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INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The following address was given by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the fifty-fourth meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Ottawa, September 9:

...The Inter-Parliamentary Union, since its foundation with only nine members, has shown by its expansion to its present figure of 75 countries how strong the desire is among legislative bodies of the world to increase international contacts and to develop international co-operation. It has brought together the representatives of all areas of the world and of all creeds and political beliefs. They have been able to discuss the strengthening of parliamentary institutions and those great themes of peace and international co-operation that have also been debated by governments in the League of Nations and in the United Nations....

There is a growing realization throughout the world that the United Nations can deal effectively with a wide range of problems involving security and economic development. Nevertheless, there remain problems of relations between the great powers which can not be dealt with in that way in the immediate future.

The division of Germany and the permanently dangerous situation with respect to Berlin are not really made better by the passage of time, even if we are grateful that sufficient restraint is shown to avoid having them become worse. The general problem of European security, relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the division of Korea and Vietnam and the current conflict in the latter country are all examples of situations which one can view only with serious concern.

ARMS AND IDEOLOGY

These dangers are, moreover, compounded by the inability of the powers chiefly concerned to find a mutually accepted way towards disarmament and by the fact that China has become a nuclear power while still dangerously isolated from those moderating influences that effect the thinking of many other nations.

These basic problems affecting the security, self-confidence and well-being of all nations, are still at least partially derived from, and are certainly exacerbated by, the conflict of ideologies. I note in the reports of the 1964 meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union the point that the solution of international economic problems is impeded by the continuation of what we have come to call the "cold war".

We have advanced somewhat from the days when it appeared that the security of one system could lie only in the destruction of the other. Progress on many issues, however, which, in my opinion, need raise no ideological differences at all, is often impeded by irrelevant and outdated language and suspicions about the final victory of a political system. This certainly runs counter to the emphasis given by the Inter-Parliamentary Union to "objective study" of issues, and equally certainly prejudices the development of that "political goodwill" without which serious negotiation cannot begin.

MODERATING INFLUENCES

In spite of these basic problems that remain, there have been moderating influences at work in recent years, and we have welcomed changes in tone and

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even in specific matters of negotiation and contacts. A *détente* has been achieved and, if the phrase "peaceful coexistence" means that alterations in political systems will come about only by persuasion and peaceful change, then further improvements in relations can be expected.

We should, however, have a clear understanding of what a phrase such as "peaceful coexistence" does mean. This is a problem about which one must speak frankly. There can be no exceptions made to what appears to be a doctrine of peaceful change simply because a particular area is under the pressure of some great power. We do not want to find that "peace coexistence" has yielded precedence to a doctrine of intervention expressed in the phrase "war of liberation". Our commitment to parliamentary democracy and to the procedures for peaceful international change set forth in the United Nations Charter do not permit us to interpret "peaceful coexistence" in any way other than that which I have indicated.

POSSIBILITY OF MINIMAL AGREEMENT

Surely it should be possible, even with competing political systems, to find the minimum of agreement required to deal with some vital matters of international business. Surely the international community should be able to help in situations involving bloodshed or hunger without regard to the final choice of a political system by the peoples concerned. Can we not agree that the only sane policy or diplomacy is one of peace since the alternative is nuclear suicide?

I have, of course, been referring to the negative effects of ideological clashes. I can understand that people must take seriously the formulation of political beliefs by which their own societies are to be guided.

What we must do in this century, however, is to turn our ideological zeal to the positive task of developing those notions of international co-operation which will embody all that we have in common, our need of peace and of economic and social development. The longing for such new political formulations, which led to the creation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the League of Nations and then the United Nations, exists more strongly today than before. The United Nations Charter indicates the direction of such thinking. It is our responsibility to develop that common ideology of peace.

ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS

There have, of course, been specific developments of an encouraging nature in the course of the *détente* I have already mentioned. The partial test-ban agreement of 1963, the agreements on a communications link between the United States and the Soviet Union and the agreement banning the use of weapons of mass destruction in outer space had an immediate effect on the confidence with which all nations viewed the future. Bilateral relations between the two most powerful nations have developed since then and we can hope that the impetus provided by these 1963 agreements will lead to further understanding.

Canada has increased its contacts with the Soviet Union and other states in Eastern Europe, and I hope

that this trend will continue. I might mention some recent contacts and exchanges, since they provide examples of steps towards developing a mutual understanding and goodwill without which there will be no serious negotiation over major issues. The visit of a Canadian Parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia this summer and the invitations for return visits were of some importance in opening up contacts between people in public life in the countries concerned. There has been an exchange of delegations between Canada and the Soviet Union in the field of northern development, an area of obvious common interest, and in the field of scientific research.

We have welcomed the decisions of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to participate in the World Exhibition of 1967 and there has been a mutually satisfactory agreement concerning large wheat sales to the Soviet Union. Finally, I might mention the establishment of diplomatic relations with Hungary and our interest in extending further our diplomatic representation in Eastern Europe. In the Far East, we have had limited trade and press contacts with China.

TRADE AND GOODWILL

I should hope that the expansion of commercial relations between groups of countries with different economic systems and different trading interests would contribute eventually to lessening tensions. Recent history does show that co-operation among nations to overcome their difficulties and to promote the growth of their mutual trade plays a helpful part in developing better relations between them in other areas as well.

While long-term trends are encouraging, there are some immediate and difficult problems of great concern to all nations. Perhaps the most important example is disarmament.

FIGHTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Canada has played an active part in the negotiations in this field to find some means of halting the further spread of nuclear weapons. Proposals to this end in the form of a draft treaty have recently been tabled in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. Although these proposals have not been immediately accepted, the Canadian Government gives them its full support in the belief that they constitute an equitable basis for discussion of this vital question. Canada participated actively in the preparation of these proposals and several Canadian ideas are reflected in them.

It is our earnest hope that these proposals will receive the careful study and consideration of other governments represented at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. In our view, they provide a suitable basis for negotiations leading to a non-proliferation treaty embracing both the non-nuclear and nuclear powers. Canada is prepared to join other nations in a determined effort to achieve progress with a sense of the urgency which this important issue demands.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT

On the question of general disarmament and of relations between the leading powers, there are two

INCREASE IN SEAWAY TRAFFIC

Traffic through the St. Lawrence Seaway continued at record levels during August as cargo tonnages reached 5,225,000, up 2.5 percent above the figure for the same month last year. For the season so far, the total is 24,710,446 tons - 2.2 percent higher than the total for April-August period of 1964.

A breakdown of traffic indicates that upbound cargoes again registered a substantial increase, while downbound shipments declined somewhat from last August's level. This trend, which has characterized the 1965 season, is reflected in the traffic totals, which show 13.2 million tons upbound this year, 20.1 per cent above the previous year and downbound shipments at 11.5 tons - 12.7 percent lower than in 1964.

WELLAND TRAFFIC

Traffic through the Welland Canal for the first five months demonstrated a similar trend, upbound movements showing a rise of 15.9 percent and downbound traffic a 4.9 percent decline. The increase as a whole for the canal was 3.2 percent in August and 2.5 percent for the April-August period - 31,668,000 tons compared with 30,890,000 tons in 1964.

The significant increase that has taken place in general cargo traffic through the Seaway during 1965 continued through August, and the total for the season so far is some 1.3 million tons above the 2.1-million ton level reached during the same period last year. This upward trend in general cargo is also reflected in a sharp rise in ocean-going traffic this year.

CANADIAN LAKE FISH TO EUROPE

Canadian Northland Foods Limited, of Winnipeg, with the help and encouragement of the Manitoba government's Export Corporation, has begun selling fish in Western Europe. The company expects to export between 300,000 and 400,000 pounds of fish this year. The company's growing order-list is the result of a five-week, nine-country tour of Europe this spring by Northland Food's president, G.E. Phillips.

The firm was founded to export to the European market after two Winnipeg fish-company executives gauged reaction to a Manitoba exhibit in the food fair in London a year ago and during a subsequent trip to Paris. Noting the interest, P.M. Lazarenko, president of Northland Fisheries, and J.H. Page, president of Canadian Fish Products Limited, decided to join Mr. Phillips in the creation of Canadian Northland Foods.

PREPARATORY PUBLICITY

As a first step to open European markets, the company, with the co-operation of the Manitoba Export Corporation, produced an elaborate brochure cataloguing the kinds of fish, complete with pictures and a history and outline of each species. As the brochure prompted inquiries from European fish dealers, it became apparent the time was ripe for personal sales contact. So, in April, Mr. Phillips embarked on

his trip, which took him to England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Italy, France and Germany. The journey paid off with a number of sales made on the spot and additional orders awaiting the attention of Mr. Phillips on his return home.

"Fish eaten in Europe is principally the salt variety," Mr. Phillips explains. "Freshwater fish is generally a new experience for them. It has always been thought that the price of exporting would be too high but, refrigerated and shipped by boat, northern pike and whitefish are not priced out of range. They are not a gourmet food, they are in the price range the public buys."

FISHERIES DEPARTMENT REVAMPED

Expansion and reorganization of the federal Department of Fisheries so that it can carry out its responsibilities more effectively in the light of expanding fishing activity by Canada and other nations of the world was announced recently by the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. H.J. Robichaud, in the following statement:

It is the objective of the Department through fisheries development programmes, integrated with those of the provinces, to exploit resources to a safe maximum, including those species which we have overlooked in the past, to improve techniques of harvesting these resources and to further increase the quality of our products so there will be an increased demand for them both at home and abroad... Changes in the Department's structure also result from stepped up scientific and technical programmes and the international aspects of Canada's fisheries, involving her participation on seven different international fisheries commissions, which are becoming more and more important in the proper conservation and management of the fishery resources of the high seas.

INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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points which are worth making in relation to some recent developments. It would be quite illusory, in the first place, to expect either of the two leading parties to the negotiations to disarm unilaterally or to make agreements contrary to the interests of its partners, which must always be taken into account where vital security matters are at stake.

Furthermore, we have long ago reached agreement on the general principles which should be applied to disarmament and it is time we were taking further steps towards carrying them out. Instead, there is too great a tendency to try to score debating points, as if we were more concerned with propaganda than with the substance of the great issues of war and peace....

There are those who see in recurring crises, which are too complex to be settled quickly, proof

that collective security as envisaged in the United Nations Charter is illusory. I see in such crises evidence to support the opposite conclusion, that, if the full weight of United Nations action as envisaged or implied by the Charter — conciliation, impartial study, co-operation in economic and social projects, all the resources of the quiet diplomacy of an international agency — had been applied at an earlier period, the crisis might never have occurred.

A MAJOR ELEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY

It is for this reason that we in Canada consider loyalty to the purposes of the United Nations to be one of the chief elements in our foreign policy. We do not say this only at a time of crisis or only with respect to the more dramatic political problems with which the organization deals. We are able to assist in the economic development of newly-independent countries through bilateral and multilateral aid-programmes. We have thrown our full weight behind efforts to develop multilateral trade in directions beneficial to all nations. Last year we convened a conference of nations best able to assist in United Nations peace keeping to help co-ordinate the technical planning of those nations for such tasks. We have ourselves taken part in every major United Nations peace-keeping project since 1948.

These Canadian policies are based on the conviction that, if United Nations membership means anything, it means that middle and smaller powers have rights and obligations with respect to the search for security. If the leading powers are unable to find solutions to some problems, other nations must take whatever action is open to them in furtherance of the aims of the Charter. The participation of many middle and smaller powers in peace-keeping operations has given those nations the right to contribute to the formulation of policy on matters of major concern. The increasing involvement of all members of the organization in the rights and obligations of membership has opened up new and valuable opportunities for dealing with the most pressing of world problems....

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

We welcome the agreement reached on September 1 that the twentieth session of the General Assembly should proceed with its normal work and that the question of the applicability of Article 19 should not be raised with respect to the costs of the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in Gaza. The financial difficulties of the organization must now be settled through voluntary contributions. Canada is one of a number of governments that have already made such contributions, and it is our hope that other member governments will now contribute their appropriate shares. The amounts are small. Surely the price is not too high to pay in order to put our collective house in order.

There remain to be settled the long-range questions of responsibility for initiating and financing

future peace-keeping operations and of sharing equitably the costs of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. Let me outline a few principles I believe should explain our approach to these questions:

First, the maximum possible sharing of the cost, preferably by collective assessment, is the fairest, and politically the most effective, method of financing peace keeping. It should be the first method to be considered by the Security Council when the Council decides to authorize a new operation. Other financial arrangements may have to be worked out to fit different circumstances, but it is essential to the proper functioning of the organization and to the maintenance and support for it in member countries that financial responsibility for projects of wide international benefit should be shared by the international community as a whole.

Second, if the Security Council is unable to act because of disagreement amongst the great powers, then the General Assembly must be allowed to recommend appropriate measures that governments can act upon if they so desire. I should be the first to agree that power and responsibility are linked under the Charter. But to go on from there to maintain that a single great power should be able to frustrate the will of the majority is surely a distortion of the Charter's spirit.

Third, the United Nations must have the technical and military capacity to act when required. I have noted that, at your conference in 1964, you passed a resolution that refers to the necessity to organize eventually "world forces as part of an agreement for the general and complete disarmament of sovereign states". After that, the resolution goes on to make certain proposals for the advance planning of peace-keeping operations. Canada welcomes this approach. Last year...we organized a meeting of representatives of a number of countries with experience in peace-keeping operations in order to exchange information and to prepare our Government better for future operations....

In this present difficult period in the United Nations we are faced with some basic questions. Are we to go forward in the paths indicated by the Charter or not? The Charter is not a constitution for world government nor can it provide all the answers to questions that must be debated and negotiated between sovereign governments. The assumptions on which it is based and to which all member governments have formally subscribed seem abundantly clear, however. A commentator has referred to what he calls "an unexpressed belief that for every crisis of world politics there are certain adequate principles of just action not yet formulated but discoverable, and that the United Nations is the agent which, by its nature and constitution, seeks to discover and to act upon these principles". Member governments cannot, if they are to be honest in maintaining their commitment, give only what this commentator describes as "calculated and ephemeral support". Their support must be consistent, whole-hearted and imaginative if real progress is to be made towards the objectives set forth in the Charter....