own dictatorial power. Therefore, while patience should be practised to the utmost limits which our safety allows, we should not delude ourselves with the vain expectation of a change of heart in the ruling forces of Communist Russia.

Neither should we be under any delusion about the foundations of peace. It is my belief, I say it with deep

/sorrow...

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sorrow, that at the present time the only sure foundation of peace and of the prevention of actual war rests upon strength. If it were not for the stocks of atomic bombs now in the trusteeship of the United States there would be no means of stopping the subjugation of Western Europe by Communist machinations backed by Russian armies and enforced by political police. We have the example of Czechoslovakia before our eyes, where Stalin has perpetrated exactly the same act of aggression in 1948 as Hitler did when he marched into Prague in 1939 nine years ago. There seems to be no end to the sufferings of the Czechs. They are now writhing under a new degraded bondage, as ruthless as and more subtle than any they have previously known. It is part of the established technique of the "cold war" the Soviets have begun against us all, that in any country which has fallen into their power, people of character, men of mark and personality outstanding in any walk of life, from the manual worker to the university professor, shall be what is called in their savage jargon "liquidated". All men, whatever their occupation, are to be reduced to a uniform mediocre level so as to make it easy to govern them by commissars and masses of officials and police, all well-trained in the Communist colleges and dependent for their very existence upon the satisfaction they give their superiors in the party hierarchy. This is all set forth before our eyes as plainly as Hitler told us about his plans in his book MEIN KAMPF. I hope that the Western natons, and particularly our own country and the United States will not fall into the same kind of deadly trap twice over. Of one thing I am quite sure, that if the United States were to consent in reliance upon any paper agreement to destroy the stocks of atomic bombs which they have accumulated, they would be guilty of murdering human freedom and committing suicide themselves.

/I....

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I hope you will give full consideration to my words. I have not always been wrong. Nothing stands between Europe today and complete subjugation to Communist tyranny but the atomic bomb in American possession. If the Soviet Government wish to see atomic energy internationalised and its military use outlawed, it is not only by verbal or written agreements that they must reassure the world but by actions, which speak louder than words. Let them release their grip upon the satellite States of Europe. Let them retire to their own country, which is one-sixth of the land surface of the globe. Let them liberate by their departure the eleven ancient capitals of Eastern Europe which they now hold in their ~~claws~~ clutches. Let them go back to the Curzon Line as was agreed upon in the days when we were fighting as comrades together. Let them set free the million or more German and Japanese Prisoners they now hold as slaves. Let them cease to oppress, torment, and exploit the immense part of Germany and Austria which are now in their hands. The lifting of the blockade at Berlin would be merely the stopping of blackmail. There should be no reward for that. Let them cease to distract Malaya and Indonesia. Let them liberate the Communist-held portion of Korea. Let them cease to foment the hideous civil war ~~civil~~ protracted war in China.

Above all, let them throw open their vast regions on equal terms to the ordinary travel and traffic of mankind. Let them give others the chance to breathe freely, and let them breathe freely themselves. No-one wants to take anything they have got and that belongs to them away from them. After all, we are asking them to do no more than what the other victorious States have done of their own free will. None of the other of the former allies has tried to add large territories and populations to their domain. Britain indeed has gone to the opposite extreme and cast away her Empire in the East with

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both her hands. Let the Russians be content to live of their own and cease to darken the world and prevent its recovery by their ceaseless threats, intrigues and propaganda. When they have done this or even more of it, and given these proofs of good faith, and given up what they had no right to take, which is all they are being asked then indeed, it will be time to raise the question of putting away the one vast, and I believe sure and overwhelming, means of security which remains for the protection and guards the progress of mankind.

It was my dream during the war years, when we were all united against the Hitler onslaught that after the war Russia, whatever her ideology, should become one of the 3 or 4 supreme factors in preserving peace; that she would receive all the honour which the valour, fortitude and patriotism of her ~~peoples~~ armies had won; that she would help to bring about that Golden Age on which all our hearts are set, and which President Roosevelt heralded with his declaration of the Four Freedoms. I hoped that she would have access to unfrozen waters into every ocean, guaranteed by the world organisation on which she would be a leading member; that she would have the freest access to raw materials of every kind, and that the Russians would be everywhere received as brothers in the human family. That still remains the aim and ideal. If it has not been attained, if on the contrary enormous barriers have been erected against it, it is the Soviet Government that has set them up and is fortifying them every day over ever-larger areas.

The question is asked: What will happen when they get the atomic bomb themselves and have accumulated a large store?

/You....

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You can judge yourselves what will happen then by what is happening now. If these things are done in the green-wood, what will be done in the dry? If they can continue month after month disturbing and tormenting the world, trusting to our Christian and altruistic inhibitions against using this strange new power against them, what will they do when they themselves have large quantities of atomic bombs? What do you suppose would be the position this afternoon if it had been Communist Russia instead of free-enterprise America which had created the atomic weapon? Instead of being a sombre guarantee of peace and freedom it would have become an irresistible method of human enslavement. No one in his senses can believe that we have a limitless period of time before us. We ought to bring matters to a head and make a final settlement. We ought not to go jogging along improvident, incompetent, waiting for something to turn up, by which I mean waiting for something bad for us to turn up. The Western Nations will be far more likely to reach a lasting settlement, without bloodshed, if they formulate their just demands while they have the atomic power and before the Russian Communists have got it too. I am therefore of opinion that our Party is bound to support any firm measures which the Government is found capable of taking and that our country with the rest of the British Commonwealth and Empire should be ready to work with the United States and, after consultation, act with them and with the free governments of Europe.

Meanwhile we have a situation in Berlin which may at any time precipitate a hideous world struggle. Had I been responsible I would not have allowed it to develop in this way. It would have been better to meet, in good time, the blockade of Berlin by counter-measures against Russian shipping, and imports of all kinds, which might be useful for war purposes,

/than....

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than to be driven from the roads, the railways and the canals and left with only the prodigious exertion of the "Air-Lift" into Berlin, which may at any moment be interrupted by the winter weather or by Soviet action. Thus we should at a much earlier stage have had something practical to bargain with, and not be reduced to bickering and bluster and a very hard task. The blockade of Berlin has now lasted more than three months and we may have several more months before us of effort and anxiety. It is an unequal trial of strength, an unfair ordeal. It is like a contest in endurance between two men; one of whom sits quietly grinning in his arm chair while the other stands on his head hour after hour in order to show how much he is in earnest.

There is one great benefit however which has been reaped from the wonderful and prolonged efforts the American and British Air Forces are making to feed the 2½ million Germans to whom we are now in honour bound.

This tremendous, beneficial and human effort has demonstrated to the Germans in the Western zones, as no words could have done that the future of Germany lies with the European family and with the glory and civilisation of the West, to which the German race has a measureless contribution to make. It is not too much to hope that this bitter experience may have finally convinced the Germans of the villany of totalitarian power and set their feet on the path to true democracy. I am always hoping myself that France and Germany will lay aside their thousand-year quarrel and that France will regain her position in the world, by leading back her vanquished enemy into the company and the culture of Christendom and Europe.

It is for this reason that I deplore and condemn the stupidity which, at a time like this above all others, persists 3½ years after the war in endless trials of former

/Nazis....

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Nazis and has only lately brought itself under the censure of all Parties in this island, except the Communists, by subjecting these aged German Field-Marshals and Generals after this protracted delay without the formulation of any charges to a new, prolonged ordeal. On every ground, soldierly, juridical and humanitarian, that is known to me this is a wrong and base thing to do. But how foolish, how inane - I might almost say insane - it is to make a feature of such squalid vengeance when the mind and soul of Germany may once again be hanging in the balance between the right course and the wrong. I trust that even now wiser councils may prevail, and also, on the general question of post-war vengeance, I strongly urge our American friends to let bygones be bygones. After these years have passed and the principal criminals have suffered the punishments they deserved When I survey the misfortunes in which Europe is plunged, I admire the wisdom and statecraft which General MacArthur has displayed in his dealing with Japan. He is making it possible for all decent Japanese to say, "the future of our country lies with the United States and their sister nation, our old ally, Britain".

For all these reasons and with such reservations as I have thought it right to make, we support the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government in labouring for peace, in taking a firm stand against the encroachments and aggressions of Soviet Russia, and in not being bullied, bulldozed, and blackmailed out of Berlin whatever the consequences may be. We support them in developing the closest possible unity with the United States on moral issues and in military measures. We support them also in trying to organise the effective defence of Western Europe and a faithful effort towards a United Europe by all States who are free to choose their path.

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The British Government have gained very little credit in any quarter by their handling of this large issue, and petty and personal jealousies arising from the fact that I revived this idea of a United Europe 2 years ago in a speech at Zurich have clouded the vision of some of them. A wrong-headed desire to reduce United Europe to a United Socialist Europe has misled others. In fact the Socialist Parties throughout Europe have shown themselves the weakest brethren whenever it has come to making a stand against militant communism, and the whole idea of organising United Europe on a one-Party basis would be destructive of all hopes founded upon this grand design.

I cannot think that the policy of a United Europe as we Conservatives conceive it can be the slightest injury to our British Empire and Commonwealth or to the principle of Imperial Preference which I so carefully safeguarded in all my discussions with President Roosevelt during the war. We in the Conservative Party will vigilantly guard and do all in our power to strengthen the ties which unite this Island with its sister nations of the British family. The unity of the Empire is the foundation of our Party's political belief to which we shall remain eternally faithful. But there is absolutely no need to choose between a United Empire and United Europe. Both are vitally and urgently necessary - to our Commonwealth, to Europe, and to the free world as a whole.

I almost wish I had a blackboard, I would make a picture of them for you. I do not suppose it would get hung at the Royal Academy, but it would illustrate this point I am anxious for you to hold in your minds

As I look out upon the future of our country in the changing scene of human destiny I feel the existence of three great circles among the free nations and democracies. The first circle for us is naturally the British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking world in which we, Canada, and the other British Dominions play so important a part. And finally there is United Europe. These three majestic circles are co-existent and if they are

/linked....

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linked together there is no force or combination which could overthrow them. Now if you think of the three inter-linked circles you will see that we are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. We stand in fact at the very point of junction and here in this Island at the centre of the seaways and perhaps of the airways also we have the opportunity of joining them all together.

If we rise to the occasion we may well once again hold the key to opening a safe and happy future to humanity. + gain for ourselves gratitude + fame

END. PART I.

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The Government now call upon us all to help them in rearmament. The recruiting campaign for the Territorial Army has been set on foot. The release of men from the colours has at last been suspended. Welhave been urged to take part in this recruiting campaign. The Ministers at the heads of the Service Departments write letters to their Conservative opponents and to many country magnates and prominent men whose aid they need. They appeal for a spirit of national unity. But at the same time another important Cabinet Minister describes us as "lower than vermin" and the Secretary of State for War, who is specially involved in the recruiting appeal, has explained that, apart from the Trades Unions, he does not care "a tinker's cuss" for all the rest of us. We must not be put off from doing our duty to our country by the taunts and insults of people like these to whom I have referred. During these last three years of national abasement and decline we have always tried, in spite of every political provocation, to set national issues on a higher plane. Thus we supported the Government in their great embarrassment at the time of the first American Loan. We also supported them in their proposal for compulsory service on an 18 months' basis, and even when the Minister of Defence ran away from his convictions and from the expert advice he had received and announced, we still supported his twelve-month proposal.

We have supported the National Savings campaign. We have done our utmost to stimulate production. I have already set before you the support we have given and shall give them in their foreign policy, and we have done all this at a time when no word has been spoken by any Minister of the Crown except of insult to the great Party whose leading personalities are gathered in this hall, and who represent to-day

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day without doubt or question a considerable majority of the British electorate. I know it may be hard and against the grain for some of you to support our Socialist opponents to stand with them on platforms at recruiting meetings. Things are ~~now~~ not always right because they are hard, but if they are right one must not mind if they are also hard. The policy of the Conservative Party (which you will allow me to pronounce in your name,) will continue to be to sustain the Government of the day in everything that they do in the national interest, and the gibes and slanders which they fling at us must play no part in the decisions which we think it our duty to take.

At the same time I must bluntly say - and I am speaking to you with considerable plainness this afternoon - that I have no confidence in the military arrangements and preparations of the Socialist Government or in the men who now come forward to lead a national movement. The Minister of Defence, who was a good man under proper leadership in the war, showed his personal limitations when he abandoned the 18 months' service because he thought that otherwise he might lose his popularity with the extremists of his own Party. It will be very difficult for anyone to build up again confidence in him. As for the Air Ministry and the War Office, they have been filled with a series of yearly tenants, many of them absentees, (for long periods) appointed with no thought of their qualifications for the particular task. These fleeting phantoms, lasting a few months each, have given no foundation for any well-wrought plan of national defence. Here today and gone tomorrow - thank goodness - has been the characteristic of the Service Ministers under the Socialist Government in years of exceptional difficulty, and now of growing danger. We Conservatives therefore cannot take any responsibility for the quality or extent of our military preparations. Nevertheless we must do our best to help even these 'guilty men' to make them better, even though while they revile us, they make their appeals.

End of Part 2

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The broad and general policy of the Socialist Government upon defence has been a worthy specimen of their handling of our affairs. In 1945 and 1946 they held millions of men and many women standing about idle without demobilisation, and squandered several ~~hundred~~ thousand millions of money. In November 1945, I was shocked at the needless delay in demoblisation and urged that it should be expedited. I even specified the actual figures at which they should aim for the 3 Services. It was necessary to reduce the great War Establishment and at the same time to build up adequate forces on a different basis for the dangerous interval which follows all great struggles. I therefore proposed a reduction at the utmost speed to 1500 thousand men for the Navy, Army and Air Force. But this was brushed aside when it was both possible and necessary by Socialist incompetence. Thus the Armed Forces could not get properly reorganised on a long-term peace-time basis, and now when danger looms upon us we are found with only 800 thousand men, and those much affected by a tardy method of transition from war to peace-time conditions.

Now there is made a loud Socialist cry to build up again towards the minimum which I specified, and to reinstitute the 18 months' service from which Mr. Alexander, having proposed it with so much bombast, scuttled with so much alacrity.

In spite of all this exhibition of weakness and incapacity, the policy of our Party remains to help all we can on every occasion the Socialist Government to build up our national defences, making it clear at the same time that we can take no responsibility for the state into which they have been allowed to fall.

A year ago at Brighton I welcomed the appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps to the control of our economic

/affairs.....

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affairs, and I am sure everyone almost without exception was very glad when a few months later he succeeded Mr. Dalton as Chancellor of the Exchequer. I need not labour a point on which all Parties are unanimously agreed. We shall support Sir Stafford Cripps in everything he does for the national interest, but we cannot support him in what he says and does to pay his way with his own foolish Party or give satisfaction to his own doctrinaire obsessions. By his abolition of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange he cost this country 2 or 3 millions a year in foreign currency and deprived the cotton trade of its invaluable instrument for making favourable purchases of cotton in all the flexibility of private enterprise. By his capital levy which he introduced in order to 'keep on side' with his Party, and get his first Budget through, he has struck a heavy blow at national savings. And now I am sorry to see that, as I believe against his better judgment and convictions, he has had to advocate the nationalisation of steel which no-one knows better than he is deeply detrimental to all the vital work he has in hand, in the doing of which he does not hesitate to appeal to all Parties and all classes.

We are all very glad indeed that there has lately been an improvement over the ruinous record of Dr. Dalton. It is all the more creditable that our exports should continue to improve although they are hampered by the fact that coal, electricity, and transport all cost so much more than before the war, and that the private trader is harassed by so much Government interference and illwill. It is the duty of the Conservative Party to do all in its power to encourage production. Indeed it is a remarkable fact that it is to those very industries which arise most directly from private enterprise and initiative that the recent improvement is due.

/Neither....

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Neither Socialist nationalised industry nor Government planning can claim the slightest credit for it. The improvement is in fact mainly due to our invisible exports - banking, broking, insurance tourist traffic, shipping, and other services in which this Island has hitherto been pre-eminent or prominent, and in which its brains and contrivance play a substantial part in earning our national livelihood. The profits made for the nation by private enterprise have thus gone some way to offset the losses of the socialised industries.

I must repeat what I said at Brighton that all our activities are oppressed by the appalling weight of taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has utterly failed to reduce Government expenditure. 3500 millions, or more than 3 times the maximum pre-war budget, is being taken from the nation in the current year by the Government. The weight of this falls on every class and weakens the incentives to special exertions.

It is too early to judge the effect of the National Health Service, but it is already obvious that immense miscalculations have been made about its expense.

There is also the enormous drain upon Britain's manpower caused by the hundreds of thousands of additional civil servants and local Government officials who are engaged in managing us all and are withdrawn from fertile production where they should be found employment with advantage to themselves no less than to the nation. A vast number of controls and regulations which ought never to have survived the war are still in being, or nominally in being or some have fallen into what they call in America innocuous desuetude. and Ministers sing their own praises when any of these are removed, whereas they deserve nothing but censure for having kept them on so long.

/The....

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The Socialist Government offers no leadership to the industrial effort. Its Ministers continue to preach unity and class-warfare at the same time, and praise of the work of employers and managers alternates with the customary Socialist abuse of these very same people. Although the Conservatives are more than half the nation and contribute more than half of its productive effort, they do so under a steady stream of calumny and abuse. We could afford to treat with disdain the attacks which our Socialist rulers make upon us if they were confined to ill-natured words. It is when they follow these by wrong and spiteful deeds that they strike their heaviest blow at the public welfare and unity of effort. There is no basic industry in the land which is less suited to nationalisation than the manufacture of steel in all its intricate refinements and in the full tide of ever more successful producing and exporting power.

There is no moment which could be more wrongfully chosen than this, when the need for national unity is so great, and when we are dependent upon American charity ~~for~~ for our daily bread. Yet nationalisation of steel production is, we are told, to be the culminating act of partisanship to be inflicted upon us regardless of the common weal. It is for the sake of carrying this wanton measure to the Statute Book that Parliament was recently called together for a trick-work session, and that an utterly unprovoked attack is being made upon the well-established procedure of the Parliament Act which has served us well for nearly 40 years. The action of the House of Lords, under the wise and distinguished leadership of Lord Salisbury, in rejecting this measure of Socialist

/aggression....

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agression, is endorsed by public opinion. It is endorsed as strongly as was the rejection by the Second Chamber of the absurd proposals to deal with capital punishment, from which we have been saved by their sagacious and timely action. At the same time all well-considered proposals for improving the composition of the Second Chamber are blocked and rejected by the Socialist Government. We do not at all shrink from bringing these issues and the nationalisation of steel to the test of the approaching General Election. But over and above all special questions there rises before us the dread and solemn issue of the survival of Great Britain and her Empire as a united power in the first rank among the nations. From the day when the news of our landslide into Socialism flashed around the world, we fell in the estimation of every country, friendly or hostile, and this process has continued with every year that has passed. We have recklessly cast away our interests, our duties and our reputation for good faith in many parts of the globe. Our Empire in the East has been squandered with hideous loss of life of innocent and helpless people who had hitherto been protected from internal struggles and foreign invasion by Britannia's shield. At least 400 thousand or more than all our killed in the war, have been butchered in the Punjab alone. We have repudiated all our pledges and obligations to great masses of people who trusted us, from princes who had solemn treaties to the millions of Untouchables who had never the hope other than British justice. Of all our special obligations throughout India including many which involved our national honour and good faith, the only one which we are punctiliously fulfilling is to pay the vast sum of money to the new Governments in India for having protected them against the Japanese invasion and conquest. Sir Stafford Cripps, whose sensitive mind is shocked at the execution of a single murderer of the vilest crimes treats this frightful holocaust as a mere incident in the

/process....

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process of oriental self-government. The orgy of anarchy and murder which I predicted to you in Burma has already come to pass. The Socialists, more than any other party in the State, have broken their word in Palestine and by indescribable mismanagement have brought us into widespread hatred and disrepute there and throughout the world. Southern Ireland, or Eire, is about to cast off the last tenuous association with the Crown, and is apparently expecting Ulster, without whose loyalty we could not have maintained our lifeline into the Mersey and the Clyde during the war, to be driven out by us against her will from the British Empire. You are quite right to record by a special resolution yesterday your inflexible resolve to resist any policy of coercing Ulster to abandon her allegiance to the Crown. These are but some of the tragedies which have befallen us under Socialist misrule on the morrow of our greatest victory and services rendered to all mankind. Once again we have cast away by our folly and inconsequence all that we had gained by our virtue and our valour. It is indeed a strange paradox that after our country had gained its greatest glory, that the British name and even the personal safety of Britons in so many lands, should have fallen so swiftly so low. This process has only to continue, even if peace is preserved, as we trust it will be, to make us more and more incapable of keeping our very large population alive and of maintaining the standards of life and living which have been steadily built up in bygone generations. When the votes are cast at the general election or at the local government elections which will be its important prelude, everyone who cares about the life and fame of the dear land we live in, should realise the tremendous nature of what is at stake.

/we....

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We shall be voting not only for freedom and recovery but also for bare survival. Another Socialist Parliament would seal our fate in world history, and close by our own actions amid self-inflicted gloom and squalor the marvellous story of Britain's greatness. Never let us despair; all can be regained if we rouse and rear the mighty energies and the genius of all classes in our land. When the moment of choosing comes we shall make no wild and vain promises of lush and easy times. A new supreme effort is needed and it is our prayer (& you do right to pray) that the underlying solid wisdom and character of our people may bring into being a Parliament which truly represents their strength and virtue. Such a Parliament alone can take without fear of favour every step that is needed to revive the moral health and shining glory of our Commonwealth of our Empire and of our Island home.

END.

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister C164373

Ottawa, 10. xi. 48

Laurier Ho

Mr Dastler will be working to Mr King about this after the Paris ie[illegible]ment. Lest

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Mrs Schuyler

MEMORANDUM For Mr. Pickersgill

C164374

Please b.f. after
PM returns. JWP

Please say I cannot deal with this request being absent from home. I would have to see the documents and all first. I don't think I should publish anything. Let Churchill's book stand for itself.

say Nov 8

I do not think I can grant permission for the photograph of any papers.

Please speak to me re.

WLMK

Get papers

October 15th, 1948.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM For Mr. Pickersgill C164374

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THE DORCHESTER HOTEL
LONDON
TELEPHONE MAYFAIR 8888

C164375

Prime Minister

The Montreal Star/Standard have approached me through Dafoe to request your permission to photograph the opening & closing paragraphs of the original letter from Mr. Churchill of which a copy is attached.

P T O

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C164376

It is proposed to use
the photographs as an
illustration of the
relevant - instalment
of the Churchill memoirs.
15.x.48 J.W.P

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Copy

Mid Star C164377

Prime Minister to the Prime Ministers of New Zealand,
Commonwealth of Australia, Union of South Africa, Canada.

After some sentences of introduction particular to each:

16.vi.40

I do not regard the situation as having passed beyond our strength. It is by no means certain that the French will not fight on in Africa and at sea, but, whatever they do, Hitler will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. Our principal danger is his concentrated air attack by bombing, coupled with parachute and air-borne landings and attempts to run an invading force across the sea. This danger has faced us ever since the beginning of the war, and the French could never have saved us from it, as he could always switch on to us. Undoubtedly, it is aggravated by the conquests Hitler has made upon the European coast close to our shores. Nevertheless, in principle the danger is the same. I do not see why we should not be able to meet it. The Navy has never pretended to prevent a raid of five or ten thousand men, but we do not see how a force of, say, eighty to a hundred thousand could be transported across the sea, and still less maintained in the teeth of superior sea power. As long as our Air Force is in being it provides a powerful aid to the Fleet in preventing sea-borne landings and will take a very heavy toll of air-borne landings.

Although we have suffered heavy losses by assisting the French and during the Dunkirk evacuation, we have managed to husband our air-fighter strength in spite of poignant appeals from France to throw it in improvidently into the great land battle which it could not have turned decisively. I am happy to tell you that it is now as strong as it has ever been, and that the flow of machines is coming forward far more rapidly than ever before; in fact, pilots have now become the limiting factor at the moment. Our fighter aircraft have been wont to inflict a loss of two or two-and-a-half to one even when fighting under the adverse conditions in France. During the evacuation of Dunkirk, which was a sort of No-Man's Land, we have inflicted a loss of three or four to one, and often saw German formations turn away from a quarter of their numbers of our planes. But all Air authorities agree that the advantage in defending this country against an oversea air attack will be still greater because, first, we shall know pretty well by our various devices where they are coming, and because our squadrons lie close enough together wo enable us to concentrate against the attackers and provide enough to attack both the bombers and the protecting fighters at the same time. All their shot-down machines will be total losses; many of ours and our pilots will fight again. Therefore, I do not think it by any means impossible that we may so maul them that they will find daylight attacks too expensive.

The major danger will be from night attack on our aircraft factories, but this, again, is far less accurate than daylight attack, and we have many plans for minimising its effect. Of course, their numbers are much greater than ours, but not so much greater as to deprive us of a good and reasonable prospect of wearing them out after some weeks or even months of air struggle.

....2

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Meanwhile, of course, our bomber force will be striking continually at their key points, especially oil and oil refineries and air factories and at their congested and centralised war industry in the Ruhr. We hope our people will stand up to this bombardment as well as the enemy. It will, on both sides, be on an unprecedented scale. All our information goes to show that the Germans have not liked what they have got so far.

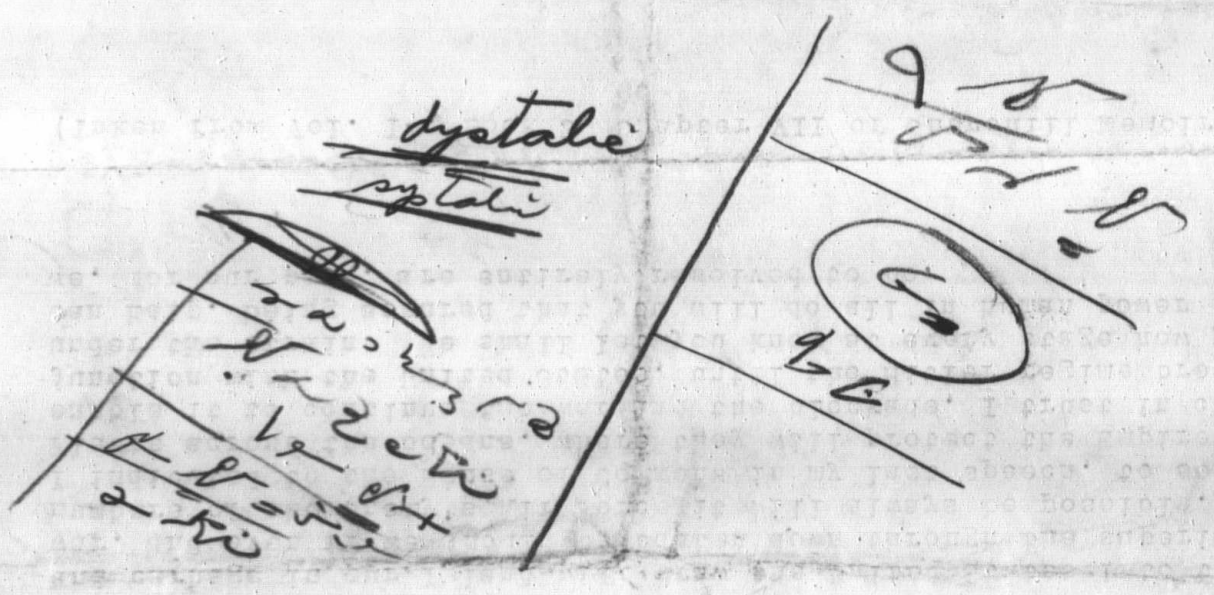
It must be remembered that now that the B.E.F. is home and largely rearmed or rearming, if not upon a Continental scale at any rate good enough for Home defence, we have far stronger military forces in this Island than we have ever had in the late war or in this war. Therefore, we hope that such numbers of the enemy as may be landed from the air or by sea-borne raid will be destroyed and be an example to those who try to follow. No doubt we much expect novel forms of attack and attempts to bring tanks across the sea. We are preparing ourselves to deal with these as far as we can foresee them. No one can predict or guarantee the course of a life-and-death struggle of this character, but we shall certainly enter upon it in good heart.

I have given you this full explanation to show you that there are solid reasons behind our resolve not to allow the fate of France, whatever it may be, to deter us from going on to the end. I personally believe that the spectacle of the fierce struggle and carnage in our Island will draw the United States into the war, and even if we should be beaten down through the superior numbers of the enemy's Air Force it will always be possible, as I indicated to the House of Commons in my last speech, to send our Fleets across the oceans, where they will protect the Empire and enable it to continue the war and the blockade, I trust in conjunction with the United States, until the Hitler regime breaks under the strain. We shall let you know at every stage how you can help, being assured that you will do all in human power as we, for our part, are entirely resolved to do.

(Taken from Vol. II, Book 3, Chapter VII of Churchill Memoirs)

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C164380

MEMORANDUM For the Prime Minister.

About 10 to 8p.m. the Private secretary to Mr. Winston Churchill telephoned to enquire whether or not I would be in the hotel during the whole of the evening. The secretary explained that Mr. Churchill wanted to send a book to Mr. King along with a letter explaining why he could not come to the Dorchester to see Mr. King as he would be leaving for the country first thing in the morning.

I thanked the secretary very much and said Mr. King appreciated Mr. Churchill's kind thought and would naturally be disappointed at not having an opportunity to see Mr. Churchill in the course of the present visit. The secretary asked how long Mr. King would be remaining in London, and I said plans were made to leave at the week-end.

About ten minutes later the secretary telephoned back to say that Mr. Churchill would find it possible to call on the Prime Minister at 11.30 Friday morning on his way to the country, should that time be convenient. I told the secretary Mr. King would be delighted to see Mr. Churchill and the time would certainly be convenient. That Mr. King was looking forward to the pleasure of seeing Mr.Churchill again.

8.30 p.m.
October 28th, 1948.

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C164381 H.305-1 1940

P.C. 3294

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 20th day of JULY, 1940.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS the Minister of National Defence reports that, while a candidate for appointment to or enlistment in the Active Militia is not required to be a British subject, nevertheless Section 21 of the Militia Act, Chapter 132 Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, requires that the oath therein mentioned shall be taken by every person upon engaging to serve in the Active Militia;

That it has been brought to the attention of the Department of National Defence that under the laws of certain countries a citizen thereof who takes the Oath of Allegiance to the head of another State forfeits his citizenship, although mere service in the Armed Forces of that State does not in itself result in such a forfeiture;

That inasmuch as the taking of the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Militia Act does not in itself confer British nationality on a person who is not a British subject, the result would be that when such persons are discharged from the Militia they are neither British subjects nor citizens of the country to which they belonged at the time they joined the Militia;

That it has been drawn to the attention of the Department of National Defence that this would create complications with respect to the return of these persons to their own countries;

That with respect to the Royal Canadian Air Force an amendment to King's Regulations and Orders for the Royal Canadian Air Force, as approved by Order in

Council/

see also H-300 V.10(A).

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Council P.C. 2399 dated 7th June, 1940, makes provision whereby the Oath of Allegiance will not be required to be taken by an officer of a candidate for enlistment who is a citizen of a foreign country if, by so doing, he would under the laws of the country in question forfeit his citizenship therein; and

That he is of the opinion that like provision should be made with respect to the Active Militia;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the recommendation of the Minister of National Defence, and under and by virtue of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Militia Act, or any other law or Regulation, to order and it is hereby ordered that the Oath or Declaration of Allegiance prescribed by the Militia Act to be taken by every person engaging to serve in the Militia, shall not be required to be taken by a person on appointment to or enlistment in the Active Militia of Canada, who is a citizen of a foreign country if, by so doing, that person would, under the laws of the country in question, forfeit his citizenship therein.

Sgd. A.D.P.Heeney

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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XA/D

RGR/LF
22.11.43.

C164383

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Draft exemption for Government employees in the United States

In February 1942 the State Department informed all foreign governments represented in the United States that their agencies would be allowed to apply for exemption from the draft only in the case of employees who were their own nationals. This has in reality no affect on our position since all non-Canadian employees are over the draft age and we have applied for deferments only in the case of Canadian nationals. The United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand are in a somewhat different position since they have no legal distinction of their own nationals and in the case of the United Kingdom the situation is of greater concern because they employ many British subjects not belonging to the United Kingdom. In a case that has now arisen involving an employee of the New Zealand Legation, the United States Selective Service with the concurrence of the State Department has ruled that the United Kingdom can apply for exemption for all British subjects, but the Dominions can apply for exemption only for their own nationals.

This ruling may involve very important questions of principle especially since the British Embassy has applied for authorization from the Foreign Office to make representations concerning it.

It is clear of course that there can be no justification in law for the distinction that is created between the position of the United Kingdom and that of the Dominions. I think nevertheless that it would be unwise to read too much into the United States action. They are faced with a difficult practical problem in attempting to allow the United Kingdom to retain the services of as many as possible of its employees while at the same time not altering the general rule that exemption can be claimed only for employees who are nationals of the employing government.

It is not clear whether the Embassy contemplates representations merely to express objection to the distinction created between United Kingdom status and Dominion status or whether it contemplates suggesting specifically that all Commonwealth agencies should be able to seek exemption for all British subjects. The question that will arise is as to our support of their representations.

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C164384

I think we very definitely should not concur in representations of the latter type. We want to maintain rather than try to eliminate the distinction that has been created between Canadian nationals and British subjects in general. There would not be as much objection to supporting representations registering our views as against the distinction in status that has been attempted. On the whole, however, it seems to me that the wisest course would be to have the United Kingdom authorities take no further action.

We shall no doubt be asked our position by the British authorities in a very few days.

Noted

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C164385

File

E-30-1
(Uhoff)

Memorandum for the Acting Prime Minister.

CONFIDENTIAL

re Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship

I have read the submission requesting a grant of $50,000 from the federal government, and my judgment is that the request should be refused and that the utmost that should be done (if we are justified even in going that far in peacetime) is to give them a very small grant, say $2,000 or $3,000, to compensate for the actual service which may be rendered to the federal government through the use of the Council's machinery for the dissemination of official literature.

In view of the extreme jealousy with which nearly all the provinces regard their jurisdiction over education, it would seem to be a mistake to take any action which might colourably be construed as an invasion of that jurisdiction, and which might thereby prejudice agreement in the wider field of Dominion-Provincial relations.

The situation would be quite different if the Council was actively endorsed and supported financially by all, or nearly all, of the provincial departments of education. There could be no serious objection to the dominion giving support to an organization previously endorsed by the provinces, but it would be an entirely different matter where the federal government had taken the initiative.

Moreover, the submission frankly confesses that the Council has received meagre support from individual subscriptions, and there is little hope of such support. It is somewhat difficult to believe that there is a really wide public demand for its services if so little support for it can be secured.

J.W.P.

16th November, 1945.

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NMW

RGR/JMC
19.4.46.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

C164386

re Proposals for a Commonwealth Meeting
on Nationality.

Last fall, and again during the time Mr. Martin and Mr. Read were in London for the meeting of the United Nations assembly, the United Kingdom authorities raised the question as to the possibility of holding a meeting of Commonwealth representatives to give consideration to what they think are aspects of general Commonwealth interest in the new Canadian citizenship Bill. The proposal of last fall was made to me verbally by Mr. Stephen Holmes. I tried to discourage it at that time, and I am attaching a copy of a note that was prepared on our conversation giving the details. The original proposal for a conference has now been somewhat narrowed to a suggestion for a "meeting of legal experts". The essentials of this proposal are contained in the attached dispatch from London. The idea is to hold the meeting after our Bill passes but before it goes into effect.

In general, the United Kingdom view is that the Canadian Bill represents a departure in principle from the existing scheme of nationality legislation in the countries of the Commonwealth. At present we, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland have legislation that provides virtually identical definitions of "British subject". (Ireland is an exception. Under her 1935 legislation an Irish citizen is not a British subject at all). The general scheme was agreed on in 1914 and common recognition of the status accorded by naturalization in any of the countries was then and has since been based on the community of definition. This basis has proved unsatisfactory, since it meant that there was practically no room for flexibility to suit the peculiar needs of any particular country. In another aspect, the scheme meant that the basic nationality status was that of "British subject", and any nationality definition associated with a particular country could only provide for a subordinate

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and relatively unimportant status. To avoid this difficulty a different method of approach has been adopted in the new Bill. Instead of having the old common definition of "British subject", we have defined "Canadian citizen" in terms that depend basically on the same factors but which involve certain departures that we thought desirable. We then say that "a Canadian citizen is a British subject", and, on the other hand, we recognize the status of British subject that is accorded by another country of the Commonwealth to one of its citizens, no matter how such status of British subject may be defined by that country. In short, it might be said that the old basis was one of identical definition, while we have adopted a basis that might be called mutual recognition of possibly disparate definitions.

We have sent copies of our Bill to all countries of the Commonwealth (October 12, 1945 and March 23, 1946) and none but the United Kingdom has evinced any particular interest with regard to the question of the status of British subject. It is suggested in the attached dispatch that Australia may follow our example and on April 9 a press dispatch stated that the Australian Cabinet "approved the principles" embodied in our Bill. Mr. Hearne, the Irish High Commissioner, has expressed personal interest in the affect of the Bill on the status of Irish citizens, but there have been no representations from the Irish government. They, of course, have no interest in the status of "British subject".

The United Kingdom suggestion for discussion is based on the conclusions of the Imperial Conferences of 1930 and 1937. The relevant conclusions of the Conference of 1930 were as follows:

> "2. That, if any changes are desired in the existing requirements for the common status, provision should be made for the maintenance of the common status, and the changes should only be introduced (in accordance with present practice) after consultation and agreement among the several Members of the Commonwealth.

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"3. That it is for each Member of the Commonwealth to define for itself its own nationals, but that, so far as possible, those nationals should be persons possessing the common status, though it is recognized that local conditions or other special circumstances may from time to time necessitate divergences from this general principle.

"4. That the possession of the common status in virtue of the law for the time being in force in any part of the Commonwealth should carry with it the recognition of that status by the law of every other part of the Commonwealth".

At the 1937 Conference the following were the relevant conclusions:

"1. It is for each Member of the British Commonwealth to decide which persons have with it that definite connection -- which would enable it to recognize them as members of its community. It is desirable, however, to secure as far as possible uniformity in principle - - -.

- -

- - - it is recommended that <u>any member contemplating passing a law on the membership of its community, should submit the proposals to the other members of the Commonwealth</u> so as to enable them to offer observations thereon, if they feel so inclined".

We have fully met the latter obligation. We sent an outline of our Bill to all countries of the Commonwealth on September 27, 1945, and copies of the Bill on October 12. We also sent copies of the Bill as revised for its recent introduction on March 23. The British, however, feel that paragraph 2 (above) of the

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1930 conclusions requires "consultation and agreement" in this case, since our Bill affects "the existing requirements for the common status". In actual fact the change in the "requirements" under our Bill are very slight and in almost all cases represent a tightening of qualifications. We have pointed to these facts and to the fact that no other country has expressed a desire to hold a meeting. We have not argued the point, but if it seemed desirable as a matter of policy, we might perhaps take the view that the 1937 decisions supersede those of 1930, and that consultation is not strictly necessary.

Acceptance of the United Kingdom suggestion for a discussion might give rise to a number of difficulties. It is clearly impossible to hold a purely "legal" discussion on this matter. Even if our approach were unanimously accepted there would still be questions of political policy that would conflict with strict legal considerations in many instances. However, the prior question of the entire basis of approach to the nationality question is one of policy and not of law. There is, moreover, possible difficulty in the very fact of holding a conference. It would vitiate the psychological and political value of our proceeding to Canadian nationality through purely national action. Again, if there is disagreement, or attempt to secure amendments from us which we do not wish to make, there is the possibility of raising a domestic controversy on imperial issues - a controversy that has thus far been completely avoided.

On the other side is the 1930 report and also the fact that it is now public knowledge that the U.K. has suggested a Commonwealth discussion. The matter became public on April 9 when Prime Minister Chifley of Australia stated that his Cabinet had approved their being represented "at a British Commonwealth Conference to discuss proposed legislation on one nationality operating generally in British Commonwealth countries."

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Apart from these basic problems in the proposal, there are a number of other points to consider:

1. The position of Ireland. The British apparently contemplate not having Ireland present. Certainly there could be no unanimity if Ireland were there, but it seems undesirable to leave Ireland out of the first technical discussion of a non-war question between members of the Commonwealth.

2. The place of meeting. If a meeting is to be held, New Zealand and South Africa would prefer it to be in London because of transportation considerations. Australia has also suggested that the meeting be held in London "possibly in June, immediately after the Peace Conference in Paris". The United Kingdom would probably prefer that, but would be willing to come to Ottawa. If London is the locus, a meeting after the consultations with Prime Ministers in May might be relatively obscure and not attract too much attention. A meeting in Ottawa would have the merit of avoiding the appearance of our going to London to have blessing given to the new Bill, but it would attract more attention and might rouse some domestic controversy over imperial and national issues.

3. The time of meeting. If we are to attend any meeting, it might be well to hold it soon, so as to clear the matter up as quickly as possible. The Bill has had a desirable domestic reaction, and should go into effect fairly soon.

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4. Canadian representation. The meeting sought is a technical one and it would be undesirable to give it the emphasis of representation by a Cabinet minister. Our representatives would have to be aware of the political considerations that are involved in the new Bill, and at the same time fully conversant with the complex details of nationality legislation. Mr. Read would have made an ideal representative, but he is no longer available.

The immediate questions for decision are:

1. Whether we should agree to a meeting at all.
2. If we agree to a meeting -
   (a) whether it should be in London after the Prime Ministers' meetings, or after the Paris discussions; or

   (b) whether we should try to have it held in Ottawa, and if so, when.

The United Kingdom had hoped that we would let them have our answer before this, but other problems have been more immediately urgent. In view of the publicity that has been given to the proposal we should, however, try to send an answer at an early date.

N.A.R.

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R.G. ROBERTSON

British Commonwealth Relations - Prime Ministers' Conference, 1946
Naturalization

RGR/SR
17.5.46

C164392

Nationality of Married Women

I. General Problem Concerning British Married Women

In general, the basic problem with which the British National Council of Women and other women's organizations in the Commonwealth are concerned is that married women have always been regarded as persons "under a disability" for purposes of nationality legislation. This has meant that their national status was tied to and depended upon that of their husbands and that they did not have the control over it that a man or single woman has.

Arising out of this basic approach in nationality legislation (which has been virtually identical throughout the Commonwealth) women's organizations have objected particularly to three aspects:

(a) the fact of the provisions in the Acts to the effect that married women are persons "under a disability", along with "minors, lunatics and idiots".

(b) The fact that when a British woman marries an alien she automatically loses her British status if, by such a marriage, she acquires her husband's nationality.

(c) The fact that if a British male becomes naturalized in a foreign country, his British wife automatically ceases to be British if her husband's act of naturalization confers the foreign nationality on her also. (British nationality can be resumed within six months by means of a declaration, but unless such declaration is made, the woman becomes an alien).

The women's organizations want it to be recognized that married women have control over their national status; are not under a disability; and need not lose or change their status simply because of marriage or action taken by their husbands.

The present British position (which is now the law in

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all parts of the Commonwealth) is a relic of the days when the legal personality of a married woman was bound up in that of her husband. It has been buttressed by the argument that to change the position and to give married women independent control of their national status would mean that families would have mixed nationalities within them. The wife might be of one nationality, and the husband of another, which might lead to difficulties. In other words, the British position has generally been that a family should be all of one nationality, and that, to achieve that condition, the husband should be the controlling factor in the legal situation.

At the Imperial Conferences of 1930 and 1937, the question was discussed. The Canadian delegation favoured a revision of the position so as to give equality to married women. The delegation took the position that, while there was force in the argument for common nationality throughout each family, the fact was that, due to differences in the nationality legislation of foreign countries, births abroad, and other factors, families often were not of a common and single nationality in any case. Moreover, it was felt more important to grant the principle of equality to married women than to pretend to preserve a non-existent condition of single nationality for families. It was not found possible, however, to secure general agreement and no change in principle was made.

II. General Position under the Canadian Citizenship Act.

The Canadian Citizenship Bill breaks with the traditional British practice and establishes the position for which we argued in 1930 and 1937. The changes that have been made meet entirely the points that have been raised by women's organizations on the question of nationality.

In general, the basic principle in our new Bill is to treat women, whether married or not, on a basis of equality with men. This means that, under the Act, when it comes into

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force:

(A) A married woman will no longer be a "person under a disability".

She will be able to change her own nationality by naturalization, or to retain her original nationality even though a change in her husband's may occur.

(B) A Canadian woman will not lose her Canadian status upon marrying an alien, whether she acquires his nationality by such marriage or not.

If the woman so wishes, she may, after such marriage renounce her Canadian status. In other words, the change will depend upon a voluntary act on her part and will not be an automatic result of marriage.

(C) A Canadian woman will not lose her Canadian status simply by reason of her husband becoming naturalized in a foreign state.

If the woman chooses herself to acquire such foreign nationality, she will cease to be a Canadian, but not otherwise.

During the month of April representations were sent to the Prime Minister, urging him to bring up at London the question of nationality of married women. In a reply, sent after approval by the Prime Minister and Mr. N.A. Robertson, it was pointed out that Canada had taken full and complete action to rectify, in its own legislation, the position of married women and that it would not be appropriate for the Prime Minister to urge or suggest any line of action on the part of the other countries of the Commonwealth, since it was entirely a matter for their own discretion and independent legislation.

It would seem that the Canadian position is clear and that we are not, in reality, concerned with the proposed discussion other than to explain our new legislation, which the other countries may wish to follow.

(The Australian government has already introduced a Bill

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which would save the Australian status of women who marry aliens so long as such women are within the boundaries of Australia. Our Bill will have extraterritorial effect as well, and the Australian government has indicated that it approves its principles and may take like action.)

III. Position of United Kingdom Women Marrying Canadians.

Any United Kingdom woman who marries a Canadian and comes to Canada before our Act goes into force will automatically be a Canadian citizen. She will also retain all her rights in the United Kingdom. This will cover the position of virtually all war brides.

A United Kingdom woman who marries a Canadian after the Act goes into force, or who marries before but does not land in Canada until after the Act goes into force, will have to reside in Canada for one year before she becomes a Canadian citizen. (Five years' residence are required in general, but only one year for the non-Canadian wives of Canadian citizens). The woman will retain her rights in the United Kingdom.

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To read on boat

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. C164396

As I informed you yesterday, the meetings which have been held during the last week to discuss nationality problems have now concluded in a manner which is, I think, quite satisfactory from our point of view.

The first meeting, which was held on May 30th, was the most important of the series, and established the main conclusions that were arrived at. At that meeting Sir Alexander Maxwell, for the United Kingdom, said that they felt that the Canadian Bill represented an entirely new approach to the question of nationality within the Commonwealth and that, for that reason, it was very desirable to have its implications examined by the other countries which would have to give new consideration to their own nationality laws. He added that the Canadian basis of approach involved certain problems for the United Kingdom which did not mean that the approach was undesirable but which did suggest the necessity of having careful consideration given to the whole matter, so that the best possible adjustment could be made. He then called for comments of the representatives of the other countries.

Mr. N.A. Robertson explained the general background of our Bill and enlarged upon certain features of it, to which I gave further explanation at subsequent meetings, when specific questions were raised. After Mr. Robertson's statement, Professor Bailey, the new Solicitor General of Australia, spoke on their behalf and said that the Australian Government not merely approved, but was enthusiastic about the principles embodied in the Canadian Bill. He felt that the psychological approach in the Canadian measure, which gave primary emphasis to the local nationality, was sound and met many of the problems which Australia had in common with Canada. He thought that the Bill embodied no serious difficulties or dangers and demonstrated an approach that would be desirable for general adoption.

Seen by N.A.R.

The New Zealand and South African representatives expressed views in accordance with those of Mr. Bailey, and Dr. Wessels, for South Africa, expressed the opinion that

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the general trend had to be in the direction of the principles embodied in the Canadian Citizenship Bill.

In the light of the above comments, Sir Alexander Maxwell said that it seemed clear that it would be desirable to have a full conference of experts at a later date to give thorough and detailed consideration to the way in which the principles of the Canadian Citizenship Bill could be adapted for general application by the other countries of the Commonwealth as well. He felt that the most useful approach would be for the matter to be considered carefully by the responsible officials of each Government and taken up with their Ministers, in order that a full exchange of views might take place, which could lead to an exhaustive examination at the later meetings and to definite conclusions. He recognised that no substantive amendments could be made in the Canadian legislation.

Mr. Robertson felt that on the basis proposed, in which the objective of the new meetings would be to secure the general adoption of the Canadian basis of legislation, there were no serious problems or difficulties involved in our agreeing to attend such a meeting, and said that he would report favourably on the matter. The other Commonwealth representatives were strongly in favour of having the meetings as suggested, some time in the Fall.

It was agreed that no publicity whatever should be given to the fact of the present meetings or to the intention to hold further discussions later this year.

.....

I am attaching hereto a copy of the Minutes of the first meeting in case you wish to examine them.

(R.G. Robertson)

June 6th, 1946.

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P.M.M.(B) 1st Meeting

The attached final version of the minutes of this meeting takes the place of the version circulated on 31st May.

It is requested that copies of the latter be returned to: Mr. A.M.R. Topham, Cabinet Office, Great George Street, S.W.1.

5th June, 1946.

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S E C R E T

P.M.M.(B) 1st Meeting

COPY NO. 4

MEETING OF PRIME MINISTERS

COMMITTEE OF OFFICIALS ON NATIONALITY QUESTIONS

Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee held in Conference Room 'B', Cabinet Office, Great George Street, S.W.1 on THURSDAY, 30TH MAY, 1946 at 11.0 a.m.

PRESENT:

Sir Alexander Maxwell, Home Office (In the Chair)

Mr. N.A. Robertson, Canada

Mr. R.G. Robertson, Canada

Mr. J.W. Holmes, Canada

Professor K.H. Bailey, Australia

Mr. T.G. Glasheen, Australia

Mr. C. Aikman, New Zealand

Dr. L.H. Wessels, South Africa

Mr. W.E. Beckett, K.C., Foreign Office

Mr. J.S. Fawcett, Foreign Office

Mr. T. Hutson, Home Office

Mr. L.S. Brass, Home Office

Sir John Stephenson, Dominions Office

Sir Kenneth Kemp, India Office

Mr. W.L. Dale, Colonial Office

SECRETARIAT

Mr. J.K.T. Jones
Mr. A.M.R. Topham

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SIR ALEXANDER MAXWELL expressed, on behalf of the Departments of the Government of the United Kingdom represented on the Committee, their pleasure that representatives from the Dominions had been able to make themselves available for these discussions. The matters which this Committee had been authorised by Ministers to consider concerned -

First, the points raised by the United Kingdom Government arising out of the Canadian Citizenship Bill.

Second, the points raised by the South African Government concerning the nationality of married women.

1. Sir Alexander Maxwell said that the object of the United Kingdom Government in inviting representatives of the Dominions to a conference was to secure a discussion on the consequences of the Canadian Bill. The object was not to raise objections to that Bill, nor was the main object to suggest amendments. The main object was to consider what action, if any, should be taken by other members of the Commonwealth as a result of the Canadian Bill.

It was understood that the Canadian Bill was for all practical purposes fait accompli, and the first purpose of this meeting was to consider what course the other members of the Commonwealth might think it right to take on the assumption that the Canadian Bill becomes law.

2. On this question the United Kingdom Government had as yet no authoritative views. The matter had not been formally considered by Ministers. Those whose duty it might be to advise Ministers had been discussing the matter among themselves. Such views as the United Kingdom representatives had were fluid and tentative and any views expressed by the United Kingdom representatives must be regarded as representing the personal view of the speaker and not as the authoritative view of the United Kingdom Government, or of any Minister. It might be that the representatives of some of the Dominions were in much the same position, and it would be advantageous if the Committee could talk quite freely without in any way committing Governments or Ministers.

3. Sir Alexander Maxwell said that it followed that the purpose of these meetings was in no sense to secure any agreements or commitments, but to exchange views and suggestions with a view to deciding the sort of advice which each of the various representatives might think it proper to give to his Government. The need for the present talks being exploratory was emphasized by the fact that in the case of the United Kingdom, and also he understood of some of the Commonwealth Governments, it had not been possible to prepare the ground in advance, nor to have all the experts on the subject at the meetings. Sir Alexander Maxwell said that it followed, of course, that these talks would be entirely private, and that it might be advisable that no publicity should be given even to the fact that these meetings were taking place.

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4. Sir Alexander Maxwell said that the Canadian Bill introduced a new method of framing legislation on the subject of British nationality. Hitherto it had been the practice for each of the members of the Commonwealth to frame such legislation on the basis of what had come to be called the Common Code, i.e. a set of statutory provisions defining who are British subjects and in what circumstances British nationality is acquired or lost. The existence in the laws of each country of this Common Code had been the method of maintaining the common status, and because the maintenance of the common status had rested on the Common Code, it had been important that before any member of the Commonwealth made any substantial amendment of its nationality law, there should be consultation with the other members, and that such variations as there might be between the nationality laws of the several countries of the Commonwealth, should be kept within narrow limits.

The method of maintaining common status adopted in the Canadian Bill was entirely different. The Canadian Bill substituted for the Common Code a set of provisions which regulated not British nationality, but Canadian citzenship, It then went on to say that Canadian citizens were British subjects, and that persons who were British subjects under the laws of the other members of the Commonwealth were recognised as British subjects in Canada. The Bill therefore sought to preserve the common status, but changed the method of doing so.

Sir Alexander Maxwell said that this change of method raised important questions to which he suggested that all members of the Commonwealth needed to consider with attention.

First he suggested that some attention ought to be given to the change in the psychological approach. As he understood the Canadian principle, it was based on the concept that loyalty begins at home. A man's first loyalty, his natural and spontaneous loyalty, was to his homeland. Canada therefore had said in effect, "let us in framing our nationality law define first the persons who owe loyalty to the homeland, and then go on to say that in virtue of the loyalty they owe to the homeland they are British subjects owing loyalty to the British Commonwealth." The Canadian Bill made it clear that an individual's status as a national of the Commonwealth derived from his status as a citizen of his homeland.

5. Sir Alexander Maxwell suggested that it next became necessary to consider what were the practical effects of the change of method in the Canadian Bill. He said that, broadly speaking, subject to certain unimportant exceptions, the provisions in the Canadian Bill regulating Canadian citizenship were similar to the Common Code regulating British nationality, and it could be said that the Canadian Bill preserves in a sense the Common Code. In the Canadian Bill the gateway to Canadian citizenship was also the gateway to British nationality, and the gateway built by the Canadian Bill was so constructed as to let in and keep out much the same classes of people as are let in and kept out by the provisions of the Common Code. It could, therefore, be said that in the law of Canada the gateway to Canadian citizenship was similar to the gateways set up under the laws of the other members of the Commonwealth for entry to British

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nationality, and that the essential features of the Common Code were being preserved. Nevertheless, the fact that the Canadian Bill started by building a gateway to Canadian citizenship in substitution for a gateway to British nationality introduced a very important change.

Hitherto, each member of the Commonwealth when framing its nationality laws had been conscious that it had been building a gateway to British nationality and therefore had been very conscious of the desirability of building its gateway on much the same pattern as the gateways existing elsewhere in the Commonwealth. But if in future members of the Commonwealth when framing nationality legislation started building gateways which were not direct gateways to British nationality, but were gateways to local citizenship, then the feeling that the gateways should all be framed on the same pattern would disappear and the new method would open up the possibility of substantial variations in the patterns of the gateways. It therefore became necessary to consider what were the potential consequences of this new method of framing legislation on the subject of nationality.

Obviously the new method had the great merit of getting rid of the restrictions which the Common Code had imposed on the liberty of each individual member of the Commonwealth. As all present knew, individual members of the Commonwealth had from time to time been anxious to make changes in the nationality laws and had been prevented from making those changes because agreement could not be secured amongst all the members, and he imagined that each of them would feel that it would be a great advantage if these restrictions on our individual liberties could be relaxed. On the other hand, the question had to be considered whether such relaxation might in the future result in very wide variations between the laws of the several members, and whether there was any danger that the variations would become so marked as to imperil the preservation of the common status.

Sir Alexander Maxwell said that for his own part he was inclined to the view that the risk of any such alarming variations was hypothetical rather than real. But he would be glad to know what were the views on this question of other members of the Committee.

6. Sir Alexander Maxwell said that another problem consequential upon the Canadian Citizenship Bill was: what action was the United Kingdom to take as regards various other parts of the Empire?

First, there were the colonies and British possessions in various parts of the world. It seemsd to be impossible to contemplate creating separate citizenships in respect of the smaller colonies. Nor did it seem altogether practicable to attempt to deal with them in groups.

Secondly, the method adopted in the Canadian Bill gave rise to particular difficulties as regards Eire. As he understood it the Canadian Bill preserved the position of people now living who are British subjects under existing law, but not those born in the future unless Eire declares that its citizens are to be regarded as British subjects. A great many inhabitants of Eire did not, of course, wish to be regarded as British subjects but there were some who did, and who would want their children to be regarded as such. Any

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legislation which brought into sharper focus the varying views on these matters held in different quarters needed very careful consideration. The United Kingdom were perhaps presented with a more difficult and delicate problem than the other Members of the Commonwealth with regard to the treatment of Eire citizens under any new citizenship plan on the lines of the Canadian Bill.

Thirdly, there would be certain special problems arising as regards India and Burma. It would be necessary for representatives of India, and perhaps Burma as well, to be present at consultations regarding the possible adoption of any new plan.

7. MR. N.A. ROBERTSON welcomed Sir Alexander Maxwell's view that the present discussions should be informal and private.

He agreed that the Canadian Bill presented other governments with problems, and said that the representatives of the Canadian Government would be glad to join with the representatives of other governments in seeking solutions to these problems.

Mr. Robertson pointed out that Canada was to some extent in a class by itself in the sense that it was a nation to which there had been a large amount of immigration from elsewhere than England, and was accordingly made up of a lot of disparate groups. This had afforded one of the compelling considerations leading to the need of a clear conception of Canadian citizenship. Others had been provided by the conditions operating during the late war, conditions which had in fact led to the adoption in most of the Dominions of methods on the lines of those now embodied in the Bill in order to define for some purposes the persons most closely connected with the Dominions. To this extent the Bill could be regarded as declatory rather than as breaking new ground. Mr. Robertson added that it would no doubt be understood that the question of citizenship and nationality was important politically in Canada and one on which strong views were held. In his opinion the scheme of the Bill represented a reasonable compromise between the two extreme viewpoints.

On the question of Eire, Mr. Robertson said that he appreciated the difficulties to which Sir Alexander Maxwell had referred. The Canadian Bill in its effect on Eire produced, however, what he suggested was a reasonable compromise solution.

Mr. Robertson said that the effect of the Bill (in which the expression "Ireland" was used in referring to Eire) was to preserve the status as British subjects in Canada of all Irish citizens who were in Canada at the time the Bill came into effect. It also preserved the status as British

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subjects of all Irish citizens who were born or naturalised in Ireland before the passage of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935. On the other hand it did not accord the status of British subject for purposes of Canadian law to Irish citizens not in Canada when the Canadian Act came into effect who had been born or naturalised in Ireland after the Act of 1935.

As regards the Canadian Bill generally Mr. Robertson said that the Bill represented what the Canadians considered a reasonable compromise and one from which it could not be expected that the Canadian Government would depart in any important aspect.

8. PROFESSOR BAILEY also welcomed the Chairman's suggestion that the present exchange of views should be regarded as exploratory and non-committal. The views of the Government of Australia on the Canadian Citizenship Bill had been put forward at the Meeting of Prime Ministers when Dr. Evatt said that the principle adopted in the Bill was acceptable to Australia. His own personal views as to the reasons why the Bill was acceptable so far as Australia was concerned were based in part on the fact that much the same psychological and political factors operated in Australia as in Canada, and in part on the fact that the Common Code was, as he saw it, already breaking down under the pressure of local needs. This had been noticeable in the case of Canada, of South Africa and also of Australia, as instanced by the Bill recently introduced in that country dealing with the nationality of married women. Professor Bailey suggested that, rather than face a break up of the Common Code it was better that all the governments concerned should adopt the Canadian principle; nor did he himself see any real dangers in such a policy. Indeed he thought that if the members of the British Commonwealth were not willing to give to the citizens of other members of the Commonwealth the common status of British subject, it would mean that the substance behind the preservation of the common status had already disappeared.

On the question of the scope of the present meetings Professor Bailey said that in the case of Australia it was necessary, before any definite conclusions were arrived at, to secure the presence of experts in the administration of nationality legislation.

As regards publicity, he suggested that, so far as the nationality of married women was concerned, some reference to the fact that talks had taken place might be advisable in view of the public statements which had already been made on this subject. Some indication should be given that steps were being taken to follow up the decision of the Prime Ministers.

9. MR. AIKMAN said that, in the case of New Zealand also, it had not been possible to have its team of experts available for these meetings, and that he would like such remarks as he made to be treated as non-committal.

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The New Zealand Government, while they were not presented with the same difficulties as the Canadian Government, recognised the reasons which had led Canada to introduce the Canadian Citizenship Bill. His Government also welcomed the making of a common approach to the problems consequential upon that Bill. Any legislative action that might be taken would be conditioned by a desire that the common status of British subject should be maintained. One question that he would like to raise purely from a personal viewpoint was to ask what would in fact be the position as regards the common status of a British subject in both the international and the domestic spheres, if all the other Members of the Commonwealth legislated on the lines of the Canadian Bill.

10. DR. WESSELS said that, for reasons which other representatives had mentioned and which operated equally in the case of South Africa, he would prefer at this stage to restrict his remarks to a few personal observations. His own view was that the general trend was in the direction of the principles embodied in the Canadian Citizenship Bill and he did not think that there were any real difficulties in the way of other Members of the Commonwealth adopting similar principles. Dr. Wessels mentioned that some steps in this direction had already been made following the Hague Convention of 1930.

On the question of publicity for the present discussions, Dr. Wessels took the view that while no publicity was desirable in so far as the discussions concerned the Canadian Citizenship Bill, he would welcome some discreet publicity about the talks on the nationality of married women.

11. SIR KENNETH KEMP said that the Government of India would want to be represented at any conference which was held to reach decisions on the various matters under discussion. The Government of Burma, also, would wish to have an observer at any such conference, or possibly a full representative.

SIR ALEXANDER MAXWELL said that it was clear, from the discussion, that there would need to be a full conference at some future date at which these various matters could be discussed in the presence of all the legal experts.

After discussion THE COMMITTEE AGREED:-

(1) That it was desirable that a conference should be held not earlier than the end of September at which all the legal experts could be present, it being understood that as much preparatory work as possible, by the preparation and exchange of papers and otherwise, should be done in advance of such a meeting.

(2) That the Committee should meet again at 10.30 a.m. on the following morning to discuss the subject of the nationality of married women.

(3) That the Committee should meet also at 2.30 p.m. on the following afternoon to discuss the problems consequential upon the Canadian Citizenship B ll.

Cabinet Office, S.W.1.

5TH JUNE, 1946.

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Citizenship.

June 28, 1946

C164406

Among the bills to which Royal Assent was given yesterday afternoon was An Act respecting Citizenship, Nationality, Naturalization and Status of Aliens.

As the House will not be in session on Monday next, July 1, hon. members will I think be interested to know that this Act will be proclaimed on July 1, 1946, the 79th Anniversary of Canadian Federation, to come into force on January 1, 1947.

I am glad to think that with this first peacetime observance of the national holidy of Canada, after nearly seven years of war, there will now be linked the proclamation of this new Act which gives to the nationhood of Canada a new stature and dignity.

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C164407

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Pickersgill.

file

Following from the Prime Minister:

OS-10 1946

N-10-1(c)

"Please have in mind ceremony re citizenship to which I shall be making a speech early in January. Secure from Mr. Martin what is to be said on that occasion. on topics Also notes for further consideration by Cabinet and sessional programme - Bill of Rights."

M. J.D

November 20, 1946.

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citizenship ceremony file
Dec 1946

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: C164408

Attached is a letter from Dr. E. H. Coleman setting forth in outline the plans that are in the course of preparation for the citizenship ceremony on January 3rd.

The proposal to change the hour from an afternoon time to 9 o'clock in the evening is, I think, a very good idea as there will be a much larger listening radio audience at that time. I understand that from 9 to 10, which will be the period occupied by the national broadcast of the ceremony, is the best possible listening hour for the country as a whole.

I understand that those in charge would like to have motion pictures taken of part of the ceremony, including at least a portion of your own address. These would be sound films to be used for news reels and also for films it is intended to produce subsequently on citizenship. This will involve a certain amount of bright lighting, but I have been promised that they will endeavour to keep it to a minimum and to make it as inconspicuous as possible. If you feel that the lighting necessary would be too much of a discomfort, they would be prepared to do away with it, although they feel that it is of great importance to have films for wide general circulation.

I have prepared a first draft of an address which might be appropriate for you for the ceremony and I have sent a copy to Mr. Martin in New York in order to secure his comments and suggestions. Thus far I have not had a reply, but one should be available within a day or two.

You may wish to note the question raised in Item 7 in Dr. Coleman's letter concerning the desirability of having Citizenship Certificate No. 1 presented to you at the ceremony. I must confess that I feel a certain amount of doubt about this suggestion as it could easily create some misunderstanding. The ceremony on January 3rd will be an actual court ceremony for the conferring of citizenship. The certificates are, moreover, clearly prescribed by the Act to provide proof of citizenship in the case of persons who were not born to Canadian citizenship or, in rare cases, they can be given even to Canadian-born persons if there is doubt for some reason about their status. Some critics could perhaps seize on the award of Certificate No. 1 to the Prime Minister as being a contravention of the true spirit and purpose of the Act.

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I do not know that this would be done, but it seems to me that it is a possibility you may wish to have in mind since this occasion should be particularly free of any possibility of bickering or misunderstanding.

If you feel that any changes should be made in the present plans, I can have the necessary information passed on to Dr. Coleman at once.

R. C. R.

10th December, 1946.

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MEMORANDUM
Office of the Prime Minister

C164410

Ottawa, 10/XII/46

Mr Gibson

You may wish to have this copy for your purposes and information at L. W.

WLM

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister: C164411

Attached is a letter from Dr. E. H. Coleman setting forth in outline the plans that are in the course of preparation for the citizenship ceremony on January 3rd.

The proposal to change the hour from an afternoon time to 9 o'clock in the evening is, I think, a very good idea as there will be a much larger listening radio audience at that time. I understand that from 9 to 10, which will be the period occupied by the national broadcast of the ceremony, is the best possible listening hour for the country as a whole.

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If you feel that any changes should be made in the present plans, I can have the necessary information passed on to Dr. Coleman at once.

R. G. R.

10th December, 1946.

RGR:McK

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C164413

COPY

Department of the Secretary of State
of Canada

Ottawa, December 9, 1946.

My dear Pickersgill,-

The Honourable Mr. Martin had some conversation with the Prime Minister concerning the National Ceremony inaugurating Citizenship Week, on Friday, January 3rd next, and I understand the Prime Minister has consented to speak on that occasion. The detail of the arrangements have been under study by a committee headed by Dr. H. M. Tory. Since Mr. Martin is in New York, I thought it might be desirable that I should give you, for the information of the Prime Minister, a short outline of the proposals.

Mr. Martin will, I have no doubt, write the Prime Minister in the course of the next few days, but I thought you should be advised at the earliest possible moment.

1. It is proposed that the ceremony be held in the Supreme Court Building on Friday, January 3rd, at 9.00 p.m. It had been originally suggested that the ceremony might be in the afternoon but the C.B.C., which is making it the occasion of a national broadcast, represented very strongly that it was desirable that it should be an actuality broadcast at the peak listening hour, 9.00 p.m. It is hoped this will be agreeable to the Prime Minister.

2. There will be music by the R.C.M.P. Band, which will be in the foyer of the building, and by a choir trained by Mr. Rickwood of Ottawa.

3. It is proposed that ten or twelve people will take the Oath of Allegiance and receive certificates of citizenship. It is hoped that there will be one from each of the Provinces but until the final arrangements have been completed, I am not able to send the complete final list.

J. W. Pickersgill, Esq.,
Special Assistant to the Prime Minister,
O t t a w a.

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4. The provisional programme provides that the Chief Justice of Canada, who will preside, will make a short charge (he suggests three minutes) first in English and then in French, to the recipients. They will then take the Oath of Allegiance and be handed their certificates.

5. The provisional programme then provides for the address by the Prime Minister. I do not know the length of the address but it is hoped to bring the whole ceremony within the compass of one hour, so that it may all be broadcast, and a ten or twelve minute address might enable this to be done.

6. While the Chief Justice, it is expected, will wear his ceremonial robes, it is felt the participants in the ceremony may wear afternoon dress or business suits, not evening dress or dinner jackets, since some of the recipients are humble folk who will not possess evening dress.

7. One proposal of the committee is that certificate No. 1 might be given to the Prime Minister, if he will accept it.

I am sending you this preliminary letter and will be glad if you will telephone me if the Prime Minister cares to make any observations in respect to any of the proposals.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) E. H. Coleman
Under Secretary of State.

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REFERENCE PAPERS

CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

An Agency of the Government of Canada

OTTAWA-CANADA

General Series

No.7 December 16, 1946.

CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP WEEK

Residents of Canada, both native-born and naturalized, will soon have the right to designate themselves Canadian citizens. It is a privilege the Canadian people have never before had in the 79 years since the articles of Confederation created the national entity of Canada.

To mark the establishment and recognition of Canadian citizenship, which comes into force by an Act of Parliament on January 1st, 1947, the Department of the Secretary of State is organizing a "Canadian Citizenship Week". During this period, from January 5 to January 11, events will be arranged on a nation-wide scale to inaugurate the new citizenship ceremonies provided for in the Act. The primary aim of the program now being drawn up will be to deepen the national consciousness of what it means to be a Canadian citizen.

Prior to the passing of the Canadian Citizenship Act there were three main statutes which dealt with questions of nationality or citizenship. The existence of these was the result of historical development and was due in part to the fact that, along with other peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire, Canadians possessed the common status of British subjects. The new Act removes the complexities in previous legislation and achieves a clear definition of citizenship.

The inception of Canadian citizenship implies much more than a simple change in terminology. It represents the stage that Canadians generally have reached where, in the form of a legal enactment, they want an undoubted right to be able to call themselves Canadian citizens. For Canada, January 1, 1947 will be not only an important occasion for individuals, but an event of great significance in the country's history.

In the early days of the older provinces, naturalization could be conferred only be a private act of the provincial legislatures. After the signing of Confederation in 1867 general acts relating to naturalization were passed. The first general Federal Act dealing with the subject was in the early 1880's and it remained in force for several decades. It conferred on the holder of a certificate the status of a British subject only within Canada.

The Naturalization Act of 1914, which was similar in terms to an act passed in the United Kingdom and in others of the self-governing Dominions, conferred on the holder of a certificate the status of British subject which was recognized in all British territories beyond Canada.

In 1921 the Canadian Nationals Act was passed to distinguish nationals of Canada from those of other parts of the Commonwealth who shared the status of British subjects.

The Immigration Act concerned itself in some part with citizenship, but only for the purposes of immigration. It defined citizenship

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simply as a means of describing the persons who would be deemed to have a right of entry to Canada.

Thus the Naturalization Act, while it defined a "British subject" contained no definition of a "Canadian citizen"; The Canadian Nationals Act defined a Canadian Citizen in terms of the Immigration Act, but was not effective as it included certain classes of persons who were not Canadian citizens under the Immigration Act. The Immigration Act defined Canadian citizen, but limited the effect of the definition to the purposes of immigration. Consequently there was no general definition of Canadian citizenship for all purposes. The new Citizenship Act meets this long-felt need.

To launch Citizenship Week there will be a ceremony in the Supreme Court at Ottawa on January 3rd in which representative new Canadians will receive certificates of citizenship. Canadidates on this occasion will represent the different provinces and the various ethnic groups of the Dominion. For the ceremony, which will be the first of a country-wide series, Justices of the Supreme Court will be in attendance and other officials will be on hand. Chief Justice Rinfret will administer the Oath of Allegiance and Prime Minister Mackenzie King will welcome the new citizens. This Ottawa ceremony will be broadcast over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and both motion picture and still cameras will be used to record the event.

During the week public presentations of certificates are planned at similar ceremonies in principal cities across Canada, including Charlottetown, Fredericton, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton, and Victoria. These ceremonies will be organized by local committees working under the direction of the provincial authorities, mayors and other officials. While the principal feature of these ceremonies will be the presentation of certificates of Canadian citizenship to new citizens; it is hoped through them to emphasize to all Canadians the implications of the Oath of Allegiance, and the responsibilities which flow from it.

The new Oath of Allegiance reads: "I swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, his heirs and successors, according to law, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen. So help me God."

Both during Citizenship Week and afterwards considerable importance is to be attached to the ceremonies in which citizenship certificates are presented, since it is felt that such rites, if properly arranged, can do much to point up the importance of the occasion. An outline of a simple and dignified ceremony has been prepared for such occasions as a suggested pattern. This ceremony includes a civic reception of a friendly and informal nature where officials of governments, churches, schools and community organizations will meet and welcome the new Canadians.

In promoting the Citizenship Week the help of national, provincial and community groups, the churches, service clubs, women's organizations, educational bodies, press and radio organizations is being sought. All are asked to help create a greater consciousness of the responsibilities of citizenship in the Dominion.

In asking for this cooperation, Secretary of State Paul Martin said "The Canadian Citizenship Act has a far broader significance than most of us realize. At a time when the nations of the world are striving to set up an organization which will be a world-wide guarantee of peace and security, we here present an example of how each may preserve the uniqueness of our individual nationhood within the framework of common

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ideals and loyalty to free institutions. Although heretofore the separate status of the Dominions within the British Commonwealth was fully recognized, it will be on January 1st, 1947, through the medium of the Canadian Citizenship Act, that we will have the full legal right to call ourselves Canadian citizens, retaining the status of British subjects."

An invitation has been extended to the heads of all religious bodies in the Dominion to lend their support to the nation-wide observation of Citizenship Week and in response to this invitation the religious leaders of Canada have pledged their whole-hearted support of the plan.

It is expected that educational organizations in Canada will co-operate by stressing the obligations of citizenship and its foundations. In cities where ceremonies are to be held, citizens' committees are being formed to assist in arrangements and to enlist the support of every section of civic life. Service clubs and other organizations are being asked to make the theme of their activities during the week - "the meaning of Canadian citizenship."

When the Canadian Citizenship Act comes into force, native-born Canadians or British subjects domiciled in Canada, foreign-born brides of Canadian ex-servicemen and residents possessing naturalization certificates will be declared Canadian citizens immediately. Citizenship papers will be granted British subjects after they have established legal residence. Thereafter all Canadian passports will carry the designation "Canadian Citizen".

The Act states that a Canadian woman will have the right to retain Canadian nationality even though she marries a man of another nationality. Women marrying Canadian citizens qualify for citizenship within a year of becoming residents as do non-Canadians who served in the Canadian forces outside the country.

Although the Act makes citizenship available to those who previously entered Canada as immigrants it has no effect on existing immigration regulations. As far as this Act is concerned, Canadian immigration laws remain unchanged.

Provision is made in the Act for encouragement of education in citizenship for those applying for naturalization, and the Secretary of State is given the responsibility of seeing that adequate facilities are available for this purpose. A concerted effort will be made to acquaint new citizens with the significance of the step they are taking and the responsibilities inherent in their new status.

The Secretary of State has recommended that citizenship ceremonies similar to those of Citizenship Week be held on specific dates in February, June and October each year. He hopes that on these dates ceremonies will be arranged by civic and community bodies in cities all across Canada. He has pointed out also that every year some 200,000 young Canadians come of voting age and that it would be fitting to have some recognition made of this important event in their lives.

In ensuring that adequate preparation is provided for persons applying for citizenship the Federal Government is obtaining the co-operation of adult education bodies. The Provincial governments have already indicated their interest in the Canadian Citizenship program, and night classes for persons applying for citizenship papers have been started in many cities. A manual for new citizens is under preparation, and a copy of it will be given to each applicant. Assistance in creating an appreciation of what it means to be a citizen of Canada is to be given by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, through film and radio programs.

B.K./16.12.46 (n.p.)

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K-box

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

C164418

Attached hereto is a draft of an address which might be appropriate for the Citizenship Ceremony, to be held on January 3rd. It has been revised in accordance with suggestions made by Mr. Paul Martin and Mr. Pickersgill.

Those in charge of arrangements feel that it would fit in with the general plan if your address were about fifteen minutes in length. Exact timing would not, I think, be absolutely necessary since the overall length of the programme will be about an hour and it will be broadcast in entirety. Two or three minutes one way or another in connection with your address would probably not be of great significance from the point of view of timing.

R.G.R.

December 17th, 1946.

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C164419

Address by the Prime Minister for National Broadcast

- Canadian Citizenship Ceremony
- Ottawa, January 3, 1947; 9:00 p. m., E. S. T.

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Welcome to New Citizens

As a Canadian citizen, and in the name of all Canadian citizens, it gives me the utmost pride and pleasure this evening to extend a cordial welcome to you who are before me and who have this day become Canadian citizens. As I address this word of welcome to you, there are thousands of fellow Canadian citizens in countless Canadian homes who have heard with pride the oaths of allegiance you have taken. I know that each and all of them join with me in greeting and congratulation.

We who have the name of "Canadian citizen" know that it is a proud title. We know that it is a great privilege to be able to bear it. Canada is a fortunate country. It has been endowed by God with great resources. It is peopled by citizens with energy, intelligence, and

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a sense of responsibility. In a troubled and unhappy world, it is particularly blessed with peace and plenty. These advantages and all that flows from them are the heritage of all Canadian citizens. You have to-day become equal partners in that heritage. We know that you are worthy and we welcome you.

The First Citizenship Ceremony

I have particular pleasure in extending my welcome to you to-day since you are the first persons to participate in a citizenship ceremony under the new Canadian Citizenship Act. In accordance with the democratic procedure of our country, that Act was passed by Parliament at its last session. One of the aims of the Citizenship Act is to draw the people of this great country more closely together in unity and understanding.

The Canadian Citizenship Act was proclaimed by His Excellency the Governor General on our national holiday - July 1, 1946, and came into effect just two days ago, on January 1. It has given to Canadians a new national status in their own country and in the world. The recognition and definition of that status - the status of Canadian citizens -

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will, I know, be a source of pride and of community to all of us.

You, who are before me, symbolize in a sense the character of Canada. You come from many parts of our country and spring from many different origins. We are a scattered people. We are a nation of minorities. But the fact that you are separated one from another by geography or by origin is unimportant. There is one thing that you and we all have in common - one thing which binds us together and makes us a people. That is the fact that we are Canadian citizens. In that common fact - in the pride and the duty of which it is the symbol - lies our unity and our strength.

Citizenship Involves Responsibilities

I have spoken thus far of welcome, of pride and of privileges. You will find all in your new citizenship. However, I would do less than justice to our common country, less than justice to our citizenship, and much less than justice to you, were I to speak only of these. Canadian citizenship also involves responsibilities. None of us can be good citizens and none of us can be worthy of Canada if we do not assume, in full measure, the responsibilities of citizenship.

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Canada, a Country to be proud of

One responsibility which all Canadian citizens have is to the good name and reputation of our country. Canada is a country to be proud of. It was built out of wilderness, often in defiance of nature, by the courage and vision of men and women. It has grown in living memory from a small and unknown region of farm and forest to one of the great industrial nations of the world. The men of Canada have served, and thousands have died, valiantly and selflessly in the cause of freedom and in the name of our land. Our country and our people have established the highest standards of political, social and individual life. Canada has a record of responsibility and integrity in world affairs. Canada is respected among the nations of the world.

All Canadian citizens, new and old alike, have a duty to measure up to the traditions of courage, enterprise and devotion set by the glorious names of those who have made Canada - such names as Champlain and Frontenac; Wolfe and Montcalm; Papineau and Mackenzie; Baldwin and Lafontaine; Macdonald and Laurier. They served greatly and nobly to make Canada. It is for us to ensure that the greatness of

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this work remains unmarred -- that the future of Canada bears out the promise of its past.

A Second Responsibility

The responsibility I have spoken of is one that we owe to the good name of our country. It is an obligation which, I think, everyone appreciates. There is, however, a further measure of responsibility which we are apt to overlook. That responsibility arises out of the divisions and differences that exist within Canada and which place an unusual strain on the maintenance of national strength and unity.

Geographic and Ethnic Differences

In one aspect the divisions of which I speak are geographical. Our country is immense; its chief areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens to-day are well aware of this fact, for you have come long distances to join in this ceremony. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some of you are from the Maritimes. Thousands of miles may separate

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you, just as they separate many Canadians from one another. Those distances, and the geographic differences between the various parts of Canada lead to a diversity of interest and attitude. They impose a sectional interest which tends constantly to weaken our national fabric.

In another aspect, the divisions I refer to are social and ethnic. The people of Canada, like you who are in this Supreme Court Chamber to-day, come from many diverse stocks. We differ from one another in religion, in social outlook and in culture.

These differences in our country and our people can be a source of weakness, but they need not be. If we recognize the fact of their existence we can guard against their possible effects. We can, indeed, make them a source of strength, for they can teach us the moderation and spirit of conciliation that is so sorely needed in the world to-day. But to gain this strength out of possible weakness, we must recognize the special obligations which are placed on all Canadians. Our differences and divisions impose on each and all of us a particular duty to be tolerant, to be understanding and to be patient. We have to realize that if other Canadians see things a little differently than we do, it does not mean that they are wrong or ill-intentioned. We should expect differences and we should respect them. If we do expect them, and if we respect and try to understand them, we will be a stronger and

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better people--and much better citizens of the world. Our very differences can be one of our greatest strengths.

That special responsibility - the responsibility of people who are different in many things, but who are sinking those differences to work together for great ends - is a fundamental obligation of every Canadian citizen. He will be helped in his task if he realizes that his fellows, however differently they may think in some matters, are Canadian citizens too, and are working, in their way, for the good of our common country.

The Responsibility of Freedom

There is a third responsibility which every Canadian citizen has. It is the most important of all. It is the responsibility of men and women who are free.

Canada is a democracy. Canadians, as a democratic people, believe that the state exists for man, and not man for the state. Canadians believe that social and political organization is not an end in itself. They believe that it has one purpose and one purpose only -- to enable men and women to live and grow in freedom.

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We, in Canada, interpret freedom broadly. On the one hand we mean by freedom the banishment of all those fears which can oppress and paralyze men and rob them of their security. We include freedom, under the rule of law, from the fear of arbitrary restraint and oppression by the state. We include freedom from the fear of oppression by other individuals. We include freedom from those constant perils of war and want and social insecurity. On the other hand, we include in freedom a positive side. The freedom we have in Canada provides an opportunity for the individual to develop his whole personality. It gives to every citizen the right to live his own life in his own way subject only to the equal right of all his fellows to the same freedom.

Democracy on the Defensive

Our fathers, in the nineteenth century, believed in democracy and in freedom. They believed that freedom and democracy were right, and because they were right, men had confidence that their rightness would cause freedom and democracy to prevail. Canadians today believe just as strongly in democracy and freedom as did our fathers. We share their belief -- but we have no right to share their confidence.

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It is far from certain today that freedom and democracy will ultimately prevail throughout the world. It is far from certain that they will even survive. Other systems of society and government, in which there is no freedom, have arisen in our day and become strong contenders for the allegiance of men. The democratic way of life faces grave competition. In many countries it has fallen before that competition and disappeared. Free government can disappear elsewhere--yes, even in our country, if we underestimate the competition which it faces, and if we do not recognize our individual responsibility for the successful working of democracy and for the defence of freedom.

The Individual in a Democracy

Because democracy is based on the freedom of the individual, it depends on the individual to defend it. It depends on the intelligence, the maturity, the restraint, and the self-control of its citizens. It depends upon the recognition by each of the equal rights of his fellows and of his own obligation to defend those rights. It depends on every man to show in his own life and conduct, that free men are responsible men; that liberty is not licence; that opportunity does not mean disregard for the rights of others.

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We, in Canada, believe that Canadians can and will vindicate the faith that democracy places in freedom. It is on that faith that our democracy is based. It is in that belief that Canada lives. It is for each of us to do our part, and to realize that in the troubled world of today it is for us, like the American people of Lincoln's day, to help to decide whether democracy in this nation "or any nation so conceived can long endure".

The Future of Canada

I believe that democracy can endure in Canada. But it will not endure if we take our freedom for granted. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen to help make democracy work. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen, in his personal life; in his rural municipality; in his village or town or city; in his province and in this whole great country to show that he knows that he is democracy. As each citizen stands or falls in the face of his duties, so stands or falls democracy.

The key to the future of Canada is in the hands of every Canadian citizen. You who are before me have taken a solemn oath of allegiance. You have this day

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become Canadian citizens. The responsibility for the future of Canada is your responsibility. Yours is a great heritage and a great future. We welcome you to that heritage; we count upon you to help make that future.

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Citizenship - Canadian
N-10-1-(a)

CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

1946

C164430

Ottawa, December 19, 1946.

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Gordon Robertson,
Prime Minister's Office

The original intention of the National Ceremony to be held in the Supreme Court of Canada was that the routine work of naturalization was to be left to the Courts across Canada and that we would select one person from each province who had been born outside the British Commonwealth, had come to Canada and later been naturalized as a British Subject at his or her own request, and who had made a definite contribution to Canadian life. This last point was emphasized not only to honour persons worthy of honour but to help abolish the idea that all people who have been born in a foreign land are just a bunch of "foreigners". The nine chosen are the following:

1 British Columbia - Mrs. R.P. Steeves of Dutch birth, a Doctor of Civil Law of Leyden University, wife of a British officer resident in B.C. later a member of the B.C. Legislature. Her only son was killed overseas.

2 Alberta - Wasyl Elyniak - One of the two original Ukrainians who came to the Prairies in 1891 to see if Western Canada was a suitable land for settlement. He is still living on his homestead at Chipman, Alta. near Edmonton. His own children were an ordinary pioneer family but his grandchildren have taken their place in the armed forces, as teachers, nurse and as reeve of a municipality. He will be accompanied at Ottawa by a grandson who is a veteran of World War II.

3 Saskatchewan - Mr. George Enns of Rosthern. Mr. Enns is also an older man and is credited by the Honourable James Gardiner as having assisted more immigrants of Austrian, German and Mennonite stock to establish themselves in Saskatchewan homes than any ~~or few~~ other immigrant#.

4 Manitoba - Mrs. A. Mynarski - Born in Poland. Shortly after her arrival with her husband and small family in Canada the husband died and the onus of raising the family fell on Mrs. Mynarski. One son gave his life overseas in a successful attempt to save the life of a member of his crew from Port Arthur. For this he was awarded the Victoria Cross. Mrs. Mynarski declined the request that she come to Rideau Hall to receive her son's Victoria Cross, as she said she had travelled little. However, she seems quite willing and even keen to come to receive her Canadian citizenship. She will be accompanied by Mr. Peter Taraska. Taraska grew up in a Polish family living next door to the Mynarskis in North Winnipeg. A graduate of the University of Manitoba, he is now Chairman of the Winnipeg School Board and one of the most balanced of our Polish Canadians.

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5 Ontario - Mr. Yousuf Karsh - Photographer, born in Armenia, Turkey. Brought as a boy to Canada by an uncle who will be present at the ceremony.

6 Quebec - Mr. Guiseppe Agostini - Noted musician and father of a family of musicians. Born in Italy.

New Brunswick - Mr. Kjeld Deichmann - He and his wife are Danish and have developed at Dykelands, N.B. a pottery industry which has become internationally recognized. They have introduced new designs of a more distinctly Canadian nature.

Nova Scotia - Mr. Edwin K. Forde - This province and P.E.I. offer more difficulty in securing people of European origin, as their population is predominantly Anglo-Saxon. However, we wish to show that in addition to Canadians moving to the States there are Americans moving to Canada. Mr. Forde was born in Nova Scotia and received his preliminary education there. He took post-graduate studies at Harvard University and became 7 naturalized as an American citizen. Later he returned to Canada and formally asked to again be a British Subject. He is now one of the senior, if not the head of technical education in Nova Scotia.

Prince Edward Island - The Provincial Government have given us the name of Mr. Andrew Macrae, a veteran of World War II, who comes from one of the oldest settle- 8 ments on the Island. We have not received full details yet but I hope we have here a man who may be eighth or tenth generation Canadian.

French Canadian

a member of an Ottawa family from which

The selection of representatives of Anglo-Saxon and of French stock offered difficulty as there were so many eligible. We located in Ottawa a family ~~named LaBrosse where~~ four sons went overseas. Three of these sons married a Parisian French girl, an English girl and a Scotch girl. The fourth married a Canadian girl. ~~We are using~~ the Scotch war bride ~~to represent the Anglo-Saxon group and her husband,~~ Maurice LaBrosse, ~~the French stock.~~ the husband to represent the French Canadian element in the citizenship ceremony

9.

We have asked the Naturalization Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State to reserve Canadian Certificate No. 1 for the Prime Minister. We hope that he will accept same at the National Ceremony. In recognition of the new status of Canadians this certificate is given to the Prime Minister as the first citizen of Canada.

The above people were chosen because we were anxious not to enter in any way the field of the ordinary judge in the granting of naturalization in the routine way. Justice Kerwin, as Acting Chief Justice of Canada, and Dr. E.H. Coleman, Under Secretary of State, felt that no de novo cases should be introduced into the National Ceremony. However, Mr. Martin has instructed that this be done and the following twelve have been

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selected from those recently approved by the County Court Ottawa. This selection has just been made this morning and some of the people are still to be contacted. However they are all residents in the city.

Name	Origin
AZAR, Naif Hanna	Palestinian
BLUGER, Walter Vladimir	German
CHINKIWSKY, Michael	Austrian
ENGELMANN, Ludwig	German
HELLMANN, Joachim Heinrich	German
HUMMEL, Paul Alfred	German
JUSTINIC, Anton (Tony)	Yugoslav
KOENIG, Bert Isaac	German
LABATY, Walter	Polish
LARSEN, Sigurd Laurentius Veberg	Norwegian
LITVENCHUK, Joseph	Roumanian
SMARAC, Adolf Eddie	Austrian

Frank Foulds
Director
Canadian Citizenship Branch

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister C164433

Citizenship Ceremony, January 3, 1947

The Committee in charge of arrangements have asked if you will have any objection to an item appearing in the printed program for this occasion, mentioning that you and the Hon. Paul Martin are to receive Certificates numbered 1 and 2, respectively.

J.A.G.

28 xii 46

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C164434

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

Citizenship Ceremony, January 3, 1947

The Committee in charge of arrangements have asked if you will have any objection to an item appearing in the printed program for this occasion, mentioning that you and the Hon. Paul Martin are to receive Certificates numbered 1 and 2, respectively.

J.A.G.

28 xii 46

Will ok

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MEMORANDUM C164435

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 31/XII/46.

H. Gibson

" Handy.

You may wish to see the attached. If any guidance could be got on the third point raised in the memo it would be a great help.

WLMK

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C164436

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Canadian Citizenship Ceremony - Friday, January 3, 1947.

Attached is an outline of the program that has been prepared for the citizenship ceremony for Friday. The main items are as follows: (The items of particular concern to the Prime Minister have been underlined.)

8:55	-	Participating candidates enter the Court room.
9:00	-	National Broadcast begins.
9:01	-	Entrance of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and the Minister of National Health and Welfare.
	-	Entrance of the Chief Justice.
9:02	-	"O Canada"
9:05	-	Minister of National Health and Welfare addresses the court in English and French, and presents persons who are to receive certificates in proof of their Canadian citizenship.
9:11	-	Chief Justice addresses the citizens in English.
	-	Presentation of certificates.
		At this point it is desired, if the Prime Minister approves, to present certificate No. 1 to the Prime Minister, and certificate No. 2 to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.
" 9:21	-	The Secretary of State presents new candidates who are receiving citizenship for the first time.
9:22	-	Address by the Chief Justice in English and French on the nature of the Oath of Allegiance.
	-	Presentation of certificates.
9:40	-	Singing of "This Canada of Ours" (by P.J.Phillips)
9:44	-	Address by the Prime Minister.
9:55	-	"God Save the King".
9:58	-	Withdrawal of the Chief Justice.
	-	Withdrawal of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

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As the above timetable indicates, the time for the Prime Minister's address has been reduced, as suggested, from 15 minutes to 10 minutes, and a period of 5 minutes will be taken by Mr. Martin in presenting the first group of people. In his short address he will explain about the passage of the Act and about the significance of this first ceremony.

In accordance with normal court procedure, the program has been prepared so that the Chief Justice will be the last to enter and the first to leave the court. The places for the Prime Minister, Secretary of State, and Minister of National Health and Welfare, will be at the front of the court room on the left side. The Chief Justice will occupy the bench as in a normal proceeding.

It is proposed to hold a rehearsal of the ceremony at 2:30p.m. on Friday, at which a number of "close-up" photographs will be taken for magazine and newspaper use; in order that the evening ceremony may be less bothered by them. The Committee have asked me to say that they realize that the pressure on your time is such that you probably could not attend. However, they wished you to know of it as it would provide an opportunity to have a number of the photographs of the Prime Minister taken which probably could not be taken as well in the midst of a broadcast, and which might be somewhat disturbing in the evening. None of the speeches will be read at the rehearsal and it is not expected to take more than a half an hour. The Committee are particularly anxious to have all photographs, etc. of the best possible standard as they expect that they will receive extensive publicity, both here and in the United States.

will Fri
There is a Cabinet at 3

Attached hereto is a list of the names of persons who will be receiving certificates, either in proof of their present Canadian status or to accord them new Canadian citizenship.

The Committee would particularly appreciate direction on the following points:

Ok (1) Whether the program as it now stands meets with the Prime Minister's approval.

Yes (2) Whether the Prime Minister will be willing to receive certificate No. 1 in the course of the ceremony as suggested.

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(3) Whether the Prime Minister will, by any chance, be able to attend the rehearsal at 2:30 to enable photographs to be taken. (Motion pictures and other photographs will, of course, be taken at night as well.)

will do best to attend

R. G. R.

30th December, 1946.

RGR:McK

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Participants in Citizenship Ceremony:

I. The following persons are Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization and will receive certificates in proof of Citizenship:

Mrs. R. P. Steeves, Vancouver, B.C.: Of Dutch birth, a Doctor of Civil Law of Leyden University, wife of a British officer resident in B.C. later a member of the B.C. Legislature. Her only son was killed overseas.

Mr. Wasyl Elyniak, Chipman, Alta.: One of the two original Ukrainians who came to the Prairies in 1891 to see if Western Canada was a suitable land for settlement. He is still living on his homestead at Chipman, Alta. near Edmonton. His own children were an ordinary pioneer family but his grandchildren have taken their place in the armed forces, as teachers, nurse and as reeve of a municipality. He will be accompanied at Ottawa by a grandson who is a veteran of World War II.

Mr. Gerhard Ens, Rosthern, Sask.: Mr. Enns is also an older man and is credited by the Honourable James Gardiner as having assisted more immigrants of Austrian, German and Mennonite stock to establish themselves in Saskatchewan homes than any other immigrant.

Mrs. A. Mynarski, Winnipeg, Man.: Born in Poland. Shortly after her arrival with her husband and small family in Canada the husband died and the onus of raising the family fell on Mrs. Mynarski. One son gave his life overseas in a successful attempt to save the life of a member of his crew from Port Arthur. For this he was awarded the Victoria Cross. Mrs. Mynarski declined the request that she come to Rideau Hall to receive her son's Victoria Cross, as she said she had travelled little. However, she seems quite willing and even keen to come to receive her Canadian citizenship. She will be accompanied by Mr. Peter Taraska. Taraska grew up in a Polish family living next door to the Mynarskis in North Winnipeg. A graduate of the University of Manitoba, he is now Chairman of the Winnipeg School Board and one of the most balanced of our Polish Canadians.

Mr. Yousuf Karsh, Ottawa, Ont.: Photographer, born in Armenia, Turkey. Brought as a boy to Canada by an uncle who will be present at the ceremony.

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Mr. Giusseppe Agostini, Montreal, Que.: Noted musician and father of a family of musicians. Born in Italy.

Mr. Edwin K. Ford, Halifax, N.S.: Mr. Ford was born in Nova Scotia and received his preliminary education there. He took post-graduate studies at Harvard University and became naturalized as an American citizen. Later he returned to Canada and formally asked to again be a British Subject. He is now one of the senior, if not the head of technical education in Nova Scotia.

Mr. Andrew Boswall Macrae, East Royalty, P.E.I.: A veteran of World War II, who comes from one of the oldest settlements on the Island.

Mr. Maurice LaBrosse, Ottawa, Ont.: A member of an Ottawa French-Canadian family from which four sons went overseas. Three of these sons married a Parisian French girl, an English girl and a Scotch girl. The fourth married a Canadian girl. Maurice LaBrosse, the husband of the Scotch war bride, represents the French Canadian element in the citizenship ceremony.

Mrs. Nichola Mary LaBrosse, Ottawa, Ont.: Scottish war-bride of Maurice LaBrosse.

Mr. Kjeld Deichmann, Moss Glen, N.B.: No biographical note at present.

Mr. John Anton Joseph Helders, Vancouver, B.C.: No biographical note at present.

II. The following inhabitants of Ottawa and vicinity are not now Canadian citizens and will receive certificates of Citizenship:

Mr. Naif Hanna Azar: Syrian origin--railroad labourer.

Mr. Zigurd Larsen: Norwegian--instrument maker.

Mr. Joseph Litvinchuk: Roumanian--harness maker.

Mr. Nestor Rakawitza? Ukrainian--farmer.

Mr. Joachim Heinrich Hellmann: German origin.

Mr. Anton Justinic: Yugoslav origin--shoemaker.

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Mrs. Helena Sawicka: Polish--daughter of a former Minister in the Polish government in London.

Mr. Vincas Bigilis: Lithuanian.

Mr. Leslie Frank Mundy:

Mr. Jacko Hrushkowsky: Russian--served in Canadian forces in first war.

Miss Elizabeth Barker: American--school teacher.

Mr. Louis Edmond Brodbeck: Swiss--cabinet maker.

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C164442

Mr Gibson
To see & return
to Prime Minister
31-12-46
Seen & noted/Ks

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Canadian Citizenship Ceremony - Friday, January 3, 1947.

Attached is an outline of the program that has been prepared for the citizenship ceremony for Friday. The main items are as follows: (The items of particular concern to the Prime Minister have been underlined.)

8:55 - Participating candidates enter the Court room.
9:00 - National Broadcast begins.
9:01 - Entrance of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and the Minister of National Health and Welfare.
- Entrance of the Chief Justice.
9:02 - "O Canada"
9:05 - Minister of National Health and Welfare addresses the court in English and French, and presents persons who are to receive certificates in proof of their Canadian citizenship.
9:11 - Chief Justice addresses the citizens in English.
- Presentation of certificates.
At this point it is desired, if the Prime Minister approves, to present certificate No. 1 to the Prime Minister, and certificate No. 2 to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.
9:21 - The Secretary of State presents new candidates who are receiving citizenship for the first time.
9:22 - Address by the Chief Justice in English and French on the nature of the Oath of Allegiance.
- Presentation of certificates.
9:40 - Singing of "This Canada of Ours" (by P.J.Phillips)
9:44 - Address by the Prime Minister.
9:55 - "God Save the King".
9:58 - Withdrawal of the Chief Justice.
- Withdrawal of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

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As the above timetable indicates, the time for the Prime Minister's address has been reduced, as suggested, from 15 minutes to 10 minutes, and a period of 5 minutes will be taken by Mr. Martin in presenting the first group of people. In his short address he will explain about the passage of the Act and about the significance of this first ceremony.

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It is proposed to hold a rehearsal of the ceremony at 2:30p.m. on Friday, at which a number of "close-up" photographs will be taken for magazine and newspaper use; in order that the evening ceremony may be less bothered by them. The Committee have asked me to say that they realize that the pressure on your time is such that you probably could not attend. However, they wished you to know of it as it would provide an opportunity to have a number of the photographs of the Prime Minister taken which probably could not be taken as well in the midst of a broadcast, and which might be somewhat disturbing in the evening. None of the speeches will be read at the rehearsal and it is not expected to take more than a half an hour. The Committee are particularly anxious to have all photographs, etc. of the best possible standard as they expect that they will receive extensive publicity, both here and in the United States.

Attached hereto is a list of the names of persons who will be receiving certificates, either in proof of their present Canadian status or to accord them new Canadian citizenship.

The Committee would particularly appreciate direction on the following points:

(1) Whether the program as it now stands meets with the Prime Minister's approval.

(2) Whether the Prime Minister will be willing to receive certificate No. 1 in the course of the ceremony as suggested.

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(3) Whether the Prime Minister will, by any chance, be able to attend the rehearsal at 2:30 to enable photographs to be taken. (Motion pictures and other photographs will, of course, be taken at night as well.)

will do best to attend

R. G. R.

30th December, 1946.

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NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP CEREMONY
SUPREME COURT BUILDING - OTTAWA
JANUARY 3RD, 1947 - 8.30 P.M.

8.30 p.m. to 8.45 p.m. Selections by R.C.M.P. Band	This band will play in the Great Hall. It will NOT be broadcast. Arrangements under Inspector Brown R.C.M.P.
8.45 to 9.00 p.m. Selections by Choir	All guests are to be seated by 8.45 p.m. The Choir will sing from the Great Hall, just outside the doors of the Supreme Court Chamber under the direction of Mr. Cyril Rickwood. This part of the singing will NOT be broadcast.
8.55 p .m. The procession will be formed in the ante-room of the Great Hall and be ready to move off	This procession will be made up of the participants in the ceremony, and will be ushered up the right-hand stairs and into the Chamber to assigned seats. The procession will reach the Supreme Court Chamber at 9.00 p.m. exactly.
9.00 - 9.01 p.m. On the Air. The narrators describe the setting and the purpose of this ceremony.	
9.01 p.m. Entry of the Court	The court usher will enter and bring the court to order. The Clerk of the court will then enter from the door at the right front of the court. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the former Secretary of State will move to their places at the left front of the Court Room. The clerk will then take his place.
9.0130 p.m.	The doors at the front of the court will open slowly and the Chief Justice will take his p lace on the bench.
9.02 p.m. O Canada	To be sung by the Choir only from the Great Hall, the first verse to be sung in English and the second verse to be sung in French, the third in English.
9.05 p.m. Statement by The Honorable Paul Martin and presentation of applicants for certificates in proof of Canadian citizenship	Here the Minister acts as Secretary of State. He will rise from his place in the left front of the Court Room and will address the Chief Justice as follows:-

" On the first of January 1947, by Royal proclamation, the Canadian Citizenship Act came into force. This Act provides for the first time a full and complete definition of Canadian Citizenship. By it all natural-born, and all British subjects domiciled in Canada, as well as all those naturalized in the past, and all brides

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of Canadian servicemen, are declared to be Canadian citizens.

The Act also provides for the admission to Canadian Citizenship of those who sincerely desire to cast their lot with us, and are willing to take upon themselves the responsibility which such a privilege entails. It further provides for a certificate in proof of their citizenship for those of our own people who may so require or desire it.

This is the inaugural ceremony to be held under the provisions of the Act. It is an important occasion for all of us. Here for the first time we have all of us the full right to say 'We are Canadian'. Yet we are bound none the less by those ancient ties of loyalty, affection and mutual interest as partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations. At a time when nations are striving to create a durable basis for world security, we here present to them an example of how each may preserve the uniqueness of his own tradition within the framework of common ideals, and loyalty to free institutions.

Canada has taken her place among the nations, and we are proud to be Canadian. Yet the true measure of any nation is neither its size, nor material wealth, but rather the quality and the integrity of its people. It is their strong faith that makes achievement possible, and Canada owes her strength to the faith and the sacrifice of many peoples. We are a country of minorities, of different origins and cultures. We are proud that these things can weld us together to make us better Canadians and better men.

It is therefore a great and signal honour to present to you at this inaugural ceremony a group of people who desire certificates in proof of their Canadian Citizenship, and who have re-affirmed a loyalty long-established by word and deed. In their persons they represent the life and contribution of the nine provinces. Just as really they represent the gathering into this land of many peoples. Each brought to Canada great gifts which now belong to us all. Their lives and their labours have made Canada a nation. I present them to you to receive visible and legal proof of what their lives have confirmed, a certificate of Canadian Citizenship. "

Par proclamation royale la Loi sur la citoyenneté canadienne entre en viguer le ler janvier 1947. Cette loi donne pour la première fois une définition précise et complète de la citoyenneté canadienne. Elle contient les dispositions en vertu desquelles on admet à la citoyenneté canadienne ceux qui désirent sincèrement s'associer avec nous et qui consentent

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à assumer les responsabilités que comporte le privilège de la citoyenneté. La Loi décrète aussi que les citoyens canadiens qui le désirent ou qui en ont besoin, peuvent obtenir un dertificat de citoyenneté.

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter un groupe de citoyens canadiens qui veulent obtenir des certificats établissant leur citoyenneté canadienne et réaffirmer l'allégeance qu'ils ont manifestée depuis longtemps en paroles et en action. Ils représentent les neuf provinces du Canada et la contribution qu'ont apportée à la nation canadienne les divers groupes ethniques qui la composent. Chacun de ces groupes a fourni au Canada un apport précieux. Je vous présente ces citoyens canadiens pur que vous leur remettiez leur certificat de citoyenneté canadienne, preuve tangible de ce qu'ils ont été depuis longtemps, de loyaux citoyens canadiens.

9.11 p.m.
Address to applicants for certificates in proof of Canadian Citizenship (By the Chief Justice of Canada)

The Chief Justice of Canada, addressing the applicants will then say in English:-

" What you now do here is for all of you no new thing. It is rather a re-affirmation of what your lives have been, and of what you hope this nation may become.

It is to your great credit that you have not sought to keep your gifts narrowly for yourselves, but that you have given them freely to the life of us all. What each of you brought from the land of your forebearers has become Canada's proud possession.

The fathers of Confederation laid the foundation for our freedom and our opportunity. Their hope for Canada rested not upon a single generation, nor upon a single race, nor yet up on a dull political uniformity. So it has come to be that this nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each this nation has given an opp ortunity to live and grow and share in the common weal. From each Canada has accepted the gifts of diverse cultures, and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you this visible and legal proof of your Canadian citizenship. "

When the Chief Justice has finished the Clerk of the Court will then call the applicants for certificates in proof, by name and in order. As his name is called each will move to the right aisle of the Court room, to the front, across the front of the court to the centre in

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in front of the Chief Justice, receive the certificate from him, and move to the left aisle and so resume his place.

9.2130 p.m.
Presentation of new applicants for Canadian Citizenship

When all have again been seated the Secretary of State (Honorable Colin Gibson) will then rise, and address the Chief Justice of Canada.

" May it please the Court, I have the honour to present applicants for Canadian Citizenship. They have been duly examined by proper authority, and have been found to be fit persons to accept the privileges and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. "

9.22 p.m.
Charge to new applicants

The Chief Justice of Canada will then charge the applicants in English and in French on the meaning and the solemnity of the Oath of Allegiance which they are about to take. The following form is suggested:-

" Before I administer the Oath of Allegiance it is encumbent upon me to make certain that you understand the nature of the obligation you are about to undertake.

The Oath of Allegiance is simple and plain. The words mean what they say. By repeating them now you publicly renounce all loyalty and service which heretofore you may have been obliged to offer any other foreign power, or government.

You now become a Canadian citizen, and with this Oath of Allegiance you bind yourself to all of your fellow Canadians - in common loyalty to His Majesty the King, in common observance of the laws of this land, and in the common performance of those duties which, faithfully undertaken, promote the common good.

Whatever rights and privileges pertain to Canadian citizenship are yours as long as you faithfully fulfil what you now undertake. But I would be remiss in my duty to you if I did not remind you that every right enjoyed begets a corresponding duty, every measure of freedom demands an equal measure of self control, and every benefit of equality requires the acceptance of mutual responsibility. It is only as you are willing fully to accept these obligations that the common good, your welfare and my welfare, and the welfare of our children, can be achieved. "

The above will then be repeated in French.

The clerk of the Court will then call the new applicants by name. They will then individually and in order, move to the right of the

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court, cross to a position in front of the Chief Justice, and repeat the Oath of Allegiance phrase by phrase after the Chief Justice. They will then move to the left of the Court, where the clerk will have dated the Certificate, and handed it to the Secretary of State, who will in turn present it to the applicant. They will then individually resume their former places.

9.40 p.m. Anthem "This Canada of Ours"	This will be sung by the choir from the Great Hall entrance.
9.44 p.m. Address by the Prime Minister	The Chief Justice of Canada will then say:-

" I will now call upon the Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Honorable William Lyon Mackenzie King to speak. "

9.55 p.m. God Save The King	When the Prime Minister resumes his place after his address, the choir will sing God Save the King.
9.58 p.m. Withdrawal of the Chief Justice	At the conclusion of God Save The King the audience will remain standing while the Chief Justice of Canada withdraws from the Court Room, followed by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State and the Minister of Health and Welfare. The participants will then withdraw through the rear door of the Court room and return to their ante-room.
9.59 p.m. Fadeout over the Air with choir singing "O God Our Help in Ages Past"	
10.00 p.m. Off the Air.	

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Participants in Citizenship Ceremony:

I. The following persons are Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization and will receive certificates in proof of Citizenship:

Mrs. R. P. Steeves, Vancouver, B.C.: Of Dutch birth, a Doctor of Civil Law of Leyden University, wife of a British officer resident in B.C. later a member of the B.C. Legislature. Her only son was killed overseas.

Mr. Wasyl Elyniak, Chipman, Alta.: One of the two original Ukrainians who came to the Prairies in 1891 to see if Western Canada was a suitable land for settlement. He is still living on his homestead at Chipman, Alta. near Edmonton. His own children were an ordinary pioneer family but his grandchildren have taken their place in the armed forces, as teachers, nurse and as reeve of a municipality. He will be accompanied at Ottawa by a grandson who is a veteran of World War II.

Mr. Gerhard Ens, Rosthern, Sask.: Mr. Enns is also an older man and is credited by the Honourable James Gardiner as having assisted more immigrants of Austrian, German and Mennonite stock to establish themselves in Saskatchewan homes than any other immigrant.

Mrs. A. Mynarski, Winnipeg, Man.: Born in Poland. Shortly after her arrival with her husband and small family in Canada the husband died and the onus of raising the family fell on Mrs. Mynarski. One son gave his life overseas in a successful attempt to save the life of a member of his crew from Port Arthur. For this he was awarded the Victoria Cross. Mrs. Mynarski declined the request that she come to Rideau Hall to receive her son's Victoria Cross, as she said she had travelled little. However, she seems quite willing and even keen to come to receive her Canadian citizenship. She will be accompanied by Mr. Peter Taraska. Taraska grew up in a Polish family living next door to the Mynarskis in North Winnipeg. A graduate of the University of Manitoba, he is now Chairman of the Winnipeg School Board and one of the most balanced of our Polish Canadians.

Mr. Yousuf Karsh, Ottawa, Ont.: Photographer, born in Armenia, Turkey. Brought as a boy to Canada by an uncle who will be present at the ceremony.

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Mr. Giusseppe Agostini, Montreal, Que.: Noted musician and father of a family of musicians. Born in Italy.

Mr. Edwin K. Ford, Halifax, N.S.: Mr. Ford was born in Nova Scotia and received his preliminary education there. He took post-graduate studies at Harvard University and became naturalized as an American citizen. Later he returned to Canada and formally asked to again be a British Subject. He is now one of the senior people in, if not the head of, technical education in Nova Scotia.

Mr. Andrew Boswall Macrae, East Royalty, P.E.I.: A veteran of World War II, who comes from one of the oldest settlements on the Island.

Mr. Maurice LaBrosse, Ottawa, Ont.: A member of an Ottawa French-Canadian family from which four sons went overseas. Three of these sons married a Parisian French girl, an English girl and a Scotch girl. The fourth married a Canadian girl. Maurice LaBrosse, the husband of the Scotch war bride, represents the French Canadian element in the citizenship ceremony.

Mrs. Nichola Mary LaBrosse, Ottawa, Ont.: Scottish war-bride of Maurice LaBrosse.

Mr. Kjeld Deichmann, Moss Glen, N.B.: No biographical note at present.

Mr. John Anton Joseph Helders, Vancouver, B.C.: No biographical note at present.

II. The following inhabitants of Ottawa and vicinity are not now Canadian citizens and will receive certificates of Citizenship:

Mr. Naif Hanna Azar: Syrian origin--railroad labourer.

Mr. Zigurd Larsen: Norwegian--instrument maker.

Mr. Joseph Litvinchuk: Roumanian--harness maker.

Mr. Nestor Rakawitza: Ukrainian--farmer.

Mr. Joachim Heinrich Hellmann: German origin.

Mr. Anton Justinic: Yugoslav origin--shoemaker.

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Mrs. Helena Sawicka: Polish--daughter of a former Minister in the Polish government in London.

Mr. Vincas Bigilis: Lithuanian.

Mr. Leslie Frank Mundy:

Mr. Jacko Hrushkowsky: Russian--served in Canadian forces in first war.

Miss Elizabeth Barker: American--school teacher.

Mr. Louis Edmond Brodbeck: Swiss--cabinet maker.

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1947

NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP CEREMONY
SUPREME COURT BUILDING - OTTAWA
JANUARY 3RD, 1947 - 8.30 P.M.

8.30 p.m. to 8.45 p.m. Selections by R.C.M.P. Band	This band will play in the Great Hall. It will NOT be broadcast. Arrangements under Inspector Brown R.C.M.P.
8.45 to 9.00 p.m. Selections by Choir	All guests are to be seated by 8.45 p.m. The Choir will sing from the Great Hall, just outside the doors of the Supreme Court Chamber under the direction of Mr. Cyril Rickwood. This part of the singing will NOT be broadcast.
8.55 p .m. The procession will be formed in the ante-room of the Great Hall and be ready to move off	This procession will be made up of the participants in the ceremony, and will be ushered up the right-hand stairs and into the Chamber to assigned seats. The procession will reach the Supreme Court Chamber at 9.00 p.m. exactly.
9.00 - 9.01 p.m. On the Air. The narrators describe the setting and the purpose of this ceremony.	
9.01 p.m. Entry of the Court	The court usher will enter and bring the court to order. The Clerk of the court will then enter from the door at the right front of the court. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the former Secretary of State will move to their places at the left front of the Court Room. The clerk will then take his place.
9.0130 p.m.	The doors at the front of the court will open slowly and the Chief Justice will take his p lace on the bench.
9.02 p.m. O Canada	To be sung by the Choir only from the Great Hall, the first verse to be sung in English and the second verse to be sung in French, the third in English.
9.05 p.m. Statement by The Honorable Paul Martin and presentation of applicants for certificates in proof of Canadian citizenship	Here the Minister acts as Secretary of State. He will rise from his place in the left front of the Court Room and will address the Chief Justice as follows:-

" On the first of January 1947, by Royal proclamation, the Canadian Citizenship Act came into force. This Act provides for the first time a full and complete definition of Canadian Citizenship. By it all natural-born, and all British subjects domiciled in Canada, as well as all those naturalized in the past, and all brides

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of Canadian servicemen, who have landed in Canada, are declared to be Canadian citizens.

The Act also provides for the admission to Canadian Citizenship of those who sincerely desire to cast their lot with us, and are willing to take upon themselves the responsibility which such a privilege entails. It further provides for a certificate in proof of their citizenship for those of our own people who may so require or desire it.

This is the inaugural ceremony to be held under the provisions of the Act. It is an important occasion for all of us. Here for the first time we have all of us the full right to say 'We are Canadian citizens". Yet we are bound none the less by those ancient ties of loyalty, affection and mutual interest as partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations. At a time when nations are striving to create a durable basis for world security, we here present to them an example of how each may preserve the uniqueness of his own tradition within the framework of common ideals, and loyalty to free institutions.

Canada has taken her place among the nations, and we are proud to be Canadian. Yet the true measure of any nation is neither its size, nor material wealth, but rather the quality and the integrity of its people. It is their strong faith that makes achievement possible, and Canada owes her strength to the faith and the sacrifice of many peoples. We are a country of minorities, of different origins and cultures. We are proud that these things can weld us together to make us better Canadians and better men.

It is therefore a great and signal honour to present to you at this inaugural ceremony a group of people who desire certificates in proof of their Canadian Citizenship, and who have re-affirmed a loyalty long-established by word and deed. In their persons they represent the life and contribution of the nine provinces. Just as really they represent the gathering into this land of many peoples. Each brought to Canada great gifts which now belong to us all. Their lives and their labours have made Canada a nation. I present them to you to receive visible and legal proof of what their lives have confirmed, a certificate of Canadian Citizenship. "

Par proclamation royale la Loi sur la citoyenneté canadienne entre en viguer le ler janvier 1947. Cette loi donne pour la première fois une définition précise et complète de la citoyenneté canadienne. Elle contient les dispositions en vertu desquelles on admet à la citoyenneté canadienne ceux qui désirent sincèrement s'associer avec nous et qui consentent

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à assumer les responsabilités que comporte le privilège de la citoyenneté. La Loi décrète aussi que les citoyens canadiens qui le désirent ou qui en ont besoin, peuvent obtenir un dertificat de citoyenneté.

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter un groupe de citoyens canadiens qui veulent obtenir des certificats établissant leur citoyenneté canadienne et réaffirmer l'allégeance qu'ils ont manifestée depuis longtemps en paroles et en action. Ils représentent les neuf provinces du Canada et la contribution qu'ont apportée à la nation canadienne les divers groupes ethniques qui la composent. Chacun de ces groupes a fourni au Canada un apport précieux. Je vous présente ces citoyens canadiens pur que vous leur remettiez leur certificat de citoyenneté canadienne, preuve tangible de ce qu'ils ont été depuis longtemps, de loyaux citoyens canadiens.

9.11 p.m.
Address to applicants for certificates in proof of Canadian Citizenship (By the Chief Justice of Canada)

The Chief Justice of Canada, addressing the applicants will then say in English:-

" What you now do here is for all of you no new thing. It is rather a re-affirmation of what your lives have been, and of what you hope this nation may become.

It is to your great credit that you have not sought to keep your gifts narrowly for yourselves, but that you have given them freely to the life of us all. What each of you brought from the land of your forebearers has become Canada's proud possession.

The fathers of Confederation laid the foundation for our freedom and our opportunity. Their hope for Canada rested not upon a single generation, nor upon a single race, nor yet up on a dull political uniformity. So it has come to be that this nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each this nation has given an opp ortunity to live and grow and share in the common weal. From each Canada has accepted the gifts of diverse cultures, and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you this visible and legal proof of your Canadian citizenship. "

When the Chief Justice has finished the Clerk of the Court will then call the applicants for certificates in proof, by name and in order. As his name is called each will move to the right aisle of the Court room, to the front, across the front of the court to the centre in

Prime Minister called here

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9.2130 p.m.
Presentation of new applicants for Canadian Citizenship

When all have again been seated the Secretary of State (Honorable Colin Gibson) will then rise, and address the Chief Justice of Canada.

" May it please the Court, I have the honour to present applicants for Canadian Citizenship. They have been duly examined by proper authority, and have been found to be fit persons to accept the privileges and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. "

9.22 p.m.
Charge to new applicants

The Chief Justice of Canada will then charge the applicants in English and in French on the meaning and the solemnity of the Oath of Allegiance which they are about to take. The following form is suggested:-

" Before I administer the Oath of Allegiance it is encumbent upon me to make certain that you understand the nature of the obligation you are about to undertake.

The Oath of Allegiance is simple and plain. The words mean what they say. By repeating them now you publicly renounce all loyalty and service which heretofore you may have been obliged to offer any other foreign power, or government.

You now become a Canadian citizen, and with this Oath of Allegiance you bind yourself to all of your fellow Canadians - in common loyalty to His Majesty the King, in common observance of the laws of this land, and in the common performance of those duties which, faithfully undertaken, promote the common good.

Whatever rights and privileges pertain to Canadian citizenship are yours as long as you faithfully fulfil what you now undertake. But I would be remiss in my duty to you if I did not remind you that every right enjoyed begets a corresponding duty, every measure of freedom demands an equal measure of self control, and every benefit of equality requires the acceptance of mutual responsibility. It is only as you are willing fully to accept these obligations that the common good, your welfare and my welfare, and the welfare of our children, can be achieved. "

The above will then be repeated in French.

The clerk of the Court will then call the new applicants by name. They will then individually and in order, move to the right of the

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court, cross to a position in front of the Chief Justice, and repeat the Oath of Allegiance phrase by phrase after the Chief Justice. They will then move to the left of the Court, where the clerk will have dated the Certificate, and handed it to the Secretary of State, who will in turn present it to the applicant. They will then individually resume their former places.

9.40 p.m.
Anthem "This Canada of Ours"

This will be sung by the choir from the Great Hall entrance.

9.44 p.m.
Address by the Prime Minister

The Chief Justice of Canada will then say:-

" I will now call upon the Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Honorable William Lyon Mackenzie King to speak. "

9.55 p.m.
God Save The King

When the Prime Minister resumes his place after his address, the choir will sing God Save the King.

9.58 p.m.
Withdrawal of the Chief Justice

At the conclusion of God Save The King the audience will remain standing while the Chief Justice of Canada withdraws from the Court Room, followed by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State and the Minister of Health and Welfare.

The participants will then withdraw through the rear door of the Court room and return to their ante-room.

9.59 p.m.
Fadeout over the Air with choir singing "O God Our Help in Ages Past"

10.00 p.m.
Off the Air.

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C164458 JAG/MJD
Rev. 21.1.47

DRAFT MESSAGE FOR INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Citizenship-Canadian
Making-Message
National Unity

Canadian Citizenship and The Larger World.

The coming into force of the Citizenship Act has directed renewed attention to the importance ~~for~~ to Canada of a ~~mature and united sense of~~ their full significance nationhood if our country is to play its due part in the development of co-operation among all nations.

The nationhood of Canada is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But if the unity of Canada is vital to us it is also of great importance to the community of nations. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals

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of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve Humanity. Only as nationality serves Humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

J. a. Gibson

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National Citizenship Ceremony

SUPREME COURT BUILDING
OTTAWA, CANADA

C164460

FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 3rd, 1947
at 8.30 p.m.

Admit by Ticket Only

The Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King.

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January 21, 1941

NOTES FOR DINNER
FOR SIR WALTER CITRINE C164461

Sir Walter's visit to North America has had two notable results:

1. He has not hesitated to speak frankly of the grave situation of Britain; to many, he brought the first vivid realization of the extent of German destruction, and hence of Britain's need;

2. He emphasized the profound truth that Liberty in the Old World - indeed, everywhere in the world - depends upon labour in the New World.

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His presence among us in his double capacity as General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress of the United Kingdom and as President of the International Federation of Trade Unions is itself more eloquent testimony than any words could be of the stake which organized labour has in the outcome of the war.

No better illustration of the deep human difference between the Nazi cause and the cause of freedom than the fact that the guest of ~~Labour~~ honour is an un-official ambassador of Britain;

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In Germany, the leaders of
organized Labour are in the
concentration camps; in
Britain, they are in the
government or performing, like our guests,
other essential
national service;

Victory in struggle will demand
utmost effort from all; it
will demand, as well, constant
practical demonstration of
the vitality of democracy;
it will demand work and faith,
and both in equal measure;

We must prove worthy of the two
great brotherhoods; the
brotherhood of the brave who
fight for us, and the brother-
hood of Labour that works
for their victory.

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Proud to do honour to the man
who occupies the highest
position in the gift of
free, organized Labour in
the world today.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

REBUTTAL MATERIAL FOR DEBATE

-- Re Diefenbaker and Stewart Resolutions.

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In studying the proposals — which the Honourable Member for Lake Centre — and the Honourable Member for Winnipeg North — have made in the resolutions standing in their respective names on the Order Paper — we may ask ourselves what public purpose is sought by their introduction at this time.

I can see two possible objectives: —

1. To place on some higher plane — of security and sanctity — the existing rights of Canadian citizens;

2. To bring about a debate — upon an alleged violation of those rights — by the present Government.

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But the enactment of the proposed bill --would not accomplish -- the first purpose.

And the introduction of a bill -- is not the proper procedure -- for accomplishing the second purpose.

With regard to the first purpose -

a) The law which this House is asked to enact -- is already the law of Canada.

b) The re-enactment of the same law -- does not make it any more the law -- or any better or stronger law.

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c) Laws enacted by this Parliament -- are not -- in every case -- binding upon the Provinces -- which have even greater and more direct powers -- affecting the rights of the subject -- than are enjoyed by the Federal Parliament.

d) Statutes enacted by this Parliament -- remain the law -- only so long as Parliament wills. They can be repealed -- or amended -- at any time -- by Parliament itself.

When -- therefore -- the Honourable Member for Lake Centre seeks -- as he did last session -- and as he proposes in the resolution now standing in his name on the Order Paper -- to bring about his perfect state of freedom "once and for all" -- by putting words in a suitable statute -- he would build his house upon the sand.

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As to the second purpose -- which it may have been in the minds of the two Honourable gentlemen who gave notice of resolutions -- I suggest that there were other and better ways -- more consistent with parliamentary usage -- by which a debate might have been brought about.

The veiled -- but very largely unexpressed criticism -- is that the present government -- either acted illegally -- or made wrongful use of the powers lawfully conferred upon it -- by Parliament -- through the War Measures Act.

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In our system of responsible government — those who are charged with responsibility — are constantly upon trial — for the manner in which they discharge their responsibility.

It is one of the highest functions of parliament — to hold government to strict accountability. Government holds office by the consent of parliament — and the people.

The rules of parliament have a dozen devices for enabling members to bring about debate — upon the record of the administration. They may move want of confidence — they may move the adjournment — they may refuse to accept the Speech from the Throne — they may refuse supply — they may defeat or amend the Budget.

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If any honourable member opposite -- wishes to challenge the course adopted by this government -- in coping with a recent grave emergency -- let him place that issue squarely before the House.

Let him state his position -- in clear-cut terms -- and stand -- or fall -- by the judgment of parliament and the people.

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But the Honourable Members can not -- by asking parliament to iterate and re-iterate the rights we already possess -- by enacting and re-enacting the same laws -- make them any stronger -- any more sacred -- or any less subject to repeal -- suspension or violation.

No -- Mr. Speaker -- the preservation of our personal liberties -- already amply guaranteed to us by law -- can be attained -- only by our ceaseless vigilance -- as citizens and as members.

The proposed Committee of Both Houses will provide a forum in which this whole subject can be scrutinized with minute care.

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C164473

HUMAN RIGHTS

REBUTTAL MATERIAL FOR DEBATE

-- Re Espionage Enquiry.

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REPLY TO POSSIBLE ATTACKS

ON SPY PROBE - ETC.

The attacks upon the conduct of the Government -- in dealing with the espionage crisis -- raise two issues:

First -- whether the conduct of the government was lawful.

Second -- whether -- if lawful -- it was justified and right.

The gravamen of the charge is -- that certain persons were taken into custody -- by executive order of the Government of the day -- and were held for a period of time while they were questioned by the police -- and by a Royal Commission.

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C164475

The executive order was issued by the Prime Minister -- and the Minister of Justice -- under the authority of P.C. 6444 -- of October 6, 1945.

This order-in-council derives its authority from a statute enacted by the Parliament of Canada -- the War Measures Act of 1914.

The War Measures Act gives authority to the Governor in Council to do those things which may become necessary for the safety of the state.

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C164476

In the words of the former Minister of Justice -- on May 8, 1946 -- (Unrevised Hansard, page 1374):

> "When parliament passed the statute -- it was not merely to give powers to a government; it was with confidence that the government to which those powers were being given would exercise them in such manner as the safety of the state might require."

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In the same debate -- the Minister of Justice point out that habeas corpus is not suspended by the War Measures Act -- but that -- on the contrary -- a man detained in 1918 by the government of that day -- under the War Measures Act -- was granted a writ of Habeas Corpus.

When -- however -- he appeared before the courts -- the courts ruled that he was lawfully detained.

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C164478

The action taken in the espionage case was one for which Parliament has given specific statutory authority -- altogether aside from the general powers conferred by the War Measures Act.

Section 10 of the Official Secrets Act -- which it should be remembered was passed in 1939 -- and was not limited to a state of war -- is as follows: --

> "Any person who is found committing an offence under this Act, or who is reasonably suspected of having committed, or having attempted to commit, or <u>being about to commit</u> such an offence, may be arrested without a warrant and detained by any constable or police officer."

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The two learned Justices — who constituted the Royal Commission to investigate the espionage matter — went deeply into the implications of this Section — and came to the following conclusion: —

> "If then, as laid down in Section 10 of the Canadian statute above, Parliament contemplated that, in the case of a single individual suspected by 'any' constable or police officer of 'being about to commit' the offence of communicating information to a foreign power, such person might be arrested without warrant, it would seem that in a case where there was not just one individual but many suspected, their detention at the instance not of a constable or police officer but under the authority of an Order in Council, would certainly be within the contemplation of the statute."

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I suggest that -- if none of the detained persons applied for a writ of habeas corpus -- it was not because the courts were closed to the application -- but because the detained persons and their families were advised that habeas corpus proceedings would merely result in a decision that the detention was lawful.

In any event -- the finding of the two learned Justices of the Supreme Court of Canada on which has just been quoted -- and the arguments of my Colleague -- the former Minister of Justice -- last session -- are conclusive that the Government's procedure was lawful.

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The second question that arises is -- as to whether the Government was justified in exercising its lawful powers in the manner that it did.

In this connection -- we have the fact that ~~a~~ ten persons were convicted by the courts -- after full and open trials.

These persons were found guilty of a variety of offences against the safety of the Canadian nation.

These were not ordinary crimes of theft of property -- or assault upon the person -- they were offences against the whole nation.

In the broad -- if not in the strictly legal sense -- they were treasonable offences.

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Human society — nations — and governments — exist for the protection of all the people who constitute the community thus banded together.

Self-protection of the nation — as of the individual — is the first law of nature.

Let me draw attention to a fact — which may have escaped the attention of those — who criticized the government for its conduct in this grave emergency.

Many of the great historic charters — which have been referred to frequently in this debate — contain specific exemptions — where the safety of the state itself is considered to be endangered.

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The Habeas Corpus Act begins --
as follows: --

"Whensoever any person or persons shall bring any habeas corpus directed unto any sheriffe or sheriffes, goaler, minister or other person.... unlesse the committment aforesaid were for treason or fellony."

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Section 9 of the Constitution of the United States provides:

"The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

Section 10 of the Constitution -- dealing with restrictions on the powers of the States -- contains the following: --

"No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

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The very provisions in our own British North America Act — which enabled the Dominion Government — at a time of emergency to assume powers otherwise exclusively allotted to the Provinces — are a further recognition of the broad principle that the normal rights and privileges of the individual can — and should be suspended — when the safety of the state is threatened by external aggression or treason within.

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The arrests that were made under P.C. 0444 -- were made for a preventive purpose -- as contemplated in Section 10 of the Official Secrets Act.

This is no ancient and forgotten bit of law -- it is a modern statute passed less than ten years ago -- and modelled upon the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom.

The Government had every right to assume that it was expected to live up to the heavy responsibilities placed upon it consciously by the Parliament of Canada only eight years ago.

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The logic of preventive action -- in a case such as this -- is irresistible.

Where the divulging of vital state secrets is involved -- it is of no avail to lock the stable after the horse is stolen.

It was the duty of Government to prevent this information from getting into other hands.

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Once information had come into the Government's possession -- that a system of passing official secrets into the hands of representatives of a foreign power existed -- it was the duty of the Government -- by all possible measures -- to prevent any further leaks.

Nobody more than the Prime Minister of Canada -- reared in the tradition of liberalism -- and devoted with passionate intensity to the principles of freedom -- could have taken a graver view of the awful responsibility with which he was confronted -- when these facts were brought to his attention.

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The procedure taken to prevent further leakages -- and to bring guilty persons to justice -- was not adopted without giving weighty consideration to all the arguments that have since been advanced with regard to personal liberty.

But -- let me add -- consideration was given also -- to the grave responsibility which Canada would have assumed -- had her Government not taken prompt and effective steps -- to bring this menacing situation under control.

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It is not always an ethical justification for a course of conduct — that the end justifies the means.

In this case — we have the result that ten persons were found guilty.

But — I submit that any government — confronted with documented evidence of the kind that Ivor Gouzenko brought before the Minister of Justice — would have been derelict in its duty — if it had failed to take the purely preventive measures which were adopted in this case.

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The preventive arrests contemplated for the protection of the state in the Official Secrets Act were fully justified by that evidence -- even if it had subsequently been found impossible to obtain a single conviction in the courts.

Otherwise -- there would be no point or purpose -- in people banding themselves together for mutual protection -- in the societies that we know as nations.

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HB - CONTROLS

In his National Broadcast — the Honourable Member for Lake Centre took in a lot of territory — when he charged that the Government was "clinging to the powers they secured under the stress of war."

The news on the front page of our papers — day after day — is a complete refutation of this baseless accusation.

Most decidedly — during the war — the Government exercised all manner of special powers.

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We have yet to hear from those who capitalize upon the individual discontents and annoyances occasioned by these controls -- a direct charge that any one of them was an improper control for government to exercise -- in the grave emergency through which we passed in those critical war years.

The unscrambling of eggs is no easy process.

This Government stands for personal liberty -- and free enterprise.

Controls are being abandoned just as rapidly as -- with safety -- they can be.

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Let those -- who talk of usurpation of power -- and curtailment of liberties -- take the responsibility of proclaiming what special powers and what controls they want abolished tomorrow.

That is a stand -- which those -- in opposition -- who do not share the responsibilities of government -- have discreetly refrained from taking.

On this issue -- they find a sniping discretion the better part of valour.

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C164495

Rt. Honourable Ian Mackenzie,
Minister of Veterans Affairs,
House of Commons,
Ottawa -

HUMAN RIGHTS.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

PART I

-- HOW THE ISSUE ARISES.

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Mr. Speaker: --

I move the following resolution: --

"That a joint committee of both House of Parliament be appointed -- and that Messrs. be members of such committee insofar as the interests of this House are concerned, to consider the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the manner in which the obligations in this respect accepted by all members of the United Nations may best be implemented;

****

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and, in particular, having regard to the pledges contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the establishment by the Economic and Social Council of a Commission on Human Rights, to consider the legal and constitutional position in Canada with respect to such rights and the steps, if any, that it would be desirable to take for the purpose of promoting in Canada respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

.....

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"That a message be sent to the Senate requesting that House to unite with this House for the above purpose and select, if the Senate deems advisable, some of its members to act on the said proposed joint committee."

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This resolution implements His Excellency's assurance -- in the Speech from the Throne -- which opened the present session of Parliament: --

"My ministers are also following with interest the activities of the United Nations with regard to the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the manner in which those obligations accepted by all members of United Nations may best be implemented. It is the intention of the government to recommend the appointment of a select committee of members of both houses to consider and report upon these matters."

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We have had discussions in this House -- on many occasions -- on the subject of human rights -- and personal freedom -- in their relationship to matters of domestic concern.

Events in a wider sphere have now brought this question before us in a different form.

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C164502

We are to consider the subject of human rights and fundamental fredoms -- not only as a Canadian problem -- but in relation to our obligation to other peoples --

1. - to the recently liberated peoples of the Fascist States;

2. - to the awakening masses of Asia; and

3. - to the citizens of our former allies - whose concepts -- in many cases of human rights and freedoms -- however tenaciously held -- would seem to differ vastly from our own.

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Inspiration for this international approach came first -- in our day -- from the immortal terms of the Atlantic Charter.

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C164504

ATLANTIC CHARTER

EXTRACTS.

"They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

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"They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security;

"After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

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C164506

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

The Atlantic Charter was a pledge to humanity -- made early in the war -- of the ideals for which we fought.

Even before victory had been attained -- the forty odd nations -- that took up arms against Fascism and aggression -- had commenced the planning of an International Organization -- to insure the preservation of these ideals for all time.

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When the United Nations was formally constituted -- at San Francisco -- in April 1945 -- the very preamble of the Charter set forth the supreme purpose of the United Nations -- in the following terms: --

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED..... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small..... AND FOR THESE ENDS... HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS."

All through the Charter -- we find the same ideal kept in the foreground.

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Article 1 -- defining the purposes of the United Nations -- includes the following: --

"To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;"

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Article 13 includes this purpose among the principal functions of the United Nations by providing that --

"1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

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Article 7 of the Charter -- which establishes the principal organs of the United Nations -- lists among them --

An Economic and Social Council.

Article 55 -- dealing with the subject of international economic and social cooperation -- pledges the United Nations to promote inter alia --

"universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

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C164511

Article 61 -- provides that --

"the Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly."

Article 62 -- authorizes the Council to initiate studies and reports with respect to the Ourposes assigned and -- in particular --

"It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."

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Article 68 -- provides that the Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights.

As freedom-loving Canadians -- we note -- with gratification -- that the United Nations have sought faithfully -- to carry out these purposes laid down in the Charter.

Pursuant to Article 68 -- the Economic and Social Council has already established a Commission on Human Rights.

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At its first session in London -- the Economic and Social Council -- -- on February 16th, 1946 -- defined the functions of the Commission on "Human Rights" -- as follows:

"The work of the Commission shall be directed towards submitting proposals, recommendations and reports to the Council regarding:

(a) an international bill of rights;

(b) international declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information and similar matters;

.....

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(c) the protection of minorities;

(d) the prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion;"

to which -- at a later meeting -- on June 21st, 1946 -- there was added the following:

"(e) any other matter concerning human rights not covered by items a, b, c and d."

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By a further resolution -- on June 21, 1946 -- the Economic and Social Council took steps for the compilation of a universal survey of the subject -- in the following terms: --

"The Secretary-General is requested to make arrangements for:

(a) The compilation and publication of a year-book on law and usage relating to human rights, the first edition of which should include all declarations and bills on human rights now in force in the various countries;

.....

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(b) the collection and publication of information on the activities concerning human rights of all organs of the United Nations;

(c) the collection and publication of information concerning human rights arising from trials of war criminals, quislings, and traitors, and in particular from the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials;

(d) the preparation and publication of a survey of the development of human rights;

(e) the collection and publication of plans and declarations on human rights by specialized agencies and non-governmental national and international organizations."

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The Commission on Human Rights has met -- and organized itself -- and has set up several Sub-Commissions of experts.

One of these is a Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press. Its function is: --

> "in the first instance, to examine what rights, obligations, and practices should be included in the concept of freedom of information, and to report to the Commission on Human Rights on any issues that may arise from such examination."

Canada is especially interested in this Sub-Commission -- through the inclusion in its members -- of Mr. George V. Ferguson -- one of our outstanding Canadian newspaper editors.

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The other Sub-Commission -- which has already been created -- is on the "Protection of Minorities."

A Drafting Committee has already been established -- for the purpose of formulating a preliminary draft of an International Bill of Human Rights -- in accordance with the great concepts laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

This draft will then be submitted to all States which are Members of the United Nations -- for their observations, suggestions and proposals.

The objective is -- that the proposed Bill may be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948.

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While no Canadian is a member of the Commission on Human Rights -- Canada is one of the eighteen nations represented on the Economic and Social Council which created it.

The two members of the Government -- who have attended and participated in the sessions of the Economic and Social Council -- are the present Minister of National Health and Welfare -- and the present Minister of National Defence.

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It is obvious that any document so far-reaching as an International Bill of Rights is of great importance to the people of Canada.

It is essential -- therefore -- that our Canadian representatives should have the advantage of the fullest possible expression by the Canadian Parliament -- and the Canadian people -- of their views on this subject.

We must be ready to consider the draft International Bill of Human Rights -- when it is referred to us.

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One of the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council adopted at the meeting -- in June 1946 -- is as follows: --

"Members of the United Nations are invited to consider the desirability of establishing information groups or local human rights committees within their respective countries to collaborate with them in furthering the work of the Commission on Human Rights."

No action along these lines has been taken in Canada.

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The Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament -- which it is -- by the resolution now under discussion -- proposed to establish -- will undoubtedly give a lead along these lines.

It will probably accord with our characteristic Canadian attitude to such matters -- that any Committees or Associations formed among our people -- to study and disseminate information on the subject of human rights -- shall be entirely voluntary.

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It is doubtful -- that the Canadian people would look with favour -- upon organizations set up under Government auspices.

Nevertheless -- it is not too soon -- to draw attention to the desirability of the Canadian people giving widespread -- and intense study -- to this vital and far-reaching subject.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

PART II

— HISTORIC LANDMARKS.

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3800 words

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HISTORIC LANDMARKS

If we -- as a Canadian Parliament -- and a Canadian people -- are to make our appropriate contribution to the formulation of world opinion on the subject of human rights and freedom -- it is well that we should briefly look back to some of the historic landmarks in mankind's progress along the road to freedom.

These include -- the Magna Charta -- the Petition of Right -- the Declaration of Rights -- the Habeas Corpus Act -- and the United States Bill of Rights.

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MAGNA CHARTA

The Magna Charta was an agreement -- wrested by the Barons of England from King John -- and signed by him -- on June 19th, 1215. In its most famous articles -- the King declared: --

39. "No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, dispossessed, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will We proceed against or prosecute him except by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land."

40. "To no one will We sell, to no one will We deny or defer, right or justice."

The Magna Charta is essentially a limitation upon the absolute power of the King -- and has a place of high priority in the great sequence of such limitations.

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The Charter was intended as a means of ending the civil war -- then ravaging the country.

No document of parchment and paper -- could restrain that arrogant and selfish monarch.

Within a year -- the civil war had broken out again -- and continued until the death of the King.

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DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1689

In 1689 -- after the abdication of James II -- the declaration of rights became a bill of rights -- transformed by Parliament into a statute.

Its great principles were the assertions --

"that the pretended power of suspension of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

"that levying of money ... without grant of Parliament ... is illegal;

"that it is the right of subjects to petition the King and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

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"that the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned."

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This Bill was a condition under which the Lords and Commons accepted the accession of the Prince and Princess of Orange -- as William III and Queen Mary.

It did not purport -- in its assertion of the rights of the people -- to establish new law.

On its face -- the statute -- as passed by the two Houses of Parliament -- was said to be --

"for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and privileges."

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HABEAS CORPUS ACT, 1679

The Habeas Corpus Act was passed in the reign of Charles II.

The passing of this Act is rightly regarded as a great step forward in the protection of the liberty of the subject in British countries.

The writ of Habeas Corpus, however, existed long prior to the passage of this Act -- whose chief claim to fame lies in the fact that it provides a procedure by which the ancient right of Habeas Corpus can be protected.

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Let me quote Dicey's law of the Constitution -- 8th Edition -- where we find -- at page 217 (referring to the Habeas Corpus Act) -- "The Act, with a most important landmark in the constitutional history of England, in no sense creates any right to personal freedom, but is essentially a procedure Act for improving the legal mechanism by which acknowledged right may be enforced."

And -- again -- at page 195 -- "It declares no principle and defines no rights but is for practical purposes worth a hundred articles guaranteeing constitutional liberty."

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UNITED STATES BILL OF RIGHTS.

No discussion of this subject would be complete -- without reference to the American Bill of Rights.

Its purpose was to make explicit -- the simple and lofty terms of the United States Declaration of Independence: --

"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among those are life -- liberty -- and the pursuit of happiness."

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When the United States constitution was originally adopted -- it contained no Bill of Rights. The subject matter was considered to be within the jurisdiction -- of the individual states.

However -- public opinion very rapidly forced the inclusion -- in the constitution -- of a series of declarations of private and personal liberties.

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These declarations took the form of ten amendments to the constitution -- and they have become known -- in history -- as the American Bill of Rights.

The provisions contained in the American Bill of Rights -- are an assertion of certain specific rights -- already found in the old British statutes and declarations -- from which the United States -- as well as all the British Dominions -- derive their concepts of liberty.

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The chief provisions of the American Bill of Rights

1) Prohibit the establishment of a State Church.

2) Guarantee religious toleration.

3) The rights of free speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and petition.

4) Prohibit unreasonable search and general warrants.

5) Require serious crime to be tried on indictment found by a grand jury.

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6) Forbid any person to be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, or to be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, or to be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.

In referring to these legal provisions -- it is inspiring to recall the eloquent language in which they were described by Thomas Jefferson -- in his first inaugural address -- March 4th, 1801: --

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THOMAS JEFFERSON

(First inaugural address, March 4, 1801)

"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, -- entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; ••••••

••••••

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"freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected, -- these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation."

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It is clear -- that the American Bill of Rights -- like the great British Charters -- laid no claim to the creation of new law.

It was -- rather -- in the words of an eminent authority (Sir Maurice Amos in his work on the American Constitution) -- an attempt to insure "<u>that certain fundamental axioms might be placed by the Constitution beyond the reach of the ordinary Legislature.</u>"

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This was possible -- in the United States -- because its Parliamentary bodies -- its Congress -- and its State Legislatures -- derive all their powers from the express language of a written Constitution.

It is possible -- in a country which functions under a written Constitution -- to define and limit the powers of its law-making bodies.

The situation is different in a monarchy -- and Canada is a monarchy.

The monarchical form of government is founded on the theory that all power is vested in the King.

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Our Acts of Parliament begin with the following words: --

"His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and of the House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows."

The comparison might be made that -- in a Republic -- authority is derived from a document; in a monarchy -- from a person.

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In the United States -- as in most countries where the supreme authority is a written constitution -- the procedure for amending the constitution is deliberately made slow and cumbersome.

It is that fact -- which gives point to the observation of Sir Maurice Amos -- that the people of the United States incorporated their Bill of Rights in the Constitution -- in order that it might placed "beyond the reach of the ordinary Legislature."

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There is no such procedure availbble under monarchical constitutions.

Whatever may be lawfully done today -- by authority of the King -- can be undone by exactly the same procedure tomorrow.

We have no means of placing any field of legislation beyond the reach of parliamentary action.

It is true that we -- in Canada -- have a written Constitution. That is merely because we are a Federal State.

The function of the British North America Act is to lay down which of our two Parliamentary bodies -- the Federal or the Provincial -- has jurisdiction to legislate in certain fields.

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In theory -- at least -- there ~~should~~ be no ~~such~~ subject upon which -- either the Dominion -- or the Provincial Parliament -- cannot legislate.

Hence -- if we are to consider whether -- in Canada -- we should adopt something in the nature of a Bill of Rights -- we must do so with regard to the following circumstances: --

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1. We already possess the rights affirmed in Magna Charta -- the Declaration of Rights -- the Habeas Corpus Act -- and the great body of the common law.

2. We can legislate with no greater authority or durability than pertains to an Act of Parliament.

3. Some of the subjects commonly associated with a Bill of Rights are not within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government -- but have been assigned by the British North America Act to provincial jurisdiction.

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It will be noted -- therefore -- that -- to the extent that we may wish to deal with the subject of human rights and freedom as domestic legislation -- there is much for a Select Committee to consider.

It may even be desirable -- or necessary -- that consultation with the provinces take place.

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FRENCH CONSTITUTION

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In France -- the draft Constitution -- which was rejected by referendum on May 5th last -- contained a comprehensive declaration of the rights of man -- embodied in some twenty-one separate and specific articles.....

"All men are born free and equal"

"The law guarantees to woman rights equal to those of men."

"Sovereignty resides solely in the people."

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"The law is the expression of the national will. It is the same for all -- whether it protects -- punishes -- or obligates."

"The home is inviolable. No search can take place without authority of the law on an order of the court."

"The secrecy of correspondence is inviolable."

"The liberty of conscience and of faith is guaranteed by the neutrality of the state as between all beliefs and all denominations."

"Every man is free to speak -- to write -- to print -- and to publish."

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This Constitution was rejected — although not fundamentally — because of disagreement with any of the principles which have just been enumerated.

In the new Constitution — which was adopted on the 13th of November — 1946 — this extended statement of the fundamental rights of man was condensed into a simple and "solemn affirmation of the rights and liberties of man and of the citizen, consecrated by the declaration of rights of 1789 — and the fundamental principles recognized by the laws of the Republic."

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Thus -- we see that -- on second consideration -- the people of France considered it wiser to avoid defining and confining in mere iteration of words those deeply ingrained concepts of man's inherent rights -- whose greatest protection is not in printed words -- but in mankind's sense of natural justice.

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SCOTLAND

In further reviewing how the parliaments of men have laid down their bills of rights -- let us turn to Scotland.

In my native land -- notwithstanding the Magna Carta -- and notwithstanding the bill of rights -- and all these great measures for the protection of liberty -- the Highlanders of Scotland -- after the rebellion of '45 -- were prohibited from wearing their native dress -- playing their native music -- or speaking their native tongue.

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THE CULLODEN OATH

"I do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of Judgment, I have not nor shall have in my possession any gun, pistol, or any whatsoever and never use broad sword nor any part of the Highland garb, and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and posterity. May I never see my wife and children, father, mother or relation. May I be killed in battle as a coward and lie without christian burial in a strange land far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred — may all this come across me if I break my oath."

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NOT READABLE
PAS LISIBLE

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THE CAMERON OATH

"I do swear, and so I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not nor shall have in my possession any gun, pistol or arm whatsoever and never use tartan plaid nor any part of the Highland garb, and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and property. May I never see my wife and children, father, mother or relation. May I be killed in battle as a coward and lie without christian burial in a strange land far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred — may all this come across me if I break my oath."

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NOT READABLE
PAS LISIBLE

This was no idle gesture. There is on record a ruling of the Court of Session in 1745 — when it sentenced a Jacobite — called Reid (not the MMBer for New Westminster) — to be hanged for carrying a weapon of war — in the form of a set of bagpipes.

Times have changed. Under the taxation laws of Great Britain — during the recent war — there was a purchase tax of 100 per cent on bagpipe — because the Government ruled that it was a musical instrument — and not a weapon of war.

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NOT READABLE
PAS LISIBLE

One of the great land marks in Scotland's struggle for freedom is the Arbroath Manifesto — issued by the Scottish Parliament in 1320 — defying an external challenge to the recognition of Bruce as King of Scotland.

"If this prince should leave the principles he has so nobly pursued, and consent that we, or our Kingdom, be subjected to the King or people of England, we shall immediately endeavour to expel him as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make us a king who will defend our liberties; but as long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject us to the dominion of the English. It is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honor, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life."

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THE DOMINIONS

In considering this question -- we must remember that Canada has her own special problems -- her own traditions -- and her own obligations.

Professor A. Berriedale Keith -- in his "Constitutional Law of British Dominions", (page 91) points out that: --

> "True to the British tradition the Dominion constitutions ignore entirely the question of defining the rights to be enjoyed by subjects."

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If we look back -- we will recall that the greatest right and privilege -- which the Fathers of Confederation -- sought to protect and preserve -- was that of remaining British subjects.

The great fear -- which drew the Provinces together -- was the fear of being swallowed up in the great American Republic -- notwithstanding its famous Bill of Rights.

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In the historic debate of 1865 -- Macdonald and Cartier both stated the position bluntly.

Here are the words of Macdonald: --

"If we are not blind to our present position, we must see the hazardous situation in which all the great interests of Canada stand in respect to the United States. I am no alarmist. I do not believe in the prospect of immediate war..... Still, we cannot trust to probabilities. The government and legislature would be wanting in their duty to the people if they ran any risk."

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And -- here is Cartier: --

"The matter resolved itself into this, either we must obtain British North American Confederation or be absorbed in an American Confederation".

There were references to freedom and to liberties -- but they were expressions of pride -- in that those historic British liberties were inherently the right of Canadians.

Listen to this graphic picture drawn by George Brown in the same debate: --

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"The scene presented by this chamber at this moment, I venture to affirm, has few parallels in history. One hundred years have passed away since these provinces became by conquest part of the British Empire. I speak in no boastful spirit.... I recall these olden times merely to mark the fact that here sit today the descendants of the victors and the vanquished in the fight of 1759..... Here we sit today seeking amicably to find a remedy for constitutional evils and injustice complained of -- by the vanquished? No, Sir -- but complained of by the conqueror! Here sit the representatives of the British population claiming justice -- only justice; and here sit the representatives of the French population, discussing in the French tongue whether we shall have it.... Here sit the children of

.....

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"the victor and the vanquished, all avowing hearty attachment to the British Crown -- all earnestly deliberating how we shall best extend the blessings of British institutions."

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HUMAN RIGHTS

PART III

- INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

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In considering the proposed International Bill of Rights — and the position which should be taken by Canada — with respect to this proposal — it is necessary that we give some thought to the nature of the rights which we seek to protect and conserve.

Lord John Russell notes three kinds of liberty: —

"1. Civil liberty.... the power of doing that, and that only, which is not forbidden by the laws. This definition comprehends the security of person and of property.

.....

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"2. Personal liberty.... the power of doing that which in itself is harmless, as speaking or writing, and of which the abuse only is criminal. Religious freedom and eligibility to office may also be comprehended under this head.

"3. Political liberty.... the acknowledged and legal rights of the people to control their government, or to take a share in it."

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And -- at a later place -- in the same discussion (which is found in Ernest Rhys' "Growth of Political Liberty) -- Lord John Russell -- while pointing out that civil and personal liberty have existed to a certain degree in despotic states -- concludes that

"the only efficient remedy against oppression is for the people to retain a share of the supreme power in their own possession. This is called political liberty."

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Professor Reginald Trotter -- in his splendid reference book "Charters of our Freedom" -- comes to a somewhat similar conclusion. He says: --

> "Freedom.....means many things. Freedom in relation to government and law has two sides, civil liberty and political liberty..... Experience has shown that without political liberty, civil liberty is in danger."

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We feel that -- in our British and American systems of democratic parliamentary government -- we have a good working plan of political liberty -- but -- I feel sure that -- when the question of fundamental human rights comes to be debated by the United Nations -- a school of thought will find expression there -- which will disagree profoundly with our theory that freedom depends upon our system of political democracy.

It may well be -- therefore -- that the International Bill of Rights -- when it emerges -- will fall far short of that which we -- as Canadians -- would consider desirable -- and even fundamentally necessary.

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If our conceptions of freedom are -- in the long run -- to prevail -- the minimal bill of rights -- which is likely to emerge from the United Nations Assembly -- will require many amendments -- and augmentations -- in the years to come.

For that process of spreading the spirit and the substance of freedom among other peoples -- we must prepare ourselves --

(a) by proving by experience and example -- that our conception of freedom is the highest and best; and

(b) by the process of education.

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In other words -- we must not only preach freedom -- we must practice it.

Field Marshal Smuts-- October 17,1934 -- Rectoral Address -- St. Andrew's University: --

"In the long run only the spirit of international comradeship can solve the problems of freedom and of peace. But in the meantime the supreme cause has to be kept going and to be safeguarded from all danger till the coming of a new renascence of the European spirit."

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HUMAN RIGHTS

PART IV

-- THE SOURCE OF FREEDOM

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As one delves into the literature of freedom -- one observes two philosophical approaches to the subject -- each apparently in direct conflict with the other.

One school of thought regards freedom as the state of nature -- and looks upon all law-making as tending to restrict man's natural and original freedom.

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Algernon Sydney wrote: -

"The liberties of nations are
from God and nature, not from kings."

Lord John Russell said: -

"What is called love of liberty
means the wish that a man feels
to have a voice in the disposal of
his own property and in the formation
of the laws by which his natural freedom
is to be restrained."

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This line of thinking is presumably based on a concept that primitive man -- roaming the forest -- was free to come and go -- in accordance with the dictates of his own impulse.

As he joined with his fellows in tribes and clans -- he submitted to certain limitations of his personal and individual freedom -- either by mutual consent of all members of the band -- or under the orders of a tribal council -- or a powerful chieftain.

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The other philosophical approach seems to regard each segment of freedom as something wrested from authority.

Mr. B.K. Sandwell -- a leading spirit in the "Civil Liberties Union" -- expressed this latter view -- in his contribution to a series of radio broadcasts on "Our Heritage of Freedom" -- when he said: --

"We have our heritage of freedom because our ancestors and predecessors were so profoundly concerned about freedom that they forced their rulers to establish more and more of it; but this is a thing that rulers do only when those who elect them are strongly determined that it shall be done."

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And again —

> "The power of the state over the individual, unless limited by a written constitution is absolute.... The state in Canada possesses this absolute power over the individual, for the Canadian constitution is not, as the American in part is, a document for limiting the power of the state; it is a document for dividing it between two sets of authorities, the national and the provincial."

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Possibly -- however -- the conflict between these two schools of thought is more apparent than real.

As free primitive man banded himself into tribes -- and ultimately into nations -- there was a progressive surrender of natural freedom to the point where -- in feudal times -- supreme power over property -- and over life and death -- was vested in despotic monarchs.

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Perhaps -- in England -- the peak of this progression was reached in the reign of King John.

If so -- the retrogression from absolutism began with the Magna Carta -- and rounded down from precedent to precedent -- until we attained the free institutions -- of which all British peoples of today are justly proud.

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It is noteworthy -- however -- insofar as British history is concerned -- and British history is our history -- that the great charters and declarations -- which assert and define our liberties -- have never been regarded as constructive new law -- but always as the assertion of ancient rights and privileges.

Thus -- where Magna Carta asserts the rights of every free man to "the lawful judgment of his peers" -- it is the ancient right of trial by jury which is being asserted.

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Trial by jury existed among the Anglo Saxons from early days -- and no man has been able to trace its beginnings -- or its origin.

Similarly -- the right of habeas corpus existed long prior to the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act. There is legislation upon it in the days of the Tudors -- and -- once again -- there is no historical documentary record of its origin in British law.

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When -- therefore -- we are confronted with proposals to legislate upon the question of human rights -- we may -- with wisdom and propriety -- pause to consider whether our efforts are likely to result in a broadening of our rights and privileges -- or whether perhaps we shall not blunder into curtailing them.

Thus -- if in some statute or constitutional amendment -- we undertake to embalm a catalogue of the rights of man -- and through oversight we omit one item -- it may be open to the courts to decide that -- because our Bill of Rights omits this particular -- no such right exists.

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Hence -- in this British country -- with its heritage of freedom founded upon the common law -- and with its free democratic political institutions -- I suggest that the people should scrutinize and analyze very closely any proposal to legislate about human rights and freedom.

Many of the rights and privileges -- which we dearly prize -- we do not owe to specific statutes. Rather -- we owe them to an absence of laws prohibiting them.

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In my view -- it is more important that we should think and talk about freedom -- than that we should legislate about it.

Too often we forget that the very word "parliament" means a talking place.

Parliament is very much more than a legislature. It is a place where the people -- through their representatives -- have the opportunity of discussing the great principles which ought to influence and inspire all government and legislation.

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One of the great functions of Parliament is the scrutinizing of the acts of government.

When criticism brings to light glaring faults and glaring abuses -- the tendency is for people to turn away from the government thus at fault -- and to elect -- in its place -- a government composed of men of another party -- who have seemed by their criticism to have a higher conception of public responsibility.

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We -- of the Liberal Party --
who constitute the present government --
believe intensely in the value of
parliament as a talking place -- in
which the grievances of the people
may be brought to the light of day --
analyzed and discussed -- to the end
that remedies may be found.

In a generation in which there has
been -- for countless millions -- a
greater curtailment of freedom -- than
has been experienced since the barbaric
empires of old -- nothing is more important
than that this parliament should be a forum --
for expounding the principles of freedom --
so that men may learn to value them -- and
be willing to fight and -- if need be --
to die for them.

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In the words of Field Marshal Smuts -- in his address on being installed as Rector of St. Andrews University -- on October 17, 1934:

"The fight for human freedom is indeed the supreme issue of the future, as it has always been in the past.

"The new dictatorship is nothing but the old tyranny writ large. I fear the new tyranny more than I fear the danger of another great war. Tyranny is infectious. As Burke said: it is a weed which grows in all soils, and it is its nature to spread."

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When -- however -- I warn against possible danger in the impulse to put freedom in a strait jacket -- by seeking to define it in words -- I do not necessarily subscribe to the proposition that the present state of the law is perfect.

In the words of the Honourable C.A. Cahan -- in a broadcast of 1937 -- on "Our Heritage of Freedom": --

"It has required the experience of many generations of men to find a proper mean between the due protection of the individual and the due protection of the society of which he is a member, and that object may never be fully attained."

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Here -- we have the former Canadian Secretary of State -- concisely expressing the essence of the issue -- which arises between the two schools of thought -- which we shall find in the General Assembly of the United Nations -- when that body comes to pass upon the International Bill of Rights.

At the same time -- with his profound philosophical pessimism -- the late Mr. Cahan pointed out -- that the ultimate objective "may never be fully attained."

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Nevertheless -- he pointed to the need for continued effort -- when he went on to say: --

> "Law has been contemptuously called the governing of the living by the dead; but we can never escape from our historic continuity with the past. It is inevitable that the past should govern the present; but the present is only the passing moment, and each succeeding generation makes its own contribution, however meagre, to the living growth of law."

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It is fitting that we -- of this generation -- should also seek to make our contribution.

As heirs to the common law -- perhaps our greatest contribution can be made -- in directing men's minds -- to the study of the essential principles of freedom.

Let us engrave its great truths on our monuments of stone and of marble.

Let us preach them from the pulpit -- and thunder them in the columns of our free press.

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Let us debate them in our deliberative assemblies -- until the eternal verities are enshrined in the hearts of men.

But -- let us not delude ourselves that freedom can be created out of perishable pieces of parchment.

Freedom is not a code of man-made laws.

Freedom is in the spirit of men.

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Camera Location/Emplacement de la caméra

395 WELLINGTON ST. OTTAWA - ONT

Camera Operator/Opérateur de la caméra

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