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WEEK'S EVENTS IN REVIEW

IN PARLIAMENT: The two Houses of Parliament have resumed sittings following the Christmas recess (P. 11-12). In both Senate and House of Commons debate on the Address proceeded but was not concluded. In the Upper House, Senator Rupert Davies, replying to critics, said he hoped nothing would be done to change the Senate. I think, he said, the Senate is all right just as it is.

In the Commons, yesterday, John G. Diefenbaker (P.C. Lake Centre), referring to a charge of conspiracy to publish a defamatory libel now before the Alberta courts, urged amendment of the Criminal Code to safeguard the principle that editors and publishers can be tried for libel only in the province where their publication originates.

For two days, the Commons debated the Emergency Exchange Bill on second reading. The debate will be continued.

U.N. ECONOMIC COUNCIL: Canada will be represented at the sixth session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (which is to be held in New York beginning February 2) by the following delegation:

Delegate: Hon. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare
 Alternate: Dr. G.F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of National Health and Welfare (Welfare)
 Advisers: Miss Dorothy Burwash, Economic Division, Department of External Affairs
 R.B. Curry, Department of National Health and Welfare

S. Pollock, Department of Finance
 L. Roy, American and Far Eastern Division, Department of External Affairs
 J.H. Warren, United Nations Division, Department of External Affairs.

R.G. Riddell, United Nations Division, Department of External Affairs, will attend the preliminary meeting of the Agenda Committee and will be present from time to time as alternate delegate.

NEWFOUNDLAND DISCUSSIONS: The Newfoundland National Convention, January 28, voted 29 to 16 against recommending to the U.K. Government the inclusion on the ballot of any question about union with Canada. Replying to questions in the House of Commons yesterday, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said the vote did not close the door to further negotiation. The Convention was an advisory body. Its decisions, according to advice received, were not binding either on the people of Newfoundland or on the U.K. Government.

The Canadian Government, Mr. St. Laurent added, had stated terms which, in its opinion, would be fair for union and was taking no part whatever in presenting those terms to the people of Newfoundland, nor would the Canadian Government venture to do so nor say anything which might be regarded there as an effort to influence the decision of the free people of Newfoundland.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

SHARP REDUCTION IN TIME LOSS: Time loss through work stoppages arising out of industrial disputes in Canada during 1947 was only 55 per cent of the total time loss recorded for the preceding year, it was shown by a preliminary summary of strikes and lockouts for 1947, issued by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Mitchell.

Preliminary figures show 60,000 fewer workers involved in strikes and 2,000,000 fewer man-work days lost during 1947 than in 1946.

The demand for increased wages was one of the principal issues in more than 70 per cent of the strikes of 1947. Two major strikes during the year, one of coal miners in the Maritimes and the other of meat packing plant workers throughout Canada, accounted for about 75 per cent of the total 1947 time loss.

Preliminary figures show 219 strikes and lockouts in 1947 involving 77,995 workers, with a time loss of 2,422,332 man-work days, as compared with 228 strikes in 1946, involving 139,474 workers and a time loss of 4,516,393 days. The time loss per one thousand available work days for 1947 was 2.70 as compared with 5.03 for the year 1946.

As the year ended, strike activity was at its lowest point since February, 1946. Time loss, during December, 1947, showed a sharp reduction from the preceding month with only 15 strikes and lockouts in existence, involving 3,189 workers and a time loss of 19,097 man-working days, as compared with 28 strikes in November, 1947, with 14,735 workers involved and a time loss of 119,602 man-working days. In December, 1946, there were 10 strikes, involving 2,256 workers, with a time loss of 23,804 days.

The time loss per thousand available work-days during December was 0.24 as compared with 1.60 in November, 1947, and 0.32 in December, 1946.

Of the 15 strikes which were in existence for varying periods during December, seven were in effect previous to December 1. Of these seven strikes, six were terminated by the end of the month, and of the eight strikes which began during December, two had ended by January 1. Thus, there were seven strikes still in effect at the beginning of 1948.

LABOUR INCOME ESTIMATED: Receipts of wages, salaries and supplementary labour income by Canadian residents totalled \$538 million in October, 1947. This total was eight million dollars higher than that for September, and \$84 million or about 19 per cent higher than the corresponding total for October, 1946. During the first 10 months of 1947 the aggregate was \$4,942 million as compared with \$4,201 million in the similar period of 1946, an increase of about 18 per cent.

The largest increases in total wages and salaries from September to October took place in the manufacturing and logging industries.

Labour income payments in these industries were three and four million dollars higher respectively. Although the estimate of labour income for agriculture showed a seasonal drop of almost three million dollars, total salaries and wages in almost all other industries were slightly higher in October than in September.

Although increases in employment and in the cost of living probably decreased the purchasing power of the average Canadian wage earner in October, as compared with September, it would seem that there was little overall change in consumer purchasing power in the first 10 months of this year compared with 1946. To the end of October, monthly labour income payments have averaged about 18 per cent higher than those for 1946. The indexes of employment in nine leading industries from January 1 to November 1, have averaged about seven per cent higher than the annual 1946 figure, and the average of the cost of living index stood about nine per cent higher than that for 1946. Reductions in income tax charges which became effective July 1, added somewhat more money to the take home pay of the Canadian wage earner, to some extent counterbalancing sharply rising prices toward the end of the period.

CIVIL SERVICE PAY INCREASE: An Order-in-Council has been passed revising the salary ranges of Civil Servants in the categories of Messengers, Elevator Operators, Caretakers, Watchmen, Cleaners, Packers, Hospital Orderlies and Canal and Airport Employees. Revisions have also been made in the salaries of the Employment and Claims Officers of the Unemployment Insurance Commission and in a number of other smaller classes.

These most recent revisions cover about 17,000 employees, and the estimated increase in average payroll resulting from the changes will be in the neighbourhood of \$3,000,000. The new salary scales are effective as from October 1, 1947.

PERMANENT INDIAN TEACHERS: An Order-in-Council has been passed authorizing the appointment of the first group of Indian day school teachers to permanent positions within the Indian Affairs Branch.

NEW DEPUTIES APPOINTED: The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, announces that the following appointments to the public service had been approved to become effective on February 1st:

Deputy Minister of National Revenue (Taxation),

Mr. V.W.T. Scully, at present Deputy Minister of Reconstruction and Supply.

Deputy Minister of Reconstruction and Supply,

Commander C.P. Edwards, at present Deputy Minister of Transport.

Deputy Minister of Transport,

Mr. Jean Claude Lessard, at present Chairman of the Statistics Division of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

In making the announcement, the Prime Minister explained that Commander Edwards' duties as Deputy Minister of Reconstruction would be in connection with the winding up of the affairs of that Department, and, also, with the Air Services and related branches of the Department of Transport for which the ministerial responsibility is vested in the Minister of Reconstruction and Supply.

Mr. King added that, as soon as the necessary legislation could be enacted, it was proposed to have two Deputy Ministers of Transport, one for Air Services, who would be Commander Edwards and one for Rail and Marine Services who would be Mr. Lessard.

When provision is made by Parliament for the additional Deputy Minister, it is intended to transfer the ministerial responsibility for the Air Services to the Minister of Transport.

CROSSING CANSO STRAIT

BOARD TO STUDY SCHEMES: Intention to appoint a three-man Board of Engineers to review and report on the data now available with respect to improving transportation facilities across the Strait of Canso, is announced in a joint statement released by Mr. Lionel Chevrier, Minister of Transport, and Premier Angus MacDonald Nova Scotia. Two of the Board members would be appointed by the Dominion Government and the third by the Province of Nova Scotia. Announcement of the personnel of this Board will be made in the near future.

In addressing the House of Commons on this subject on July 17 last, Mr. Chevrier reviewed the different projects which have been outlined in the report of the Department of Transport engineers engaged in surveying and investigating their possibilities. These projects consisted of:-

1. Construction of a new ferry and associated ferry terminals and the reconstruction and local revision of the main line railway on the west side of the Strait of Canso in order to reduce existing trades in order to reduce railway operating costs.
2. Construction of a bridge across the Strait of Canso with the necessary revisions to railways and highways at either ends.
3. Construction of a causeway and a lock structure connecting the two shores to provide for through water-borne traffic, with the revision of railways and highways as required.

The Minister of Transport announced at that time that his engineers had recommended adop-

tion of the project for construction of a new ferry and associated ferry terminals at an estimated cost of \$4,550,000 and considered this project adequate to meet the existing situation. The suggested bridge and causeway projects envisioned considerable difficulties in construction and the costs were considered to be out of proportion to the traffic which could be expected to develop for years to come. The bridge project was estimated to cost in the neighbourhood of \$54,208,000 and the causeway project with lock and approaches at \$35,093,800.

Factual data given in the engineers' report shows that the Strait of Canso is approximately 15 miles long with an average width of some 3,500 feet and with varying depths of from 150 to 200 feet in its narrowest sections. Maximum surface velocities at certain tidal phases vary from four to five knots per hour.

ENLARGED WHARF AT SAINT JOHN: A contract had been awarded to the Saint John Dry Dock Company Limited of Saint John, N.B., for the rebuilding of the McLeod-Pettingill wharves and transit sheds on the east side of the harbour of that city. The lowest tender was accepted.

The new undertaking, consisting of an enlarged wharf and transit shed is to be constructed at an estimated cost of around \$2,500,000.

The new wharf will be of the most modern type and will provide accommodation for berthing two ocean-going vessels with a minimum depth of 35 feet at low tide. This will replace the two existing wharves. Specifications call for a steel and concrete structure 873 feet in length and extending approximately 55 feet farther out into the harbour than the present wharves. The new concrete crib work will be 48 feet wide and will be built outside of the old cribs. Above this will be solid concrete wall and floors.

The new transit shed will have at least three times the accommodation of the two buildings now being used and will be laid out to provide the maximum efficiency in handling of cargo.

IMPORTANT INTER-SERVICE BODY DISBANDED: Canada's Joint Committee on Enemy Science and Technology -- an inter-service body responsible for exploitation of German industrial, economic and military secrets -- is now being disbanded. Its remaining functions are being absorbed by various government departments.

Since VE-Day, the committee has collected and made available to authorized Canadian agencies and industries thousands of investigators' reports on German and Japanese industry as well as masses of translated documents. Working with a secretariat composed largely of armed forces personnel, the organization included representatives from the depart-

ments of Trade and Commerce, Reconstruction and Supply, External Affairs and the National Research Council. By this means the armed services were able to contribute invaluable technical and scientific information to Canadian industry and government.

Exploitation was carried out by Canada through participation of investigators with British and American agencies, whose advanced teams entered Germany with Allied spearheads and quickly evaluated all scientific and industrial targets as they were captured.

In the medical field much interesting information was uncovered. Valuable synthetic rubber and chemical processes, metallurgical and lubricant developments, coal mining techniques, glues for plywood, electronic and photographic developments are included in the many items of value to Canadian industry. A considerable amount of military and industrial equipment has been brought to Canada as well as a large number of books requested by scientific and university libraries in this country. Several German techniques have been brought over to assist in establishing new industry.

With the disbandment of the committee, the chairman, Commander R.H. Macdonald, and the secretary, Major C.H. Stewart, will resume their full time work in the Defence Research Board and will retain the library there. Other functions of the committee will be taken over by those government departments having a continued interest in them.

ARMY'S COLD WEATHER TRAINING: Winter training for the Canadian Army is now at its peak.

While the majority of the personnel stationed in arctic and sub-arctic regions are employed on the Northwest Territories and Yukon Radio System; on the Alaska Highway and at the Joint Experimental Station at Churchill; almost 200 members of the Active Force are participating in, or training for, two winter training exercises far from civilization. These are Exercise Moccasin, an eight weeks' camping venture in frozen wastelands south of Fort Churchill, and Exercise Haines II, a two months' cold weather training scheme being conducted by men of the PPCLI, the 2nd Armoured Regiment (Lord Strathcona's Horse), and the Royal Canadian Engineers in the vicinity of Whitehorse, Y.T.

The Canadian Army has been associated with development in northern Canada since 1898 when the Army sent the Yukon Field Force to the northern frontier to help to keep law and order during the hectic days of the gold rush.

It was not, however, until after the First Great War that it really began to take an interest in the arctic and commenced the organization of the chain of radio stations that now link so many northern outposts. The first two of these stations were established in the Yukon at Dawson and Mayo in 1923, and since

then the System has grown to such an extent that Army personnel now man 24 remote settlements that, because of the military, soon may not be as remote as they now appear.

EXPORT CONTROLS RELAXED: The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C.D. Howe announces the removal of a number of items from export control in continuation of a policy instituted shortly after the termination of hostilities. Chief changes under the amendment are release from controls of wool and woollen goods, rayon manufactures, paints, varnishes and pigments. Among other categories affected are candy, paper and paper products, fish liver oils and all fish except halibut and salmon, toilet paper and fibre containers.

In all cases it is now considered that the domestic supply is adequate and that the export control is no longer necessary. For example, storage batteries are removed because the supply of lead is now believed to be satisfactory; canned foods containing poultry are removed because the discontinuance of the poultry contract with Britain renders unnecessary the control imposed to insure the fulfilment. Other commodities such as candies and cocoa products are not sufficiently large export items to warrant the continuance of controls especially as domestic needs are being satisfied.

NORTHERN WIRELESS STATIONS: Three new wireless stations have been planned to be added to the existing 21 of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Radio System, operated by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals.

The stations will be located at Brochet, Man., Dubrawnt Lake and Wrigley, Northwest Territories. Supplies are already being hauled by tractor train into Brochet, but construction has not yet begun on the other stations. Wrigley, the site of a Royal Canadian Corps of Signals station which was closed down last year, is now being re-opened to operate on a permanent basis.

In addition to supplying communications throughout the north, the Northwest Territories and Yukon Radio System is a valuable source of meteorological information. All NWT & Y operators are trained to take meteorological readings and reports are rendered several times daily to the Central Weather Bureau in Toronto from all stations of the system.

WHEAT EXPORTS: Exports of Canadian wheat in 1947 totalled 160,426,359 bushels, showing a moderate increase over the preceding year's total of 157,529,351 bushels, according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Wheat flour exports moved up to 18,081,882 barrels from 14,984,287 in 1946, or by 26 per cent.

PEACE THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS

MR. PEARSON ON COURSES OF ACTION: Lester B. Pearson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, addressing the annual dinner of the Toronto Board of Trade, January 26, 1948, discussed the two-year record of the United Nations. He spoke of threats to a peace uneasily balancing itself on the thin edge of fear, of two super powers, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., watching each other across a widening chasm of suspicion and mistrust.

The way out, Mr. Pearson held, lay in the growth of the United Nations into an organization which would really guarantee security.

He suggested three possible courses of action:

(1) To carry on as we have been doing, in the hope that the international situation, may in time improve to the point where the defects and weaknesses of the UN Charter, which now seem so glaring, will become academic, where unanimity of the Great Powers will be expressed positively by action for peace.

(2) The second, at the other extreme, to insist on a suitable amendment to the Charter and, if that is blocked by a veto (amendment is subject to the veto) then to scrap the present organization and form a new one with a Charter that will permit it to work. If any state wished to stay out, that would be its privilege and its responsibility.

This drastic course should be adopted only as a last desperate resort.

(3) The third way would retain the present Charter, but frankly recognize that within the present United Nations certain members were determined to form a collective system which would really guarantee their own collective security, even if this could be done only on a limited basis of membership.

This third way would not be an offensive and defensive alliance of the old type. There could be nothing offensive about it because it would be bound by all the obligations and restraints of the Charter. But it would be much broader and go much deeper than the alliances of old. It would be a genuine pooling of resources, spiritual and material, for purposes of collective defence. It would threaten no state and no state would have anything to fear from it which based its own actions on the principles and provisions of the Charter. It would merely be the recognition by certain states of the necessity of a collective system for defence which would be really effective; for accumulating under international control and outside the veto such a terrific preponderance of power that no one would dare to commit an aggression.

Opening his address, Mr. Pearson said there was less feeling of one world in a political

or spiritual sense than at any time perhaps since the break-up of the Roman Empire. That break-up splintered mankind into hundreds of political and social fragments. Current developments were breaking mankind into, not twenty, but two fragments and that was more sinister and more dangerous.

One world and one government might come suddenly and terribly by one of these two worlds becoming an aggressor, over-running the other, and bombing and blasting all peoples into submission. That would simply mean the peace and order of the cemetery. Either the conquered world would become slaves of the global conqueror, or more probably, victors and vanquished alike would perish.

Mr. Pearson continued:

The United Nations is not yet very old - two years - about half the time it takes to produce a baby elephant or a graduate in arts at Toronto university. So we have no right to be impatient or unduly critical if all our hopes for the United Nations have not been realized or if its accomplishments have not been great. It took three years to plan D-Day, and we may surely be given a little more time than that to bring about the millennium.

It is not the lack of concrete accomplishment that provokes grave doubts about the capability of the organization to do the job it was given, to keep the peace. It is a realization that this may be made impossible by international developments, more particularly by the embitterment and intensification of ideological and political conflicts, between the two super powers, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., each watching the other across a widening chasm of suspicion and mistrust; each a leader of the two groups into which the world is tragically dividing.

In this political climate, the United Nations, even with a perfect charter, could not guarantee peace and security. In this political climate and with an imperfect charter, the structural weaknesses of the organization are becoming depressingly apparent, and are in their turn exposing and encouraging trends and tendencies which weaken it even further. The fact is that the United Nations was founded on the ability and desire of the great powers to work together for peace. Given that desire, the present charter would be satisfactory and the powers of the organization sufficient. Without that desire, the United Nations is ineffective as a law enforcing and peace preserving agency. It cannot instil any confidence in its ability to chastise speedily and effectively any nation that violates its charter or threatens security. Any such punitive action against a great power is impossible and even action against a small power is virtually so, because most small powers now have big friends.

The expression of this powerlessness - but

not the cause of it - is the privilege of the veto which under the charter is given to the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council. In the bad relations between the Great Powers which have now existed for too long a time, that veto-limitation has been enlarged and extended beyond anything contemplated at San Francisco when the charter was drafted. At that time, it was understood, -- indeed it was definitely so pledged by the five states who were to possess it -- that it would be used with responsibility and restraint; only in grave cases where the consequences of a decision might mean war. It was certainly never intended that it should be used -- as it has been used -- quite irresponsibly and selfishly to prevent the operation of machinery for the settlement of disputes and the removal of causes of trouble. If we were too optimistic at San Francisco -- though I assure you this optimism was by no means universal, especially among the Middle Powers -- it was because we felt that the links of friendship and cooperation forged between the Great Powers in the heat of a common struggle for survival against Fascist forces of evil, might remain, if not unimpaired, at least unbroken, after victory was won. That hope has been bitterly disappointed. Those links have been snapped, and one by one discarded. History has once again shown the senseless and selfish folly of man, in throwing aside after a war the methods and the spirit of international compromise and cooperation which alone had made possible his victory.

In 1948 there is little left, between the two great groups into which the world is forming, of that confidence, cooperation and respect which can alone make the present United Nations a workable instrument for establishing peace and security. We might as well face that fact. One consequence of it is that the veto power in the Security Council has been -- and indeed in this situation is bound to be -- used for the protection of selfish national interests by those who are aggressive or suspicious or do not desire international cooperation except on their own terms. The veto, therefore, which has been justified as necessary to preserve the unanimity of the Great Powers by ensuring that they all act together, merely highlights their disunity. Its repeated use -- and it has been used by one state twenty-two times -- simply underlines the weakness of the Security Council as the instrument for establishing security. It reduces action in that body -- on controversial political issues -- to the lowest common denominator of inaction. Unity is, finally, achieved, but on the basis of zero; on the basis of no runs, no hits and no errors; that is, no errors of commission, only lost chances.

We should not, however, mistake the symptom for the disease. The symptom is the veto-scarred record of the Security Council of the United Nations. The disease is the division of one

cooperating world into two opposing worlds.

The futilities and frustrations which sometimes occur in the meetings of the United Nations, and more particularly the Security Council, have been the consequence and not the cause of this division.

So we find that instead of a United Nations based on the idea and the principles of a cooperative world community, we have a United Nations in which too many of the members are concerned primarily with the protection of their own exclusive national interests. The emphasis is placed on individual sovereignty, instead of collective responsibility; on national defence, instead of collective security. Instead of the United Nations acting as a forum for the expression of the conscience of mankind, it is becoming a platform for the aggressive propagation of ideological passions and reactionary and revolutionary plans. Discussion is debased to the level of vilification. It is, of course, a good thing to have disputes and grievances exposed, and talked out, but only if the exposure is for the purpose of reaching some understanding which will solve the disputes and remove the grievances. I do not suggest that we return to the superficial courtesies and hypocritical concealments of the old diplomacy, where aristocratic gentlemen gracefully bowed low while preparing to stab you in the back. There is something to be said for standing up and calling a spade a spade. There is nothing, however, to be said for shaking your fist and calling it a blanket-blank American or British or Soviet shovel.

DEBATE DESIGNED TO INFLAME

Debate designed to inflame is merely the degradation of free discussion, and there has been too much of that at the United Nations recently. The old diplomacy -- even the old secret diplomacy -- has shone at times by contrast.

It is now quite clear that the primary interest of certain governments in the United Nations Assembly is the use to which it can be put as an agency for the propagation of national policies, and subversive ideologies which are very often used for the support of such policies. The experience of the recent Assembly seems to show that, in the pursuit of this objective, any means justifies the end; any techniques are permissible. No holds are barred, no rules of truth or conduct are observed. No decent international purpose is sought or served.

The "war-mongering" debate at the last assembly was a good example of this propaganda practice. It was introduced by the delegate of the U.S.S.R. in a resolution which was so worded and in a speech that was so provocative and intemperate that acceptance was impossible. But no one wished to be put in a position of supporting "war-mongering". So conscientious delegates were, for a time, in a dilemma. That may have been one purpose of the Soviet resolu-

tion. Another was its value for home consumption, both inside Russia and, more or less the same thing, inside communist parties outside Russia. There might have been a useful and constructive debate on this subject, during which the unanimous yearning of all peoples for peace and their horror at the blood and sacrifice of war, might have been given moving and impressive expression in the Assembly of the nations, with a ringing and sincere declaration against every form of war-mongering, including civil war-mongering. Instead of that we had violent tirades and personal attacks, on the one side, and efforts on the other at protection against this international mud-slinging. Too often, at the last assembly, the town meeting of the world tended to become an ideological brawl.

PROSTITUTION OF U.N. ORGANIZATION

The use of the assembly for such offensive propagandistic purposes; for attacks on nations as a part of power policies; for undermining the democratic way of life, and stirring up class and racial hatreds, and every form of civil strife, is the prostitution of our United Nations organization to an ignoble and aggressive purpose.

In the face of this, what should delegations do who still believe in the high ideals of the United Nations and in the possibility of free peoples working together for peace, friendship and prosperity? Should they reply in kind? No. There is no need to lower ourselves to that level. Not reply at all? That would be a mistake. We should not let this struggle go by default. We should, I suggest, do two things. Expose, coolly and factually, the false arguments and conclusions of those who are trying to establish a totalitarian tyranny, which is as old as sin and as reactionary as slavery. More important, however, we should go on the offensive ourselves. Those peoples who believe in freedom and democracy, justice and equality before the Law, who are genuinely sincere in their efforts to broaden and deepen the area of international co-operation, should take the lead in declaring the progressiveness and the superiority of their policies and ideals in the councils of the nations. The fact is that the United Nations, through no fault of the freedom loving states, is becoming a vital field for political warfare. In that warfare we should take the offensive, and should back up that offensive by showing the people on the dark side of the moon that our system works better than theirs for the only purpose worth achieving, the dignity, security and prosperity of the individual man.

This does not mean that because certain states use the United Nations for furthering a selfish and aggressive national policy or for promoting subversive movements, (sometimes the two co-inside) that others need follow this bad example. There could be no quicker way of destroying our international organiza-

tion or weakening our own position inside that organization. We can exalt our own free way of life without being shrill or ill-tempered over that which others choose, or have chosen for them. We can also seek security through the United Nations, without always seeking at the same time international support for every national policy. There can be only one legitimate policy advanced in the assembly of the nations of the world and that is the collective policy of them all, or of as many as are willing to work together for carrying out the peaceful principles of the Charter. If any nation can cover up its own aggressive designs and is able to get support for them by appealing to the hopes or the fears of its fellow members of the United Nations, the organization, as now constituted, is obviously doomed. Even when national policies are non-aggressive and defensive in character, great care should be taken in making the United Nations the instrument for their realization.

ANOTHER RELATED DANGER

There is another and related danger confronting the United Nations; the tendency to use it -- and especially the Security Council -- as a means of avoiding national responsibility for dealing with difficult international situations. It is, I suppose, tempting to shelve this responsibility by putting it on an international organization, but it should not be forgotten that all members of that organization, if they are parties to a dispute, pledge themselves first to seek a solution by negotiation, conciliation or by some other peaceful means before they bring it to the Security Council.

There have been occasions recently when the services of the United Nations should not, I think, have been invoked because the parties mainly concerned with the situation had not exhausted other and direct means of settlement; or because the problem was beyond the present capacity of a new and uncertain organization. On the other hand, there have been occasions when the United Nations should not have been ignored in favour of national action.

DANGER OF EXPLOITATION

There is danger to any international organization if its members base their decisions either to by-pass or to exploit it solely on considerations of immediate national convenience or advantage.

A Greek philosopher surveying the government of his state many centuries ago said "no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear". Surveying the scene at Lake Success today I would suggest "no more good must be attempted than the United Nations can bear".

It may eventually be fatal to the United Nations, if it is asked to accept commitments which it cannot fulfill, because, in the absence of military agreements under the Charter to enforce its decisions, those decisions

have behind them only moral force and the weight of world opinion.

These dangers become more acute as United Nations activities tend to revolve around the policies of the two blocs now forming inside it, each headed by a super power and around each of which lesser powers find themselves, sometimes uneasily, clustering. Pressure, on the one hand, friendly and almost unconscious, on the other, undisguised and ruthless, is sometimes exerted on the smaller members of the United Nations to identify their own policies with one or other of the group leaders. It is becoming too difficult to avoid this, as the feeling develops "you must either be for or against us, when we are so right and so strong, and the other fellow is so wrong and so strong." It is increasingly hard for countries, especially those which have become known as middle powers, to maintain a position of independence and objectivity in the United Nations in the face of this growing division between the Great Powers. It becomes hard to reach a collective decision, based on reason and argument, compromise and conciliation. The trial is one of strength, not of right.

DIFFERENCES OF TWO GROUPS

There are, of course, many and fundamental points of difference between these two groups, the Totalitarian and the Democratic groups; between their policies and tactics and above all, their ideals. There is also a difference between their degrees of solidarity. The Slav group always -- or practically always, except when one member is dozing and doesn't get the signal -- votes as a unit. They really are a block. The Western democratic group, composed of free states, underlines and may occasionally risk that freedom by the very frequent division of its voting strength. Voting chips often fall off that block. It may be, of course, that one group votes always as a unit because it is always right, but this explanation is, to say the least, unconvincing. It may also be that other states vary their support for each other because they are confused or, on the other hand, because the need for voting solidarity is not so great. This also is an inadequate explanation. The fact is that certain states -- democratic states in the progressive and not the reactionary sense of the word -- try to vote as they think right on any given issue, a process which is not always as easy as it should be; made even less easy by the fact that our divisions are gleefully exploited by those who vote to order.

In the face of misrepresentation of motive and distortion of result it becomes tempting not merely to vote with your friends, but to vote against those who will not be your friends. Any other course, you fear, may leave you open to the charge of weakness, of giving aid and comfort to the opposition. This, no doubt, works both ways, with a depressing and dividing result. As the former Secretary of State, James Byrnes, once said:

I sometimes think our Soviet friends fear we would think them weak and soft if they agreed without a struggle on anything we wanted, even though they wanted it too.

MEASURE OF DETERIORATION

One result of this suspicion between the two strongest powers is a growing tendency to appoint to United Nations political Commissions of investigation and enquiry, middle and small powers only. This is, in a sense, a measure of the deterioration that has developed in relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., because it is, I suppose, a confession that, in political agencies set up by the United Nations, the chances of common agreement are decreased by the membership on them of these two powers. Additional responsibility is, therefore, thrown on smaller states. This creates a situation of some difficulty and, at times, embarrassment, especially for countries like Canada. In the case of very small powers, they are protected to some extent by their very smallness from the consequences of the decisions which they take. The great powers, of course, have always their own protection through the veto, but a middle power, like Canada, can, as two wars and many conferences have shown, make an important contribution to the achievement of victory in war or of a diplomatic decision in peace. This makes its support for policies advanced by others of real value. We in Canada are beginning to realize that our new position of middle power, which we have been rather inclined to boast about, is not without its disadvantages. Being in the middle is not always a comfortable place.

Smaller powers, should not be asked to undertake United Nations duties which their more powerful associates find to be irksome, dangerous or embarrassing. They should not be asked to play roles in the international drama which should be performed by the stars. There are times when, if it is impossible for the stars to act together, a particular play should not be staged at all.

JOBS WITHOUT POWER

Furthermore, the United Nations, while giving smaller powers more jobs to do, is not giving them the power to do them. There have been several examples of this in recent United Nations history, and they all point to the necessity of taking collective responsibility for, and putting collective force behind, decisions which have been taken collectively. A good illustration of this essential need is the action of the recent United Nations Assembly in relation to Palestine.

There is another point. When disputes reach the Security Council, not enough use seems to be made there of procedures for private and informal discussion and agreement. There is a tendency to rush at once into angry and unproductive public debate during which positive statements are made and firm positions taken.

This makes conciliation and compromise difficult; the stand previously taken has become a headline in the world's press and there is nothing so difficult for a government to abandon as a head-line. I am a great believer in frank and open diplomacy, in open covenants, openly announced, but often quietly and confidentially reached. There is more to diplomacy than an irresistible desire to talk to the press "at the drop of a hint". This, however, is by way of digression.

RIGHT TO REPEL ATTACK

Does all this mean that we should give up the United Nations as a too difficult, if not too good a job? Not at all. That would be suicidal as well as cowardly. The weaknesses that have been displayed, the difficulties that have been encountered, together with the deterioration in the world situation, mean that we should work harder, far harder than we have before, to build up our international organization into an effective instrument for the preservation of peace with enough force behind it, to back up decisions which it has freely taken against their violation by others, even by its own members. That is the obligation - of acceptance and enforcement - which members undertook when they signed the Charter. But the force necessary to carry out these decisions, must be brought under some form of international control.

The inalienable right of a nation to repel as best it can an unprovoked attack, must remain. Even the most law-abiding citizen in the most effectively policed city has that. If some one jumps on him out of a dark alley, he can do his best to fight back. He doesn't wait until the neighbours or a policeman appear. But with this exception, the United Nations must, if it is to be effective, have adequate force under its sole control, to implement its decisions. This force, which would consist largely of forces of the member states, must be capable of being brought into action quickly as a result of an international decision which cannot be blocked by any one power.

You will of course complain that this is impractical and impossible. My reply is that at the moment it certainly is but that it is an objective which must be reached; a purpose that must be realized. The alternative is international anarchy in an age of guided missiles, guided bacteria and guided hatreds. The so-called realist who can get any comfort out of that alternative is my idea of an optimist. He is also my idea of a man burying his head in the sand.

It is also idle to complain that surrender of absolute control over national forces means an infringement of national sovereignty. Of course it does, but every nation, even the permanent members of the Council with their veto, when they signed the Charter gave up some part of their national sovereignty in the interests of a greater security. If they are

going to benefit from that surrender, they must be able to implement collective decisions by collective police action, which alone can guarantee collective security. There is no other way. Peace never has been, and I venture to suggest never can be, preserved on any other basis. This does not mean disarmament. It means, not the abolition of the truncheon, but putting it in the hands of a policeman, rather than a prowler.

I am, I hope, realistic enough to know that the process of putting enough power in the hands of the United Nations to overawe and keep in check any nation that may harbour aggressive intentions, is going to be a long, tough one. I know also that as long as the power of veto exists and is used, the international policeman would, to say the least, have some difficulty in getting a decision to use his truncheon, even if he has it, except possibly against urchins stealing apples. The experience, so far, in Palestine, shows that he may be timid in using it even in cases where only little fellows are involved.

DISTRUST THE BASIC DANGER

The basic difficulty and danger is, then, distrust and suspicion between the Great Powers. Should we not, however, in the face of that distrust, indeed possibly because of it, look to our international organization and see how we can strengthen it?

There is no doubt that organic strengthening is impossible as long as the veto exists and can be used, as it has been used, without effective limitation. It does stand in the way of genuine collective security organized and made effective through the United Nations as it exists today. I know that a formal attempt to abolish that veto at this time, would mean the quick break-up of the organization. Nevertheless, just as something has been done, much more can be done to limit the effect of the veto, and thereby make the United Nations stronger without driving any state out of the United Nations unless it is looking for any excuse to get out.

There is the limitation that can be imposed by custom and convention. That has already determined, for instance, that mere abstention from voting does not necessarily bring the veto into effect. Furthermore, permanent members of the Council who are willing to do so can impose on themselves self-denying ordinances - as indeed some have done - not to use their veto in whole categories of questions which come before the Council. This may have some effect on the others.

What do we do, however, if disunity and suspicion between the Great Powers causes the veto power to be used irresponsibly and selfishly and if any limitation of that power, by custom or by an amendment of the Charter, is impossible? What do we do then to build up an international agency capable of keeping the peace, because it will have sufficient power, under international control, without the veto,

to enforce its decisions.

Three courses are open.

One, to carry on as we have been, in the hope that the international situation may in time improve to the point where the defects and weaknesses of the Charter which now seem so glaring, will become academic, and where the unanimity of the Great Powers will be expressed positively, by action for peace, and not merely negatively, by inaction against war. Until that day comes, the greatest service the United Nations can perform is by keeping alive, by providing a meeting place and a platform where all nations are given at least the chance of talking out their differences, instead of fighting them out. Meanwhile, changes can be made in the structure of the organization as its foundation becomes more solidly based on better international relations.

That is one course. A second, at the other extreme, is to insist on a suitable amendment of the Charter, and if that is blocked by a veto (amendment is subject to the veto) then to scrap the present organization and form a new one, with a Charter which will permit it to work. If any state wishes to stay out, that would be its privilege and its responsibility.

This is a drastic course which should, of course, be adopted only as a last desperate resort.

There is a third way which is much to be preferred to this extremity though it is not nearly so satisfactory as an agreed limitation of the veto by convention or by amendment of the Charter would be. This course would retain the present Charter, but would frankly recognize that within the present United Nations certain members were determined to form a collective system which would really guarantee their own collective security, even if this could only be done on a limited basis of membership.

SUBMITTED TO ASSEMBLY

At the recent General Assembly of the United Nations, the head of the Canadian Delegation, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, put this idea forward forcefully in the following paragraph:

Nations, in their search for peace and cooperation, will not and cannot accept indefinitely and unaltered a Security Council which was set up to ensure their security, and which, so many feel, has become frozen in futility, and divided by dissension. If forced, they may seek greater safety in an association of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Such associations, if consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter, can be formed within the United Nations. It is to be hoped that such a development will not be necessary. If it is unnecessary, it will

be undesirable. If, however, it is made necessary, it will take place. Let us not forget that the provisions of the Charter are a floor under, rather than a ceiling over, the responsibilities of member states. If some prefer to go even below that floor, others need not be prevented from moving upwards.

Such a limited association for collective security - within the United Nations and acting within the letter and spirit of its Charter - would not be an offensive and defensive alliance of the old type. There could be nothing "offensive" about it because it would be bound by all the obligations and restraints of the Charter.

It would, on the other hand, be much broader and go much deeper than the alliances of old. It would be a genuine pooling of resources, spiritual and material, for purposes of collective defence. Nor would such an association exclude any state from membership which did not exclude itself. It would threaten no state and no state would have anything to fear from it which based its own actions on the principles and provisions of the Charter. It would merely be the recognition by certain states of the necessity of a collective system for defence which would be really effective; for accumulating under international control and outside the veto such a terrific preponderance of power that no one would dare to commit an aggression.

There is no reason whatever why any state which is unwilling to accept these additional commitments should withdraw from the United Nations itself which would continue in its present form.

Such a security system could, and indeed must, establish beyond doubt that it was solely an instrument of peace, and that it would not be used to further selfish national or imperial interests, or to support aggressive power politics by any of its members.

A collective security agency within the United Nations which could prove both its good-will and its power - two things which don't always go together - might eventually attract to its membership all states in the United Nations. We would, then, in fact, have secured a new United Nations with both universality and effectiveness. If that does not happen, however, through no fault of the collective security group, we would at least be no worse off than we are now. We would know where we stand and that would, I suggest, be on firmer ground than where we are now. For we have ensured that superior power - political, military and moral power - would be on the side of those who are determined to use it solely for the maintenance of collective security, never for any aggressive nationalist purpose.

If we can secure that result, we would then at last have some reason to hope that peace might be preserved and that life on this planet might continue to exist.

REPORTED IN PARLIAMENT BRIEFLY

AIR TRAINING PLAN MEMORIAL: When, on January 26, the House of Commons resumed sittings after the Christmas recess, Prime Minister Mackenzie King read the following letter, dated December 30, 1947, he had received from the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand:

"In 1945 informal consultations were initiated between United Kingdom, Australian and New Zealand representatives with a view to arranging for the three Governments to make a joint presentation to Canada of some suitable gift which should serve as a permanent memorial to the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

It was at first thought that the most fitting gift for the purpose would be an avenue of English oak trees terminated at either end by pavilions of native timbers from Australia and New Zealand. The oak trees were accordingly planted in due course at the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Trenton, by arrangement with the then Minister of National Defence for Air and the R.C.A.F. authorities, but it was felt on reconsideration that wooden pavilions would not be an entirely suitable addition owing to their inevitable impermanence. It was suggested, in the light of further discussions with the R.C.A.F. authorities, that a preferable alternative would be a gift of wrought iron gates for the entrance to the air station at Trenton, where they would be in line with the oak trees which are already growing there alongside the main highway. This suggestion was approved by our respective Governments, for their part, and a set of gates has since been designed in consultation with the Air Force authorities in Canada and the Royal Fine Arts Commission in the United Kingdom. Final details are not yet available but we understand that the design conforms generally with the preliminary sketch shown in the enclosure to this letter which is already in the possession of the Chief of the Air Staff.

MONUMENT TO AIR TRAINING PLAN

We have now been asked to inform you that the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand would be honoured if the Canadian Government would accept from them jointly the gift of these gates as a monument to that great undertaking, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, so finely conceived and so splendidly executed, and as a token of the gratitude of our three countries to the Government and people of Canada for the generous part which they played in the training and care of thousands of our airmen during the late war.

If, as our Governments hope, the Canadian Government will accept this gift, arrangements will be put in hand for the manufacture of the gates in the United Kingdom. Our Governments trust also that when the gates are erected, an

opportunity may be afforded for them to be presented to the Canadian Government at a formal ceremony suitable to the occasion.

The Prime Minister replied accepting the "generous gift" with the "greatest degree of appreciation." The handsome gates, the Prime Minister added "will serve not only as a perpetual and inspiring memorial of our efforts in the common cause but as a symbol of the unity of the countries of the Commonwealth in support of the great eternal principles of justice and right upon which must be built any enduring peace for mankind.

EMERGENCY EXCHANGE BILL

SECOND READING DEBATE: In the House of Commons, debate continued over January 26 and January 27 on the motion for second reading of the Emergency Exchange Conservation Act (Bill No. 3). The Bill authorizes quotas and other restrictions of imports in connection with Government plans to meet shortage in U.S. dollars (C.W.B. Dec. 19, 1947, P. 6-12).

Progressive Conservative, and Social Credit speakers criticized the Government's revaluation of the Canadian dollar in 1946 and prohibition of certain imports from Great Britain as well as from the United States. The C.C.F. asked for imposition of rigid price controls on prohibited articles.

Howard Green (P.C. Vancouver S.) said that although the problem to be met was shortage of U.S. dollars, the import prohibitions provided under the Bill applied to all countries. This non-discriminatory policy, Mr. Green argued, had been either dictated from Washington or was designed to curry favour at Washington.

Mr. Green described the measure as one to protect the interests of the United States, not the interests of Canada.

This policy, Mr. Green added, shows an amazing subservience to the United States. One would think Canada was a subject country. No Canadian Government since Confederation has ever gone so far toward taking orders from the government of another country.

Mr. Abbott (Minister of Finance): That is rubbish. We take no orders from anyone.

Mr. Green: The policy is worse than rubbish. It is a terribly tragic policy.

Mr. Abbott: When my hon. friend says that we are taking orders from another country, he is talking rubbish.

J.T. Hackett (P.C. Stanstead) attacked the Bill as utterly and completely unconstitutional. Under the Bill, Mr. Hackett held, the Minister of Reconstruction (Mr. Howe) could rewrite the tariff legislation of the country as many times a day as he wished and he was to be able to determine who was entitled to favour and who was not.

How, Mr. Hackett asked, could any gentleman

in the position of Mr. Stalin, have more absolute, uncontrolled and irresponsible latitude that the House was asked to confer upon the Minister of Reconstruction?

L.W. Skey (P.C. Toronto, Trinity) said the Government had tied Canadian gold mining to the international monetary fund, a fund which received its first death blow when France devalued the franc and became a realistic trader in the world's markets. Currency debacle was being brought about by the policies of the international monetary fund. Those policies were unrealistic. Currencies of all countries in the world, with the exception of Switzerland, had been over-valued in terms of U.S. dollars. This over-valuation made it impossible for some countries and difficult for others to export to the United States.

Clarence Gillis (C.C.F. Cape Breton) said if he thought the Minister of Reconstruction and Supply was going to develop the coal industry so that it could stand on its own feet and provide for development of the steel industry, he would back the Minister no matter what anyone thought. But Mr. Gillis could not support the present Bill because he thought it was designed to fool the people and integrate our economy with that of the United States. We should be under their domination in the future to such an extent as to become a satellite nation.

J.H. Blackmore (Social Credit, Lethbridge) said it was evident the Bretton Woods agreement was completely unsound and was being found unworkable. The nations would simply be crucified if they tried to make it work.

Mr. Blackmore felt we ought to denounce the principle of non-discrimination in trade. Non-discrimination would not be objectionable if all nations were equal in economic power. But they were not.

Debate adjourned.

REPORTED U.S. FUEL OIL EMBARGO: Replying to a question asked by M.J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, in the House of Commons, January 27, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made the following statement respecting reports of a possible U.S. embargo on fuel oil exports:

Mr. Howe: The government has for some weeks been concerned with suggestions that an embargo be imposed on the export of petroleum products from the United States to Canada. Our ambassador at Washington has held frequent conferences with the United States officials in that regard, and officers of their department of commerce have visited Canada to study our position. Our stock position of petroleum products has been fully disclosed. Our steps taken to limit the installation of oil burners throughout 1947 have been explained. After consultation with the petroleum industry in Canada, the government voluntarily has cut imports of petroleum products from United States during January to 50 per cent of quantities imported in the same month a year ago.

A corresponding cut is being studied for the months of February and March.

Any embargo on shipments of petroleum products from our traditional source of supply would be a calamity of the first order, but hon. members will appreciate that the decision is for the United States government.

Replying to a supplementary question by Mr. Gordon Graydon, Mr. Howe said that, at the present moment, the proportion of our oil requirements which could be met by maximum production in Canada was about eleven per cent. Perhaps a year from now, it would be somewhat higher.

UN TAX EXEMPTION: The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. St. Laurent, tabled in the House of Commons January 27 an Order in Council (P.C. 3946, October 1, 1947) authorizing the Secretary of State for External Affairs to execute, on behalf of Canada, an instrument of accession to the convention on the privileges and immunities of the United Nations with the reservation that exemption from taxation imposed by any law in Canada on salaries and emoluments shall not extend to a Canadian citizen resident in Canada.

NEW CHAIRMAN NATIONAL GALLERY: The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, announced Jan. 28 the appointment of the Right Honourable Vincent Massey as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada. Mr. Massey, who has been a member of the Board for many years, succeeds H.S. Southam, who has been Chairman of the Board of Trustees since February, 1929. Mr. Southam recently expressed to the Government his desire to be relieved of the responsibility of the Chairmanship of the Board of Trustees.

TIN PRICES INCREASE: Wartime Prices and Trade Board announces a sixteen cent increase in the price of tin raising the Canadian ceiling price from 80¢ a pound to the world price level of 96¢ per pound.

NATURAL INCREASE IN POPULATION: The natural increase in Canada's population in 1946 was 215,796 -- greatest on record, and 40,480 higher than the previous peak of 175,316 in 1945. This gain was due to a sharp increase in number of live births, deaths being only slightly higher.

Live births in 1946 totalled 330,727, the largest number ever registered in a twelve-month period, as compared with 288,730 in 1945, according to revised preliminary figures which will shortly be issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in printed form. Deaths moved up to 114,931 as compared with 113,414. Marriages also jumped to peak numbers, increasing to 134,088 as compared with 108,031 in 1945.