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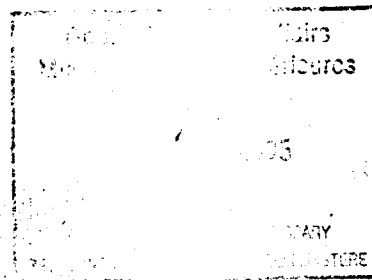
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STUDY OF CANADIAN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION ABROAD  
1942-1972: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFORMATION,  
CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC DIVISIONS AND THEIR POLICIES.

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## CHAPTER I

On the basis of files available in the Public Archives and the Department of External Affairs this paper seeks to scan the history of public information programs of the Canadian Government for the people of other countries. ~~It begins with wartime programs of~~ the 1940s and concludes with the activities of the early 1970s. It is not a brilliant record but is marked by a great deal of conscientious endeavour by employees of the Department who worked with a bare minimum of government policy to guide them, in the face of frequent indifference from their own departmental leadership and almost always with a level of resources which permitted only threshold operations. Mr. Arnold Heeney once remarked on the unique nature of the public information work which showed "a simultaneous tendency to expand and to contract." This was true in the sense that planning, even approved programming, was perforce expansive in nature but the financial and personnel resources sought or even bestowed for the operation were only too vulnerable to constriction or re-allocation to other functions. There

was certainly progress in developing external information programs during this period, particularly towards the end, but the pace was very slow in terms of resources and the degree of conviction within the Department that this line of work was really relevant and valuable for the effective conduct of foreign relations.

It would be idle to suggest that the Department mounted anything better than a mediocre and lacklustre information program during these years and some suggestions are made to account for this. However, some important psychological considerations were part of the story. In a rather long study of the Department's press and information services in 1966, the present author commented:

It is not too difficult to identify a number of particular and detailed flaws in the Department's external information performance and to envisage a repair or patching job to improve these. But the malaise of the body of information work as a whole cannot be explained by symptomatic description of malfunction of the parts. On the contrary, a healthy and confident operational body would long since have found remedies for particular defects. In the more than twenty years since World War II which have witnessed the vast growth of Canadian participation in international life, the information function has not developed correspondingly and the Information Division in Ottawa has continued to be, under successive Governments and successive departmental managements, a tolerated but unloved stepchild. The information job has been and still is widely regarded in the foreign service as at a second level and somewhat irrelevant. The Glassco Report states accurately: "Career foreign service officers regard service in the division, if not as a penance, at least as an



episode to be endured." And this attitude has not developed capriciously but through observation of the less than important status allotted to the Division and the less than impressive achievement it has been able to register.

It must remain an open question whether a relatively independent agency for external information, such as the Canadian Information Service was during its brief existence, would have had greater material resources with which to mount larger, more expert and more effective programs in the national interest or whether such an organization, however well endowed with money and expertise, would have foundered because it was organically divorced from the understanding and the machinery of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations which it aimed to serve. Departmental opinion has been solidly in favour of incorporating an external information service within the Department. This sentiment had two rather different sources: those who did not necessarily believe much in the necessity of public information services but thought they might be dangerous beyond the long arm of departmental control and, secondly, those who considered these services to be quite important and so necessary a part of the process of conducting foreign relations that they could not possibly be organized separately from the foreign service. At any rate, the decision of 1947 to include external information services in External Affairs

has never been rescinded and the direction, motivation, scope and effectiveness of information abroad have been the product of departmental, rather than wider governmental decisions.

Immediately after the amalgamation of the C.I.S. with the Department in 1947 a conscious process began of cutting this relatively large organization down to departmental size in both personnel and financial resources. The reduced level of 1948 was to govern and persist for almost twenty years, despite reduced value of the currency, despite general departmental growth and despite increasing demands from the posts for more and better information activities. During this period there were periodic fluctuations from austerity to relative prosperity but the resource profile for information work remained remarkably constant.

During most of this period the information work settled into established routine and little opportunity was offered for imagination or innovation. However, a good deal of solid spade work was put in in the effort to keep posts informed and to offer them at least standard fare in the way of factual material and features. At most posts there were no trained information officers but a junior officer with some interest in information or cultural affairs had some tools to work with and, if he or she had flair, could manage to produce a local information

program of value to the post and the country. This was a highly individual matter and some posts did little or nothing in this area. Where specialized information officers were located a much more structured and sometimes very successful information activity was generated and pursued.

Interdepartmental coordination of information activities was a responsibility of the Department. This duty was performed, often with dogged determination rather than conviction as to its need, with very doubtful success. The sessions of the interdepartmental committee on information abroad tended to be sporadic meetings without significant agendas where each department or agency was content to recite its recent activities but where no critical judgments of policy or programs were sought or vouchsafed. Attendance was inclined to be spotty and representation tended to be lower in rank as time went on. The feeling was sometimes explicit that these meetings were a waste of time and that an exchange of documentation could have accomplished anything in the proceedings of the meetings. The real business of relating the business of one agency to that of another was accomplished by a series of bilateral contacts where a sense of reality, issue by issue, was present. Certainly the Department of External Affairs had very active and purposeful liaison individually with the CBC International

Service, the National Film Board, the Government Exhibition Commission, the Government Tourist Bureau and the Trade Publicity Branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce but there was no particular purpose and some danger of confusion in raising bilateral problems in a multilateral gathering. In 1962, the Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission) reviewed the work of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad in these terms:

The results have been disappointing. The annual meetings of Deputy Ministers failed to materialize, and the Interdepartmental Committee has met infrequently, sometimes not more than three times a year. The minutes disclose little discussion of principles or high purposes; instead they have centred on such minutiae as the size of flag to be included in a speaker's kit or the lighting of a special display at an exhibition. Few departmental information directors now attend meetings, sending in their places officers at a level which does not permit speaking authoritatively for their departments. "We should be planning the menu not peeling the potatoes," was the comment of one information director and his view is widely shared.

Although campaigns of public information in other countries had been conducted by the Canadian railway companies since before the turn of the century in the interest of immigration and land sales, the first governmental efforts towards information abroad stem from the Second World War. The need for an information agency of government did not take long to be recognized and such an organization was established by Order in Council P.C.

4073 of December 8, 1939. (Attached as an appendix.)

The Order in Council determined:

That it is desirable to provide further for the effective collection, co-ordination and dissemination to the public of information concerning all phases of Canada's war effort and the various activities of government related thereto; and

That for this purpose it is desirable to appoint a Director of Public Information

. . .

Mr. Walter S. Thompson was appointed to this position and was empowered to recruit and pay a staff. P.C. 4073 contained no authority to conduct information programs outside the country but its result was the creation of machinery and enlistment of skilled staff which could be and was turned to external programs at a later date. Even without explicit authorization the importance of information work in the United States to explain and illustrate Canada's war effort was recognized by the Directorate of Public Information and pioneer campaigns were conducted in that country. The year 1942 had had more than its share of military setbacks for the Allied cause and the importance to this cause of American public opinion became even more manifest. There were also apprehensions about the turn which policy in a number of Latin American states might take and a realization that a Canadian information effort in that area might make a useful contribution.

On September 8, 1942, Order in Council P.C. 8099 (attached as an appendix) created the Wartime Information Board and allocated to it the staff of the previous Directorate. The W.I.B. was given the continuing responsibility of telling the Canadian people and the Armed Forces about Canada's part in the prosecution of the war. But, additionally, the W.I.B. was specifically enjoined to carry out programs beyond the borders of Canada. It was to coordinate existing governmental information services and to supervise release of Canadian war news and information "in and to any country outside of Canada." It was also to "Provide means and facilities for the distribution, both within and without Canada, of Canadian war news and information." To do this the Board, subject to Cabinet approval was authorized to "establish such offices within and without Canada as it may deem expedient." The W.I.B. was given a rather long leash by the Government and it profited by this to collect an effective staff and to do its work with skill and zest. Abroad, offices manned by professionals, were developed in New York and Washington, London, Canberra and, as soon as the progress of the war permitted, Paris. A special section under Allan Anderson took on catering to the special information needs of Latin America and a beginning was made on reaching the public in the liberated areas of Western

Europe. The W.I.B. had a workmanlike stable of writers and a great deal of pertinent and usable material was produced for external use. At least one of the W.I.B. productions, the Reference Papers series, has been carried on and is still part of the panoply of Canadian public information. The relationship of W.I.B. to the Department had its ups and downs but, in the main, seems to have been cordial and cooperative. A representative of External Affairs was a member of the Board and kept in touch with its work, particularly its work abroad, of course. Mr. Pearson fulfilled this function for some time. That a certain asperity might, from time to time, cloud the relationship between the Department and the W.I.B. is indicated in a personal letter of June 30, 1943, from Mr. Pearson to Norman Robertson. Mr. Pearson was at that time Minister-Counsellor of the Canadian Legation in Washington and, on a visit to New York had a session with the redoubtable John Grierson, then General Manager of the W.I.B.

When in New York yesterday, I spent some time with John Grierson. He immediately reproached me for having criticized his organization at the last meeting of the Board, but was inclined to be charitable when he realized how tired and jaded I was and probably should not be held responsible for my actions or words! . . .

Grierson also held forth at some length about grandiose plans he had for this and that, but I must say I found some difficulty in following him. I did gather, however, that his

opinion of External Affairs is not very high and he doubts its right to be associated with him in his plans for the re-discovery of our country. He feels that all worth-while work in Information, Political Warfare, cultural relations with foreign countries, etc., can only be done by W.I.B., though he graciously agreed that External Affairs might have to be consulted now and again. . . . Please keep these thoughts of mine very much to yourself; at least, keep them away from St. John and his disciples. . . .

It is a fair assumption that a contretemps of this sort had more to do with John Grierson's peppery nature than with any more general rivalry or abrasion between the W.I.B. and the Department. Certainly in later days under the management of A. D. Dunton there seems to have been a very smooth working relationship between the two bodies. The patterns of production and distribution abroad of information materials initiated by the Wartime Information Board were to be maintained fairly intact by the Canadian Information Service and, later, the Information Division of the Department. The structural form of the W.I.B. for these purposes persisted in very much the same form until organizational changes were introduced in the 1970s.

With the end of the war, along with other war-time agencies, the W.I.B. had to be discontinued. Its demise and translation into the Canadian Information Service happened on September 28, 1945, under the terms of P.C. 6300. In tabling the Order in Council in the House of Commons on October 2, 1945, the Acting Prime Minister,



Mr. J. L. Isley, had some laudatory words for the W.I.B.:

. . . During the last three years, pioneer work in the way of supplying information abroad has been done through the wartime information board, in conjunction with embassies, legations and trade commissioners. . . .

I should like to pay a word of tribute to the work which the Wartime Information Board, and before it the Director of Public Information, performed during the war years. The establishment of an information agency was a relatively new venture for Canada. It was a necessary task, and a difficult one, and much useful work has been done. Since V-J day the board has been steadily cutting down its services within Canada. A few days ago the last general manager of the wartime information board, Mr. A. D. Dunton, returned to his peace-time employment as editor of the Montreal "Standard". I think it proper to say that he takes with him the thanks and admiration of all Canadians who can recognize a good and difficult job well done.

No mention  
of A.G.

It should be mentioned here that within ten days of the establishment of the Wartime Information Board, another agency for information abroad was created. Order in Council P.C. 8168 of September 18, 1942 (copy attached as an appendix) gave approval for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to establish a short wave broadcasting station to convey Canadian information and culture to other countries. The subsequent story of this service is dealt with in Chapter V.



## CHAPTER II

P.C. 6300 of September 28, 1945, (attached as Appendix IIA) was an extraordinarily terse and uninformative document, considering that it dealt with an organization which was designed to communicate and inform. This Order in Council explained the termination of the life of the Wartime Information Board in one sentence: "Whereas with the termination of hostilities, the provision of the said Order in Council (P.C. 8099 of September 9, 1942) and the functions imposed thereby upon the Wartime Information Board are no longer appropriate;." This explanation, though succinct, was reasonable and adequate. However, the following preambular paragraph, which established a successor organization, the Canadian Information Service with a quite different focus, did not cast much light upon the Government's aims and objectives in undertaking the ongoing task of informing other countries about Canada: "Whereas it is expedient and in the public interest to make appropriate provision to ensure the distribution abroad of adequate information concerning Canada and for the continued coordination of government information

services."

The operative paragraph, which provides authority for the duties and functions of the new Canadian Information Service is content to stipulate: "The Service shall provide means and facilities for distributing abroad information concerning Canada and for coordinating and assisting the public information services of the government."

Although the Order in Council by itself revealed only the bare bones of government policy as expediency and public interest, a statement made in the House on October 2, 1945, by the Honourable J. L. Ilsley as Acting Prime Minister, puts some flesh on this frame of government purposes and policy. In tabling the Order in Council and noting that it established the Canadian Information Service, he remarked:

"The need for such a service has been generally recognized. Canada has a vital interest in international peace and prosperity, and an important part to play in the attainment of these objectives. It is essential, therefore, that our people and country be known and understood abroad.

Those with whom we trade must know our country and its possibilities; those with whom we are associated for the maintenance of world security must know with whom they are cooperating and what may be expected of our cooperation. In short, both trade and diplomacy, to be carried out successfully, need a background of understanding based on factual information objectively presented."

The statement was broad and reasonably comprehensive. This was fortunate since there has been no subsequent statement by any Canadian Government in the following twenty or more years up to the present, which has tried to explain why the Canadian taxpayer is expected to provide funds for programs of public information abroad.

Organization: P.C.6300 stipulated that the C.I.S. should operate under supervision of a Committee which would report through the Honourable Brooke Claxton to Cabinet. It was clear that Mr. Claxton's responsibility was ad hominem and not as Minister of Health and Welfare. The Supervisory Committee was to consist of the following:

One member to be appointed by the President of Privy Council, to be Chairman;

One member to be appointed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs;

One member to be appointed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce;

The General Manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation;

The Government Film Commissioner.

The original members of the Supervisory Committee, in order of the above appointments, were:

Mr. A. D. P. Heeney (Clerk of the Privy Council, Chairman);

Mr. Norman A. Robertson (Under Secretary of State for External Affairs);

Mr. M. W. Mackenzie (Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce);

Dr. A. Frigon (General Manager of CBC);

Mr. Ross McLean (Government Film Commissioner).

The C.I.S. was to be administered by a director who was ex officio a member of the Supervisory Committee. The first director was Mr. G. C. Andrew who had latterly been Secretary of the Wartime Information Board.

Resources for the new agency were supplied by transferring to it, en bloc, the employees and the financial appropriations of the W.I.B.

Functions: Although the W.I.B. people and funds were legacies to the inheritor organization, it was quite clear that C.I.S. was to have a radically different orientation of purpose and function. Whereas the main thrust of the wartime operation had been to provide information (not excluding propaganda in the narrower sense) to Canadians, the essential mandate of the C.I.S. was to bring information to foreigners. The central distinction should not be blurred but it does require qualification. As we have seen, the W.I.B. did have the authority, appended to its main role of coordinating and releasing war news and information to the Canadian public, the added capacity to conduct the same activities "in and to any country outside of Canada". Moreover, the W.I.B. with the approval of the Governor in Council could "establish

such offices within and without Canada as it may deem expedient." The W.I.B. had proceeded to do so and left to the C.I.S. a small but active operation abroad (London, Paris, Canberra, Washington and New York) plus Ottawa-based activities involving foreign visitors, speakers, and the preparation of printed and radio material for foreign audiences.

Planning for the peacetime function of Canadian public information abroad began to take shape early in 1945. In an undated W.I.B. paper which, from internal evidence, was written just before the end of the war in Europe,<sup>(1)</sup> detailed recommendations were put forward for operations after the war. The purposes and functions were set out in standard terms:

To facilitate the flow of information about Canada to the outside world. This does not mean competing with the natural flow of information through channels of news and otherwise. It does mean assisting and supplementing the natural flow where necessary, particularly of background and reference material. Activities will be carried on through any media of information including the printed word, film, radio, pictures, display material, as though desirable.

This document, intended to be a basis for discussing peacetime information abroad, is surprisingly deficient in advancing reasons for conducting the whole operation. The rationale of national purpose and interest in telling the peoples of other countries about Canada is taken care of in a single declaratory sentence: "It will be in the

national interest that in peacetime an information organization be maintained to further knowledge and understanding of Canada in other countries". No effort was made to analyze and explain why this would be in the national interest.

This early planning paper had one interesting feature in its blueprint for an advisory board to "assist" the director of the peacetime organization.

This feature was the idea of representation on what was called a "National Information Advisory Board" of suitable persons from outside government and bureaucracy.

In addition to six representatives of government departments and three from government information agencies, the board was to include "Six representatives of the public who might be chosen from the following fields: journalism, labour, industry, agriculture, education, women's organizations." This concept was not reflected in any later discussions and was a dead letter until the late 1960s when it reappeared only to be resolutely submerged once again by official thinking or instinct.

#### THE "OLD" INFORMATION DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT

Parallel to the efforts of the W.I.B. and later the C.I.S., the Department of External Affairs had registered its acknowledgement of the need for an information organization in the conduct of diplomacy



by creating, late in 1944, a small Information Division within the Department. The opening gun in the campaign to achieve this was fired by Mr. R. G. (Gordon) Robertson in a memorandum, May 26, 1941,<sup>(2)</sup> to the Under-Secretary, Mr. Norman Robertson. At the time Gordon Robertson was a sort of Chef-de-Cabinet in the office of the Under-Secretary. This memorandum served to elicit the interest and comments of a number of senior officers of the Department and set in train the thinking which impelled the Department to stake a claim in the territory of information abroad and to provide an organizational base from which to work. The memorandum starts from two points: 1) that the W.I.B. was not satisfactorily meeting the information and cultural requirements called for by posts (the specific case in point involved representations about film and radio material from T. C. Davis, High Commissioner to Australia) and, 2) that it was fair to assume that W.I.B. would disappear at the end of the war and that External had best think about the machinery the Department would then need to carry on some level of informational and cultural work abroad. An extract from the R. G. Robertson memorandum follows:

It is becoming increasingly clear that it is going to be necessary, especially after the war, to enter into what are euphemistically called 'cultural relations' to a degree that is impossible with our present organization. The fate of the W.I.B. after the war will determine in part the nature and extent of the Departmental organization that is established, but whether it

is organized on a peace-time basis or disappears, some further development will be necessary within the Department. There would probably be a lot of political criticism of the establishment of a permanent information board, especially if its activities are at all directed towards domestic consumption. If its principal activities are to be external, it could probably be developed within the Department without any criticism at all, and the problem of policy coordination would disappear.

Assuming that a "Division of Cultural Relations" will be a necessary development, there are considerations which indicate that it might be very desirable to begin the preliminary stages of such organization now.

a) The need exists already. Certain aspects of the work done under the guise of 'cultural relations' are probably undesirable on the whole, but there are other aspects that we should be equipped to handle and are not.

b) If we wait until the end of the war we shall probably find demands in this field very heavy and our inability to cope with them embarrassing and difficult. This will be doubly so if W.I.B. disappears.

c) If we make a start now, we can go at it gradually and rely largely on W.I.B. to do the major part of the work for the time being, whereas if we wait until the end of the war we may have to set up the whole organization at once. This would be difficult; it would also leave gaps in the work and supply of material for a time at least, and it might mean that it would be less possible to modify and adapt the organization in the light of experience before it got fully established.

d) It would make it possible to bring some system and coordination into the efforts that are at present being made in a very disjointed way by the various divisions, in respect of their particular countries, and through this /the Under-Secretary's/ office. Virtually none of the officers of the Department have any real

interest in or talent or training for this type of work. As a result, I feel that what we do along these lines is, for the most part, done inadequately.

e) A beginning now would provide experience in the light of which it would be possible to determine what personnel (if any) of W.I.B. it would be useful to try to retain, if and when W.I.B. winds up for our purposes in External Affairs.

Gordon Robertson saw two broad fields of activity for the suggested Division: 1) Press and Information, including press relations in Canada, distribution of Canadian news abroad and distribution of general information material about Canada; 2) Cultural Relations to cover distribution and exchange of books, distribution abroad of films and photographs, both short wave and recorded radio programs, supply of Canadian music, art exchanges, exchange of lecturers, exchange of scholarships and arrangement of visits.

Mr. Robertson also had some suggestions on organization, recruitment and training for the functions he describes:

... what we should probably aim at is the establishment of the information and cultural relations branch of the Department as a separate Division, handled mainly by specialized personnel who do not come in on the ordinary secretarial basis, which would coordinate the work of press attachés at the posts abroad, and also conduct all 'cultural relations' work. Presumably we shall not have press attachés at all posts, but those that have got used to having them during the war will want to continue and some of the larger ones that now have no attachés

should probably have these added after the war (U.S.S.R., China, France, Germany, Brazil, etc.). Personnel could be circulated, in part, between these attaché posts and the Division in Ottawa. New personnel in the Department could all be given a minimum period of work in the Division, and thus they would be somewhat equipped to handle press and information work at posts with no attachés. Such a Division would also have responsibility for coordination of work with the Film Board, CBC and with Trade and Commerce information services.

There may be some distaste for the idea of the establishment of a Division of Cultural Relations, in part because of such excesses as are seen in the inundation of 'information' material by the USA Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs into Latin America, and in other uses to which such organizations are turned. However, there seems to be no reason why these excesses cannot be avoided and a fairly large amount of constructive work done. We are not equipped to do it now, and I doubt if we can handle it properly without a special type of Division of the sort suggested.

It is evident that the Gordon Robertson initiative was taken seriously by the Department and a marginal note indicates it was read by Messrs. N. A. Robertson, Wrong and Pearson. Copies were circulated to other senior members of the Department and the first to offer views on paper was Léon Mayrand in a memorandum of June 30, 1944. (3) Mr. Mayrand expressed complete agreement that the Department should set up a separate Division but "As the emphasis will be not so much on the export of 'culture' as on providing information about Canada, it might simply be called the Division of Information."

Hume Wrong's comment of July 26, 1944, <sup>(4)</sup> shows no great enthusiasm, rather a resigned acceptance that something must be done in the information field: "I am myself allergic to proposals for expanding our activities in this field at the present time because I think that they do not rank high enough in our priorities to warrant the expenditure of time, personnel and money involved. I feel sure, however, that we shall have to undertake greater activities in this field and it might clear the path somewhat if we were to make progress towards settling policy and defining responsibility." In his brief memorandum, Mr. Wrong also notes that "In projecting Canadian culture abroad, to use the language of the Film Board, we have always to remember that we have two substantially, different cultures in Canada between which we must keep a balance."

A different sort of consideration was put by W. D. Matthews in a memorandum to Mr. Wrong of August 11, 1944. <sup>(5)</sup> In a management assessment and with a forward perspective on a priority position for External Affairs in the field of information abroad, Mr. Matthews writes:

"I think the suggestion that such a Division be given a separate appropriation at least as a matter of internal arrangement, if not formally in the estimates, is a good one. On the present basis, no definite amount of funds are sic allocated for this type of work and the persons abroad who get in their requests first are apt to obtain whatever funds may be available at the expense of other offices.

I think we should tend towards the policy of meeting the costs of all these activities abroad out of departmental funds rather than ask W.I.B., the Film Board and other organizations to bear the costs. If we do not do this, it will be very difficult for us to control the activities of these other organizations in the manner that we desire."

In a very brief note of August 14,<sup>(6)</sup> Mr. George Ignatieff simply agrees on the need for centralizing the Department's Information Services abroad and lines up with those who prefer the label of 'information' rather than 'cultural relations'. He comments: "All I would say is that I would side with Mr. Matthews and Mr. Malania in favour of the word 'information' rather than 'cultural relations'. We would not seek to improve others by 'mental training' or 'intellectual development'. Thank goodness!"

With no such Churchillian disapproval for the use of 'cultural' in the title, Mr. MacDermot, in a memorandum of August 16,<sup>(7)</sup> simply states his preference to avoid the term and considers that 'information' is probably the only alternative. He has no doubt, however, that cultural relations work must be carried on and prefers that it be done by the Department rather than taking the U.K. model of subsidizing the British Council to conduct cultural programs abroad.

By August 23, Mr. R. M. Macdonnell was able to note in a memorandum to Mr. Wrong<sup>(8)</sup> that: "There is pretty general agreement ... that a division of information

is needed, and I am certainly of that opinion. Its absence means that a necessary job is either being done with only middling success by individuals in the Department and by other agencies or is not being done at all."

Mr. Macdonnell thought it must be accepted that an information program will cost a good deal of money and he considered it essential to provide the Information Division with a separate budget.

This general discussion of the organization for and functions of information abroad has been cited at some length because it was the first time the Department had a serious, concerted look at this subject and because it revealed certain questions which were to persist as questions in the departmental mind for years to come. The list of these would include the relationship of informational to cultural activities and the form of organization to relate and conduct them, the degree of authority and priority for External Affairs in this field, interdepartmental coordination, the conduct of press relations in Canada, budgetary requirements for these programs and the sort of personnel structure that would be called for. The immediate result of all the high-level thought and discussion was that the mountain brought forth a mouse--a small one but hopeful and vigorous, with a capacity to grow.

The Information Division was initially headed by T. W. L. MacDermot who gave imaginative and vigorous direction to a relatively new and unfamiliar, possibly distrusted, instrument of diplomacy. This "Old Information Division" never mustered at any time more than ten persons, all ranks. The creation of the C.I.S. and its relationship to the Information Division and to the Department as a whole was naturally to be of serious interest, mixed with some concern, to this Department. The duties and responsibilities of the Information Division were relatively restricted at the time. They included response to enquiries from the press and public, preparation of the Monthly Bulletin, press conference arrangements, production (not writing) of press releases, liaison with information agencies, cultural affairs, distribution abroad of circular despatches, W.I.B. releases and departmental reports. These functions largely related to liaison and distribution, and very little production was involved. However, there is evidence that a sense of the Department's vocation in information abroad was growing and a feeling that the Department had a central responsibility for controlling the kind of information provided to foreign peoples and also for carrying out, abroad, the work of distributing information except at a few posts where the use of "specialists" might be warranted.



The Department's concerns, then, were not directed (openly at least) to the establishment, as such, of an autonomous external agency outside the direct authority of the Secretary of State for External Affairs but to the influence it would have on the policies and activities of the C.I.S. and, most particularly, to the nature of the relationship which could exist between that Service and the Department in Ottawa and, of even greater moment, in foreign countries.

The Department had had the opportunity to discuss the terms under which C.I.S. was created but seems to have introduced only one substantive element, which was accepted, relating to the second function of the Service "for co-ordinating and assisting the public information services of the government." The word "assisting" was the recommendation of Mr. Norman Robertson and some importance was attached to it. In a personal letter of October 10, 1945,<sup>(9)</sup> to Mr. Pearson, the Ambassador to the United States, Mr. MacDermot wrote that: "'assisting' was Norman's particular contribution because under it it would be possible for this Department, for example, to employ the C.I.S. to manage publicity arrangements for international conferences held in Canada and other such business for which we are not staffed and equipped. We were all

very relieved when the phrase slipped through safely." The addition of the word also served to reassert the right and the intention of both Trade and Commerce and External Affairs to carry on international information programs and it carried the suggestion that C.I.S. could be regarded as a servicing agent for program departments. In order, apparently, to reassure the two foreign departments, the Chairman of the C.I.S. Supervisory Committee, Mr. Heeney, "emphasized that the Order in Council establishing the Service had employed the phrase 'Assisting the public information services of the government'. It was not intended that the Service should supplant any existing government information source nor that the Supervisory Committee should attempt to dictate to other departments or agencies."

Relationship of C.I.S. with External Affairs:

Some departmental attitudes to the forthcoming inauguration of the C.I.S. were revealed in a MacDermot memorandum to the Under-Secretary of September 14, 1945,<sup>(10)</sup> and Hume Wrong's marginal comments. Mr. MacDermot recognizes the value of the new Service to the Department for the following purposes:

1. Organization and management of information arrangements at international conferences in Canada and abroad.

2. To answer enquiries of all sorts about international affairs which could be answered from reference books, government publications, etc.

3. The preparation of substantial reference papers on Canadian subjects of a political, economic or social kind for the use of our missions abroad. ----. /Mr. Wrong comments: "Yes---/

4. The preparation of the present Airmail Bulletin which is by general agreement of great use to the missions. It is published daily and covers the important events in Canada very adequately. /Mr. Wrong agrees./

5. A cable service to the Missions to forward, in advance or immediately on their development, reports of important Government statements or official news. /Mr. Wrong agrees./

6. Arrangements of cultural activities. These, in proportion to their magnitude, require a great deal of time. /Here, Mr. Wrong comments: "Co-operative enterprises involving a good many agencies--but C.I.S. has an important part."/

7. The arrangement for exchanges of speakers, and intellectual and artistic visitors. /Mr. Wrong's comment: "Must be closely watched."/

Mr. MacDermot called for "a very clear understanding that a news service to the press is not the proper function of a government Information Service." Mr. Wrong agreed but noted that some posts may require news bulletins.

On the relationship of government policy to information work, Mr. MacDermot had this to say: "It is also essential that the use made of information abroad be recognized as an aspect of Canadian policy. . . . For

that reason the C.I.S. operator abroad must feel a primary responsibility to the Head of Mission and act accordingly.

If at the same time, as is equally necessary, the Head of Mission has a lively understanding of the functions and the use and importance to him of the Information Officer, this relationship should not in any way limit the freedom or enterprise of the Information Officer. On the contrary, it should give it considerably more scope." The question of authority and responsibility had also been dealt with by Mr. MacDermot in a memorandum of September 6, 1945, noting that when a full time Information Officer was appointed, the Head of Post and other officers would largely be relieved of information duties: "But the Heads of Mission and the Department of External Affairs will still be responsible for information policy itself and the effects of the operations of the Information Officer on policy.

Not unnaturally, the W.I.B. people who became the staff of the C.I.S. had a rather different approach to the chain of responsibility. In a discussion paper of September 18 for a meeting of the W.I.B.,<sup>(11)</sup> the thesis was advanced that information policy would be formulated by the C.I.S. Supervisory Committee, an interdepartmental organ, rather than by External Affairs. This paper did acknowledge, however, a special sort of position for and relationship with External. It recognized that External Affairs was to be represented on the C.I.S. Supervisory and Working Committees and asserted that "all decisions regarding policy and operations, current or

projected, of Canadian Information Service will be subject to the approval of the Department of External Affairs' representative as a member of the Supervisory Committee." It further stipulated that C.I.S. offices abroad would be maintained or established with the concurrence of External. However, the paper went on fearlessly to claim:

Canadian Information Service representatives abroad will function as information officers responsible to the General Manager of the Canadian Information Service. . . . however, information officers will be under the general superintendence of the Head of the diplomatic mission. While they will receive and act on instructions from the General Manager of the Canadian Information Service, they will also receive instructions from time to time from the Head of the diplomatic mission.

No formula was provided as to how conflicting instructions were to be reconciled but perhaps the answer was intended to be found in the final paragraph of the W.I.B. paper: "The real basis of the relationship between C.I.S. and the Department of External Affairs rests upon a mutual predisposition to consult on information matters, both in Ottawa and in the field." The record would tend to show that this prescription of virtue was embraced and pursued in good faith but in practice it was not quite enough to provide solutions for every problem.

A further revealing footnote to the story of relationship between the Department and W.I.B.-C.I.S. is found in a memorandum of October 1, 1945,<sup>(12)</sup> by

Mr. MacDermot which found some fault in the positions of both parties: "For it has been, at bottom, the W.I.B. desire to retain independence of any control, except its own, and on our External Affairs part the reluctance to assume responsibility for information--while both accepting and disparaging it--that has in my own experience been the cause of the present unsatisfactoriness of W.I.B. from External Affairs' point of view." This clear-sighted assessment held within it the key to the resolution of the problem and required a change of the departmental tradition of carping dissatisfaction with the existing information function but distaste for assuming the responsibility itself.

In the event, an agreed memorandum,<sup>(13)</sup> approved by the Supervisory Committee and accepted by External Affairs, was sent abroad to all diplomatic and consular posts, trade-commissioner offices and information officers to acquaint them with the purposes and functions of the Canadian Information Service. It identified the responsibility of the Supervisory Committee for "developing information policy and defining the interrelated activities of those departments and agencies interested in information abroad about Canada." It also notified the creation of a Working Committee at a lower level of representation which would meet weekly to plan and monitor operations. A carry-over

of the relative autonomy of the W.I.B. was reflected in the provision: "C.I.S. shall have its own representatives at such points as it is thought advisable by the Supervisory Committee." Any unique authority of the Department of External Affairs for official representation abroad, therefore, was to be exerted only indirectly through that Department's membership in the Supervisory Committee. The section dealing specifically with relationships between the Department and the C.I.S. reads:

In view of the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs for Canada's external policy and the important bearing that information activities may have on that policy, it is essential, both at home and abroad, that there should be adequate exchange of information regarding external policy between the Department of External Affairs and C.I.S. In Ottawa this may be achieved through the Supervisory Committee, the Working Committee and by any special consultation between C.I.S. and officers of the Department on particular questions.

Abroad, as the representative of the Canadian Government, the Head of the mission is, of course, responsible for the direction of all Canadian policy and the general supervision of all activities of Canadian officials in the field of his mission. There should therefore naturally be complete mutual confidence between the head of mission and the C.I.S. representative.

The Department sent copies of the C.I.S. memorandum to all its posts covered by two departmental circular memoranda, one designed for posts where a C.I.S. office was in place, the other for posts with no C.I.S. representation. In the latter it was noted that it was "not probable that any new appointments to offices abroad will

be made by the Canadian Information Service at this time for a number of reasons, one being that the service is still in the formative stage and is fully occupied with the administration and other preoccupations of a new and comparatively inexperienced organisation." The covering memorandum gave a clear indication of a developing determination in the Department that it must take its information role more seriously and provide staff time and effort to this end. Accordingly, it was recommended for posts with a C.I.S. officer "that it should be the function of one member of each Canadian diplomatic mission, as designated by the head of the mission, to attend to information matters as part of his regular duties until such time as other arrangements can be made." And these posts, finally, were asked to tell the Department the name of the staff member assigned to information duties.

The departmental covering memorandum to those posts--Washington, New York, London, Paris and Canberra--with C.I.S. representatives did not add much but an exhortation: "... that heads of missions, with such members of their staff as they may designate, give consideration to establishing a system of regular consultation with the Canadian Information Service representative on the basis of the attached memorandum with a view to examining the whole problem of an



information service abroad, and providing a simple machinery for carrying out the policy indicated in the memorandum under reference."

In the event, these prescriptions of relationship were required to govern only a period of sixteen months when the brief life span of C.I.S. came to an end upon amalgamation with the Department of External Affairs.

What sort of resources did the Canadian Information Service have to conduct the main operations for producing and distributing abroad information about Canada? Figures for the month of December 1945,<sup>(14)</sup> show a total staff of 118 persons. Of these, 52 were at the "senior and intermediate" officer levels and 66 were clerks, stenographers, etc. In terms of function, 35 were engaged in production, 55 in distribution, 15 in administration and 13 were working with the armed forces. Of those engaged in distribution, 31 were working in Ottawa and 24 abroad, New York accounting for 8, Washington 5, London 5, Paris 5 and Canberra 1.

Budget: In an interesting annex to the proposed C.I.S. estimates for 1947-48,<sup>(15)</sup> the annual expenditures of the directorate of Public Information and the Wartime Information Board are listed:

1939-40	\$ 22,278
1940-41	415,215
1941-42	787,574
1942-43	1,473,748
1943-44	753,030
1944-45	991,257
1945-56	705,358.

The first estimates submitted by the C.I.S. were those for 1946-47. (Attached as Appendix IIB.) These call for a budget of \$660,500 as related to the previous year's vote of \$796,000, the decrease being attributed to the nearly total elimination of the wartime domestic information activity. The second and final set of estimates proposed by C.I.S. were for 1947-48. (Attached as Appendix IIC.) These estimates called for a growth of more than \$100,000 over the previous year and reflected an activity which had been geared to peacetime rather than wartime operations and focussed almost entirely on operations abroad. It was a budget of this order of magnitude and direction which was inherited by External Affairs following its absorption of the C.I.S. Within a total estimates figure for 1947-48 of \$767,000, the increase over the previous year's vote was largely accounted for by inauguration of a system of allowances and by a very considerable increase of funds designed for publications. This was a substantial funding, considering the purchasing power of the dollar at that period and if it had been continued and extended on that sort of scale could have provided the basis for a very respectable and effective

foreign information service in the ensuing years. As we shall see later, however, this was not to be the historical pattern that developed.

Proposed legislative basis for C.I.S.: From the start there had been some anxiety that perhaps the Order in Council establishing the C.I.S. might not have been supported by an adequate statutory basis which could underlie the payment of salaries and other expenditures. This concern stemmed principally from the Privy Council Office. Discussion of this project interdepartmentally would appear to have begun at the Seventh Meeting of the C.I.S. Supervisory Committee on March 13, 1946.<sup>(17)</sup> The Chairman, Mr. Heeney, said that three versions of a draft Bill to establish a C.I.S. had been circulated and the third draft could be used for purposes of discussion. Mr. Heeney stated his understanding that Government policy was to follow one of two courses with respect to Orders in Council passed in wartime under the War Measures Act. When an agency had been set up under such an Order in Council and its functions were to be continued, a decision was required whether it would be given a statutory basis or whether its functions would be transferred to other agencies. It would not be consistent with Government policy to retain the information service on an emergency basis for it could not be regarded as a purely transitional agency. The Chairman

suggested that the principle of the Bill should be discussed before examination of its provisions.

Diverging, indeed conflicting, views put in an immediate appearance. Mr. Wrong took a predictably departmental approach to the question. Noting that C.I.S. was still in an experimental stage, he thought it had not been long enough in operation to permit a firm decision as to whether or not it should be continued in permanent form. He also noted the examples of the British in concentrating their information services abroad under the Foreign and the Dominion Offices, and of the Americans in installing these services in the State Department. Mr. Wrong's instincts were shared by Mr. Mackenzie, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce who "observed that the bill would in effect establish a third foreign service in addition to those of the Departments of Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, while it was still a matter of some doubt whether it was on the whole advantageous to have C.I.S. representation, as such, abroad. In some information outlets the existing facilities of the Department of Trade and Commerce and the Department of External Affairs could be used whereas the establishment of a third foreign service might lead to administrative difficulties abroad."

Mr. Claxton, Minister of National Health and Welfare and Minister responsible for the C.I.S. took a

quite different tack. In ex cathedra tones he took care of Mr. Wrong's first doubt when he stated "that it appeared to be beyond dispute that there was a well-defined and growing need abroad for information about Canada and that the question for consideration was how best to meet this need." After reviewing the success of government information agencies during the war, Mr. Claxton is quoted: "Experience to date suggested that functions of this kind could not be as well performed by a department of government as by an inter-departmental agency with a certain degree of independence from but in close co-operation with existing departments and agencies interested in information." He then suggested a list of things which he thought could only be performed for government by an interdepartmental agency. In retrospect, this is a curious list, indeed, for it included such things as invitations to speakers, entertainment of visiting journalists, preparation of airmail bulletins, contacts with the press abroad, etc.

After this Mr. MacDermot spoke for External Affairs. He trimmed the departmental sails to some extent, possibly recognizing the handwriting on the wall, and made the point of distinguishing between the need for establishing on a permanent basis an "information production agency" within Canada on the one hand and its "channels and organization abroad." He agreed with

Mr. Claxton [his brother-in-law] to the extent that the need for a "production agency" in Canada was beyond dispute. But determination had to be made on the relationship abroad between information officers and the diplomatic missions and representatives of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. Heeney tried then to smooth out the apprehensions of External and of Trade and Commerce by saying there was no intention that C.I.S. should appoint representatives abroad who would operate independently of the chief of mission in a given country. The principle was clear that the chief of mission must be responsible for and exercise supervision over all Canadian representatives in his country of accreditation. The Committee went on to discussion of the terms of a draft Bill and agreed that a further meeting should be held on March 18.

Much earlier, in a memorandum of January 15 to Mr. Robertson,<sup>(18)</sup> Mr. MacDermot had reported on a preliminary meeting with Mr. Heeney and others on the draft Bill. In this brief but meaty communication, Mr. MacDermot pursued his feeling that C.I.S. might be made responsible for Canada-based production of information material and that External take on the job of information work abroad. He also revealed some of the departmental feeling that the C.I.S., because of its different background and practices, was an alien group

of different mould, not quite to be trusted. From the memories of departmental officers in touch with the situation at the time, this attitude of superiority combined with mistrust was prevalent in the Department. (It did not cease to be prevalent long after C.I.S. had become the Department's own Information Division.) After discussing the problems of relationships envisaged abroad between members of the C.I.S. and members of the foreign service, each responsible to a separate master, Mr. MacDermot concluded:

It is not irrelevant to add that the C.I.S. organization is not yet conducted on the same lines as the Department. Distribution practice, rules governing channels of communication, security regulations and habit--these differ in the two administrations, and this fact contributes further toward increasing the difficulties of bringing the operations of both into line.

Mr. MacDermot went on to express with some precision his formula for division of the information function and the preservation of External Affairs' responsibility for representation abroad. It also contained a personnel policy which would obviate some of the problems C.I.S. was meeting in determining status and emoluments for its staff outside Canada and of recruiting new personnel:

I suggest, therefore, that in drafting the Bill for C.I.S. consideration be given to confining its staff to the Ottawa office, and appointing all Information Officers abroad as members of External Affairs. As the Statute would in any case bring all members of C.I.S. into the Civil Service there would be no

distinction on this score. But the advantage would be definite. The policy aspect of Information work, and the control of the head of mission would be free from the ambiguity which now threatens the status of C.I.S. representatives abroad. Moreover, it would enable the Department to select information officers with the same care as its present staff is chosen. Junior officers could gain experience in information as part of the general training, and the problems of information staff abroad could be dealt with on the same footing as other staff matters.

Mr. Robertson apparently agreed with the recommendation but his marginal comment at the end of the memorandum perhaps betrayed preoccupation with some other matter: "I think this is a very" (end of comment). But Mr. MacDermot did not get his way with regard to staff structure abroad and the limitation of C.I.S. to a production role in Ottawa.

At the Eighteenth Meeting of the Supervisory Committee on March 18, <sup>(19)</sup> a continuation of the meeting of March 13, the Chairman presented the fourth draft of a C.I.S. Bill and noted there had been difference of opinion on two important questions:

1. As to administrative structure--whether the C.I.S. committee should be established as a purely advisory body or as a supervisory committee with responsibilities for policy and administration;
2. As to operations abroad--whether the external operations of C.I.S. should follow the present pattern or whether they should be brought more directly under the control of the Department of External Affairs.



The decision on the first of these was not too difficult and it was agreed that a committee with supervisory power should be stipulated in the Bill.

On the second point, Mr. Wrong cited Mr. Atlee's statement of March 7 on the organization of government information services in the United Kingdom. This policy provided that departmental information services would be supplemented by a central office of information, "performing certain common technical and production functions and making specialist services available to departments for both home and overseas purposes." Mr. Wrong noted that the U.K. information services abroad were to be departmental rather than interdepartmental responsibilities and thought this might be a preferable pattern.

Mr. Andrew, Director of C.I.S., then proposed what appeared to be a compromise proposal, which carried the day, to the effect that the governing factor for information establishments abroad should be the volume of information activity. "Where the volume was so great that it could not adequately be handled by regular members of the Missions, it would be appropriate to appoint special C.I.S. representatives, always on the understanding that such representatives would be responsible to the Chiefs of Missions concerned." And, in fact, the Bill did list among the duties of C.I.S. the responsibility: "in co-operation with departments and agencies of the Government

of Canada, to provide for the distribution of information abroad and to co-ordinate and assist the information services of the Government of Canada."

On July 19, Bill 305, an "Act respecting the Canadian Information Service," received first reading in the House of Commons. (Attached as Appendix IID.) By August 14, apparently, Mr. Claxton was beginning to worry about the chances of passing the Bill through its several stages during that current session of Parliament. Mr. Claxton was then in Paris on the Canadian Delegation to the Peace Conference. The relevant passage of Paris telegram No. 401 of August 14, 1946, is as follows:

Personal and Confidential. Following for Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State, from Brooke Claxton, Begins:

Experience here confirms view gained previous conferences that Government Information Service is essential. Believe all countries represented here have them on much more extensive basis and regard ours as minimum necessary to see that Canadian policies and interests are made known abroad and that facilities are provided to ensure flow of information from abroad to Canada. Consequently, trust it may be possible proceed Bill this session, as otherwise impossible hold and secure adequate staff, and postponement until next session, would increase opposition. Sorry to trouble you with this and realize difficulties, but believe it very desirable. People in Canada do not fully appreciate changed nature of world we are in where international conferences will be constant and everything that happens is used as propaganda, spread in most nations by direct Government action by all means available. Nor do Canadians realize how small and efficient are our Civil Service, External Affairs and Information Service. . . .

The records under scrutiny do not indicate the source and nature of the "opposition" that was growing towards the Bill nor the "difficulties" for its passage. Whether there was mounted opposition in Parliament, in Cabinet or in caucus is not revealed in these files but it is certain that neither External Affairs nor Trade and Commerce had ever wholeheartedly accepted an independent external information service and the experience, over a number of months, of working with the C.I.S. and observing its performance had not converted or reconciled them. From the files available, Mr. Claxton's telegram of August 14 was the last hurrah for the C.I.S. and thereafter the path led to its incorporation into the Department of External Affairs.

Paul Martin  
Tom  
Opposition  
Hot. Ind.  
Bessie

As early as December of 1945, Terry MacDermot, who more than most of his colleagues in External, had accepted the utility of an independent information service in Ottawa, under suitable terms of reference and with clearly defined division of labour between it and the "overseas Departments," had begun to have serious doubts that the system would work.

In a letter of December 18, 1945, <sup>(20)</sup> from London addressed to Norman Robertson, Mr. MacDermot wrote:

In a week of discussion with every one concerned with information in Paris and Brussels, collectively and separately, I have tried to explain what the C.I.S. set-up was, and to learn as much as possible

of what the Information requirements were in these capitals. I thought too, to begin with, that most, if not all, the problematical points in the provision of an Information service would disappear if the relationship of C.I.S. and External Affairs was made quite clear to both. I do not think so any longer.

After discussing some of the deficiencies in the kind and quality of information being produced and forwarded to posts, Mr. MacDermot felt that sort of thing could be remedied but that a difference of philosophy about the purpose of public information abroad was perceptible and provided a problem:

The first question is: which concept of Information is to govern? Is it to be mainly concerned with drawing attention by every possible and reasonable means to the achievements of Canadians and the economic opportunities of the country, its policies, etc.? Or is it to be mainly concerned with seeing that people outside Canada, who, in the ordinary course, as tourists, potential immigrants, investors, editors and so on, are directly interested in Canada and Canadian policies, are accurately and opportunely informed about Canada? The first principle makes Information an end in itself; the second puts it at the service of those pursuing a variety of ends. It will be necessary, I think, to decide therefore whether the C.I.S. representative abroad should ultimately serve his Service, or the Mission as a whole.

From the author's memory of the events of 1946, there is a firm impression that the Department's Information Division, headed by Mr. MacDermot and of which the author was an officer assigned chiefly to C.I.S. liaison, made a loyal and consistent effort to explain to C.I.S. our departmental needs, policies, channels of communication and

of authority, as well as attitudes, quirks and foibles. The Division made a good try at reconciling the Department to the unfamiliar C.I.S. animal with which it had been placed in harness. This was an uphill and not quite successful effort. Departmental officers were concerned at the broad-brush approach taken by C.I.S. in writing material on foreign policy questions--and with considerable justice--because C.I.S. writers were not foreign policy specialists and not sufficiently nuancé to do justice to this subject. C.I.S. prose, also, was not greatly admired by the Department as it tended to be journalistic and jaunty rather than academic and delicately balanced as was departmental style of that day (i.e., before general use of the telex for communication had diminished the departmental capacity for "literary" writing). Moreover, the C.I.S. people had come from a different sort of professional background and experience from that of most officers of the growing Department of External Affairs. If, on the one hand, departmental officers tended to be haughty, C.I.S. officers were apt to be contemptuous of what they considered wilful ignorance and unwillingness in the Department to learn about the functions, purposes and modes of public communication. However, above and beyond these reciprocally negative attitudes, there was a more fundamental problem which could not be blinked, and that was the question of authority, of responsibility

for and control over the distribution of Canadian government information abroad. If the Secretary of State for External Affairs was responsible for foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations, and, if government information abroad was to provide a dimension of support for government policy and operations abroad, it was difficult, in all logic (and some practice), to see how the Information arm could responsibly and effectively serve a different master. The problem, as Mr. MacDermot's comments indicate, was particularly acute for the C.I.S. representative abroad who had to carry out the orders of the head office that paid him and those of the head of mission who "supervised" him. But there were also problems in the way of production in Ottawa and differing points of view about priorities, of themes to be pursued and of the form of presentation.

X Whether some of these considerations, or others, or political pressures beyond the continuing attitudes of External and of Trade and Commerce had served to change Mr. Claxton's mind about the viability of the C.I.S. as a separate organism, by November of 1946 he had abandoned the effort to champion this institution for which he was responsible. At the Eleventh Meeting of the Supervisory Committee on November 19, <sup>(21)</sup> the Chairman, Mr. Heeney, "recalled that since the last meeting on June 13th, the

Mr. Pearson  
St. Laurent

C.I.S. Bill had been introduced and received first reading in the House of Commons. Subsequently the Minister of National Health and Welfare had attended the Paris Conference and had had an opportunity to examine C.I.S. operations in Europe at first hand. As a result of his experience, Mr. Claxton felt it was now appropriate to reconsider the status and future of C.I.S."

King

Mr. Claxton was in attendance at this meeting and proceeded to explain:

...that his observations in Europe had strengthened his opinion that an external information service was essential for Canada. It was, however, desirable at this stage to consider whether the existing inter-departmental organization should be continued and placed on a statutory basis; or whether, in view of the fact that the Department of External Affairs now had a separate Minister, it would not be preferable to associate C.I.S. more closely with that department. If the second course commended itself to the Committee and subsequently to the government, it would be necessary to define with some precision the relationship between External Affairs and C.I.S. so as to preserve some measure of autonomy for the latter within the Department. It would also be necessary to consider carefully the means by which the Service could be transferred.

Mr. L. B. Pearson, who had recently become Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, agreed that, if the government should decide to associate the Information Service more closely with an existing department, External Affairs seemed the most appropriate place. He raised the important question of the status of Information personnel under such an arrangement: "Should they be members of a division of

the department, interchangeable with other officers, or should they have a separate status under External Affairs?" The Committee rather vaguely thought that C.I.S. should be associated with External "along the lines suggested by the Minister of National Health and Welfare." The actual decision of the Committee was recorded in these words:

The Committee, after considerable discussion, agreed in principle that the organization of the Service within the Department of External Affairs (with an appropriate measure of autonomy) was desirable and requested the Minister, with the assistance of the Chairman, the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Director, to have specific proposals prepared to this end.

The follow-up to this decision, which raised more questions than it answered, was traced in a MacDermot memorandum of December 4, 1946,<sup>(22)</sup> to the new Under-Secretary. Mr. MacDermot noted that the problem of absorbing C.I.S. seemed increasingly complex and was aggravated by the need to meet the deadline for estimates within ten days or two weeks. As some of the major questions to be dealt with, Mr. MacDermot cited:

- a) The integration of present C.I.S. operations in the organic structure of the Department;
- b) Disposal, use and status of present C.I.S. staff;
- c) Scale and nature of information operations under the new arrangement;
- d) Estimates;
- e) Legal questions bearing on the transfer.



Mr. Pearson responded with an instruction the following day to go ahead as Mr. MacDermot proposed and approved the latter's suggested names for a small departmental committee to discuss these matters: Messrs. Mathews, R. G. Riddell, MacDermot (in the Chair) and Starnes, with Miss Dench as Secretary. The main work of analyzing C.I.S. activities and its costs fell to Mr. Starnes. He found that substantial reductions could be made by combining the C.I.S. administrative section with that of the Department and by combining such costs as postage, telecommunications, messenger service, etc. He also proposed some judgments which would somewhat curtail C.I.S. program activities and would lower costs. These activities recommended for the axe included the C.I.S. Daily Airmail Bulletin, Photos and Mats (to be transferred to the National Film Board), Displays (to go to the Exhibition Commission) and Libraries which would come under the direction of the External Affairs Library Committee.

One feature of Mr. Starnes' proposals, accepted by the departmental committee and, apparently, by the Under-Secretary, was intriguing. The new Information Division, embracing the C.I.S., would consist of two sections. The first section would carry on the functions of the old Information Division. They involved dissemination of secret and confidential despatches, as well as unclassified

despatches, to missions abroad; preparation and distribution of the Departmental Bulletin, Departmental Press Conference Reports, Annual Report of the Department, Reports of Weekly Heads of Divisions Meetings; Issuing of Press Releases; Supervision of CBC International Service releases of interest to the Department. The second section would carry on the work of C.I.S. and would be responsible for all enquiries.

Mr. Andrew, Director of C.I.S., was consulted about the departmental memorandum by Mr. MacDermot who reported Mr. Andrew's reactions. He thought that somehow the Information operations should be identified with the C.I.S. and that the Division of the Department dealing with this work should be given a special name, perhaps including the word "Cultural." (For some reason, these intense departmental discussions seemed to have overlooked cultural activity although a fair amount of time was spent by both C.I.S. and the old Information Division on cultural activities.) Mr. Andrew felt that there should be as little division as possible between the internal (i.e. within the Department and posts) information work and the external publicity work and that both types of work should be under one directing Head of division responsible to the Under-Secretary. He also registered reasoned arguments against the proposed program deletions or transfers.

The departmental proposal for a dichotomy of function within a new Information division has a curious appearance. An historian might assume that it was introduced to provide that "appropriate measure of autonomy" for the C.I.S. within the department. Once again from the author's personal memory of the events of that time, this was not, in fact, the motivation. On the contrary, the general departmental mood was to help the C.I.S. save its institutional face and to be fair to the new colleagues but to produce, as soon as might be, some conformity with all the tribal customs of the Department and to efface past allegiances and habits. The real reason, as the author remembers it, was that a good deal of classified material had been handled and distributed by the old Information Division and it was felt that the C.I.S. people did not have the requisite acquaintance with security procedures, nor the right way of looking at reserved information, nor did they have any gift for discretion. And there may have been some truth in this. In the event, this structure never was given formal expression but was dealt with by allotting to the more sensitive jobs in the Information Division people who had had departmental training and who would act "regimentally." So for a period foreign service officers continued to do the work previously

*James*

carried out by the old Information Division but after the passage of time, the distinctions between the C.I.S. and the External Affairs streams began to blur and a sense of common purpose and allegiance made its natural and necessary appearance.

Following the consolidation of a departmental position on most aspects of the amalgamation, the major policy decisions, preparatory to submissions to Ministers, were taken at a meeting convened by Mr. Heeney and attended by Mr. Claxton, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Andrew and Mr. MacDermot. In a memorandum of December 23, 1946, <sup>(23)</sup> Mr. MacDermot reported the conclusions of that meeting:

It is recommended that the Canadian Information Service be amalgamated with and become part of the Department of External Affairs.

It is further recommended that the present functions of the Information Division of the Department, together with the Information functions of C.I.S., be consolidated in a single Division of the Department, under a senior FSO. This Division would thus become responsible for:

a) The production, assembly and preparation of Information material of all kinds for the use of Missions abroad and for publicity about Canada in countries abroad. In effect, this would substantially be a continuation of the work now being done by C.I.S., including publications, e.g. Airmail Bulletin, C.I.S. Weekly, Press Survey, reference papers, etc.: organization of public speakers abroad and visitors to Canada; Displays; Photos and Mats; Libraries.

b) The dissemination, under appropriate authority, of despatches to all Missions abroad in collaboration with other Divisions of the Department:

the preparation of and distribution of departmental bulletin, the Annual Report of the Department and other departmental documents of the kind: the supervision of releases made by the CBC IS.

Under the amalgamation, the administrative operations of C.I.S. (accounts and finances, cables and cipher, personnel and the external distribution of material and the internal distribution of incoming communications) would be consolidated with the Administrative Branch of the Department under the Chief Administrative Officer.

It is also recommended that Information material issued for use abroad should carry a heading showing that it was issued by THE INFORMATION SERVICE of the Department of External Affairs.

In order to continue the valuable function of co-ordinating the Information work of Government Departments and agencies, it is recommended that an interdepartmental committee be established to co-ordinate the Information requirements of the Government, the Chairman to be appointed by the Department of External Affairs, and that an operating sub-committee of the interdepartmental committee be established for the practical daily co-ordinating of work which is so desirable.

An essential element in the absorption of C.I.S. in the Department is the disposal of the present staff of the C.I.S. It is recommended, therefore, that special consideration be given not only to the selection of personnel but to the equating of grades and allowances for Information Officers to those on a comparable level in the Diplomatic Service.

In a brief note to Mr. Pearson on December 27, Mr. MacDermot highlighted for the Under-Secretary the points in this memorandum to which he attached particular importance, to wit: 1) that the Division would be headed

by an FSO, 2) omission of "Canadian" before "Information Services" as this would be inappropriate within a Government Department, 3) constitution of an Inter-departmental Committee with an External Affairs Chairman, 4) the implication that Information Officers are distinct from FSOs.

On December 27, 1946, Mr. Pearson gave his Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, a memorandum on the proposed amalgamation in much the terms recorded by Mr. MacDermot.<sup>(24)</sup> In a brief note to Mr. Heeney of January 2, 1947, Mr. Pearson noted that this memorandum had "been returned to me by Mr. St. Laurent without comment, which indicates, I suppose, that he approves of it. I suppose the next step now is that the Ministers should get together and that questions should be brought up at the Cabinet meeting. Would it be possible to do this next week?"

Mr. Pearson also agreed with Mr. Matthews, the Chief Administrative Officer, that, in view of the short time available, the estimates proposed for C.I.S. by the Privy Council Office should be assumed holus-bolus by External without revision although some appreciable savings in expenditure would probably be effected.

On January 7, 1947, a Minute of Cabinet<sup>(25)</sup> was issued stating that "approval was given to the amalgamation of the Canadian Information Service and

the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs along the lines recommended in a report submitted at this meeting, action to be taken accordingly." And, 'accordingly,' the Prime Minister, Mr. King, made a submission to Cabinet on February 5, 1947, which received approval in Order in Council 472 of February 5. (Attached as Appendix IIE.) It was P.C. 472 which provided Government, but non-statutory, authority for External Affairs to carry out programs of Information abroad. Its main provisions were to cancel P.C. 6300 establishing the C.I.S. and to authorize the Department of External Affairs to "do such acts and things as may be considered necessary for distributing abroad information concerning Canada and for co-ordinating and assisting the public information services of the Government in connection with the distribution abroad of information concerning Canada." P.C. 472 further stipulated that the co-ordinating functions of External Affairs for information abroad should be exercised "with the assistance of an interdepartmental committee." This committee was to consist of representatives from External Affairs (Chairman), Trade and Commerce, the National Film Board and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The Order in Council also provided that C.I.S. appropriations would be available for the use of External Affairs.

A companion Order in Council, P.C. 479 of February 7 transferred to External Affairs the employees of the C.I.S. It was made clear that this was a temporary measure until the end of the fiscal year but that Civil Service procedures would have to regularize the continuing status of these employees.

The articulation and structure of the C.I.S. in Ottawa is graphically presented in the appended, final organization chart of the Service as of January 1, 1947. (Appendix IIF.) The number of people on strength at the time was 127. The most senior officers under the Director and Assistant Director level were paid at around the \$4,500 mark. Principal Clerks received salaries in the range of \$2,100 to \$2,500 and, at the bottom of the totem pole, junior clerks and stenographers were rewarded at the rate of \$1,044 to \$1,344. These salaries were those general in the Civil Service at the time for the various functions and levels.

Abroad, the C.I.S. had a really minimal staff at its offices but the files and monthly reports show a surprisingly high level of activity. While the informational programs for these offices were formulated in Ottawa, it became the responsibility of the external offices to carry out the programs in their territorial areas under the general supervision of the heads of missions. The



offices operated through as many media as a limited staff permitted and within modest financial resources. Press, radio, films, photographs, feature articles, pamphlets, speakers, visitors and exhibitions all played a part. (Except for TV this would almost meet a contemporary list of activities.) It was stressed that the Information Officers must maintain current and intimate contact with the various media and possess sufficient experience and imagination to make effective use of them. Their chief occupation, however, was directed to providing service for the press, with the aim of increasing interest in and understanding of Canadian developments, so that news carried by the wire agencies would be given due attention. A listing of duties at these external offices called for:

1. Establishing and maintaining contact with information distributors in the given country;
2. Translating material for the press, as necessary;
3. Use of contacts to explain or interpret Canadian developments;
4. Maintaining an adequate reference library to answer most enquiries on the spot;
5. Distribution of authorized materials;
6. Making arrangements for Canadian speakers abroad or foreign visitors to Canada;
7. Carrying out other information duties requested by the head of mission;

8. Reporting to the C.I.S. head office on their work and recommending new ventures or materials;
9. Preparing analyses of foreign public opinion as required by head office or head of post.

The human resources at the five C.I.S. offices abroad which were provided to carry out this formidable assignment were as follows:

Washington

- 1 Executive Officer (Salary \$4,000)  
T. F. Newton
- 2 Information Officers (Vacant)
- 1 Editor
- 3 Reference Assistants
- 1 Librarian
- 4 Stenos, etc.

New York

- 1 Information Officer (Grade 4)  
R. C. McInnes
- 1 Executive Officer  
S. A. Freifeld
- 2 Information Officers (Grade 3,  
Vacant)
- 1 Reference Writer  
Frances Carlisle
- 6 Clerks, stenos, etc.

Paris

- 1 Information Officer (Grade 4, covered  
by Capt. E. R. Bellemore on loan  
from Army)
- 1 Information Officer (Grade 3,  
Vacant)
- 1 Reference Assistant
- 4 Stenos, clerks

London

- 1 Information Officer (Grade 4, covered  
by Major C. Moodie on loan from Army)
- 1 Information Officer (Grade 2, Vacant)
- 1 Reference Assistant
- 1 Steno

Canberra

- 1 "Representative"  
Paul Malone

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### CHAPTER III

The date of February 5, 1947, marks the first official recognition in Canada that the functions of its foreign office, the Department of External Affairs, included a responsibility, the major responsibility on behalf of Government, to engage in public information activities abroad. The Order in Council of that date also constituted an implicit acknowledgement by the Department that one of the functions of diplomacy was to communicate with the publics of other countries as well as with their governments. No such explicit acknowledgement was made but the record shows repeated statements that Information abroad was "necessary" and that it constituted part of the apparatus with which to conduct international relations and support foreign policy.

The W.I.B. had, indeed, undertaken vigorous efforts to make Canada better known among allies and neutrals, even though its major thrust was to keep Canadians informed about the conduct of the war, the Canadian war effort and, later, plans for the peace. C.I.S., the successor as a central government office of information, had been given terms of reference pointing it more

exclusively to the outside world. But ultimately the decision of the Government to place in the bosom of the Department of External Affairs responsibility for public information abroad sprang from a realization that programs of information in other countries about Canada were closely related to the implementation of foreign policy and that policy for information abroad must serve foreign policy and be governed by it. (It is true that the Department had had an Information Division since late 1944 but it was largely concerned with the circulation of information within the Department and to posts for the information of their staffs rather than distribution of public information in foreign countries.)

Upon amalgamation, Mr. G. C. Andrew, who had been the Director of the Canadian Information Service, became Head of the new Information Division of External Affairs. He remained in this post until July 15 when he resigned to assume a university appointment. His immediate successor was Mr. S. F. Rae who had joined the Department in 1940. At the time of the amalgamation, the staff of the C.I.S. in Ottawa and abroad numbered 117, made up of 51 officers and 66 clerks, stenographers and typists. The staff of the Department's old Information Division numbered 10--4 officers and 6 clerks and stenographers. Thus, the combined staff of the new Information

Division totalled 127. Immediately following this measure, the administrative staff of C.I.S. was absorbed into the Administrative Division of the Department. In the following months, a process of streamlining and rationalizing the personnel structure was pursued and the effort to regularize the Civil Service status of the staff moved forward. By December of 1947, the Information Division numbered 61, of which 14 were officers qualified in Civil Service categories, 8 former C.I.S. officers whose status had not then been finally determined, plus 39 in the senior and junior clerical grades.

It was not long before the amalgamation began to result in closer working relationships between the diplomatic and information staffs at home and abroad. Administrative overlapping was eliminated and the integration of certain common services was achieved.

Attached as an appendix (Appendix IIIA) is the first listing of the new, combined Information Division, showing the organization and allocation of duties within the Division. Two officers of the Department's old Information Division carried over into the new: L. A. D. Stephens and Gordon Riddell. It is interesting to note the names of the former C.I.S. officers who eventually became "despecialized" and occupied senior diplomatic or consular positions. In Ottawa, we see the names:

Allan Anderson, Andrew Ross, W. S. Durdin,  
Bruce Keith, Laura Beattie, Jean Horwood,  
and Arthur Blanchette.

From the names of C.I.S. officers abroad are:

E. R. Bellemore, Campbell Moodie, Paul Malone,  
T. F. Newton, and Sidney Freifeld. The name of  
H. F. Clark, who had been in charge of C.I.S.  
administration, also belongs in this list.

As 1947 marked the first occasion on which  
External Affairs embarked on serious and substantial  
Information programs abroad, it may be useful to look  
at the headquarters structure provided to execute these  
programs. It will first be noted that two different sorts  
of operations were involved, one focussed on servicing  
separate geographical areas of the world and the other  
producing information materials and arranging for  
distribution. There were five area desks:

Commonwealth and Far Eastern  
United States  
Western Europe  
Central and Eastern Europe  
Latin America.

(It needs to be remembered that the process of decoloniza-  
tion had barely begun so that any information efforts for  
most of Africa and Asia could only be conducted, if at all,  
through the Metropolitan Powers of Europe.) Each of these  
area desks had its own peculiar requirements but the  
description of duties for the Latin America desk gives a  
general idea of the responsibilities involved:

1. Distribution responsibility for information to all Latin American countries;
2. Supervision of selection, preparation and translation of informational material for use in Latin America;
3. Conducting Latin American correspondence;
4. Acting as liaison and information source for Latin American visitors;
5. Providing interpreters for official Latin American visitors.

Normally, most of the communication with posts abroad on information matters was conducted or initiated by the people running these desks. Not only did they correspond on regular activities at these posts but it was their responsibility to see that the information, views and recommendations coming from information officers in the countries of their area received due attention from the Division and the Department.

On the production side, responsible for the storage, retrieval, assembly and final preparation of information materials for distribution abroad, the organizational form was taken over fairly intact from the C.I.S. There was the Library (and the Clipping Service) available as a depository for reference purposes and for circulation of relevant new printed material to the Division. These resources provided support for the Inquiries Section and for the Reference Section. It had been generally recognized that responding to enquiries



must be a primary and essential function of any information service. Positively, an enquiry represents an opportunity to inform which is ready-made and requires no promotional effort. Negatively, failure to answer legitimate questions suggests organizational bankruptcy or institutional arrogance, of neither of which a government department can afford to be convicted. The response to enquiries was carried out both in Ottawa and at posts. Where the enquiry required deeper research than could be provided at a post, the enquiry would be forwarded to Ottawa; otherwise, and more frequently, posts would respond from the base of their own local reference resources. Enquiries also came direct to Ottawa from all corners of the globe and normally replies were sent directly back to the enquirer with a copy of the question and answer sent to the relevant Canadian post. A very large number of enquiries, of course, originated in Canada, asking questions about anything and everything outside Canada. Questions of a simple nature were answered directly; others were referred to the diplomatic or consular missions of other countries in Canada and, for yet others, reference sources were suggested for the enquirer to consult.

The Reference Section had a heavy load and produced a volume of written material. At this stage it had a staff of six engaged in research and writing. Its

duties were listed as:

1. Production of reference papers, biographies and special assignments;
2. Research and compiling of material for information projects;
3. Production of assigned feature articles;
4. Translation into French of material produced by the Division.

[It was clearly a different era--no suggestion is made that material originate in French and be translated into English.]

The Press Section under George Hambleton, an old newspaperman of experience and distinction, was responsible for production of the C.I.S. Weekly and of news cables for missions. It prepared the daily Airmail Bulletin, filler stories and irregular press surveys. The Photo Section was to advise on the employment of photo and graphic materials generally and to plan and supervise production of such materials and provide illustrations for displays, features, etc. It selected and procured photo and display materials for the missions' information libraries and facilitated contacts for photographers visiting Canada.

Rather separate from the production side was a highly important function called "Visitors and Speakers." It was handled by a very competent information officer, Mrs. Helen Marsh, who also was responsible for the Commonwealth and Far Eastern area desk. This activity (which continues to be one of the most rewarding functions of the

Information Division) had a reasonable budget at the start (\$8,000), particularly since the Visitors Service was facilitative only and did not pay travelling expenses for foreign journalists, etc. The duties relating to visiting opinion formers, intellectuals and artists were described as:

Making full arrangements for foreign speakers and visitors in Canada. This includes preliminary correspondence, preparation of itineraries and travel and hotel reservations, making financial arrangements (facilitative) and providing contacts anywhere in Canada with organizations and individuals who can supply the information desired, as well as maintaining contact with the diplomatic representative of the country of origin of the visitor.

Arranging for Canadian speakers to fill requests in the United States, and keeping foreign offices (i.e. diplomatic posts, or information offices abroad) posted as to visits of Canadians who may be potential speakers abroad.

Two other sections performed functions inherited from the Department's old Information Division. A desk called "United Nations and Political Information," covered by Gordon Riddell, was responsible for distribution of United Nations information material to Canadian missions and to Government Departments; for provision of material to and general liaison with the Information Department of the United Nations; and for liaison with the CBC Short Wave Service. Another desk, covered by the author, carried on the diplomatic despatches within the Department and to posts. One further, "special" desk dealt with Cultural

Relations which will be discussed separately at greater length.

Finally, an essential service was provided by the Circulation Section which performed the duties of mailing, packaging, addressing, shipping and requisitioning supplies.

The general form of organization for the production and distribution work of the Division was to persist, without much thought given to it, for many years. Unfortunately, the function of the area desks, instead of growing into a rational structure for the control and direction of operations abroad, tended to dwindle and wither and it was not until the end of the 1960s that the importance of this apparatus was again recognized and ultimately re-installed as an essential and strengthened feature of the whole operation.

We have noted that neither Government, Department nor the C.I.S. had paid a great deal of attention to the philosophy of Information abroad, its purposes and nature, or to a management theory suitable to serving these purposes. Certainly, Mr. MacDermot, and probably others, had given thought to the conceptual framework for the activity but had not systematically set down their ideas as a doctrinal basis. It is possibly fair to say that people had had to concentrate on the What and the How of organizing Information

work and had had little time to tackle the question, Why? However, Mr. Escott Reid, at that time Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, wrote a memorandum dated March 18, 1947,<sup>(1)</sup> which began to get at this problem and which advanced ideas ahead of their time and which were prophetic of management theories which were to emerge and dominate ten years later. He explicitly formulated the requirement for management by objective; and this in a Department addicted to low-key, intuitive and pragmatic administrative practice. Mr. Reid must have had the responsibility for preparing the Department's budget for scrutiny by the House of Commons Committee on External Affairs and his memorandum was addressed to the Information Division with the aim of eliciting the sort of presentation of plans and programs in this field which he thought the Committee deserved. Excerpts from this memorandum follow:

(It is to be expected that this year--with the pressure for economy greater--the Under-Secretary will have to be prepared to defend and explain every item. In view of past criticism of C.I.S., the items for information activities will be particularly carefully scrutinized by the Committee. Consequently it would be wise for the officers of the Department to prepare themselves for this by asking themselves the sort of questions which the House of Commons Committee will probably ask the Under-Secretary.)

1. Objectives: a) What are the principal objectives of the Department's information activities? How do objectives in peacetime differ from objectives in wartime? b) What are the principal objectives in specific areas, e.g.

the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Far East, the U.S.S.R.?

2. Methods: What are the principal methods which should be used to attain these objectives? How far can the Department in its information activities follow what is a sound rule in all its other activities, except passport work, that it very seldom deals directly with individuals? What private or voluntary agencies can we make use of? )

3. Examination of the present information activities of the Department at home and abroad in the light of the discussion of objectives and methods. . . . Detailed examination of the cost of the various services now supplied and of their value.

4. What are the numbers in each of the main salary grades of the present staff engaged in information work? . . . How does this compare with the numbers in each of the main salary grades of the present staff of the Department engaged in a) all the three political divisions combined, b) the economic, legal, protocol and consular divisions combined?

5. Scale of expenditures on information activities: a) What would be a reasonable proportion of the total net budget of External Affairs to devote normally to information activities? (What proportion of estimated expenditures for 1947-48 is for information activities?) b) What would be a reasonable proportion of the total staff of External Affairs to devote their time normally to information activities? (What proportion of staff is at present devoting its time to information activities?)

6. Information program in Department for year beginning April 1, 1947.

- 1) What items in existing programs should be dropped?
- 2) What items should be continued?
- 3) What new items should be added? . . .
- 4) What is relative importance of various items and approximately how much should be spent on each?

- 5) Approximately what staff will be required?
7. Information program abroad.
  - 1) What work now being done by information officers abroad should be dropped?
  - 2) What work should be continued?
  - 3) What new work should be undertaken?
  - 4) What is relative importance of various aspects of work?
  - 5) What offices should be maintained abroad and approximately what staff will be required?
8. Planning of the information work of the Department in the light of the above discussion, and preparation of a submission to the Minister setting forth for his approval.
  - a) Statement of purposes or objectives of information activities;
  - b) Proposed program for year 1947-48 with estimate of cost of each item;
  - c) Proposed staff at home and abroad.

These recommendations from Mr. Reid advanced the idea of objective-setting, of program planning to achieve agreed objectives and the establishment of program and budgetary priorities. These priorities were not only internal to the Information sets of programs but were also to propose a scale of relationship between the Information work of the Department and its other, substantive functions. Unfortunately, the files fail to produce the submission to the Minister which Mr. Reid requested and it is uncertain that his systematic approach was pursued.

Even if the use of public information in the pursuit and support of Canadian interests and policies abroad was not specifically and officially outlined and

confirmed by the Department at the time, at least the duty and vocation of the Canadian Government for public information abroad was generally accepted by mid-1948. In Circular Document B. 109 of June 21, 1948,<sup>(2)</sup> a memorandum was sent to all Canadian posts abroad under the title of "Relationships of Information Division with Missions." The introduction to this memorandum gives the key to the approach the Department, and presumably the Government, was taking towards the work of public information abroad. In confident, almost dogmatic tones, it states:

All responsible governments sincerely committed to international co-operation firmly believe that the provision of authentic public information to other countries is an integral and essential aspect of the conduct of foreign affairs. There is also a growing realization that there is a similar responsibility on governments to provide fuller information within each country on foreign policy and international affairs. Fundamentally, the reasons are straightforward enough. The speed of modern communications and of technological developments have created the physical conditions whereby the world has become a neighbourhood. Foreign affairs today are not the exclusive province of government, but are of direct, immediate and vital concern to the man and woman in the street. In democratic states the influence of public opinion on policy is continuous and ultimately decisive. To act wisely public opinion must be in possession of the facts. In the last resort international relationships depend upon mutual understanding and comprehension not merely at the official level--but at the grass roots.

To facilitate a better understanding of Canadian policies and of Canadian affairs is one



of the duties of the External Affairs  
Service. . . .

Before going forward with the narrative of the development of Canadian public information services abroad, it is worth taking a brief look at three particular sections of activity from the beginning up to about the end of 1948 when the Department's Information Division had jelled into the sort of organism, and had set the sort of functions, that were to persist for some years to come. The sections to be dealt with are press relations, cultural relations and interdepartmental coordination. Departmental relations with an input into the activities of international radio broadcasting will be dealt with separately.

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## CHAPTER IV

Cultural Relations. From the earliest days of Canadian public information activity abroad, there has been a component, sometimes minute but showing a rising curve of growth over the years, which could broadly be called "cultural." The process of definition of cultural affairs has been spasmodic, vexed by diverging concepts and bureaucratic rivalries and has often been arbitrary. The distinction between what work is "informational" and what is "cultural" has never been easy to draw and, perhaps never will be. It is a confusion resulting from the fact that, at one and the same time, a book, radio or TV program, film, exhibition of art, musical performances, stage presentations, etc., constitute communication to other peoples of the aesthetic quality of a nation and at the same time communication of certain facts about that nation, explicit or implicit. The exchange of students, teachers, writers, composers, performing and graphic artists, etc., between countries constitutes a set of cultural relations but certainly involves a massive exchange of information. Conversely, to conduct a program of information abroad, it is essential

to convey through all available media information about the artistic and intellectual life of a nation as well as social, economic and political information, unless the whole national image is to be unbalanced and out of focus. The process of distinguishing between the two related channels of activity has been slow and never entirely definitive but from time to time, for essential organizational and management reasons and for purposes of identification of the activities to specialized clienteles in Canada and abroad, decisions have had to be made as to the division of labour for cultural and information programs. The process of distinguishing these two streams, both serving the same basic objectives, was gradual but always in the direction of more marked differentiation.

The W.I.B. and, later, the C.I.S. had carried out on a small scale what would now be considered cultural activities. There had been arranged visits of scholars and artists to Canada; speakers with intellectual or artistic credentials had been sent abroad, particularly to the United States, on tour or to fill specific engagements. There had been support for and consultation with the National Gallery in arranging for exhibitions of paintings and sculptures. Recordings of Canadian music by the CBC (and by Victor) were encouraged and these were sent to Canadian missions, to foreign radio stations and to

libraries. At least one Book Fair, in Mexico, was put on, with great success. Answers to enquiries about Canadian cultural developments were earnestly supplied or, when too detailed, passed to an appropriate organization for reply. Printed feature articles on cultural events were written for distribution abroad. And a great amount of information was supplied to foreigners interested in Canadian educational possibilities. The response to enquiries on matters cultural and educational was also conducted in parallel by the old Information Division of the Department which also had to concern itself with dealing with the activities of the newly born United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). However, in the main these activities were, by common assent and with no one thinking to differ, listed under the rubric of Information. From time to time the term "cultural relations" or "cultural work" would appear in the record but always as one sub-division, among several, of the information task.

One of those who, earlier than most, began to recognize the scope and importance and the rather separate nature of cultural work was Mr. MacDermot. On September 14, 1945, he wrote for the Under-Secretary a memorandum,<sup>(1)</sup> analyzing the value which he foresaw the proposed C.I.S. would have for the Department. Among the useful activities

he identified were:

Arrangements of cultural activities. These, in proportion to their magnitude, require a great deal of time. . . . The arrangement for exchange of speakers, and intellectual and artistic visitors.

A little later, on October 10, 1945,<sup>(2)</sup> he wrote a "Dear Mike" letter to Mr. Pearson in Washington. In the last paragraph he mentioned:

I also enclose a memorandum which I roughed out yesterday in preparation for a meeting this morning with Vincent Massey, High Commissioner in the U.K., Hume Wrong and George Glazebrook. This looks like the opening gun for what I think should be a campaign to have the cultural side of our work dealt with one way or the other. I have only stated the case and the documentation is not very complete, but going through the files I have compiled a list of requests and suggestions from abroad. I have not suggested any action because I want to hear what Hume's views on the whole question are first of all. Four possible moves occur to me at present. One is to work for a Government grant for the Canada Foundation which would put it somewhat in the position of the British Council. The second would be the allocation of special funds for this Department. Third would be to conduct these operations under the Canadian Information Service, and fourth would be to submit the recommendation directly to the Cabinet urging the provision of funds for a cultural policy on a substantial scale. All of these need careful exploration, though obviously some appear weaker than others. If you have time to make any comments we should be very glad to get them.

It is thoroughly disappointing that the attached memorandum which Mr. MacDermot mentions has completely disappeared. Nor do we have what Mr. Massey, Mr. Wrong or Mr. Pearson thought about it all. But Mr. MacDermot's set of alternatives seems very clear-headed and, indeed, in somewhat different

vocabulary, these same sort of alternatives were those which had to be examined at a much more recent date.

Through 1946 and 1947 the C.I.S. and the Department had a good deal of correspondence concerning the extension internationally of Canadian cultural interests. The Supervisory Committee and Working Committee of the C.I.S. had a number of inconclusive discussions about cultural exhibitions abroad and about potential exchanges of students and teachers. External Affairs had begun to feel the pressure from other governments and from foreign or international organizations to participate in such exchanges but little could come of consideration of this activity at a time when Canadian universities were overpacked with students demobilized from the Armed Forces. The Privy Council Office had begun to contemplate the sort of structure required for Federal Government support for the arts and scholarship in Canada and consequently were beginning to ask what sort of instruments would be needed to govern the external dimension of possible official programs in the cultural field.

During this period diplomatic posts reported regularly or spasmodically on their information activities and it is apparent that quite a number of missions were carrying on some level of what would now be regarded as

cultural relations. Such activities included encouragement of foreign scholars' interest in Canadian belles lettres, in our scientific ventures, scholarly accomplishments, etc. Others concentrated more on music, fine arts and the film. A number organized or cooperated with cultural institutes in other countries which could be persuaded to take more than a fitful interest in Canadian developments. Almost all wished to expand their library resources to permit them to serve the needs of learned researchers. In a dispatch (No. 46) of February 25, 1946,<sup>(3)</sup> our present Governor General, then a junior (and the only) diplomatic secretary in the Embassy in Santiago wrote on the information requirements in Chile. It is perhaps interesting to note that Mr. Léger was recommending the appointment to the Embassy of a full time Cultural Attaché and opposing the possible deployment in Chile of representatives of the Film Board or CBC. It was apparent that he intended the word 'Cultural' to embrace all the field of press and information as well as arts and letters. This indeed reversed the field as perceived in Ottawa where the habit was to shelter all cultural activity under the umbrella term, "Information." What also becomes clear from the correspondence from posts, then and later, is that the amount of cultural affairs work carried out depended very directly on the personal interest in and



taste for cultural life of the head of post or some member of his staff. Except for the requirement to answer questions about the Canadian cultural scene, there was little or no insistence from Ottawa on development of this type of work. As a result, cultural programs at posts covered a wide range from serious and solid achievement to very little indeed.

A very impressive document on cultural relations work at a post came to the Department early in 1947. In dispatch No. 198 of March 21, 1947,<sup>(4)</sup> General Vanier, then Ambassador in Paris, forwarded a 34-page memorandum written by Paul Beaulieu, then Second Secretary at that mission, about the work of a "Cultural Attaché." It was the first serious, detailed effort by an officer of the Department to define the cultural relations work of a Canadian diplomatic mission--what it ought to comprise and what resources it required. (The length of the document has precluded its inclusion as an appendix to this paper but a number of copies are available in the Historical Division.) The memorandum is worth contemporary study because of its thoroughness and clear comprehension of the value and the challenge of cultural relations work. The memorandum was written in Paris and was naturally related to the demands of cultural relations with France but, with a few exceptions, could have more general

application for quite a number of other countries. At this time, Mr. Beaulieu had other responsibilities than those connected with cultural affairs and could give only part time to the latter. He was, however, given a local designation as "Attaché Culturel."

In the introduction to his memorandum, Mr. Beaulieu defines in summary form the purposes and duties of a Cultural Attaché:

La tâche de l'Attaché Culturel peut, à mon avis, se résumer dans cette formule; faire connaître l'apport du Canada au domaine intellectuel international. En d'autres termes, l'Attaché Culturel prendra toutes les initiatives pour que soient connues dans le pays auprès duquel il est accrédité, les différentes manifestations canadiennes dans le domaine: littéraire, artistique, musical, scientifique, juridique.

It has been remarked that there are two rather surprising gaps in this listing. First, that the whole field of education is not mentioned as a major rubric, particularly as Mr. Beaulieu, in the body of the memorandum, discusses educational relations and exchanges at reasonable length. Secondly, among the performing arts he mentions only music, with no suggestion that theatre and the dance were arts capable of export and exchange. It is true that in the era 1946 and 1947 Canada had very limited resources in these fields but in other respects the memorandum allowed itself to take the long forward view of Canadian cultural manifestation. A further criticism may well apply to selecting

juridical science as a main heading rather than providing a more comprehensive listing for the social sciences and humanities. However, this being said, the memorandum describes a vast array of subject fields in which cultural relations could be conducted usefully and effectively.

The bulk of this memorandum is a statement of Things To Do for the conduct of productive cultural relations at a Canadian Embassy and some indication of the support required for this. The activities proposed fall under a series of headings:

- 1) Etablir des contacts avec les personnalités intellectuelles et les groupements culturels.
- 2) Aider à la publication et à la diffusion du livre canadien.
- 3) Susciter la publication d'articles sur les activités intellectuelle canadiennes.
- 4) Organiser et susciter des conférences.
- 5) Organiser des expositions
  - a. Exposition des peintures
  - b. Exposition du livre canadien
  - c. Exposition d'Art Decoratif et d'Artisanat.
- 6) Organiser et aider à l'organisation de concerts de musique canadienne.
- 7) Radio.

Here, Mr. Beaulieu recognizes that radio serves both informational and cultural goals and that the Information Officer and Cultural Attaché must collaborate closely. But he makes a rather sweeping jurisdictional claim:

... .. tout ce qui traite de la vie de l'esprit devrait être organisé soit par l'Attaché Culturel, soit après consultation avec lui.

8) Film.

Here again, it was recognized that the Information and Cultural officers of the Embassy must work in tandem but that film dealing with educational, artistic and cultural themes should be of particular concern to the Cultural Attaché. Another particular responsibility would be for Canadian participation in international film festivals.

9) Bibliothèque de l'Ambassade.

The functions of the library to which Mr. Beaulieu attached importance were:

- a. Etre un centre d'information à date destiné au personnel de l'Ambassade;
- b. Etre un centre vivant de documentation pour le public français désireux de se renseigner sur les activités intellectuelles au Canada.

It is curious to note that he envisaged the library as a centre of reference for cultural documentation but that it would provide information on other areas only for Embassy personnel.

10) Etablir des contacts avec les universités et associations culturelles de Paris et de province.

11) Accueil aux étudiants français.

The idea was to be able to assist French students seeking educational opportunities in Canada. However, Mr. Beaulieu

considered that a system of Canadian Government scholarships was essential and complained that his past recommendations to this effect had gone unacknowledged by the Department. He noted the growing astonishment of the French cultural authorities at the lack of reciprocity in Canada for the scholarships made available to Canadian students by France.

12) Echange de professeurs.

Although there had been some private exchanges of professors between Canadian and French universities, Mr. Beaulieu recommended that the Department encourage such exchanges, including financial help, or, if this were not possible, to ascertain if the Province of Québec might be able to help.

13) Etudiants canadiens en France.

This concerned a phenomenon not unique to France but of a much greater order of magnitude in France than elsewhere. The very large body of Canadian students and the difficulties (cultural, administrative, academic, even food) for them in the French academic milieu had called for a great deal of advice and assistance from the Embassy, which must be provided.

14) Artistes et écrivains canadiens à Paris.

Recognizing that the Embassy could not fill the role of impresario, it was nonetheless necessary to provide advice and facilitative services for Canadian artists and writers in France. Mr. Beaulieu asked that the Department send

instructions on the proper extent to which the Embassy should go in providing such services.

- 15) Liaison avec le Service des relations culturelles du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.
- 16) Liaison avec les Attachés culturels des différentes Ambassades à Paris.
- 17) Comité FRANCE-CANADA et autres associations d'amitié franco-canadienne.
- 18) UNESCO.

This would involve the work of maintaining contact with UNESCO developments and of reporting to Ottawa.

- 19) Contact avec la vie intellectuelle au Canada.

This involved not a program function of the Cultural Attaché but the means of keeping him aware of Canadian cultural developments to permit him to carry out his duties well.

The memorandum went on to sketch at some length the documentary resources which the Embassy would require to carry on an effective cultural affairs program; not that the Embassy was bereft of all documentation but that it was unorganized and dispersed between the library, the Press Attaché and the Cultural Attaché. He went on to note the uncertainty of the division of labour between these latter two functions and that duplication of effort could be the result, particularly where approaches to publishers, authors and cultural associations were concerned. On this problem he wrote:

Cette situation confuse est surtout la conséquence d'un état de choses qui dépasse les cadres de l'Ambassade et les personnalités. Jusqu'à tout récemment l'Information et les Relations Culturelles relevaient de deux Services distincts. Cette division donnait lieu à des situations assez cocasses et n'aidait guère à une collaboration efficace. A titre d'exemple, l'Attaché culturel suggérerait-il que soit organisée à Paris une manifestation artistique, le Ministère des Affaires extérieures, n'ayant pas de budget, transmettait cette suggestion au Service d'information; celui-ci ayant des difficultés à remplir son programme avec un budget déjà restreint, ne pouvait guère donner suite à cette suggestion. De plus, l'Attaché culturel n'avait reçu aucune instruction précise quant à ses fonctions. Evidemment c'était un domaine nouveau qui, comme nous l'avons vu, est très vaste. Cependant les écrivains, artistes, sociétés culturelles canadiennes, se basent sur les activités de l'Attaché culturel de l'Ambassade de France à Ottawa, s'attendaient à ce que l'Attaché culturel canadien fasse au moins autant que son collègue français.

Maintenant que le Service d'information est intégré au Ministère des Affaires extérieures, se serait le moment propice pour procéder à une délimitation des fonctions de l'Attaché de presse et de l'Attaché culturel.

The memorandum concludes with the recommendation that the Department approve a more substantial and better organized cultural program in France, provide the Cultural Attaché with precise terms of reference and provide the Embassy with a program of activities for the coming autumn.

A rather different approach to cultural relations was taken by the Press Attaché of the Embassy, Mr. E. R. (Dick) Bellemare. On June 12 he wrote a memorandum to the Ambassador discussing Mr. Beaulieu's paper and this was

forwarded by General Vanier in dispatch No. 423 of June 17, 1947,<sup>(5)</sup> because, as he said: "I thought you would like to have both memoranda in front of you when establishing a departmental policy for cultural relations abroad." (The Ambassador was perhaps over sanguine, since the Department did not get around to developing a cultural policy for a good many years to come.) Some hint of relationships of the information and cultural personnel at the Embassy is indicated by the apparent fact that Mr. Bellemare did not see a copy of Mr. Beaulieu's memorandum until almost three months later. Mr. Bellemare's comments were robust in nature and tended to rebuke the suggestion that cultural relations constituted more than a part of a comprehensive information program. The gist of his attitude is conveyed in the first three paragraphs of a five-page memorandum:

There has come to my attention recently a memorandum on CULTURAL RELATIONS which I have read with interest, since it is concerned with one aspect of Canada's information operations.

2. Coming at a time when our Canadian information service, reduced in scope and size since the war's end, had finally been lodged in External Affairs as a division of that Department this memorandum raises the question of Canada's cultural relations with France. It is an extensive work, which I have not the leisure to analyse in detail. Nor do I think it necessary to do so, since the argument stands or falls on



these predicates: 1) that Cultural Relations are essentially a field distinct from general information, 2) that the Department of External Affairs is convinced of the need for Canada to pursue full-fledged operations in the cultural relations field, i.e., logically, that External has thus a plan or programme worked out for France and other countries. These I take to be the pillars of this temple. I also take them to be basic misunderstandings, which weaken the purpose of the memorandum. 3) The idea is generally implied through the report that Cultural Relations are a separate undertaking, unrelated to general information (except perhaps in the relationship of a nobler form of information to a meaner one dispensed under the same roof). I do not agree. Cultural Relations, in the accepted sense, are nothing more startling than the special development given to one section of the national body of information. Considered in this relationship of the part to the whole, their role is easily understandable and determined. They assume their appointed place in a balanced information programme, enjoying more or less emphasis according to national possibilities.

Whatever the merits, pro and con, of cultural relations as distinct from information programs, Mr. Bellemare's comments about any assumptions of governmental or departmental plans for a developed cultural program were certainly accurate at the time. He drives the point home at a later point in his memorandum:

As to what I consider the second basic misunderstanding of the memorandum, that it is External's intention to implement a Cultural Relations plan, I can find nothing on which to base such an assumption. The memorandum's frequent references to lack of support by the Department and to the confusion resulting from unsupported action on the part of the Cultural Attaché or rejection of his proposals, might be considered as sufficient evidence of the contrary, if need be.

There is, indeed, evidence that Mr. Beaulieu's ideas had been left relatively neglected for a considerable time and that a full entrance into the lists of cultural relations was still some years off. Rather striking evidence of this is betrayed in an extract from a Personal and Confidential letter of August 10, 1948, from Mr. Pearson to Mr. Beaulieu: (6)

With regard to your memorandum of March 20th, 1947, on a cultural programme in France, I am disturbed to learn that you did not receive even an acknowledgement and I shall take this up with Saul Rae. It was discussed at some length, and with Bellemare's comments which followed in June, 1947, was examined and commented on by Rae, Anderson and others. But you should have had reply, of course, and that you did not is, I can assure you, no indication of any lack of interest. The Information Division, however, all last year was undergoing a very difficult period of reorganisation and many matters with which it was concerned unfortunately had to be neglected. . . . I can understand your discouragement at what must have appeared to be indifference to all the work and thought that you put into this memorandum.

The genesis of Mr. Pearson's apologetic note to Mr. Beaulieu is found in a memorandum of December 29, 1947, from Allan Anderson to Mr. Fulgence Charpentier in which Anderson writes:

I am enclosing for your information two long memoranda which we have had on hand for some months, dealing with 'cultural' work etc., at the Embassy in Paris. . . .

I doubt if any action needs to be taken. Mr. Beaulieu's memorandum seems to me to

envisage a type of activity for which we are not yet equipped, even if we decided that it was valuable.

However, three months later, on March 31, 1948, Mr. Charpentier sent Mr. Rae a thoughtful memorandum<sup>(7)</sup> on the Beaulieu-Bellemare papers in which he came down on the Beaulieu side but with some circumspection about the early, practical possibilities. He recognized that Mr. Beaulieu's paper was a "remarkable brief" and that it would "serve as a useful basis for ground-work not only in Paris, but also, with some modifications elsewhere." He injects a note of cautious optimism:

The Canadian Government, however, unlike most other countries, has no federal department of culture, no department of beaux-arts. It has no jurisdiction on educational matters. The only workable plan for the present will have to be kept within certain limitations, not barring the importance of a basic policy towards future development. The Department of External Affairs, through its Information Division, is the logical organism to deal with questions of cultural relations.

In spite of a clear personal inclination to develop the scope of cultural relations with other countries, Mr. Charpentier estimated that until Canada developed internal cultural mechanisms similar to those in countries where "culture is more extensively developed" that there would be "no possibility of adopting Mr. Beaulieu's report in its entirety, in spite of many good points." In conclusion, Mr. Charpentier felt that the inclusion of the

Information Service in External Affairs should facilitate the work of posts abroad in the cultural field. Whether or not the title, "Cultural Attaché" were maintained or eliminated, whether or not Information officers were to be given formal responsibility for cultural work,". . . there is no reason why a competent and experienced officer with writing ability, a cultural training, and intelligent connections, should not discharge these [cultural] functions to the best advantage of everyone concerned, both in the country where he is posted and in the country which he represents." The file does not show any direct follow-up to the Charpentier memorandum but the general attitude it reflects began to be a normal departmental approach to the conduct of cultural relations.

The difference of opinion between the "integralists" and the "separatists" on the relationship of cultural relations to general information activity continued for some years to come but the growth of cultural activities, dimly defined and often arbitrarily allocated, was fairly constant and began to require larger staff and greater funds. But from the beginning of the expanded Information Division in 1947, cultural relations were recognized as a distinct (if integrated) responsibility marked by the designation of a Cultural Affairs desk. (Of which the author seems to have been the first incumbent.)

Press Relations. The focus of the Wartime Information Board and the C.I.S. had been to distribute information at home and abroad through the press, both printed and radio, but concentrating on newspapers. There was no one disposed to argue seriously about the primordial importance of the printed press, as related to other media, to inform and influence people. And within the array of print outlets, the daily newspaper had pride of place. This instinct (or habit) for assessing value in the distribution of Government information carried over into the Department following absorption of the C.I.S., and the Information Division, with no apparent consideration at the time of any other institutional allocation of responsibility, took over the duties of liaison with and provision of material to the press. Part of this tradition stemmed, as well, from the preamalgamation Information Division of the Department. In a memorandum of 19 September, 1945, Mr. MacDermot listed among other functions of the Division: "It answers enquiries from the press . . . . When necessary, enquiries are referred to a member of the Department who is a specialist on the subject in question. Some which require reference material prepared by the Wartime Information Board, are referred to that body for reply. . . . A member of the Division attends the weekly press conference conducted by Mr. Wrong and is responsible

for drafting and circulating a report of the proceedings. Although press releases are prepared by the Division concerned, the Information Division is responsible for their registration, translation, mimeographing and distribution." A little more than a year after the consolidation of C.I.S. with the Department, press relations responsibilities of the Division are enumerated in a memorandum of April 27, 1948,<sup>(8)</sup> by Miss Mary Dench (whose contribution over the years to the information and cultural work of the Department was very substantial and valuable):

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs holds a weekly press conference attended by members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Background information on international affairs is provided and occasionally news announcements are made. The Information Division makes arrangements for the conference.

Press releases are prepared by the Division when required. After approval by the Under-Secretary, the Information Division distributes releases to members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, representatives of news associations, the local newspapers and by mail to missions abroad and to missions of other countries in Ottawa.

The Information Division provides for liaison with the press in dealing with general enquiries on matters relating to the work of the Department.

At this period, up to the end of 1948, dealings with the press in Ottawa were at a comparatively low level of volume and intensity and press contacts could be handled on a part time basis. The Press Gallery was much smaller than it is

now and the degree of press interest in foreign affairs was, proportionately, even smaller. In Parliament only a corporal's guard could be mustered to take part in an annual debate on external affairs and it seems probable that press and Parliament reflected pretty accurately the interest level of the Canadian people in things international. Before the war Canada had played a very minor role on the international scene and it was some time before Canadians realized that their country's enhanced importance in the world called for a much larger and more sophisticated performance in its foreign relations. Then, as now, the Canadian press and Canadian newspapers maintained very few bureaux or reporters abroad and international news reached Canadian readers and listeners through wire agencies based in other countries and with no particular vocation to bring Canada's international activities to their clients' attention. It was in these conditions, marked by a good deal of press ignorance or indifference, that the Department's press relations work was set and for years it was not very demanding. The departmental attitude towards this lack of interest wavered between frustration and disappointment on the one hand and a sense of relief on the other. However, a sense of public duty did impel the Department to carry out the educational task of weekly background press conferences, initiated by Mr. Wrong and continued by Mr. Pearson.

Press enquiries were handled in much the same way as other public questioning and required no special system or apparatus to conduct it. And at this stage there was still no question that press relations, such as they were, were naturally and appropriately to be dealt with by the Department's Information Division. As far as press work at posts abroad was concerned, there was no question but that this was to be organized and directed by the Information Division.

Interdepartmental Coordination of Information Abroad. The plans and programs of the Wartime Information Board and later of the Canadian Information Service had been conducted under the general supervision and with the advice of very senior civil servants at the Deputy Minister level or equivalent. This Supervisory Committee of the C.I.S. took its duties seriously, under the orderly direction of the Chairman, Arnold Heeney, then Clerk of the Privy Council. The Supervisory Committee met relatively frequently and determined--or at least discussed--points of policy and procedure. This senior committee was served by a working committee, called the Operational Committee of the C.I.S. In addition to providing the Supervisory Committee with papers for its agenda, the Operational Committee played a major role of pulling together and, frequently, co-determining the ongoing programs and activities



of the several bodies doing information abroad. This working committee met with quite faithful regularity, once every week and had some success, not only in learning what each of the agencies was up to under their own authority. but also in planning activities in which two or more of the agencies could usefully participate. The relative effectiveness of the working committee may have stemmed from the fact that its members spent a half day every week together and became very familiar with the aims and operations of the other agencies. It was also a plus-factor that at the time the scope and scale of information abroad was smaller, less sophisticated and more generally comprehensible than it was later to become. The membership of the committee was not large and the discussion was consequently more pointed and more conclusive. Inter-agency rivalries and institutional jealousies were not unknown but in general the atmosphere was cordial and cooperative. This pattern persisted even after the inclusion of the C.I.S in the Department, at least as long as Geoffrey Andrew was head of the new Information Division. In fact the committee continued to operate, until he departed, under the name "Canadian Information Service Operational Committee" and Mr. Andrew ran it in much the same way he had done as Director of the C.I.S. Within a year of his departure and with the

Information Division under new management, the periodicity of what had become the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad became very ragged, and meetings tended to be held every month or so.

Under P.C. 472 of February 5, 1947, External Affairs, in addition to its own functions in distributing information abroad, had inherited the C.I.S. responsibility "for co-ordinating and assisting the public information services of the Government in connection with the distribution abroad of information concerning Canada." To undertake this function, the Order in Council established an interdepartmental committee of four members, one appointed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, one by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, one by the Minister responsible for the National Film Board, and one by the Chairman of the CBC Board of Governors. This committee was clearly intended to continue the work of the old C.I.S. Supervisory Committee (minus the Clerk of the Privy Council) at the same level, i.e. that of Deputy Minister or Head of Agency. However, the files do not show any record, from the inception up to the end of 1948, at least, that the Interdepartmental Committee ever met at the Deputy Minister level. The effective interdepartmental coordinating committee was actually the descendant of the old C.I.S. Operational Committee,

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was chaired by the Head of the Information Division of External and attended by persons of similar grade. This, in fact, continued as the normal practice throughout the history of the Interdepartmental Committee, although sporadic attendance of the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs is recorded in later years-- but rarely and with apparent reluctance.

Although there will be more to say later of the history of the Interdepartmental Committee in subsequent years, the roots of its long-term problems of ineffectiveness, disappointment and frustration had become visible by the end of 1948. A factor of some importance here is that a central, non-departmental organization for information abroad has an essential need for close consultation with those departments and agencies which have their own substantive vocation for relations with and operations in foreign countries. Without this the activities of the central organization would be aimless and inane-- the production of material for no stated objectives and with no determined destination. In the early post-war years it was not adequately emphasized but it was intuitively accepted that provision of information to foreign peoples was not, in itself, a goal of Government but that information must be assembled and communicated in the service of identified (or at least identifiable)

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national interests and policies. It was not enough to scatter informational seed, broadcast and wholesale, throughout the world. but direction was required as to what seed to sow in what fields. Now the Department of External Affairs, when it inherited the coordinating role, had developed a rapidly expanding foreign service and headquarters structure and was quickly acquiring considerable self-confidence in its judgment. The Department did not need or, at any rate, did not feel it needed, the advice and concurrence of officials from other agencies in the same way as C.I.S. had. On the other side of the table, participants in the coordination function from Trade and Commerce, the Film Board, the CBC, etc., began to feel differently about the Interdepartmental Committee--to feel that they owned less of the action now that External had been allocated major responsibility, called the meetings, provided the Chairman and Secretary, set the agenda and wrote the minutes. The other departments and agencies, each with some statutory responsibility for international activities did not welcome the thought that in some way their authority for and control over their own foreign operations might be diminished by the rather dominant position given to External Affairs on the Committee. The guards came up and defensive attitudes were struck towards any real or imagined intrusions on institutional

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independence. However, despite these psychological hazards, a good deal of cooperative effort and of loyal consultation was accomplished within the Interdepartmental Committee and its record, though it fell far short of the hopes invested in it, was not bare of solid achievement.

This period of activity of the Interdepartmental Committee should not be passed without mention of a venture which, if it had been consequently and persistently pursued, would have been a signpost to a much more useful and productive function for the Committee. At a meeting on April 16, 1947,<sup>(9)</sup> an effort was made to put on the table as complete a picture as possible of the programs and budgets for 1947-48 of the departments and agencies engaged in information abroad. This was the first attempt to achieve some overview of what the Canadian Government was getting for its money in this field. The exercise was purely expository in nature and, probably wisely, there was no analytical or critical discussion. As a matter of possible interest, the budget figures for these external information activities for that fiscal year follow:

Trade and Commerce. The total budget for the Trade Publicity Division was \$300,000, of which \$200,000 was to be spent for trade publicity abroad.

Government Exhibition Commission. A total appropriation of \$320,400 was provided. Although most of these funds would be for participation in trade fairs, no schedule and plan had been

developed for these but opportunities would be examined as they arose. Some participation in "cultural," i.e., non-trade, exhibitions was planned or under way.

National Film Board. Mr. Dan Wallace of the NFB noted that it was difficult to separate out foreign from domestic expenditures. However, of the Film Board's total budget of \$2,078,000, approximately \$259,000 was earmarked for the foreign field.

CBC International Service. Total budget of the International Service was \$1,400,000 and of this about \$473,000 would be used for performers' fees. Much of the budget was accounted for by engineering and equipment costs.

External Affairs. Of the C.I.S. budget taken over by the External Affairs Information Division (\$646,000 in the 1947-48 estimates) and after subtraction of administrative and personnel costs, the operational program budget came to \$241,000. The breakdown showed: \$114,000 for publications, \$42,000 for photos and mats, \$29,000 for posters and photo displays, \$40,000 for libraries abroad, \$4,000 for foreign speaking tours, \$8,000 for foreign visitors to Canada and \$4,000 for writers' fees.

It will be interesting to compare the program emphasis at this early stage on the judgments taken in later years on the relative value and utility of various information activities.

Clearly, the interdepartmental contacts and exchanges and consultation carried out by and in the Interdepartmental Committee were supplemented by a series of one-on-one relationships between the several departments and agencies on the Committee and with other Government departments whose interest in information abroad

was occasional and discontinuous but the sum of whose input was important to the whole process. As time went on and the Interdepartmental Committee was perceived as being less useful than it might be. the process of direct, bilateral (even multilateral) consultation and coordination tended to supplant, rather than supplement, the work of the Committee.

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## CHAPTER VI

The establishment during the 1950s of three new units in the Department had certain important consequences for the work of the Information Division in terms of abandonment by that Division of a number of responsibilities previously assigned to it. The units created for special needs were the Press Office, the Historical Research and Reports Division and the Political Coordination Section. Of these, the one with the most important functional effect on the Information Division was establishment of the Press Office.

Contrary to normal institutional tendency to guard jealously, even expand, any area of jurisdiction allotted to it, proposals to split off the press relations functions from the Information Division originated with two successive Heads of the Division. The first gun seems to have been fired by Saul Rae to the Acting Under-Secretary, in a memorandum of December 27, 1948. (1) After referring to an exchange of memoranda with Mr. MacDermot in the previous September, Mr. Rae continued:

In my original memorandum I suggested two alternative methods of dealing with press arrangements in the Department, in the light

of Mr. Pearson's appointment to the Cabinet. ✓  
Mr. MacDermot's memorandum set forth some of  
the arguments against one of these alternatives,  
i.e. the suggestion that the Press Section of  
the Information Division should be separated  
from the Division and transferred to the  
Minister's Office. It also assumed that  
providing it was agreed to adopt the second  
alternative, i.e. the posting of a press  
secretary to the Minister's Office, that such  
an Officer would be brought in from outside  
the Government Service. ) why?

While I think it is unwise to be dogmatic  
on the subject of press arrangements, I feel it  
is only fair that the arguments for the first  
alternative should be set forth more clearly.

At the present time the handling of press  
queries occupies a great portion of the time of  
the Head of the Information Division and a junior = ?  
Liaison Officer. The difficulty up to the  
present, however, has been that the geographical  
remoteness of the Information Division from the  
East Block and the absence of close coordination ✓  
with the Minister's Office in the Centre Block  
during a good part of the past year has combined  
to reduce the efficiency with which the press  
work of the Department should be conducted.

In my view press relations are only effective  
to the extent to which they are linked with a full  
and up-to-date knowledge of departmental develop-  
ments and the degree to which the information  
available to the Senior Press Officer is related  
to the policy side of the Department's work.  
Otherwise, the press function tends to become  
merely a routine P.R.O. duty of distributing press  
releases which the sellers characterize as "hand-  
outs".

Allan Anderson, as Head of the Information Division,  
came to the same view, that is, that press relations should  
be dealt with in an office separate from the Division. On  
December 13, 1949, the Under-Secretary (Mr. Heeney) held a †  
meeting with some senior officers of the Department. (2)

The report of that meeting included a paragraph on Press Liaison:

Removing press liaison activities from the Information Division was discussed as a practical way of serving the press better. At the moment, the Head of the Information Division must run his division and at the same time is constantly called by members of the press, most of whom want some information urgently. As long as press relations remain under the Information Division, this will happen.

A separate press section might be attached to the Under-Secretary's Office and headed by a senior officer. He would work closely with the Minister's Office, the Under-Secretary and Heads of Division and would keep himself thoroughly briefed on all current subjects. . . . The press officer would still refer requests for specialized information to other officers of the Department but, without the administrative functions of a head of division, he would be able to answer many more questions himself and in general to take a more active rather than a passive role in press liaison.

Mr. Anderson provided separately a firm, detached recommendation following the meeting which noted that two main improvements would result from separating press relations from the other informational activities:

a) In the Information Division, the Head and Assistant Head would be relieved of all press queries and would have a chance to devote more time to handling their many other duties in the Division.

b) The press liaison officer would be able to give the press a service infinitely better than ever before, which would mean a corresponding improvement in press coverage of External Affairs' activities and in the Department's relation with the press generally.

These discussions and considerations must have met with general approval and on April 12, 1950, a memorandum was sent to the Minister recommending a separate press office under a senior officer and attached to the Minister's office. On the latter point, Mr. Heeney appears to have had second thoughts since in his own draft press release on the subject he suggested that the press office would be located "in the immediate proximity to the Under-Secretary's Office." On September 14, 1950, an announcement<sup>(3)</sup> of the new press arrangements was given to the Press Gallery. The appointment of Allan Anderson, assisted by Frances Carlisle was included in the announcement. No mention of association with either the Minister's or the Under-Secretary's office was made and the announcement was content to say: "The Press Office will be located in the East Block." From this time on, the Information Division and the Press Office went their separate ways, with the Information Division maintaining press relations at posts abroad under its direction.

*Handwritten notes:* ?  
improvement  
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In 1950 (exact date uncertain) the Division of Historical Research and Reports was established with Mr. P. E. Renaud as Director. The provenance of this move was in a 1945 Order in Council which established the Committee on Public Records and provided that each Department had the duty to review periodically the state

of departmental records and reclassify them with a view to disposal by transfer to Public Archives of those with permanent value or by destruction of those with no further value. The new Division was to carry out these functions. Additionally, the Division assumed responsibility for the Departmental Library, providing books and periodicals for post libraries, the Press Clipping Service and preparation of the Annual Report. The Director was to be Chairman of the Library Committee. These somewhat ill-assorted functions, and responsibility for Library and Press Clippings and for preparation of the Annual Report, had been subtracted from the traditional responsibilities of the Information Division. Apparently this assortment of duties did not derive from any sort of organizational theory. In the memory of one associated with the new Division at the start (Mr. G. W. Hilborn), something had to be added to the archival and historical functions to permit an adequate volume of duties and personnel for the new Division to achieve anything approaching normal divisional weight. The actual function of historical research did not begin until 1958 under the urging of Mr. George Glazebrook who had taken over the Division; this gap was apparently due to lack of personnel and funds.

The Political Coordination Section was set up in March of 1953<sup>(4)</sup> with the author as its Head, assisted by Mr. Yvon Beaulne. It was a time of Cold War and some urgency was felt that a central unit should be in place to provide information and policy guidance to the CBC-IS. The Information Division had been carrying out general, "informational" liaison with the International Service but it was not so organized and oriented as to be able to provide much confidential political guidance. In the second place, the need was felt to centralize somewhere in the Department responsibility for psychological warfare. Some of this work, and the thinking going into it, had been done by the European Division and Defence Liaison, normally on specific points as they arose. However, no one was in a position to deal with the more general questions of the theory and practice of political warfare and the science of propaganda. Additionally, it was realized that a good deal of psychological warfare planning for the eventuality of real war was required and was not being done. This whole area was allotted to the Political Coordination Section. There was a good deal of discussion at the time as to whether the Section should also take on the assembling and digesting of political information for the Department and posts abroad. It was decided that, with very limited manpower, the Section could not possibly

manage this. However, the Section became responsible for the selection of documents--despatches from posts and departmental memoranda--to be sent weekly to Cabinet Ministers. This same batch of "Cabinet Documents" was also sent to posts and to divisions of the Department and was the origin of the ongoing "Selected Documents" series. The relationship of the Section to the Information Division with regard to responsibility for liaison with CBC-IS provided grounds for some confusion and a certain amount of resentment at the start. However, the assignment to the Section of CBC-IS guidance as its primary and mandatory job tended swiftly to give it predominance in this field. The selection of documents (the so-called "Cabinet Documents") for posts and divisions was an erstwhile function of the Information Division and it felt some regret at being divested of yet another function. In the long haul, however, these functions were to return to the Information Division. Political Coordination Section, as the Cold War dwindled into relatively tranquil international relations, ceased to find an adequate raison d'être and in June, 1960, it coalesced with the Press Office, the combined unit being named the Liaison Services Section. (5) In later years, the Press Office was re-established for press liaison alone and those functions derived from the Political Coordination Section reverted to the Information Division.

Resources for Information Work. Although there is considerable evidence of thought and purpose on the part of those directing information activities during this decade and there were influences at work to upgrade and expand at least the cultural side of the Information Division, one has to conclude that the Department had decided, in general, not to support any enlarged role for its Information arm. Attached as an Appendix are the establishments for the Information Division for the years 1952-53, 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1960-61. From this it is seen that in eight years from 1952 to 1960 the growth of divisional strength had been so restrained as to mark really no virtual gain. The establishment had gone from 13 officers and editors, plus 14 "others" (stenos, clerks, etc.) to 14 officers and editors, plus 18 "others." The modest increase was due to the growth of cultural work and it seems possible that the purely informational work might indeed have shown a small reduction of personnel. In December of 1954, Miss Laura Beattie, who had come to the Department from the C.I.S., decided to work out a balance sheet on what had happened to the external information services in the seven years since the absorption of C.I.S. In her paper dated December 20, 1954, she notes that the staff of the Information Division numbered 33 souls, whereas the C.I.S. staff in May 1946 amounted to 109, with the establishment



set at 140. She recognizes that these figures misrepresent the true comparison because C.I.S. had personnel for duties now carried on elsewhere in the Department, notably administration and library. However, she writes: ". . . I would conclude that a reasonably accurate comparison could be made only by staff performing comparable functions. The Information Division has, at present, 13 FSOs, IOs and editors, and 5 clerks whose duties compare with those performed by about 25 members of the C.I.S. total staff. Services no longer coming under the Information Division absorbed probably not less than 30 or more than 40 of the C.I.S. total staff. There was certainly a higher proportion of stenographers and typists to officer personnel in C.I.S. than is the case today." This same study by Miss Beattie also deals with budgetary comparison. She notes that the total C.I.S. budget for 1946-47 was \$670,000 but then proceeds to eliminate those financial items being carried elsewhere in External and estimates that a fair figure for the program budget of 1946-47 would have been \$154,800. The Information budget was \$114,900 for 1954-55 and the submission for 1955-56 sought \$138,950. She also notes that the total External Affairs estimates had gone from \$5,685,235 in 1946-47 to \$42,774,452 in 1954-55. She recognizes that from the latter figure \$25,000,000 should be deducted as it was

the Colombo Plan contribution and therefore not applicable in the earlier years. This would still have left better than a trebled budget over the seven years of comparison and clearly the Information work of the Department had not only not grown on that scale but had, in fact, diminished. She finishes this assessment of ratios within the Department by reciting the Ottawa staff figures for the Department which had more than doubled from 303 in 1946 to 623 in 1954. Miss Beattie did not press her point, or even state it, but implicitly the lesson drawn was that the Department gave very low priority to its Information work. A diligent effort has been made to find complete budget figures for the rest of the decade but without success. Until financial responsibility centres were established in the '70s there is no record available for divisional allocations but from the author's memory, the Information Division budget in the mid-1960s still hovered somewhere between \$200 and \$300,000.

Policy and Program Planning. Some of the difficulties in the way of planning and executing good information programs are related in a memorandum of August 17, 1951,<sup>(7)</sup> by Mr. Archibald Day, Head of the Information Division:

At present the Division is fairly well able to meet the demand abroad for information about Canada and is doing something to give to

a small section of the Canadian public essential facts about Canada's external policy. No consistent attempt is now being made to influence public opinion, whether in Canada or abroad, on specific international questions, and relatively little is being done to stimulate interest abroad in Canadian affairs. If the Division is to be an effective weapon of persuasion, thought will have to be given to considerable changes in the present personnel and in present practices.

b) Closer relations between the Division and the rest of the Department, particularly the political Divisions.

It is probably true that the Department as a whole is neither aware of nor particularly interested in what the Division is doing. Officers in other Divisions are fully occupied with their own duties and rarely are these divisions concerned with the information aspects or what they are about.

c) The Division at present gives no specific instructions to its Information Officers or to officers engaged in information activities at the smaller missions. At present much work is being done in information matters but it is not directed toward furthering any of the specific policies of the Department or of the Government. . . . There is, in short, no demonstrable relation between our information activities abroad and specific points of Canadian policy which it might be desirable to emphasize. In brief, a very routine job of information work is being done, which seems to have no philosophic basis except that it is a good thing that Canada should get into the news of foreign countries.

In a memorandum of October 1, 1951, Mr. Day related the use of information at posts to the need for setting up of objectives for each post:

In information matters no distinction appears to be made among the various missions abroad in accordance with the different functions which these missions are intended

to fulfill. Certain of the missions are primarily listening posts; others have special responsibilities with regard to trade or immigration, and others, particularly in South America, have no doubt primarily a prestige value. Perhaps not alone for information purposes, it would be useful to review in the Department the specific objectives of our various posts. As a result of this review, it might be possible to give specially tailored advice concerning the manner in which information work could be conducted by the mission to further specific objectives of the Department.

Mr. Day was not the first, and certainly not the last, senior officer concerned with Information to raise the issue of "the rifle and the shotgun." That is to say, the distinction between the closely directed flow of persuasive information towards identified targets for predetermined purposes and the more general flow of information of all types about Canada for wide educational purposes. It is probably fair to say that everyone seriously interested has come to think that both weapons belong in the arsenal. However, it was cheaper to produce general information for the world than to tailor and produce material to serve specific Canadian purposes in particular countries or areas. At any rate, it was not in the decade of the 1950s that the Information Division had the money nor the right quantity or quality of people to undertake effective persuasive communication (propaganda in the non-pejorative sense).

KK

The Department had accepted the idea that Canadian information abroad was not a self-justifying activity but had an underlying rationale of utility to the Canadian Government and people. A circulated draft paper of September 28, 1953,<sup>(8)</sup> began in these terms: "Canadian Government information work abroad has many purposes and aspects. Its objective is to support and advance Canada's interests abroad." This interesting document went on to suggest themes of general utility throughout the world but went further to suggest sets of themes to be specifically employed in the United States, Latin America, the Commonwealth, NATO countries, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Indonesia, the Philippines and the Cominform countries. In retrospect this may appear a rather odd assortment of information targets but it did mark an early effort to set selected information programs within a policy context related to geographical areas.

In a memorandum of February 3, 1955,<sup>(9)</sup> Mr. Day returned to the charge. He had been away from the Information Division for some three years as Secretary of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission) and apparently found that little had changed in the interim. In the memorandum he noted that a Civil Service Commission study of the Division's organization and methods was in progress

and proposed that it was a good time for the Department to re-examine the functions of the Information Division and its relation to the Department as a whole. He remarked "that a number of operations which seem to have been inherited from the old days of the Wartime Information Board (should) be scrutinized with particular care." After reciting the principal activities of the Division, he wrote:

All this is by way of preliminary to the observation that existing activities in the Information Division do not appear to be related to any reasonably clear-cut objectives abroad, and are not necessarily relevant to the most effective means of screening whatever results may be considered desirable in other countries. Professional information officers seem to take it as axiomatic that any information about Canada, dispersed through any means, in any part of the world, is necessarily a good thing, and that the more of this operation there is, the better a thing it becomes automatically. If given a free hand, the Information Division would be quite capable of disbursing very considerable sums of money, as has been done by the information services of Great Britain and the United States. It would, however, be difficult to demonstrate that even the relatively modest sums of money at the disposal of the Information Division have been, over the years, wisely spent in the sense of furthering departmental or governmental objectives.

It occurs to me that the time is now ripe for a careful examination of our information activities in the light of two considerations:

- a) The various objectives which are considered desirable in certain countries abroad;
- b) The most effective and least expensive ways of attaining these objectives.

In the course of the discussion in this memorandum, Mr. Day listed what he considered to be the principal disabilities under which the Information Division had been labouring:

a) Lack of continuity. Heads of Information Division have probably changed more frequently than in any other Division of the Department. In addition, the officers who have been responsible for UNESCO, for cultural relations, and for enquiries, all of which require considerable experience and information, have succeeded one another with such great rapidity that operations have not been efficiently conducted and, further, have provoked sardonic comment from organizations in Canada concerned with these matters.

b) Ill-defined responsibilities for information work within Canada.

c) The remoteness, both physical and spiritual, of Information Division from the rest of the Department. The physical separation of the Information Division has often been regarded as unfortunate, but lack of space in the East Block has prevented any remedy. . . . The physical separation, however, over the years has had unfortunate consequences. It is probably true that many of our Missions abroad are concerned almost entirely with information and public relations activities, and that all of them are preoccupied with these matters. It would seem logical that Information Division should occupy an orbit towards the centre of Departmental activities but, in fact, both physically and spiritually, the Information Division is a remote planet rarely observed by other Divisions.

The next Head of the Division, Mr. A. J. Andrew, held the position for less than a year and a half (1956-57). He worked on the same line of principles as had Mr. Day but did not consider it realistic to set targets for

resources high and advocated concentration in two main areas--information within Canada and information in the United States. Mr. Andrew's views in these regards will be dealt with in two subsequent sections. However, in his "Swan Song" memorandum to the Under-Secretary of May 29, 1957,<sup>(10)</sup> he reviews the division of responsibility for information among several parts of the Department and without recommending organizational consolidation, he proposes that a single Assistant Under-Secretary take on unique supervisory responsibility for these various informational activities, in whatever unit they might be conducted. He thought that establishment of this sort of authority might result in "a sort of Information Branch." One of his comments in this memorandum indicated that no basic improvement had been introduced in the way the Department allowed its information functions to be performed: "As matters now stand, the direction of information policy rests largely in the hands of people who are fully occupied with the technical or administrative aspects of it. As a result, information work tends to become an end in itself and programmes are decided upon for technical and administrative reasons rather than as a support - and in these days an increasingly necessary one - for our policies." In conclusion, Mr. Andrew confessed: "I have been a reluctant Information Officer but not an unhappy one . . . ." This attitude of reluctance to serve in the



Information Division was not unique to Arthur Andrew and it illustrates one of the psychological problems which beset this Division and its activities throughout most of its history.

Although the Department itself did not give much priority to the work of information abroad in budgetary and personnel provision, some important encouragement arrived in the form of discussion and recommendation from the Massey Commission in 1951. The original terms of reference of this Royal Commission did not include this area of activity but, after the Commission's hearings were well in progress, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, specifically requested the Chairman of the Commission to have it provide advice in this field. In his letter of April 25, 1950,<sup>(11)</sup> the Prime Minister asked, inter alia, for the Commission's advice on "Methods for the purpose of making available to the people of foreign countries adequate information concerning Canada." In the chapter devoted to "The Projection of Canada Abroad" the Commission was largely concerned with cultural relations. Some attention, however, is paid to the informational needs of the nation and the chapter begins with the sentence: "Ignorance of Canada in other countries is very widespread." A particular mention is made of the need in the United States for

more information about Canada. The Commission commented: (12)

2. "The Projection of Canada Abroad", the phrase heading this chapter, is of course a metaphor drawn from the cinema and suggests a practice now universal. Nations project themselves on the international scene in various ways. These extend from the daily work of press officers, to what might be called "cultural export" such as the visit of an orchestra or an exhibition of pictures abroad. The division between information and cultural exchanges between states is indeed often blurred; in the following pages we shall deal with both since the projection of Canada abroad through all available channels must be in the nature of a combined operation.

3. All nations now recognize as public responsibilities both the issue of information about themselves and cultural exchanges with other states. Canada is assuming these responsibilities along with her new international importance and certain departments and agencies of the Federal Government are actively engaged in this task. It is obvious that the Canadian voice is listened to most attentively when the hearer has some familiarity with the Canadian scene and with Canadian achievements. The promotion abroad of a knowledge of Canada is not a luxury but an obligation and a more generous policy in this field would have important results, both concrete and intangible. Information about Canada as a nation serves to stimulate our international trade, and to attract tourists and desirable immigrants.

In its conclusions regarding the conduct of information abroad, the Commission supported the continuance and expansion of the CBC International Service and the provision to the National Film Board of further funds for greater distribution of Canadian films abroad. A more particular proposal was: "That where special films are required for the instruction or enlightenment

of countries abroad, these films be prepared in close cooperation with the Department of Government concerned, normally the Department of External Affairs".

The final conclusions of the Report regarding the information efforts of this Department were phrased in these paragraphs: (13)

9. We have mentioned that the Information Service of the Department of External Affairs needs to be expanded even in countries such as Great Britain and the United States. The gravest lack is that of competent information or press officers. Compared with her neighbours, Canada is very inadequately represented. No amount of printed material or of special cables can take the place of able and experienced information officers. They know the newspapers and the newspapermen of the country to which they are posted; they understand what is wanted and how it should be presented. By gaining confidence and friendship they can do much to ensure a fair and accurate presentation of Canadian life, of Canadian policy and of the Canadian point of view.

10. We have noted also the need for more printed and mimeographed material in more languages and for a more generous provision for the libraries of diplomatic posts abroad. We therefore recommend:

f) that the Department of External Affairs increase materially the number of press and information officers employed in posts abroad.

g) that the Department make additional provision of mimeographed and printed material for distribution abroad, and of books for use in diplomatic posts.

It may be judged from the preceding pages just how much effect the thinking and conclusions of the Royal Commission had on the executive and administrative decisions

of the Department with regard to information abroad. From the record and from the memory of those involved at the time, these and other positive recommendations for more resources for more and better information activity fell into a deep pool, with no observed ripple.

Information for Canadians about external relations. Although this subject is not the theme of the present paper, the work of the Information Division was so involved with both information for foreigners and information for Canadians, frequently using the same people and some of the same material for both markets, that some account of this often time-consuming activity seems called for. Although the W.I.B. had had a very large, perhaps its principal, role in bringing information to Canadians, neither its successor, the C.I.S., nor the Information Division of External Affairs were given any explicit authority for such a domestic role but were enjoined to carry the Canadian message to foreign parts. Nevertheless, they, and the subsequent enlarged Information Division proceeded on the assumption that the Canadian press and public had a right to have their questions about international affairs answered and to learn what the Government was planning and doing in this field on behalf of the citizen and taxpayer. There would appear to have been no contrary voice and programs of domestic information became habitual, normal services.

Yes

Response to enquiries by Canadians was, of course, a primary duty which no government department would or could avoid. Very early on, reference materials had been prepared and circulated; these both served to help answer questions and also to expand somewhat the resources for people who might wish to extend their knowledge of the international field. A Treaty Series was published for the interest of juridical scholars and others, lists of Canada's overseas representatives were developed to meet enquiries, etc. The institution of press conferences and briefings on Canadian foreign policy and relations was begun before the end of the war and the Department undertook the Monthly Bulletin, "External Affairs," which, in origin, was essentially a reference periodical which listed treaties and official appointments and either quoted or made reference to Ministerial statements dealing with external affairs. This document was circulated both at home and abroad but its primary purpose was to help develop knowledge of and interest in international affairs among Canadians. The Bulletin also was intended to bring useful information to Canadians serving at posts abroad. A few people, even at that time, felt the need for more than a purely factual reference repository and thought that articles of comment should be published for Canadians in one form or another. In a memorandum of February 7, 1947,<sup>(14)</sup> the author wrote

to G. C. Andrew expressing a preference for two separate publications, one to be the Bulletin, a source of factual material, the other a periodical containing articles about foreign affairs:

However, I would be firmly opposed to expanding the Bulletin, as such, to include articles on external policy written in the Department or posts abroad. It is intended to be a factual record of departmental business and developments and has a considerable value for this purpose.

For a long time we have felt the need to produce a periodical, monthly or initially, perhaps, quarterly which would contain articles on developments in Canada's international relations. This, in my opinion, should be a separate publication from the Bulletin which would continue to be restricted in distribution and intended only for the regular use of the Service.

Certainly the aim of a new publication of the type mentioned should be to develop an informed public opinion in Canada on Canada's international relations. The eventual recipients, therefore, should be persons in Canada able to disseminate information and form public opinion.

However, the type of publication contemplated would have to be absolutely top-flight and I think it would take time to achieve the required standard. If such a publication were to be undertaken, I feel it would be necessary to circulate it at first only to Missions and these would be asked, most humbly, for full and honest criticism. After a reasonable testing period (perhaps a period of six months for a monthly or a year for a quarterly) we might expect to have got the bugs out of it and could think of presenting it to the public.

Finally, I cannot think of any more important task that this Information Division could perform.

...

(More than twenty years later, the author was able to realize something like this idea with the conception and inception of "International Perspectives.")

In a memorandum of December 16, 1954, Miss Laura Beattie recorded the history of the Department's information work within Canada. She noted the expansion of the Bulletin early in 1948 and a small circulation outside the Department which included a few members of Parliament and of the press. A memorandum of May 27<sup>(15)</sup> from Mr. Pearson to Mr. St. Laurent outlined the reasons for the new expansion.

It is planned to increase the distribution of this publication to the public in line with your often stated belief that the government should do more to inform public opinion about foreign affairs . . . This improved monthly publication is intended for reasonably wide distribution at home and abroad.

You have said publicly that experience has shown that individual government announcements are not linked in the public mind to give the overall picture of conditions in the world today, and that Canadians should be given more authoritative information about international affairs.

In 1949 there was a debate in the House on external affairs and on November 16, Mr. Gordon Graydon, official opposition spokesman responded to Mr. Pearson's final paragraph:

In his closing sentences the Minister intimated that the people of Canada must have a deep knowledge of External Affairs. I heartily agree with that statement because we cannot hope to have the informed and intelligent

support of the people of Canada in our foreign policies unless the people are informed constantly, continuously and fully as to the facts and conditions upon which the government bases these policies . . . I think there is an urgent need to build up an effective and intelligent Canadian opinion on world affairs from one end of Canada to the other. . . .

We should know what is going on outside this nation through information coming from governmental sources. We should know further what the government may decide from time to time they are going to do about it.

With these sentiments Mr. Pearson, of course, agreed and added: "In a democracy foreign policy must be based on intelligent public opinion. Public opinion will not be intelligent unless it is informed. It will not be informed if the government does not take the people into its confidence in this field to the greatest possible extent."

Later years produced no more specific authority for "domestic information" but the Department clearly felt it had the mandate and has continued to expand the informative and educational services about foreign relations for the use of the Canadian public.

Cultural Affairs in the 1950s. If the purely informational work of the Information Division stayed largely in the doldrums during the decade up to 1960, the same cannot be said of the cultural relations work which went through a period of considerable ferment and growth. The chief impetus for this came, of course, from the



appointment in 1949 and subsequent proceedings of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. And, later in the decade, one of the chief products of the Massey Commission, the Canada Council, provided the essential underpinning for effective international cultural relations, a domestic resource base.

The terms of reference of the Massey Commission did not specifically call for study and consideration of Canada's foreign cultural relations. However, there was a requirement for examination of "methods by which the relations of Canada with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and with other organizations operating in this field may be conducted." And there was Mr. St. Laurent's letter of April 25, 1950, asking the Commission to offer advice on "Methods for the purpose of making available to the people of foreign countries adequate information concerning Canada." Whatever the formal requirements, it would appear that Mr. Massey from the outset felt a responsibility to look into and report upon Canada's cultural relations abroad. In a memorandum of June 23, 1949,<sup>(16)</sup> Mr. Heeney, then Under-Secretary, wrote to Mr. Léon Mayrand, Assistant Under-Secretary:

The terms of reference of the Massey Commission require the Commissioners to examine and report upon cultural relations with other countries. It was at one time

contemplated that the Commission would also report upon Canadian information abroad. It may still be that the Commission's terms of reference will be added to in this sense. In any event their studies are bound to touch upon "informational" activities in other countries, such as film distribution, traveling exhibitions of paintings, visits abroad by Canadian musicians and so forth.

Mr. Vincent Massey called on me the other day and asked whether this Department could give the Commission some assistance in this field. He suggested that a "confidential study" might be produced for the information and guidance of the Commissioners.

I told Mr. Massey that I felt that a general study covering the whole field would hardly be practicable. We would, however, be glad to review the considerable material which we have on our own files and provide the Commission with whatever information might be useful. I said that I knew you would be happy to be of assistance in this matter and suggested that you get in touch with Day, the Secretary to the Commission, to see what can best be done. . . .

Mr. Heeney's promised response took some six months in the preparation and was basically a memorandum worked up by Paul Tremblay with the assistance of Blair Seaborn. The reply, for some reason not now quite clear, was in the form of a "Personal and Confidential" letter from Mr. Heeney to Mr. Massey, dated January 19, 1950.<sup>(17)</sup> This letter, which gives a picture of the activities and problems on the cultural front at that time, is attached as an appendix. It is an interesting recital of the work that was being done and the work which should be done but which could not be undertaken for reasons stated. The Departmental responsibility for government relations with

UNESCO and for relating UNESCO to the various Canadian groups and associations concerned with that organization had been tackled with some effectiveness although the lack of a central office of education hampered the work. In other areas, the chief shortfall in resources did not lie in the administrative or financial area but quite simply in the lack of any solid central cultural bureaucracy upon which the Department could call in order to carry out programs abroad. This deficiency frustrated efforts in the fields of educational enquiries, allocation of scholarships, exchange of professors and students, assistance to Canadian artists, exhibitions of art, etc.

The letter expressed some doubt that the time was ripe for Canada to launch a full cultural program abroad: "Canada's prestige in other countries being generally high, our basic political and commercial objectives can be achieved without recourse to intensive activities of this kind. It is doubtful, moreover, that such an undertaking would receive enough support from the public to obtain the necessary financial backing." The letter ends with an expression of faith that some sort of central cultural body might eliminate the difficulties that prevent Canada from developing an international program of cultural exchange:

It will be apparent that the above-mentioned difficulties are not primarily of a financial and

administrative nature. Personally, I think that they stem from the fact that there exists, at the moment, no co-ordinating body concerned with the broad understanding of Canada's intellectual and cultural life to which the Department could turn for expert and authoritative guidance. It seems obvious that the Department cannot be expected to fulfill the functions of a federal Department of Education nor to be the spokesman of Canadian scientific and cultural organizations which, so far, have done little to co-ordinate their efforts in this new field.

I realize, of course, the difficulties under our constitutional set-up of organizing a body which would be responsible for certain activities many of which fall so clearly under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments. I am convinced, however, that the existence of such an organization would enable the Department to present more effectively abroad a worthy picture of Canadian achievements in the various fields of culture.

Informal contacts between the Department and the Commission's secretariat were frequent and supplemented the various written communications. The Commission was indebted to the Department for a large volume of information and documentation about the ways in which other countries organized their systems of cultural stimulation and development. This had involved the Department in a rather widespread dialogue with posts abroad and this by itself tended to whet departmental interest in the whole field of cultural relations.

The Report of the Massey Commission discussed the problems of international cultural relations for Canada on pages 261-262. "The problem which has occupied

most of our attention (i.e. in the projection of Canada abroad) is the development of cultural exchanges. These exchanges are valuable from the political point of view in creating a proper understanding of Canada abroad, but are also important, as we have said, in promoting the normal development of Canadian cultural life. We . . . have been forced to the conclusion that our cultural exchanges are still in an elementary and indeed in almost a non-existent stage." The comment goes on to note the difficulties, in the absence of a central Canadian organization, for External Affairs in responding to inquiries, about Canadian educational facilities, for the development of educational exchanges and scholarships, exchanges of scholars and students, organization of international seminars, etc. Similarly in the field of arts and letters, the Department was not in a position to arrange for foreign manifestations in the visual and performing arts nor for exchanges of persons in the fields of art and literature. The Massey Commission, like the Department, considered that the answer lay in the creation of a central body which would have expert capacity in the fields of education, the arts, humanities and social sciences which would be supportive of the external dimension of Canadian cultural life. The relevant recommendation was phrased in these terms:

That a body be created to be known as the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences to stimulate and to help voluntary organizations within these fields, to foster Canada's cultural relations abroad, to perform the functions of a national commission for UNESCO, and to devise and administer a system of scholarships as recommended in Chapter XXII.

It took about six years of gestation before the Canada Council became a reality. During this period the Department played a very active role in developing concepts for its function, partly because it was a vital requirement if the Department's cultural activities were to be conducted rationally and effectively and partly because the Minister, Mr. Pearson, was chairman of the Cabinet Committee in charge of planning the nature and work of this new organization. Eventually, the Canada Council Act received Royal Assent on March 28, 1957, and the basic prerequisite for a significant program of international cultural activities was in place. Section 8 (1) of the Act provided that the Council might:

e) exchange with other countries or organizations or persons therein knowledge and information respecting the arts, humanities and social sciences;

f) arrange for representation and interpretation of Canadian arts, humanities and social sciences in other countries.

Within this framework, coupled with the Department's general responsibility for conducting external relations, a positive and fruitful partnership

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began which has grown and flourished. From this time forward, the cultural relations work of the Department, within the Information Division, began to assume greater importance and larger proportions, gradually taking on shape as a semi-autonomous Section of the Division. However, the burden of the Department in this sector was considerably relieved by the responsibility allocated to the Council for substantial areas of work connected with Canada's membership in UNESCO. While the Department retained full responsibility for participation in that organization, as in other specialized agencies of the U.N., the Council took over the establishment of a National Commission for UNESCO and most of the liaison with Canadian bodies interested in the work of UNESCO.

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## CHAPTER VII

Although the cultural side of the Department's work made great strides ahead in the period 1960 to 1966, the information programs remained at a relatively constant level. However, if the development of information programs abroad showed little dynamism or growth, it was not from lack of departmental or governmental attention. The Information Division and its organization and activities were successively surveyed and examined by the Royal Commission on Government Organization, by the Department's Inspection Services and by the author, at that time Inspector General. The first and third studies aimed to be comprehensive, while the Inspection Services survey was directed more narrowly to questions of organization and method.

The Royal Commission on Government Organization, more familiarly known as the Glassco Commission, was appointed in September, 1960, and presented its report to Cabinet on December 3, 1962. It was charged ". . . to inquire into and report upon the organization and methods of the departments and agencies of the Government of Canada and to recommend the changes therein which they consider would best promote efficiency and improved

service in the despatch of public business. . . ."

The team examining External Affairs for the Commission was led by Professor Maxwell Cohen and the special group looking at the Department's information services was headed by Mr. Carl Reinke and Mr. G. H. Lash. The report on these information services is to be found in Volume 3 of the Commission's Report which is entitled: "Supporting Services for Government." Chapter 3 of this volume deals with Information Services Abroad.

The examination of the work of the Information Division and its activities abroad demanded the provision of a great deal of information which was supplied to the officers of the Royal Commission through continuing consultation and a great deal of written documentation. The Commission at first concentrated on programs in progress in the fiscal year 1961-62 and plans for 1962-63 and later surveyed a longer span of time. This service to the Commission began in March of 1961 and continued at fairly high volume into 1962; it dealt with broad questions of information policy, of program execution and planning, of goals and objectives and with a wide variety of more detailed questions on organization, financing, specific programming and staffing, channels of communication, length of working days and overtime, counts of telegrams and letters, etc. One of the more interesting pieces of detail (and one which the Commission seized upon in its Report) was provided

to Mr. Lash by Mr. Norman Berlis, then Head of the Information Division, in a memorandum of September 20, 1961.<sup>(1)</sup> To this was attached a list of Heads or Acting Heads of the Information Division since 1945:

January 1945-February 1947	T.W.L.MacDernith
February 1947-July 1947	G.C.Andrew
August 1947-March 1949	S.F.Rae
April 1949-September 1950	A.C.Anderson
October 1950-May 1951	Paul Tremblay
June 1951-August 1952	A.A.Day
September 1952-March 1953	E.H.Norman
April 1953-May 1953	Paul Malone
June 1953-October 1954	T.F.M.Newton
November 1954-August 1955	A.A.Day
September 1955-May 1957	A.J.Andrew
June 1957-November 1957	W.Olivier
December 1957-February 1958	E.R.Bellemare
March 1958-August 1958	T.F.M.Newton
September 1958-January 1960	E.R.Bellemare
February 1960-	N.F.H.Berlis.

Small wonder that this record of 16 tenancies in 15 years caught the eye of the Glassco Commission, for it is a manifestation of the difficulties that a rotational service finds in providing reasonable continuity of function and also--it is hard to deny the conclusion--a sign that senior departmental judgment assigned less importance to the staffing of the information function than to other personnel requirements. It may, as well, suggest that the post itself, in terms of career advancement, was not considered profitable in career terms, by the incumbents. A memorandum for Mr. Lash of September 21, 1961,<sup>(2)</sup> gives a list of full time information cultural officers at

posts abroad. It shows:

Paris	1 Minister-Counsellor
Bonn	1 First Secretary
New Delhi	1 Second Secretary
Tokyo	1 Third Secretary
London	1 Counsellor
	1 Press Attaché
Washington	1 Minister-Counsellor (Information)
	1 Attaché (Information)
New York	3 Consuls
Consulate General Permanent Mission to UN	1 Counsellor (Press)

On November 11, 1961, Mr. Lash was handed a more detailed memorandum<sup>(3)</sup> on the programs conducted by the Information Division. This paper contained a statement called "Objectives of Information Programmes":

1) to provide accurate information about any aspect of the history, economy, society, culture or current Government policies of Canada in which foreigners may be interested and, within the limits of its resources, to take the initiative in presenting to foreigners the information on these matters which it believes would help develop an accurate and, if possible, friendly understanding of Canada,

2) in order to accomplish the objectives described above, to use all available information material through any appropriate channels . . .

This unsatisfactory statement appears to ignore entirely past, accurate definitions of objectives such as those set down by Mr. Day. It proposed knowledge, understanding and goodwill as ends in themselves rather than as means to serve Canadian national interests and Government policies. If the Commission's report failed, as it did, to hit the mark, it seems possible that the

absence of a balanced statement to it of policy objectives in information abroad may have been a contributory factor.

In the wake of a long series of consultations which investigated details of program and organization and after receipt of a mass of documentation, Mr. Reinke provided a draft report on the Information Division to its Head, Mr. Berliss. This draft report had been prepared by Mr. Lash. It is fair to say that this draft more than fluttered the departmental dovescotes and thoroughly aroused and alarmed the Information Division. Certainly the optic of the Commission's research team was very different from that of the Department in terms of the desirable scope and scale of Information programs: the concept of resources to be made available was more that of business corporations which looked to profits accruing from wide and effective publicity than to governmental operations whose results were much less susceptible to measurement. The defects of the draft report were those of intuitive, rather than factually founded and logically connected, conclusions. There were errors of fact, of course, but Messrs. Reinke and Lash offered the opportunity for their amendment. It is well open to question whether the research team had found a reasoned and defensible set of priorities and this may well have resulted from the notable lack of definition of prime purposes and objectives in the team's draft report (and, as suggested

earlier, this may have been the result of failure of the Department to offer the Commission this sort of philosophy). However, despite its faults, the draft urged a very considerable expansion of activity and of the resources to support them. It was a rare opportunity for the Information Division to press the true validity and utility of its programs upon departmental management and the Treasury and to claim a greater share of departmental money and manpower resources. One can only conclude from direct evidence that the opportunity was muffed.

A memorandum of December 15, 1961,<sup>(4)</sup> to the Under-Secretary from the Head of the Information Division reveals the nature and tone of the reaction to the Commission's draft report on information activities. It would not be unfair to characterize it as negative, defensive and querulous. It also failed signally to show conviction that a great deal more needed to be done in the field of information abroad and that the draft report, however faulty, should be amended, developed and exploited as a means to approach a future of greater, more effective achievement by the information services in the national interest. The memorandum attaches a detailed commentary, paragraph by paragraph, which runs to 21 pages but a selection of comments from the memorandum itself will serve to demonstrate the

attitude of the Division:

. . . 2. I am attaching comments of Mr. Williamson and myself on the Lash report. These comments were prepared to clarify our own ideas before discussing the report with Messrs. Reinke and Lash, but we did not give the Commission any comments in writing.

3. In the draft study Mr. Lash makes clear his view, which is shared by Mr. Reinke, that External Affairs should have a more powerful information service, a larger budget, and increased staff with "professional" training. I should not have been dissatisfied if the Commission had produced evidence and argument to justify the need for a larger information service, with correspondingly larger budget and staff; but as drafted the report disturbs me greatly for two reasons:

a) It contains almost no reasons for a larger information service, except that the writer takes it for granted that this would be desirable; and

b) Our present activities are judged not in accordance with existing policy regarding the nature and size of our information effort, but rather in accordance with a quite different, more expansive and more generous policy which the report will presumably recommend.

4. I am particularly bothered by the second point. Although the report describes the officers of the Division as intelligent and industrious, and apparently considers all our programmes--albeit too modest--to be desirable, yet with remarkable lack of logic other parts of the report sweep away everything now being done as worthless, badly organized and unprofessional. In other words, we are criticized for not doing what we do not have mandate, money or staff to do. This seems to me to be not only illogical, but unfair to the Department and to the Division.

5. On short notice one day last week it was arranged that Mr. Williamson and I would see Messrs. Reinke and Lash that evening. We were with them from 7 p.m. until 12.30.

6. To begin our discussion I explained that the pressures in Information Division were increasing, and I therefore considered that a larger budget and staff were needed; but that because of the difficulty in producing tangible evidence of need or of accomplishment in the information field, it had not been possible to put forward arguments for more than very modest improvements. I therefore welcomed, and cooperated fully with, the Glassco Commission's study of our Division for I hoped that we might eventually be able to use the Commission's findings and recommendations as a basis for seeking greater resources.

7. But I had to add that in all frankness, I was disappointed in the draft study, for it seemed to me that it criticized present operations for not being of a quite different kind for which we had neither authority nor resources. This in my opinion was unfair to the Department. And this placed me in the position in which I did not at all want to be, when I felt that I needed to defend our existing activities because I considered that the report as a whole gave the impression of Departmental inefficiency and lethargy unsubstantiated by evidence. It would thus be difficult to limit comment on the draft study to factual inaccuracy, because I considered that the structure of the report, no doubt unwittingly, presented an inaccurate impression of what was now being done, in Ottawa and in all our Missions around the world. . . .

10. I particularly pointed out as misleading certain passages which implied that the Department was not giving Information Division the resources to do a bigger job, and I explained that budget and establishment were matters for which the Government took responsibility. . . . I urged that an effort be made to avoid the impression that the Department was at fault in matters beyond its control.

It is not the intention to relate the detailed comments of the Information Division on the draft report or the paragraphs of the report itself. However, people



within and without the Department may wish to savour and mull over one specific observation in the draft report (one which startled the author):

Although our Ambassadors and others of comparable rank hold prestige positions in the public mind everywhere, and could be used as valuable vehicles of public expression, they are, on the whole, a tongue-tied lot except at conference tables . . . /17

The Report of the Royal Commission was presented to the Governor General in Council on December 3, 1962, and released to the public and to government departments on January 1963. In a memorandum to the Under-Secretary of January 3, <sup>(5)</sup> Mr. G. H. Southam, by this time Head of the Information Division, reported: "I have already passed on to you the rumour I heard last week that the third report (i.e. Volume 3) of the Glassco Commission, which will deal with the Government information services, is expected to come out early next week. I have been assured that the report now bears no resemblance to the early draft which Mr. Berlis was shown about a year ago." This seems, indeed, to have been the case and the draft, if not completely transformed, had been drastically edited and domesticated, to the chagrin and indignation of the authors. Nevertheless, the Department was given no room for satisfaction or complacency about what the Commission did eventually have to say about its information services. Their discussion is to be found in Volume 3,

Part 13, Chapter 3, beginning at page 73 of the 3rd volume. The Commission devoted considerable attention to the question of interdepartmental coordination of information work abroad, to the relationship of the Information Division with information officers abroad, to domestic press relations and, of course, to departmental organization and structuring of its information apparatus. The whole Chapter, covering the information work of all government departments and agencies, consists of only seven pages, of which four are devoted to External Affairs. The product can only be characterized as superficial, inadequate and unrewarding, despite all good intentions and a great deal of hard work by the research team.

The primary and central defect of the report was its lack of analysis and description of policy, purposes and objectives of the activity whose organization and management was under examination. Without such a statement it becomes difficult to know whether the unstated objectives were being well or ill served. The following excerpts contain the total policy prescriptions for information work abroad:

Speaking for Canada is a very different task from speaking to Canada. The general canons of honesty and good taste apply to both, but the government's information activities abroad must pursue aims differing from those of its domestic services.

The authority of the government stops at the boundaries of Canada. Beyond that point Canada can promote its interests only by persuasion and, if it is to play its full part in world affairs and enjoy the trading position essential to Canadian prosperity, it must be heard and understood abroad. Moreover, the continuing growth of Canada depends, to a significant extent, on its ability to attract investment capital and people. It is therefore necessary to project a consistent image of Canada to the world, portraying in proper balance its character, purposes, resources and opportunities.

The report, following these introductory, "policy" comments, turned its attention to inter-departmental coordination. Noting that in 1956 the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad had been reconstituted, with provision for monthly meetings of representatives of appropriate departments and agencies at the level of Divisional Director of Information and for annual meetings at Deputy Minister level, the report states:

The results have been disappointing. The annual meetings of Deputy Ministers failed to materialize, and the Interdepartmental Committee has met infrequently, sometimes not more than three times in a year. The minutes disclose little discussion of principles or high purposes; instead they have centred on such minutiae as the size of a flag to be included in a speaker's kit . . . Few departmental information directors now attend meetings . . . The results of this failure are all too evident abroad.

There followed a short series of instances where one hand of government information service abroad was unaware of the dealings of another hand. The commentary

on the information role of External Affairs, specifically, begins with criticism of staffing practices:

In the seventeen years since the Information Division was established in the Department of External Affairs, there have been fourteen successive Directors. In one calendar year no fewer than twenty-three staff changes were made. The shortage of information service experience among the staff can hardly be defended on the ground that greater importance is attached to departmental experience, for at the time of this inquiry officers were being posted to the Division with only one month's experience in the Department. Career foreign service officers regard service in the Division, if not as a penance, at least as an episode to be endured.

Next, the report commented on what, it considered, constituted an anomaly, since the Information Division was responsible for interdepartmental coordination while the separate Liaison Services Section (the successor to the combined Press Office and Political Coordination Section) had the task of liaison with the CBC International Service; moreover, these two units were not housed in the same building and did not respond to the same Assistant Under-Secretary. The next port-of-call was the Cultural Relations Section of the Information Division. It was noted that this Section conducted liaison with the cultural agencies of government and with a bewildering array of provincial and other cultural and educational organizations from coast to coast, as well as for Canadian relations with UNESCO. Under these liaison burdens and with inadequate staff in the Section

the result was "that current efforts to project Canadian cultural achievements to other countries can only be described as pitiful."

In its discussion of the work done by Information Officers abroad, the report noted that full time I.O.s were stationed at six posts but that only three of these were "professionals by training and experience" which meant journalistic or public relations training and experience. At most other posts, the information work was conducted by part-time officers with other functions to perform. No mention was made at any time in the report of the valuable locally-engaged information staff at posts. The main prescription to remedy what the Commission thought was an inadequate performance was to leave Information Officers at posts for much longer tours of duty and to provide them with better information materials from headquarters:

The employment of information officers abroad, however can only achieve its purpose if they are given the support from Ottawa needed in their work. Full-time information officers in major posts are being frustrated by the lack of a continuous and timely flow of background information concerning Canadian affairs. Equally frustrating are the lack of notice of government moves likely to attract attention abroad, and the dearth of any general directives concerning Canadian aims.

Finally, the report concentrates on domestic information and the unsatisfactory relations between

the Department and the press in Canada. The discussion of this in the report contains more specific advice than found in other parts of the analysis:

The information task in Ottawa cannot be discharged adequately by coldly factual releases. There is an urgent need for a focal point where newsmen can get background data and official comment. The Departmental officer responsible need not be an experienced pressman, but information experience is clearly desirable and he should have a sympathetic understanding of the problems of newsmen, tempering infinite discretion with ready approachability. Needless to say, he must be well informed on all aspects of policy and operations, sensitive to the nuances of diplomacy, and permitted to use his discretion.

After the months of preparation of material and detailed consultation within the Department and hard work by the Commission's research team in an unfamiliar and confusing milieu, the Glassco Report finally made only one formal recommendation on information abroad:

We therefore recommend that: The Information Division and Liaison Services of the Department of External Affairs be re-organized under a senior officer responsible to the Under-Secretary, this officer to serve as chairman of the Inter-departmental Committee on Information Services Abroad with responsibility for its reinvigoration.

What a mountain, what a mouse!

The first departmental reaction to the published Report came from Mr. Southam in a memorandum to the Under-Secretary of January 7, 1963. (6)

His general reaction was:

The report, as far as Chapter 3 is concerned, is unfortunately not a good one. It is a considerably watered down version of the original report of which we caught a glimpse nearly a year ago, and shows every sign of having been written and re-written by several people who were not entirely in agreement as to what was wanted. It contains some useful information and makes several valid criticisms, but its analysis of the malfunctioning of our information services is quite inadequate.

Mr. Southam fully agreed with recommendations that the Information Division and the Liaison Services should be better coordinated at a senior level and that the Interdepartmental Committee should be reinvigorated.

However:

What I find particularly disappointing is the lack of any indication as to how the necessary reinvigoration of our information work abroad is to be achieved. Quite obviously, it can only be achieved if this Division and Liaison Services Section are staffed in a stronger and more permanent way, if this Division's information and cultural budget is vastly increased, and if more of our posts abroad are provided with officers for full-time work on information and cultural affairs. I had hoped that the Commission might find it possible to say so.

It is apparent that the Information Division at this point had recovered its vocational ambition and was prepared to seek resources for a larger and more effective program. Following departmental discussions, a fuller departmental analysis and conclusions were set out in an undated memorandum (apparently in April 1963) by Arthur Mathewson of the Under-Secretary's Central

Staff. With regard to the Commission's comments on the reorganization of Information Division and Liaison Services, he remarked:

The Commissioners seem to have failed to appreciate the historical and practical reasons for the separation of the "Press Office" from the Information Division. Indeed the section of the chapter dealing with the Information Division reveals the approach of the commercially oriented public relations officer with little understanding of or sympathy for the operation of a cultural relations programme as a vehicle for developing an atmosphere in international relations conducive to the advancement of long term as well as immediate national interests.

This memorandum proceeded to examine the pros and cons of effecting a merger of the Information Division and Liaison Services to create an enlarged Division with three branches--an information branch, both domestic and overseas, a branch for liaison with government departments and agencies interested in information abroad and a cultural relations branch. The conclusion was that: "This would amount, in effect, to turning the clock back with some potentially difficult consequences. On the other hand, it would serve to concentrate certain activities that are at present performed separately with a small amount of duplication." On balance, the conclusion was that the Liaison Services functions would better be kept separate but that it be renamed "Press and Liaison Division." The Information Division should be titled "Information and Cultural Relations



Division." And both should report to the same Assistant Under-Secretary. This latter stipulation, however, was not regarded as very significant by the Department: "While no positive good seemed likely to result from such a reallocation of supervisory responsibilities, this would demonstrate the Department's willingness to implement the recommendations of the Glassco Commission insofar as it is in our power to do so and is not likely to produce undesirable consequences." With regard to recommendations about revitalizing the Interdepartmental Committee, the Mathewson memorandum did not expect much improvement unless the Committee were served by an adequate secretariat. He remarked on "a tacit agreement among members of the (Interdepartmental) Committee that in the absence of the staff necessary to make this particular piece of interdepartmental coordinating machinery work, important items of a controversial nature would not be introduced into the Committee. It was accepted that this should be so simply because there was no alternative . . ." He further noted that whatever coordination could be effected was done by External Affairs without the help of the Committee. In line with the Commission's recommendations on coordination, the departmental proposals put forward by Mr. Mathewson were:

a) The Committee should be given new terms of reference and should number among its members a representative of the Treasury Board Staff. It should also be understood by all members of the Committee that funds would not be made available for any information programme abroad unless that programme had been approved by the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad.

b) Authority should be sought to add a position to the establishment of the Information Division to provide for a full time secretary of the Committee . . .

c) There should be a major increase in the funds available for information work of the Department so as to permit an expansion of present information and cultural relations programmes and the establishment of some new ones.

Recommendation c) was later elaborated to suggest a budget increase of one-quarter to one-third and an establishment increase of four positions. These proposals went forward to the Under-Secretary under the signature of Marcel Cadieux, Deputy Under-Secretary, in a memorandum of August 19, 1963.<sup>(7)</sup> The Under-Secretary's decisions were conveyed in a memorandum of September 3, 1963<sup>(8)</sup> by Mr. Mathewson. It marked approval for the changed titles: "Information and Cultural Relations Division" and "Press and Liaison Division" and provided that both should report to the same Assistant Under-Secretary. It further provided that the representative of the Finance Department (normally from the Treasury Board Branch as it was then) on the Interdepartmental Committee should "be responsible for ascertaining committee approval of individual departmental programmes."

It also approved addition of a position to the Information Division to act as Secretary to the Interdepartmental Committee. This authority from the Under-Secretary (Mr. Norman Robertson) conspicuously failed to include approval of increasing the resources for information services.

A further review of the Information Division, this time of a more restricted nature, was completed in April of 1963 by Miss Marian Macpherson of the Department's Inspection Services. This examination related essentially to the organization of the Information Division, its procedures and its staffing. The survey clearly identified shortage of staff as the chief disability under which the Division laboured but it also made recommendations on restructuring of the Division for greater effectiveness. To relieve the heavy strain on personnel, this report recommended immediate filling of long-vacant positions for two officers and two clerks. But the need was demonstrated for new positions to meet the workload and the addition of ten new positions was recommended: four officers (three of these for the Cultural Relations Section), 2 Editors, one clerk and three stenographers. The Division and the Department espoused these proposals but considerably less was achieved in the establishment for 1964-65. The establishment for that fiscal year, as recommended, in December 1963 by a committee consisting of representatives

of the Department, the Civil Service Commission and the Treasury Board Staff, provided for 3 new positions--2 officers and 1 clerk. Mr. Cadieux' memorandum on these recommendations<sup>(9)</sup> noted that they were not immutable and that there would be consideration of further establishment proposals submitted by posts and divisions. However, the Treasury Board had given notice that establishments for 1964-65 would be governed by the numbers contained in current establishments, although organizational changes and reclassifications could be accommodated. The Department had decided to concentrate on recruitment and bringing the establishment up to full strength rather than to seek new positions of any volume. The Treasury Board ordained that a rather special establishment review was to be conducted for 1964-65, in that the Departmental Review would, for the first time, be carried out by program (e.g. Information, Consular, Administrative, etc.) rather than by collecting the total needs of each division and post. Once again the Information Division, undermanned as usual, was required to divert its forces to compilation of masses of program explanation, staff duties descriptions, etc. This large-scale exercise does not appear, from evidence on the files consulted, to have yielded any further personnel resources than those proposed the previous December. The Information Division was free from further searching studies and surveys until early in 1966.

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Policy and Programs 1960-1966. Over the years, a considerable contribution to the information and cultural activity of the Department was made by Mr. Marcel Cadieux, as desk officer, as Assistant Under-Secretary with supervisory responsibilities for information, as Deputy Under-Secretary without direct responsibility in this field, but with a sympathetic ear for its problems and opportunities, and finally as Under-Secretary. As Deputy Under-Secretary he was asked to speak to the Sixteenth Annual Conference on Canadian Information Abroad at Montebello on November 8, 1962. (Text of the address is to be found in External Affairs Supplementary Paper No. 62/10 of 1962.)<sup>(10)</sup> Much of this is devoted, in philosophical vein, to the requirements and limitations, largely imposed by our political system, of the provision of government information to the Canadian people. When he turned to discussion of information abroad and the Department's role, Mr. Cadieux made a valuable exposition of policy and program and provided a reasonably detailed description of the framework within which the Department's information work was conducted. The nature of the audience and the timing of the address must certainly have influenced the way in which he cast his remarks. The Montebello Conference, made up largely of public relations men and other labourers in the field of the "communication arts" had been an annual ritual of

berating External Affairs for its failure, real and imagined, to conduct successful and big programs of information abroad. The date of the event was just before the expected release of the Glassco Commission Report, which, Mr. Cadieux had good reason to expect, would have some scathing comment to make on this sector of the Department's work. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that he had prepared a defensive, but certainly not apologetic, case. The exposition was, in the main, objective but it was larded here and there with statements which, even at the time, could have been regarded as somewhat disingenuous. (When he stated: "I am glad to say that we assign to this Division our very best officers" and proceeded to name a number of first-class officers who had headed the Division, he chose to ignore a general in-house recognition that the cross-section quality of the Division would not sustain such a claim. When he pointed out that the Information Division was one of the largest in the Department with a staff of 34, including a dozen officers, he failed to note that the staff had shown no growth in fourteen years as compared with a massive growth of the Department as a whole. Again, the blame for the limitations on resources for information he laid squarely on the Treasury board and Civil Service Commission, whereas

there is a real question as to whether it was not the priorities of departmental management which caused the Department to press less strongly for resources for information than for other sectors. But Mr. Cadieux put the best departmental foot forward and made an impressive contribution which merits quotation in extenso:

. . . While information work cannot be the essential part of any foreign-office operations, I can assure you that it is a very important part of our activities. It can, however, only be developed within the framework of general government financial and other policies. Information work in our Department is therefore fully integrated with our other activities. . . .

To the extent that information activities at any particular post are sufficient to justify the assignment of a full-time specialist, an effort is made to appoint one. We now have such information specialists at Washington, London, New York and Paris. This, I understand, will continue as our missions grow and as information work at certain missions becomes a full-time operation.

The general rule, however, in our service is that information and cultural work is not a matter for a few specialists but it is the responsibility of all our officers at all our missions. . . .

This integrated approach of ours is necessary partly because of the general Civil Service Commission regulations, which provide for promotions as a result of increased responsibilities. On our establishment, we are a small service; we do not have many missions where we can justify the employment of full-time information officers. If we recruited information specialists, their career opportunities would be limited. Furthermore, experience has shown that such information specialists as do join our service

may sooner or later wish to become general political officers. . . . Consequently we have discovered over the years that, except in a few particular assignments, it is often as effective to train FSOs to the requirements of information work as it is to turn information specialists into political officers. . . .

There is a highly important point to establish here, which will serve to summarize what I have been trying to say about integration in our service. External Affairs' need is not so much for information personnel and material for its own sake but for the various information means of achieving political ends. The emphasis in our Department is necessarily on the relationship between information and external policy. The ability to connect the two is of the essence. . . .

Next, I wish to stress the importance of information work in our service. The Information Division and its budget are substantial in terms of our overall operations. Among its total staff of 34, there are a dozen officers, making it the second largest division in the Department in terms of officer strength and one of the largest in payroll terms. Our annual budget for information publications and activities has run a little over a quarter of a million dollars in recent years. . . .

. . . our information operations should be assessed not only quantitatively--in terms of the resources we are able to allocate to them--but qualitatively. I am glad to say that we assign to this Division our very best officers. . . .

I should be the first to admit that I should be delighted if we had more officers on information work, and if we had more money to do information and cultural activities. Let me emphasize that those who are concerned with information work in the Department have not been shy in making representations to Government and to Treasury to obtain more staff and more money. It is not possible for Civil Servants to shout these representations from rooftops, of course, but, because they are not



made publicly, it is not to be presumed that they have not been made or that what we have to work with represents all we want.

. . . However, it must be understood that, as far as Civil Servants are concerned, we are operating within a framework of government policy. We must do the best we can with what the Government is prepared to give us. It will be clear that, having made our case for more, as best we can, we must loyally accept the final government decision, which must balance competing claims against available resources, and do our best to implement it effectively. The ultimate decision as to the allocation of resources is a matter of high policy; and Information Officers, Foreign Service Officers, and Civil Servants generally, . . . are not the ultimate judges in these matters. . . .

. . . I must add that, important as information activities may be in a foreign service, they cannot and must not be its main purposes. A foreign service provides, essentially, advice to the government as to what is happening abroad, as to what developments at home may mean in the context of our relations with other countries. A foreign service is concerned with negotiations with other countries and with the protection of national interests abroad. We must assess very carefully and objectively the extent to which information work really helps achieve these purposes. We must recognize that there are strict limits to the amount of influence that can be achieved on the posture of another government in negotiations as a result of public information activities within the country it controls. There are, as a result, often difficult choices to make between information and cultural and certain other types of representational activities. The point I am making is that, while we consider information work as an essential part of our activities, we cannot operate as a central information office. We operate a diplomatic service and our business is to field successful diplomatic officers. Information work is one of their tools. It is not their main business.

In the five years from 1960 on, it is hard to discern many notable developments in the Department's information activities, although a new dynamic had enlivened and expanded programs of cultural relations. On the information side, which continued to carry a very busy workload with which it was hard pressed to cope, the pattern of programming seemed to change very little; innovation was not evident and, where expansion occurred, it tended to be more-of-the-same. However, budget and personnel establishment of the Information Division showed some gains, though the larger proportion of these were allocated to cultural relations programs. A memorandum of October 3, 1964,<sup>(11)</sup> from Mr. James Weld, Deputy Head, to Mr. J. A. McCordick, Head of the Information Division, reviewed briefly the recent history of the Division and its current situation. Mr. Weld first called attention to Mr. A. A. Day's memorandum of August 1960 which had attempted to determine information objectives abroad and to propose means to attain them. Mr. Weld noted: "Mr. Day said nothing came of this report." Closer to date, the memorandum reported:

During Mr. Southam's régime no magna opera were produced with grand designs for the future. Rather, the time was spent during the austerity year 1962-63, to hold on to budget and personnel when a general review was conducted in the Department to eliminate marginal activities. The Monthly Bulletin was in the line of sight but the testimony of a number of professors regarding its usefulness convinced the powers

that be /Senior departmental management. Auth/ not to pull the trigger. 1963-64 witnessed a substantial increase in staff, amounting to 20% of the total increase in establishment for the whole of the Department, both at home and abroad. It also saw our budget go up from \$276,000 (1963-64) to \$345,000 (1964-65). This is quite apart from the French programme and other "outside" projects.

It may be that in the Southam era no "magna opera" or grand program designs were possible but there is evidence of "thinking big" and vocational aspiration in a memorandum of April 26, 1963<sup>(12)</sup> from Mr. Southam responding to an instruction to project the required information staff four years hence, 1967, to form part of the planning for a new departmental headquarters. The estimate was built up on the section-by-section requirements of the Division. The grand total came to the figure of 63 people, made up of 32 officers, 6 editors and 27 clerks and stenos. Thirteen of the officers were designated for the cultural affairs section. (Needless to say, this level of staffing was not reached in 1967; by 1975, however, the combined strengths of the Information Division and Cultural Affairs Division were of about this level of magnitude.)

Reinforced somewhat in 1964-65 by the addition of 4 officers, 2 editors and 3 clerical positions, the Information Division was able to undertake some new thinking about future information programs as well as

the approved development of the cultural activities. One of the lines of enquiry was to suggest positions which could usefully be filled on a non-rotational basis to afford some measure of continuity to the divisional operations. At the officer level, this project broke down because of the need to maintain an adequate number of rotational positions in Ottawa, the need for training in the Division of officers proceeding to posts to do information work and also because the Department had no promotion or reassignment mechanism to deal with "outsiders," i.e. public servants who did not belong to the Foreign Service Officer or External Affairs Officer category. It was at this time that the Division began to take a deeper interest in the field of exhibitions abroad and to put more of its human resources into this activity.

At the same time, the Division, after a gap of some years, appeared to take a renewed interest in the question of appropriate staffing at posts for the conduct of information and cultural programs. An indication of this is found in a memorandum of October 29, 1964,<sup>(13)</sup> from Mr. McCordick:

Unlike many countries of comparable or smaller size and relative importance Canada does not post information and cultural affairs officers abroad except in special cases. This was duly noted by the Glassco Commission which however seemed to be more concerned about the fact that our press people were not "professionals" than that they were scarce.

Recently suggestions have come from several sources for a type of half-way house between having press or cultural attachés at every post and having less than half a dozen for the whole of our service.

Monseigneur Garneau /of Canadian Association of Universities and Colleges/ suggested to me recently the potential usefulness of a fully bilingual itinerant attaché who would be nominally attached to one of our diplomatic missions in Africa but would, in fact, have a very wide beat on that continent. Mr. R. M. Robinson recently returned from Latin America has, quite independently, made a similar proposal with respect to that continent. . . .

The point has been made in a number of our public speeches that information work is the responsibility of all officers at a post: but being the responsibility of all it becomes, I fear, too often the preoccupation of none. Mr. Robinson's memorandum brings out clearly that missions in fact perform better in response to stimuli than as "self-starters" and that periodic visits of press or cultural attachés would activate them in the direction of making contacts with press, radio and television as well as with leaders in the cultural life of the country to which they are accredited.

We have requested that we be consulted with regard to the terms of reference of the person who will be named to take up the vacant position of Minister-Counsellor (Information) in Washington. A good case could be made, I think, that he should be a periodic visitor to our consulates in the United States . . . The alternative (which is our last experience), a man who has innumerable and important personal contacts but who consults little or not all with our consulates may not give the latter the stimulation that is needed to have them work as a coordinated team in the U.S. as a whole. The system adopted for the U.S.A. might apply to the Cultural Counsellor in Paris in relation to Bordeaux and Marseille.

. . . It would be in line with this thinking that a regional information officer be named to Europe and to Asia to round out the continents or principal areas i.e. Information or Cultural officers in London and New York, regional information officers for the U.S.A., for France and for the continents of Latin America, Europe, Africa and Asia.

The upshot of this initiative was, at that time, exactly nil. In a memorandum of November 13, 1964,<sup>(14)</sup> by Mr. Max Wershof, Assistant Under-Secretary, he reported on the McCordick memorandum:

. . . I showed the enclosed memorandum to Mr. Cadieux. His response was not very favourable but he said he would like you /Mr. Bruce Williams, Assistant Under-Secretary for Administration/ to have the memorandum, and the subject, discussed by the Committee on Administration, after which he might want to have it discussed at one of the morning meetings in his office.

Mr. Cadieux remarked that he thinks what we need is more FSOs who can be specialized for certain periods in information or educational work. However, he added that he was prepared to consider advice . . .

Accordingly, a meeting of interested parties in the Department was held and the decisions are conveyed in a handwritten marginal note on Mr. Wershof's memorandum:

At a meeting in Mr. Williams' office on Tuesday, November 24, 1964, it was agreed that the regional information officer suggestion was one which, for the foreseeable future, those named above would not advise the Under Secretary to pursue. Mr. McCordick's view is that the same money spent on bringing influential foreigners-particularly journalists-to Canada would be a more effective investment. He will advise the USSEA in this sense.

Mr. McCordick pursued this initiative and his efforts resulted in one of the more important developments in the history of information program setting. The report<sup>(15)</sup> of a large departmental meeting held on April 30, 1965, revealed widespread support from all Divisions of the Department for a substantial increase in the Visitors Program. The proposition was for some time complicated by perplexity as to how to service distinguished foreign visitors who did not fall within the strictly defined limits of the Government Hospitality Committee but who required attention and the expenditure of some funds for hospitality. The suggestion was raised that the Information Division, given a good deal more money, might be able to handle all recommended visitors outside those embraced by the Government Hospitality rules and not only those who could be regarded as opinion-formers. The alternative was to provide Protocol Division with funds to deal with this in-between category of person for whom no official provision was made. The situation was reviewed in Mr. McCordick's memorandum to the Under-Secretary of June 14, 1965:<sup>(16)</sup>

The present situation in relation to non-official visitors is unsatisfactory. The Government Hospitality Committee has financial authority to cover expenses in connection with visits by Heads of State, Prime Ministers and visitors of Cabinet rank with their parties. The Visiting Journalists Vote contains \$5000 per annum for the visits of representatives of "mass media".

There are, of course, many potential visitors from abroad who are not included in the preceding categories. As there is no provision for us to spend money on their account, such expenditures must be the subject of a submission to Treasury if the visit is considered important enough to warrant very exceptional treatment . . . It was decided by Mr. Gill when he was Assistant Under Secretary that because of the inability of Information Division to administer any appreciable number of visits beyond those coming under the Journalists Programme, primary administrative responsibility would have to be assumed by the appropriate geographic division if, in the division's opinion there was enough political interest in the visit . . .

At a meeting on April 30, 1965, chaired by Mr. Wershof, it was the general feeling that it would be desirable for the Information Division to take over and centralize the responsibility for handling non-official visitors, and that Information Division should have the terms of the Visiting Journalists Vote widened to include such visitors and should have the vote increased from the present \$5000 per year to \$50,000 per year to begin with, and later probably to \$100,000 per year to cover the expenses of such visits.

The expansion of the visitors' programme which I envisage would put first priority on active steps to be taken by the Department, through Information Division, in collaboration with our missions, to invite to Canada an increasing number of visitors from a range of categories broadened beyond the strict limits of journalism and whose visits would be in the interest of this country . . .

Information Division can assume this increased responsibility and work only after an increase in personnel and budget and a broader directive from Treasury Board are obtained.

Mr. McCordick's memorandum was considered by the Under-Secretary who expressed some doubt that Treasury



would agree to provide the required funds and he asked for preliminary soundings with the Board staff. The Under-Secretary also had doubts that the Information Division should handle all non-official visitors who were not eligible for Government Hospitality and recommended that a small secretariat be set up in Protocol Division. (See Bruce Williams' memorandum of September 1, 1965.)<sup>(17)</sup>

The happy upshot of all this was that the departmental budget for 1965-66 saw ten-fold increased funds to the tune of \$50,000 for the Information Division's visits program, thus giving general recognition to the outstanding value of this particular service and opening the road to its future development and growth. In fact, the bulk of the expenditure continued to be devoted to bringing to Canada opinion-formers of various sorts, with emphasis on journalists working in the various media.

By fiscal year 1965-66, the Information Division showed an appreciable growth. The Civil Service Establishment for that year (attached as an appendix), provided positions for 16 officers (FSOs and EAOs), 6 editors, 10 clerks and 11 stenos or typists. A memorandum from Mary Dench to the Under-Secretary of September 2, 1965,<sup>(18)</sup> gives figures on budget for the combined Division before the separation of cultural affairs in a separate Division early in 1966. It has already been recorded that in 1964-65

the purely informational activities of the Division were supported by a budget of some \$345,000. A letter of November 30, 1964,<sup>(19)</sup> from the Department to the Secretary of the Treasury Board lists salary costs and "other admin costs" (apparently program expenditures) for the years 1958-59 through 1966-67. This listing is attached as an appendix. It gives the information program costs for 1964-65 as \$336,000, the forecast for 1965-66 as \$396,000 and forecast for 1966-67 as \$415,000. The cultural relations costs in these years were listed at \$250,000 in each of these years. For the full picture of the Division's budgetary provision, the funds for cultural relations contained \$1 million for cultural relations with "countries of French expression" and a further one-time budget of \$253,000 for the Commonwealth Arts Festival. The cultural component of the Divisional establishment mentioned above was at that time 5 FSOs and a Principal Clerk.

Interdepartmental Coordination. The Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad pursued its less than successful life into the period under review. Its history continued to be marked by frustration due, it would appear, to indifference from much of the membership, a fairly constant unwillingness on the part of one or more major participants to diminish their own departmental independence of action by offering their

their plans and program disbursements to scrutiny and comment by the Committee and the very real fact that the Committee was short of significant material to deal with and to coordinate. In 1956 a Memorandum to Cabinet of March 13, which described the original Interdepartmental Committee as "no longer adequate," established a much larger one, perhaps a fatally large one. The new Committee was to have three members from External Affairs, two from Trade and Commerce, two from the CBC, two from Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (which then included the Government Travel Bureau) and one each from Agriculture, Finance, Citizenship and Immigration, Fisheries, National Defence, the National Film Board and the National Gallery. The Committee was tasked to report to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and, through him, to appropriate departments and agencies "upon matters concerned with the coordination of Canadian Information Abroad." This Committee failed to accomplish anything of major value and we have seen the comments of the Glassco Commission about its performance and the need to begin afresh the effort at interdepartmental cooperation in planning and executing programs of information abroad.

Neither the Department of External Affairs nor any other department or agency were spurred into immediate corrective endeavours as a result of the Royal Commission's

findings. However, no matter how tiresome and intractable the question of formalized interdepartmental co-ordination of information abroad may have loomed to those who had to be concerned with it, the requirement would not and did not disappear. External Affairs returned to the fray late in 1963 and tried over the next year and a half to draft a formula under which the Interdepartmental Committee could operate usefully, effectively and with some real authority to offer advice to government. In an undated, draft memorandum (Confidential) of November, 1963, (20) the Information Division began this process:

In the light of the harsh review of the history of the Interdepartmental Committee contained in the Report of the Glassco Commission, and the Report's recommendations about its future, there seems to be general agreement among those concerned that it should be re-activated. It has been recognized also, in this Department at least, that a mere reconstitution of the Committee will not be sufficient either to meet the Glassco Report's criticism or to improve the coordination of Canadian information activities abroad.

. . . there is little to be gained, from the point of view of the co-ordination of information activities abroad, from the resumption of the kind of reports on already determined programmes of individual departments and agencies which characterized to a large extent the meetings of the Committee in the past. If the Interdepartmental Committee is to be revised it will be necessary to improve its effectiveness, and one means of doing this would be to give it a measure of control over these separate programmes insofar as they are concerned with information abroad. You will recall that it was concluded within the Information Division: Auth/ that the Inter-

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departmental Committee should be given new terms of reference which should make it plain that funds would not be made available for any information programme abroad unless that programme had been approved by the Committee, of which a representative of the Department of Finance (Treasury Board) would, as in the past, be a member.

This same draft memorandum records recent correspondence and conversation with Treasury Board staff along these lines and general Treasury concurrence, although it was recognized that the objective might be hard to attain. Advance agreement and support had also been obtained from the Bureau of Government Organization. The memorandum also put forward the idea of an active Executive Sub-Committee, chaired by External Affairs, as would be the main Committee, to meet more frequently than the main Committee, to be much smaller in size, and to give more detailed attention to the activities of departments and agencies. The idea of examination of programs, by important countries individually and in turn, was also suggested as a useful exercise for the Committee.

The first draft of an Order in Council to reconstitute the Interdepartmental Committee was contained in a covering memorandum to the Under-Secretary of January 8, 1964,<sup>(21)</sup> from Mr. Southam (Confidential). It took sixteen months from this date to gain general approval from departments and agencies for the formulation

of the terms of reference and the securing of Cabinet approval, which gives some idea of the concern of the component departments to forge a workable and useful instrument but one which would not infringe on their own institutional authority and independence. On February 7, 1964, letters (22) were sent to the Deputy Minister of Finance and the Deputy Head of the Bureau of Government Organization covering a draft Order in Council (Confidential). The functions of the new Committee were to be to:

a) Advise the Government concerning the objectives, priorities and areas of concentration which should guide Canada's information activities abroad;

b) Assess any information activities abroad undertaken, or to be undertaken, by departments and agencies of government, and coordinate these activities within the framework of the Government's policy regarding Canada's information activities abroad;

c) Advise Treasury Board, upon request, about the financial implications of the programmes developed by departments and agencies of government for their respective information activities abroad.

The rest of the draft concerned membership of the Committee and the establishment of an Executive Subcommittee. The first reaction was from Dr. George Davidson, Secretary of the Treasury Board, in a letter (Confidential) of February 12, 1964. (23) He thought that the Government would need advice on the substantive values of proposed

programs but that "financial implications" were not the task of the Committee. He subsequently changed his mind on this, however, as reported to Mr. Southam by Mr. Yeomans, Director of the Bureau of Government Organization (Southam memorandum of March 13, 1964 (Confidential)).<sup>(24)</sup> Approval with minor amendments was received from the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Board and the Deputy Minister of Finance. Both letters recommended procedure by Cabinet submission rather than Order in Council and this course was adopted.

On March 13, a memorandum (Confidential)<sup>(25)</sup> went to the Minister seeking his approval for the proposed Cabinet submission and asking him to sign letters to the President of the Privy Council (Mr. McIlwraith), the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Sharp), the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Mr. Tremblay) and the Secretary of State (Mr. Lamontagne). The Minister, Mr. Martin, made a marginal note that as soon as the other Ministers concurred he would send the submission to the Cabinet. Mr. McIlwraith and Mr. Tremblay gave their early concurrence and the Under-Secretary of State notified his Minister's approval but asked that his Department should be added to the membership of the Committee. In his interim reply Mr. Sharp stated general approval of the draft memorandum to Cabinet but deferred full concurrence until his Department could give it detailed study. It was not until July 6, 1964, that a more definitive reply (Confidential)<sup>(26)</sup>

came from Mr. Sharp. In this the apprehensions of the Department of Trade and Commerce about "supradepartmental" powers of the Committee over that Department's programs were made explicit:

. . . It seems to us that it would be desirable to amplify paragraph 2 (c) of the revised terms of reference to read: "Advise Treasury Board, upon its request, about the financial implications of any co-ordination of the programs developed by . . ." /i.e. instead of "financial implications of the programs" themselves: Auth/ . . . we do not believe it is the intention that the Committee have terms of reference for individual departmental information programs other than for purposes of co-ordination.

An External Affairs reaction to this statement of position by Trade and Commerce is found in Mr. McCordick's memorandum (Confidential) of August 4, 1964: (27)

. . . Mr. Sharp's other comment concerning paragraph 2 (c) of the draft terms of reference, however, is more substantive in that it suggests an amendment of that paragraph to limit the competence of the Interdepartmental Committee to only the co-ordination of information programmes abroad. . . . The first paragraph 2 (b) goes on to say: "Assess any information activities abroad undertaken, or to be undertaken, by departments or agencies of government . . ." An integral part of such an assessment is surely an examination of the financial implications of the proposed programmes. Moreover, it is conceivable that a department or agency might undertake on its own initiative a particular information programme abroad which is outside the objectives, priorities and areas of concentration laid down by the Committee, and if, as we hope, the Committee is to be a strong executive agency, it may be important that there be provision for its views on this programme being sought by Treasury Board.



This same memorandum suggested the Under-Secretary might usefully discuss this and certain other points with Mr. Fletcher of Trade and Commerce and Mr. Steele, Under Secretary of State. There is no record of this meeting, arranged for August 14, on the files consulted. It is, however, clear from the ultimate approved text of the Cabinet decision that External declined to water down its preferred version of the terms of reference. Meanwhile, two exercises, subordinate to the aim of setting up new interdepartmental machinery, were being carried out. The first was to arrive at a definition of "information abroad" and, after much pulling and hauling over months, this definition was finally achieved and incorporated in the Cabinet memorandum. The second was a detailed questionnaire, impelled by Treasury interest, on the programs and costs of information abroad for each department and agency. It was thought that the collection and correlation of the data produced by the questionnaire would provide a definition of what, at least in practice, was considered to be "information abroad." This effort was not successful and it was left to External Affairs to try its hand at the definition. Accordingly, Mr. Cadieux passed copies to certain Departments of the proposed definition in a letter (Confidential) of December 9, 1964, together with certain comments: (30)

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We have gone through this material (from the questionnaire) in some detail with a view to determining what elements of the Government's many programmes abroad might or might not be considered to be "information activities". I must confess that this had been a frustrating exercise, for there are few common threads running through the diverse programmes of the twenty departments and agencies which were polled, and it is difficult to attempt with any precision a definition of "information activity" which will both permit the Interdepartmental Committee to function effectively and satisfy those who may be concerned lest its terms of reference be too broad . . .

The terms of reference drafted by External were:

For the purposes of the terms of reference of the Interdepartmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad, "information activity" may be defined generally as a programme conducted abroad, and supported and promoted from headquarters in Canada, which is designed to make Canada - its people and cultures, its economic and social structure, its government and political system, and its attitude and reactions to international relations and world events - better known and understood by foreign governments and peoples. In its broadest sense this could include all activities abroad conducted by the Canadian Government, but for the guidance of the Interdepartmental Committee it is not intended to include those activities which have an overriding immediate purpose, such as the attraction of immigrants to Canada, the exchange of technical information, the promotion and sale of Canadian export products, or the assistance provided to foreign governments under the Canadian external aid programmes. Clearly, however, such activities have at least a peripheral information aspect in the sense defined above, and insofar as they have, they are the legitimate concern of the Interdepartmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad.

In response to reminding letters from Mr. Cadieux on January 2 and February 3, 1965, Mr. Fletcher, in a letter

of March 5, 1965 (Confidential),<sup>(31)</sup> ended what seemed to be a rear guard action of resistance and procrastination, by signalling the somewhat reluctant concurrence of Trade and Commerce with the proposed terms of reference. In doing so, he fired a Parthian shot which gave notice of a continuing attitude of his Department to the limits of authority of the Interdepartmental Committee which that Department would be prepared to countenance:

In conveying this advice of concurrence, I do want, nonetheless, to register again our preference for a less authoritative definition of "information abroad" (Item 3). In particular we have misgivings about the sweeping interpretation that might one day be placed upon the phrasing ". . . in so far as they have, they are the legitimate concern of the . . . Committee . . ." in the final sentence of the definition. To our mind, "legitimate concern" could be taken to mean a supra-departmental capacity of the Committee. . . .

While assuring you that representatives of our Department will participate objectively and fully in all the deliberations of the Committee, I must stress the importance that our Department places upon its responsibility for external trade promotion. Should any report of the Committee recommend an intrusion upon the prerogatives that we consider to be solely our Minister's, we would have to register a dissenting opinion.

At the bottom of this letter, Mr. Cadieux made a handwritten comment:

I hope that this last para does not mean that we can coordinate all other agencies but T&C! In the end, T reasury B oard will have the ultimate means of control; they may refuse to consider schemes not endorsed by the Committee.

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Finally, the memorandum to Cabinet (Confidential) (attached as an appendix) was signed by Mr. Martin on March 22, 1965, and was approved by Cabinet on April 14, 1965.

The first meeting of the reconstituted Committee was held June 17, 1965. It was chaired by Mr. Cadieux and among the twenty representatives were four of Deputy Minister level. Senior representation such as this was a unique phenomenon and did not occur again. The meeting decided to invite representatives of the Centennial Commission and the Corporation for Expo 1967 to attend its meetings. The Chairman's suggestion that the Committee engage itself in a study of the information and cultural activities being done in a particular country and then to compare these with what ideally ought to be done was approved. It was further agreed that this experiment should begin with France. The Executive Sub-Committee was entrusted with preparation of such a study and enjoined to make recommendations on objectives and priorities which might be adopted to improve these activities. The Committee also decided to establish a Sub-Committee on Cultural Affairs.

By November, 1965, it had become clear to the Information Division that the study of activities in France had not borne the fruit for which the Committee

had hoped, particularly because almost no information had been made available on the costs of these operations. A review of this whole exercise was made by the Secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee, Mr. Colvin, in a memorandum of January 25, 1966,<sup>(32)</sup> to Mr. McCordick:

Replies to our letter of enquiry (July 23) on this point (i.e. information and cultural activities in France) indicate that only a few agencies and departments actually conduct anything like a positive programme. Our own Department, Trade and Commerce, the National Film Board and the CBC International Service are the ones with serious operations in being although whether these are in any sense adequate is open to question. "Immigration" though inhibited by French policy, has obvious interests. The replies from other sources . . . indicate peripheral interest at best.

As a result of our canvassing, two additional points become evident. One is the apparent indifference of most departments to information work abroad, plus a relatively passive attitude towards the suggested inter-departmental approach. The second is an indication that a regional study of information work should not be undertaken by the Executive Committee, as neither the work of the Committee, nor the study itself has profited from the present exercise.

This does not, as the preceding points indicate, mean that the study was futile. Rather it was inconclusive, and necessarily, too superficial to suit its purpose, i.e. to provide a consensus as to the objectives and priorities on information and cultural activities in France. On the other hand, it did suggest that little more than a minimum of inter-departmental co-ordination prevails at the present time. . . . Essentially, there is a crying need for more co-ordination at Ottawa and for more practical instructions to posts.

Conceivably, some degree of co-ordination--and its anticipated appendage, efficiency--might be realized abroad if selected--and ultimately perhaps all--posts had an Interdepartmental Committee, charged with the obvious responsibilities.

This memorandum pursued the idea of information coordination committees at posts and this initiative eventually led to quite rewarding, practical results at many posts. Following consultation with the area divisions of the Department and with other Departments, posts were instructed in Circular Document R. 20/66 of April 4, 1966<sup>(33)</sup> to proceed with the establishment and operation of Post Co-ordinating Committees on Information and Cultural Relations. This Circular stated that: "The broad objective in establishing co-ordinating committees would obviously be co-ordination; more precisely we are hoping they will provide stimulus, and with that, a forum for the deliberation and planning of information work abroad. If in addition they allow for more comprehensive action than in the past, so much the better." The role for the post co-ordinating committees recommended by the Department was expressed in these terms:

1) Each post committee should have representation from all departments and agencies represented at the post. . . .

2) Meetings should be held at least every second month and a report submitted to the Department.

3) Each post's information programme should be evaluated . . .

4) Committees should discuss and report on the most promising prospects for information work . . .

5) Recommendations should be made regarding equipment, funds or staff requirements generally, and for particular projects; and consideration should be given to the elimination of ineffective and superfluous effort . . .

6) Committees might note that they are being established to facilitate governmental information activities and to assist departments in their work; but they are not meant to oversee, or in any way steer, or inhibit the activities of individual departments.

While those directly concerned in the Information Division harboured grave doubts of the real utility of the Interdepartmental Committee, the Under-Secretary, Mr. Cadieux, was determined that it could work and should work effectively. In a memorandum of March 23, 1966<sup>(34)</sup> Mr. McCordick noted that it was time to think about a meeting of the full Interdepartmental Committee which had not met since the previous June. He further observed:

The Under-Secretary has been thinking about the same matter and says it is the Treasury's wish that the Committee meet at frequent enough intervals to maintain momentum, even if some members of the Committee might be quite content to let things drift. No regular interval has been specified, but I think it is the Under-Secretary's feeling that the frequency of meetings should be closer to twice a year than once a year.

. . . I doubt if the Under-Secretary will be well disposed to much more delay . . .

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In preparation for a further meeting of the Committee, Mr. McCordick sent the Under-Secretary a memorandum of April 4, 1966<sup>(35)</sup> which recounted the history of the "revived" committee and its Sub-Committees. The record presented was clearly disappointing, particularly to Mr. Cadieux who had invested some hope in this mechanism. On its receipt Mr. Cadieux passed the McCordick memorandum to the present author (who had just completed a rather long study of the Department's press and information activities) with the marginal note: "Mr. Stephens. Any comments? I am not satisfied that we are moving fast enough in this field. M.C." The author responded in a memorandum of April 6, 1966:<sup>(36)</sup>

I confess I have no bright ideas about this old and stubborn problem. On the basis of past experience and what I have more recently gathered from conversations, I really wonder whether the sort of external information programmes which have traditionally been carried out do, in fact, call for more than sporadic consultation. Certainly the history of Interdepartmental Committees on Information Abroad seems to show that they have not found much to talk about or to co-ordinate. Each Department has conducted its own information abroad, running on separate, parallel tracks and no need for a switching or shunting operation has been fundamentally required. Trade promotion, lures to emigration, attraction of tourists, commercial film distribution and our own "institutional" advertising of Canada have been able to co-exist without remarkable duplication or policy deviation because they work in separate fields.

The need for extensive interdepartmental consideration and co-ordination would become



more clearly demonstrated if whole new areas of external information activity were opened up . . . such programmes as the establishment of a few Canadian Information Centres abroad, for example. The planning and operation of such joint programmes would obviously offer concrete and challenging agenda for the Interdepartmental Committee.

To this, Mr. Cadieux' margined response was:

"Defeated but unconvinced. M.C."

On May 19, 1966, Mr. Colvin delivered himself of a heartfelt outpouring of his experience and conclusions as Secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee over the course of a year in a memorandum to Mr. McCordick. This account covers the inadequacies of interdepartmental efforts at coordination and their causes, the doubtful immediate future and the need for frequent interdepartmental coordination on a multilateral basis, the negative attitude of External Affairs to information work and the need to adjust this attitude radically, the immediate need for departmental, rather than interdepartmental, information actions abroad and the corollary and essential need for more money and people to achieve this. This was a blunt but thoughtful exposition by an officer who had cause to know his subject; it merits reading in full but some extracts may serve to show its principal thrusts:

. . . By way of remedy /of ineffective interdepartmental machinery/ I would suggest practical steps where (i.e. at certain specified posts and in certain areas of the Department) and to the extent possible by direct departmental

application rather than interdepartmental investigations. . . .

This proposition would imply that the stage is not yet set for effective action by the Interdepartmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad, and this would indeed seem to be the case. Certainly there is much to be done by individual departments, not least External Affairs, before the full committee can serve to maximum advantage. Until then, the interdepartmental machinery would seem to be larger than the job it has to do . . .

Insofar as other Departments are concerned, one finds little enthusiasm for interdepartmental endeavour and. . . it would be prudent to avoid overuse of the high-powered . . . Committee . . . Since too little activity would be similarly undesirable, the Committee should continue to meet annually until events merit more particular attention.

To those directly concerned with information work abroad, the immediate need is not for interdepartmental co-ordination or comprehensive planning from Ottawa . . . but for day to day information work in a practical sense; and disregard of this fact may be the main cause of our present undoing. In the Executive Sub-Committee, for instance, we are in effect striving to analyze and process something which in concept hardly exists: information activities abroad. Our "activities" such as they are, are random, ad hoc affairs, often no more than the chance product of pressure from an interested official or senior officer, subsequently shaped by whomever the Department could throw into the slot. . . . Staff officers and strategy are fine, but they count for little without a well equipped army in the field . . . Perhaps indeed, the most immediate objective should be the assignment of information officers and staff. . . .

Initially, this would call for a departmental rather than an interdepartmental approval; and if this is so, a different attitude towards information work on the part of External Affairs will be required. As evidence of this, one need only note the Department's disinclination to incorporate

information work as fully into its overall operations, as does Trade and Commerce or Citizenship and Immigration, the limited careers it offers to those so committed, and its reluctance to assign Foreign Service Officers to information work abroad . . . No doubt there are good reasons for the Department's actions, but they do little to enhance or to further information work, and the relatively inferior status accorded to it by External Affairs is not inapparent to other departments. . . . an unfavourable comparison with other departments also exists, and it should not be discounted by our Department when exhorting others to interdepartmental endeavour. Apart from this, the Department must be aware that other departments, better manned and equipped, will not be easily discouraged from assuming a larger role in information work abroad if our own is prepared to let it go by default. . . .

If the Department of External Affairs would put its own house in order, it would be doing much for the success of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad while helping itself in the process. To start, it need simply assign good people to a manageable, understandable departmental programme. . . .

Eventually, the second meeting of the main Interdepartmental Committee was held on May 25, 1966. The Chairman, Mr. McCordick, substituting for Mr. Cadieux, noted that the study of information activities in France "had not done much to determine the objectives and priorities for information work abroad" and it would be necessary to find other ways of accomplishing this task. The minutes of the meeting reveal little of lasting interest but again revealed a cleavage of attitude between External Affairs and Trade and Commerce on the relationship of the Committee to departments and to governments. During the

discussion of the possible need for an expanded secretariat for the Committee, the representative from Trade and Commerce "saw some advantage in having a secretariat outside the Department of External Affairs, particularly as the Interdepartmental Committee reported not to any particular minister, but direct to Cabinet, although it did so through the Secretary of State for External Affairs." Without directly challenging this rather doubtful jurisprudence, the Chairman blandly "... reviewed the relative roles of External Affairs and other departments, pointing out that the former's is less specific than the others', its essential purpose being to promote a favourable image of Canada. In this respect it included and espoused the specific purposes of other departments, as in a sense, a generalist among specialists." Subsequent history of efforts at interdepartmental coordination will be discussed in a later chapter.

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## CHAPTER VIII

Although progress in the purely informational field of departmental endeavour was rather limited in this period, the related activities of cultural affairs moved ahead with considerable momentum. So great was the increase of external cultural activity that by the beginning of 1966 much more money and people had been invested in these programs and it was found necessary for management purposes to divide operations in information and cultural work by the establishment of a separate Cultural Affairs Division. It is at that point that this paper ends its record of cultural affairs work except as it was interwoven with the story of information activity.

The reasons for the marked increase of emphasis on cultural relations abroad were several. There was, first of all, the requirement to service the growing needs which the development of UNESCO programs had produced and the related requirements of the various Canadian interest groups associated with domestic and international programs in the fields of education, science and culture. Secondly, pressures from other countries for cultural exchange arrangements or for more formal commitments in the shape of Cultural Agreements had become felt through the fifties

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and became more clamant in the sixties. In the third place, establishment of the Canada Council had made available a resource base of expertise and operational capacity for the extension abroad of Canadian cultural activity and, as the Council acquired experience and institutional self-confidence, it became itself a prod to the Department in planning and fleshing out international cultural programs. Finally, with the advent of the "Quiet Revolution" in the Province of Québec and that province's growing interest in its own international relations, particularly international cultural relations, the Canadian Government discovered a certain urgency in demonstrating not only that it was in charge of foreign relations but that its operations were attuned and relevant to the aspirations of Québécois in this area. This meant the pursuit by the Federal Government of exchange programs with France and other French-speaking countries, followed, as a normal Canadian political reflex, by balancing programs with English-speaking countries and with other countries with substantial ethnic representation in Canada.

One of the earlier efforts to arrange the Department's cultural relations activities on a rational and orderly basis is revealed in a draft memorandum of January 8, 1960,<sup>(1)</sup> by Miss Dench which observed that the bulk of responsibility and work in this field was vested

in the Information Division but that certain facets of cultural activity were carried on in other Divisions. For tidy effectiveness, it was recommended that these stray activities be gathered up and assembled in the Information Division. The Commonwealth Education Programme, visits of cultural personalities from Communist countries and sundry visits from a number of areas of the world were dealt with elsewhere in the Department and needed to be enfolded with related cultural activities. The files consulted do not indicate any decision on this by the Under-Secretary but over the course of time these activities, except for those controlled by the Visits Panel (for visits from Communist countries) became part of the responsibility of Information Division.

A new spirit of interest in innovation and expansion of the scope of cultural relations was made apparent in a memorandum of January 18, 1961,<sup>(2)</sup> by Mr. Berlis. He was putting on paper the substance of a recent conversation with Mr. Cadieux, then Deputy Under-Secretary:

. . . what he Mr. Cadieux has in mind is that our cultural relations activities have developed as services or as a response for requests, but not in accordance with a planned overall programme. As the Department does not engage in these activities for the sake of culture but rather to advance and support our political aims, it would be desirable to look at the one cultural relations with the United Kingdom in relation to the other cultural relations with France.



. . . There would be an advantage in considering the two countries together for this would provoke useful comparisons, and would bring into the picture the two language groups in Canada. . . . In general terms the idea would be to present a picture of what we already have by way of cultural activity, and to indicate where we should go from here in order to support our foreign policy more effectively.

Further and more direct evidence of Mr. Cadieux' thinking at this time is found in a note of January 31, 1961,<sup>(3)</sup> which he prepared for discussion with Father Georges-Henri Levesque, Vice-President of the Canada Council:

Il serait peut-être opportun d'entreprendre une étude de nos relations culturelles avec la France et l'Angleterre.

L'occasion de cette étude est fournie tout naturellement par l'ouverture d'un bureau de la Province de Québec à Paris et peut-être bientôt à Londres. Il va falloir déterminer dans les deux cas les frontières entre les opérations qui devraient être assumées par la Province de Québec et celles qui doivent revenir au gouvernement et aux agences fédérales. A cet égard, il serait utile d'examiner ce qui se fait déjà et d'étudier ce qu'il y aurait lieu de faire à l'avenir.

. . . Le Conseil des Arts aurait donc avantage, vu le rôle accru de la Province de Québec, à prendre l'initiative d'une étude sérieuse de la question. Cette étude servirait de cadre à sa propre action mais ne manquerait pas d'inspirer les activités des autres organismes intéressés.

. . . Comme procédure, j'envisagerais deux stades: en premier lieu un enquête menée par une Commission et ensuite, une étude des résultats de l'enquête au sein d'une Conférence nationale des personnalités, des autorités et des institutions intéressées. La Commission

aurait deux comités (un pour la France et l'autre pour l'Angleterre). Chaque comité pourrait comporter des représentants du Conseil des Arts, des universités et des deux groupes ethniques. Avec prédominance évidemment de Canadiens-français dans un et de Canadiens-anglais dans l'autre. . . . Les recherches initiales devraient être entreprises par des experts aux frais du Conseil: . . .

Il est important que la Commission étudie ensemble l'éventail de nos relations avec les deux pays et s'éloigne de l'idée que les relations avec la France n'intéressent que Québec et celles avec l'Angleterre que les autres provinces.

Mr. Cadieux also had discussions with Mr. Eugène Bussière, Associate Director of the Canada Council who put the proposition of a survey of Canadian cultural relations with Britain and France to the Council in a memorandum of February 20, 1961.<sup>(4)</sup> On the same date Mr. Cadieux notified the Information Division of the Council's approval of this project and the intention of the Council to proceed with nomination of the two persons to undertake the study. Mr. Cadieux continued to be aware of the shadow of Québec aspirations in the external cultural area; in a memorandum of June 6, 1961,<sup>(5)</sup> (Confidential), he commented on planning under way by Mr. René Garneau, newly appointed Canadian Cultural Counsellor in France, to organize cultural activities there:

Garneau, in view of the competition he will get from the Québec Representative, will need all the support available from the federal agencies involved in our relations with France in the cultural field.

On June 23, 1966,<sup>(6)</sup> letters went to the Heads of Mission in Paris and London announcing the inauguration of the cultural surveys to be conducted with respect to the United Kingdom by Dr. James Gibson, then Dean of Arts at Carleton University, and to France by Mr. Fernand Cadieux of the Groupe de Recherches Incorporé of Montreal. Unhappily, the surveys which were presumably carried out in due course do not appear on any of the files of the period. Moreover, whatever the intentions may have been regarding more developed cultural relations with Britain, no policy or program was worked out at that time nor until a decade later. Concentration on cultural relations with France and other French-speaking countries in Europe, however, continued and these efforts were rewarded with Government approval and respectable funding.

In 1963, with increased public awareness of the subject of "biculturalism" and Government policy taking shape in this regard, the Department's interest in developing cultural relations with francophone countries also became more intense and was directed towards exploration of the possibilities of Government action. The posts in Paris, Brussels and Berne were consulted and asked for further information on the cultural activities of these countries and their attitude to extended cultural relations, notably with Canada. At the same time there was preliminary testing of the views of some Ministers and Departments,

particularly the Secretary of State, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Justice (or, rather, Mr. Lionel Chevrier in a more personal capacity). The External Aid Office (whose appropriations, formally, were allotted to External Affairs) already had a program of educational assistance for the francophone countries of Africa. Some thought was given to increasing very substantially these funds so that a scholarship exchange program with the developed francophone countries of Europe could be inaugurated. A rather peculiar rationale was advanced for this way of proceeding: since the \$1 million Commonwealth Education Plan made scholarships available to Britain under an aid program, the same course could be pursued with regard to a francophone aid program which might include developed as well as developing countries. (The myth that the Commonwealth Education Plan somehow constituted a form of cultural relations with the United Kingdom was hardly persistent with those pushing for a "balance" in treatment, for cultural relations purposes, between France and Britain; in fact the Commonwealth scholarships went to students from developing countries, some of them resident in Britain, and very few British citizens were involved.) In a letter of April 26, 1963, the Minister, Mr. Martin, wrote to the Secretary of State, Mr. Lamontagne, in these terms:

Vous serez sans doute intéressé d'apprendre, dans le contexte du développement du "bi-culturisme" qu'il existe dans les milieux académiques du Québec et ailleurs de puissants appuis en vue d'élargir notre Programme d'Aide aux pays francophones d'Afrique dans la domaine de l'éducation. . . . Je m'aperçois qu'on a déjà songé qu'il serait peut-être opportun de refondre le programme actuel pour qu'il puisse être constitué en quelque sorte comme le Programme d'Aide du Commonwealth qui dispose d'une somme annuelle de \$1,000,000 consacrée à l'octroi de bourses et d'une somme un peu plus élevée destinée à d'autres projets dans le domaine de l'éducation y compris l'envoi à l'étranger des enseignants. Ceci exigerait la transformation du programme actuel qui se limite aux pays francophones d'Afrique en un projet plus élaboré d'échanges culturels entre . . . les pays francophones d'Europe -- la France, la Belgique et la Suisse . . .

De tels échanges avec des pay développés joints aux échanges avec des pays sous-développés apporterait un équilibre plus apparents entre les avantages et les obligations tout au moins quant au Canada français.

. . . Les résultats en fonction de l'unité nationale pourraient être même plus importants. L'élargissement de notre programme actuel constituerait une prolongation dans le domaine de nos relations extérieures des efforts qui sont faits en vue de la participation accrue des Canadiens-français aux activités fédérales.

Mr. Lamontagne gave a very favourable reply as did Mr. Chevrier. On August 9, 1963,<sup>(9)</sup> a letter (Confidential) went from Mr. Martin to the Minister of Finance, Mr. Gordon. It mentioned the correspondence with the other two Ministers, recounted the history of francophone cultural relations and the current thinking about this and said that Mr. Martin was considering

presenting a submission to Cabinet on proposed programs of cultural relations with France, Belgium and Switzerland. The nub of the planned submission to Cabinet was summarized:

While retaining the present programme of aid for French-speaking African states, for which there has been an annual appropriation of \$300,000 in the estimates of my Department, I propose that a new appropriation to develop cultural relations on a bilateral basis with the more advanced French-speaking countries in Europe could be authorized. Under such a programme scholarships similar to those financed under the Commonwealth Plan (on which \$1,000,000 is spent annually) would be inaugurated. But I have in mind that other forms of cultural cooperation as well, i.e. exchanges of professors and the promotion in French-language countries of Canadian arts, both performing and visual, would be included in the program.

If such exchanges with the developed countries were added to the present exchanges with the developing countries there would be a more apparent balance between advantage and obligations as far as French-speaking Canada is concerned. . . . It has been estimated that an amount in the order of \$500,000 would be reasonable to initiate a separate scheme to develop cultural relations as distinct from providing educational assistance.

The Minister of Finance's reply was sent on September 23, 1963.<sup>(10)</sup> He expressed sympathy and approval for Mr. Martin's proposal. He did demur, however, at the reference to the new francophone cultural relations proposals as a balance to the Commonwealth Plan: "I am not sure that the parallel you draw between the proposed French Language Cultural Exchange Programme and the

Commonwealth Scholarship Plan can be fully supported. A review of the Commonwealth Plan makes it quite clear that it is in essence, as it was intended to be, largely a programme of aid to underdeveloped countries. There is, of course, an element of cultural exchange in it, but that element is relatively minor." After making his view clear that the francophone Africa program had already been set up as an offset to the Commonwealth Plan, he continued:

However, the cultural exchange programme which you are now proposing ought, I believe, to be dissassociated /sic/ from aid programmes. . . . I am sure you will agree that the French and the Belgians and others in Europe would be surprised if relations with them were handled through an organization which we describe as the "External Aid Office".

It seems to me that the cultural exchange activities which you are proposing should be administered in association with other similar activities under the auspices of the Canadian Government. This points, it seems to me, towards the Canada Council. I wonder whether you would be willing to give some thought to a programme initiated and financed by the Government but administered, under specific terms of reference, by the Council?

If financial and administrative arrangements of this sort were acceptable to you, I would find acceptable the basic proposal for a French-language cultural exchange programme. I would suggest that we should start at a level of \$250,000 a year rather than the figure you mention. . . .

In a further letter to Mr. Gordon (Confidential) dated October 25, 1963, <sup>(11)</sup> Mr. Martin accepted the figure

of \$250,000 for the first two years of the program but thought that there should be an announcement that the annual target was \$500,000 in order to meet the demands of the Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges and to satisfy the aspirations of French Canada. Of the lower figure, \$200,000 would be disbursed for scholarships and \$50,000 for artistic exchanges. Mr. Martin agreed that the Canada Council should administer the artistic exchanges but continued to believe that the External Aid Office should do the administrative work for the franco-phone scholarship program, as it was doing for the Commonwealth Plan, under the guidance of a committee representative of Canadian universities which would have academic responsibility and the task of processing applications and selecting candidates. In the cultural area distinct from the scholarship program, the Canada could would carry out this activity under the policy direction of External and with the advice of a committee composed of interested agencies and the Council itself.

At the same time these ideas were under consideration, the National Film Board had been doing its own negotiating with France with the result that a Film Co-production Agreement with France was signed in Montreal on October 11, 1963, for the purpose of encouraging the co-production of films in the two countries. It was



expected that conclusion of the Agreement would stimulate the production of more feature films in Canada and aid in their distribution abroad.

On December 19, 1963, Mr. Martin brought to Cabinet a memorandum<sup>(12)</sup> recommending a "Programme of cultural relations with French-speaking countries." It recited the policy reasons for the project and the program elements. In discussing the proposed operation of the program it was stated:

. . . The implementation of the plan if approved would require the co-operation of the provincial authorities concerned, particularly Quebec, the Canada Council and the Canadian universities. My Department would be responsible for direction and supervision; control would be maintained by voting the funds as an item in my Department's estimates. The Canada Council would have responsibility for general administration and projects selected in the light of the recommendations made by an Advisory Committee and approved by the Department of External Affairs.

I therefore recommend that:

(a) A programme of academic and cultural exchanges with states of the French community (particularly with France, Belgium and Switzerland) be established at a cost of \$250,000 to be provided in the estimates of the Department of External Affairs.

(b) Subject to approval of (a) above, authority be given to approach the key governments - the French first, then Belgium and Switzerland to seek their participation in the plan.

Cabinet approval for these recommendations was forthcoming on December 27, 1963.

Through 1964 the Department was busy with discussing with other countries the modalities of cultural exchange, beginning with the French, and with consultations with the Provinces. By the end of the year, the exchanges were successfully under way. As the program had begun by way of offering scholarships to foreign students and sending artistic manifestations abroad, there had been no need at the start to negotiate reciprocal educational and artistic exchanges and therefore inauguration of the program was not delayed. However, balanced reciprocity was an obvious requirement for a continuing program. The pace of negotiation was hastened because of the visit to France of Prime Minister Pearson in January, 1964. France was given advance notice of the Prime Minister's intention to reveal Canadian planning in this field and to seek French cooperation. The French authorities welcomed this initiative and the Joint Communiqué, following the visit, referred to this subject: (13)

In this context, it was noted with great interest on the part of the French that the Canadian Government intended to undertake a programme designed to develop cultural relations between the two countries. The French Government has promised its co-operation, and officials of the two countries will meet to discuss the programme. . . . Finally, the two governments emphasized the interest which they shared in academic exchanges at the advanced level, as well as in exchanges in the field of the performing arts.

Between the December Cabinet decision and the publication of the January joint communiqué, Mr. Martin had written to the Premier of Québec to tell him of the Government's plans. Following this, Mr. Cadieux and Mr. Bussièrre of the Canada Council visited Québec to discuss with provincial officials how best to take account, in implementing the plan, of Québec's interests. They reported that the reception in Québec City was chilly. Mr. Bussièrre also went to Moncton where Premier Robichaud welcomed the plan. Then letters were sent to the other eight Premiers and the response was favourable but general in nature.

On April 27, 1965, the Minister submitted a Memorandum to Cabinet (Confidential)<sup>(14)</sup> with two main proposals: a) Proposed expansion of the existing Canadian cultural relations program and, b) A general cultural agreement (Accord Cadre) with France. The memorandum noted the problem stemming from Canada's constitutional division of powers between the federal and the provincial governments which gave the former exclusive powers to negotiate and conclude treaties with foreign countries but gave the provinces exclusive powers to legislate in certain fields, particularly that of education. It was noted that the general, inherent problem had "been growing in magnitude and complexity in recent years, as

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a result of the 'renaissance' taking place in Québec. The Québec Government, in reorganizing its educational system and intensifying its cultural activities, had naturally sought mutually profitable exchanges with other French-speaking countries, particularly France. The French and Belgian Governments, in particular had been anxious to take full advantage of the new opportunities which were presenting themselves for mutually profitable and fruitful cultural exchanges with French-speaking Canada." Although recognizing that the French and Belgian Governments kept the Canadian Government informed of any exchanges with Québec, "With the passage of time, however, the international legal position of the federal government is in danger of being gradually and seriously eroded by such practices." The memorandum then proceeded to propose a formula to break the impasse by safeguarding the treaty-making power of the central government while at the same time permitting the provinces to engage in legitimate and rewarding cultural programs with foreign countries:

The idea that a general cultural agreement might be negotiated first with France, and later with certain other interested countries, has been advanced from a number of sources, including the Canadian Ambassador in Paris (Mr. Jules Léger). Such an agreement would describe the general principles and objectives of cultural exchanges between Canada and other countries and the prerogative

of the federal power. At the same time the agreement would contain a clause allowing the provinces, under the authority of the agreement and in conformity with it, to enter into practical administrative or executive arrangements of provincial scope and application. In each case, the province concerned would give prior notification to the federal government before entering into formal discussions with the technical authorities of the foreign government concerned. The general agreement, or Accord Cadre, would thus constitute a framework which would permit the provinces to negotiate arrangements with other countries within the educational and cultural field, with appropriate safeguards for the rights of the provinces and for the protection of the treaty-making power of the Federal Government.

The Cabinet memorandum also proposed expansion of the program with France; this expansion would raise the annual outlay from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000. Attached to the memorandum was a draft of an Accord Cadre with France. The submission recommended that:

a) approval be given in principle to the conclusion of a general cultural agreement with France along the lines of the attached draft;

b) the Department of External Affairs be authorized to enter into negotiations with France; and

c) Cabinet be advised of any major difficulties that might be encountered in the course of negotiation and Cabinet approval sought for the text as it emerges from official negotiations with France.

A Cabinet meeting of May 11, 1965, discussed these proposals, inter alia, and the Record of Cabinet Decision (Confidential) of that date<sup>(15)</sup> shows approval

for the recommendations:

i) it should be the policy of the Canadian Government to enter into cultural agreements with a number of other countries, particularly those from which substantial groups in the population of Canada have come;

ii) negotiations should be carried to completion on the cultural agreement with France and on cultural agreements with other French-speaking countries including as a part thereof a clause to permit provinces to take advantage of the agreements for arrangements that they might wish to have with agencies in those countries; and

iii) funds should be provided to permit an expansion of cultural exchange programs with French-speaking countries to the level of \$1 million per year;

e) agreed that the Secretary of State for External Affairs should, at the appropriate time, issue a press release to announce the policy of the federal government to enter into cultural agreements with a number of countries, including France, and the expansion of cultural exchange programs with French-speaking countries to the level of \$1 million per year.

The general cultural agreement--the Accord Cadre--between the Governments of Canada and France was signed on November 17, 1965, and negotiations for similar agreements were proceeding with Belgium and Switzerland.

The Department followed up these very important advances in the field of cultural relations with a memorandum to Cabinet (Confidential) of February 23, 1966, (16) proposing cultural agreements with Italy, the Soviet Union, Germany and the Netherlands. The basis for

for this submission was found in the May, 1965, Cabinet decision authorizing a policy of entering into cultural agreements "with a number of other countries, particularly those from which substantial groups in the population of Canada have come." The recommendations in the submission were that:

a) approval be given in principle to the conclusion of cultural agreements with Italy, the U.S.S.R., the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Netherlands in that order;

b) the Department of External Affairs be authorized to enter into negotiations with a view to implementing such agreements in the fiscal years 1966-67 and 1967-68;

c) funds should be provided in the amount of \$150,000 for the fiscal year 1966-67 for the implementation of such agreements as it may be possible to conclude during that fiscal year on the understanding that \$300,000 will, subject to Treasury Board approval, be provided for the same purpose in the fiscal year 1967-78.

The Cabinet decision (Confidential) at the meeting of March 10, 1966, <sup>(17)</sup> gave approval for negotiating agreements with Italy, Germany and the Netherlands but stipulated that the question of an agreement with the U.S.S.R. should be submitted for further Cabinet scrutiny. The \$150,000 budget for the first year was approved but the request for the precise amount of \$300,000 for the second year was altered in the Cabinet decision to "further funds."

While these heady successes were being registered by the Department, a new and complicating factor on the

interdepartmental front entered the scene of governmental cultural operations abroad in 1965 when the Secretary of State, Miss LaMarsh at that time, began to take a vigorous interest in her Department's vaguely defined role as a Ministry of Culture. That Department wished to inject a greater authority over the various semi-autonomous agencies which reported to Parliament through the Secretary of State--the National Gallery, the Museums, the National Film Board, etc.--in order to develop a coherent policy for Canadian cultural development. Inevitably, this effort came to involve quite a lively interest in external cultural relations as a projection of the Canadian domestic cultural scene. The Secretariat of State demonstrated a two-pronged intention in this regard: to gain recognition as a principal participant in the formulation of international cultural policy and in the execution of cultural programs abroad and, at the same time, to enlist the support of External Affairs in the campaign to control more closely the policy and operations of the independent-minded cultural agencies. In this latter respect, External was intended to assist the Secretariat of State by channelling its important relationships with the various agencies through the Secretariat. In a letter of August 27, 1965,<sup>(18)</sup> Mr. G.G.E. Steele, Under Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Cadieux announcing the commissioning of Mr. Gordon Sheppard by his Department "to carry out a study and prepare a report



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as background for review of the cultural policy of the federal government. Though Mr. Sheppard's chief concern is with those organizations for which the Secretary of State is directly responsible, it has been suggested that it would be valuable in this study to summarize and review all activities of the federal government relating to culture. Such a review would, of course, include the activities of your Information Division and the program for French cultural exchange." Mr. Cadieux replied that the Department would be glad to talk to Mr. Sheppard and provide him with available material. Consultations with Mr. Sheppard went ahead and the Department made an effort to fill him in on its history of cultural relations and the current situation. Mr. Steele returned to the charge in a letter to Mr. Cadieux of November 4, 1965,<sup>(19)</sup> in which he reverts to a central interest of his Department. After referring to an alleged agreement on the need to coordinate the activities of the two Departments, he wrote:

It would be helpful to me if you could consider this matter and suggest whether or not the relationship, which your Department traditionally has had with the various agencies responsible to the Secretary of State, might be better handled if some attempt was made to require that co-ordination be achieved through this office /i.e. the Secretariat of State/, at least insofar as the external programs of these agencies are concerned.

I am not suggesting that I should, in any sense, intervene in every instance when there

is a policy issue to be discussed, but I do think that we might consider agreeing on some course of action which would be better than the present arrangements.

This letter, on and between the lines, was taken seriously by the Department and was analyzed in a memorandum of November 9, 1965, (Confidential)<sup>(20)</sup> by Mr. McCordick to Mr. Cadieux:

I may be reading too much into this letter but I believe it may indicate:

1) continuing emphasis on broadening the authority and responsibility of the Department of the Secretary of State;

2) a desire on the part of that department to transform our Department's bilateral relationship with the agencies concerned into a triangular one which would have important implications for the conduct of our cultural relations with other countries.

In his first paragraph Mr. Steele seems to be suggesting that you are in sympathy with whatever it is that he has left ill-defined. . . . I am only aware of the form of coordination which you wish to achieve through the Interdepartmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad. Furthermore, in the final paragraph of his letter, Mr. Steele implies a sort of blanket adverse criticism of current arrangements for working with the agencies concerned.

We should be grateful for your guidance . . . in drafting a reply to Mr. Steele. In so doing, would you agree that:

1) reference should be made to the Interdepartmental Committee if this is indeed the framework within which you envisage policy coordination?

2) that we should find inoffensive language to indicate that present working arrangements are not too bad?

3) that we should also find language to indicate politely but firmly that we do not feel it is this Department's responsibility to provide Mr. Steele's Department with the arguments he seems to be seeking . . . to justify the increased control over the agencies concerned which he apparently desires? I would certainly be reluctant to start providing Mr. Steele with ammunition to prove his suggestion that our Department's relations with the various agencies might be better handled if we let his office coordinate them insofar as programmes abroad are concerned. I would like to see the onus put on him to sustain this thesis with detailed and specific argument.

Mr. Cadieux' reply was suitably bland; it noted that "on the whole we are happy with the collaboration extended to us by these the cultural agencies" and recommended that the coordination function be carried out within the framework of the Interdepartmental Committee.

Mr. Steele, it would appear, was not entirely content with this reply and in a letter of December 3, 1965, <sup>(21)</sup> he continued the discussion:

As you know, the concentration of agencies interested generally in cultural affairs under a single Minister is a comparatively recent development. It represents, in practice, the identification of "cultural affairs" within Canada as the functional responsibility of a single Minister. As his principal deputy in this field, I am charged with responsibility for advising him on the coordination of the policy, planning and activities of the departments and agencies concerned.

You will appreciate that my Minister shares with the Canada Council a responsibility for the development of the arts, humanities, and social

sciences in Canada, which cannot be divorced from their projection abroad.

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You will see therefore that the Secretary of State and the Canada Council share a very direct interest in the development of international cultural relations as they affect internal policy. I do not mean to suggest that all direct communications between your Department and the cultural agencies should be severed; . . . But if all these separate lines of communication are to be maintained, there is a clear need for effective co-ordinating machinery.

The letter concluded by suggesting that, although the Interdepartmental Committee scarcely had the capacity for policy coordination in this field, an effort should be made to use it. However, it would be better to consider setting up a smaller working committee to consist only of representatives from the Secretariat of State, External Affairs and the Canada Council.

The immediate exchange of correspondence on this subject seems to have petered out at this point but successive reincarnations of the claims to a considerable degree of authority over policy decisions in foreign cultural relations were advanced by the Department of the Secretary of State in later years.

The Sheppard Report which originally had been intended to (but never, in fact, did) preface a Gov-

ernment White Paper on Cultural Policy was transmitted to External Affairs in September, 1966. It did not recommend itself to the Department because of a considerable number of inaccuracies and errors of fact. The policy recommended faithfully endorsed the aspirations of the Department of the Secretary of State to assume a role as arbiter, counsellor and coordinator of international cultural relations, among other proposed responsibilities; this, too, did not recommend itself to External Affairs. Fortunately for this Department, the report was not well received in other quarters of government and was not to have any visible influence on the development of government policy.

This study of the record of the policies and activities of cultural relations ends with the creation at the beginning of 1966 of a separate Cultural Affairs Division of the Department by the parthenogenesis of the Information Division into two distinct institutional units. The record of the discussion within the Department leading to this decision is remarkably scanty; no papers disclosing the consideranda, before the decision on this departure was taken, are contained in any of the likely files connected with cultural affairs. The first mention is found in a memorandum (Confidential) to the Under-Secretary of September 2, 1965, <sup>(22)</sup> from Miss Dench of the Information Division who had been heading the

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Cultural Relations Section. It is entitled "Formation of the Cultural Relations Division" and was written "to let you have some notes on this subject for the meeting which you are to have this afternoon with Professor René de Chantal who is to head the new Division." This memorandum clearly follows a decision already taken and suggests the areas of responsibility to be transferred to the new Division from the Information Division. It shows the existing officer establishment of the Cultural Section as five officers and three probationary officers and recommends that two more FSOs be added when the Division is formed. A memorandum from Miss Dench to the Personnel Services Division of December 17, 1965,<sup>(23)</sup> says that four new officer and Principal Clerk positions will be required. This memorandum also attaches "Draft Notes re the Formation of New Cultural Relations Division" which is the only available record on paper of the reasons for establishing the new Division:

The reasons are both functional and administrative. . . . a steadily expanding interest in cultural matters both in Canada and abroad, together with the establishment of the Canada Council and the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO have added significantly to the scope and volume of the Department's cultural work . . .

Notwithstanding expansion in staff, the even greater increase in pressures from outside has resulted in the Department's cultural activities to date being largely responsive. However, the Government's decision to initiate

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a programme of cultural relations with France, Belgium and Switzerland in April, 1964, followed by a Cabinet decision of May 11, 1965, has required the Department to play a much more active role as the existing programme has been expanded and new ones are to be undertaken. . . .

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The policy and organizational implications of this positive expansion of our cultural relations with other countries make it essential to split the present Information Division into two Divisions, one to deal with general information work and the other to deal with cultural relations. The Division's present size is too unwieldy to cope with expanding responsibilities of such a varied nature. This is in keeping with the organizational structure of most foreign offices, in which experience has shown that there is a distinct role for a separate Cultural Relations Division.

There is no reason to doubt that these organizational and administrative considerations were the foundation of the decision by departmental management to create a separate Division with a special vocation. But supporting factors may have been two-fold: 1) the feeling of specially interested Canadian groups from artistic and educational circles that they needed a functional unit in External more specifically devoted to their type of interest than a broad Information Division could provide, and 2) that the claims of Québec to international sovereignty in some cultural fields may have called for a departmental unit with more single-minded direction, a sharper point and a francophone flavour.

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CHAPTER IX

In earlier chapters it has been suggested that, for a variety of reasons, the external information work of the Department had been less than inspired and less than effective. Perhaps the most notable cause of failure had been characteristic inability to plan logical, explicable courses of action to gain determined objectives; not that those engaged in the work were not aware of the need for a clearly chartered operational course but simply that the lack of enough qualified personnel did not admit of much more than responsive activity. Ideas for positive, dynamic and promotional programming were not in short supply but the machinery provided to do this was just not up to it. With the extension of Canadian diplomacy in the world at this time, more Canadians had acquired wider interest in other countries and in international affairs and had noted the dearth of Canadian publicity abroad. Criticism, iustified or not, of government inaction in the area of information abroad and of insufficient international affairs information at home was on the rise. Ministers and civil servants alike were aware of and chafed by the litany of complaint in this respect and

felt that steps were called for to satisfy the legitimate demands of Parliament, public and press for better, and probably bigger, information programs.

Signs of this renewed concern about press and information activities of the Department came to light in a departmental meeting of August 5, 1965, recorded by Mr. B. A. Keith<sup>(1)</sup> in a note for file:

The Under-Secretary said he had called the meeting to discuss problems facing the Department in the field of information work and public relations. He said the press representatives were concerned that the Department did not give them enough information. They accused the Department of not knowing enough about publicity work. Our Minister was envious of the press relations work carried on by certain other departments which had large publicity sections and served their ministers well in this field. Furthermore, the Prime Minister had expressed the view to various people and his comments had filtered back to the Under-Secretary that, notwithstanding its accomplishments in foreign policy, External Affairs was not good at information work. Mr. Cadieux said others took it upon themselves to criticize us as well; . . .

Mr. Cadieux said the press and broadcast representatives constituted a pressure group that was exerting itself against the Department. He said he did not get too excited about this pressure group since the persons concerned . . . wanted the Department to do their work for them.

Another source of criticism were the people in the public relations divisions of business organizations with dealings abroad. This group gathered each year at the Seignior Club for a conference on overseas information and its members were highly critical of the Department for not doing more. Here again, the Under-Secretary had the impression that they wanted the Department to do their work for them.

Overseas Information Work. Mr. J. A. McCordick, Head of Information Division, said that he was attracted to the idea of undertaking a study. He hoped it could be conducted with the participation of outsiders and in a way that would commit the Treasury Board officers ahead of time to support obtaining the additional staff that was needed. We should, however, warn Ministers that there was little in the way of measurable results in information work.

On the overseas publicity work the results could not be measured and furthermore the competition was great. We were in competition with France and Britain and other ancient well-springs of culture and we often had little to offer. . . .

Mr. McCordick said that Canada doesn't cut a big figure abroad. It was difficult to project an image of Canada in other countries. This was not an easy country to portray. He would like to see a tremendous increase in the programme of bringing journalists here to see Canada themselves and learn about it at first hand. . . .

Proposed Action. Mr. Cadieux said there were three possible lines of action:

- a) We could go direct to the Treasury Board and try to get approval for the addition to our staff of a number of information officers.
- b) We could cheat by hiring people ostensibly to do foreign policy work and have them devote their attention to information work.
- c) We could follow in the information field the procedure that had been carried out in administration; with the co-operation of T.B. officers we could carry out a study which would reveal our needs and indicate the resources that were required.

The Under-Secretary said that he strongly favoured this third line of action. He indicated that he would like B. A. Keith to investigate

the feasibility of doing such a study. It should not be entirely an internal study but should make use of some outside consultants or experts so that the weight of their judgment could be brought to bear on the problems and so that their support of the recommendations would carry conviction with the Treasury Board. He said it should be a thorough study of the problems and should include press relations at home, the work of the inter-departmental committee on information, the obligation of the Department in individual areas and countries, such as France, and the staff needed here and abroad to meet all requirements.

The study should look at what was financially, politically and professionally possible and we should then be prepared to tell Ministers the price. He said we should undertake a study that would command confidence. We should involve the press in the study and also Treasury Board and our own people. He said it was the politician's job to get the most achievement out of a department. The Department, however, should make it clear that it cannot be all things to all people and should indicate the cost in resources of undertaking any additional work.

These ideas were presented to the Secretary of the Treasury Board in a letter of August 27, 1965,<sup>(2)</sup> who responded in a letter of September 2, approving the Department's approach to the problem and offering the support of his staff for the study. The Under-Secretary was now committed to the study project and apparently intended that Mr. Bruce Keith, an experienced officer in the information, political and administrative work of this Department, was to organize and guide the progress of the study. Indeed, Mr. Keith addressed a memorandum to the Under-Secretary on October 6, 1965, in which he suggested draft terms of reference for

the study and a work plan to guide its preparation. He gave the names of those who he thought should be in the working group which would make the study but noted that " It will be necessary for the Admin Improvement Unit [which Mr. Keith headed] to assume responsibility for most of the detailed work."

For departmental administrative reasons, the assignment of Mr. Keith and his Unit to spearhead a committee which would conduct the study had been dropped by the end of the year. In January 1966, the author, newly returned from abroad and assigned as Head of Inspection Services was given the job. In a memorandum to the Under-Secretary of January 17, 1966,<sup>(3)</sup> Mr. Williams noted a different role had been allocated to Mr. Keith and went on:

In these circumstances I have been wondering whether we could move ahead with the information study by asking Mr. L. A. D. Stephens to take it on. Like Mr. Keith, he had considerable experience as a member of the Information Division many years ago and also was for a time Head of the Political Coordination Section which preceded the Press and Liaison Division. His extensive knowledge of the Department would also be an asset.

I suggest that Mr. Stephens be asked to be Chairman of a Committee to study the press and information work and that he undertake most of the interviewing and detailed investigation himself. The members of the Committee could include participants from the Treasury Board and Civil Service Commission, Information Division, Press and Liaison Division and outsiders as appropriate. . . .

The author approached this assignment with his own views on how it might best be conducted. His experience suggested that a committee, as such, was unlikely to be very effective as a research mechanism and quite ineffective in drafting a paper derived from the product of research. Composition and correlation of individual attitudes and conclusions was likely to result in a collection of "King Charles's Heads" rather than an integrated and coherent approach. Moreover, the inclusion at that stage of "outsiders" could force the inclusion of ideas and directions for program which the Department might not be able to accept, with consequent embarrassment for all concerned. The idea of using a committee at the stage when a researched paper had been written to serve as a working document seemed likely to be a more rewarding and useful method. Accordingly, the author sent the Under-Secretary a memorandum along these lines on February 10, 1966: (4)

You have approved the establishment of a Committee, which I would chair, to study the press and information work and to provide consultation and advice; this Committee would include one or two outside press people and representatives from Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission. I think this is, at some more advanced stage, all to the good. However, there are some delicate corners involved in the question of press relations in Canada and my own view is that informal consultations with suitable newspapermen for the time being might best serve the purpose of gathering helpful opinion and still meet the requirements of discretion. I am embarking on talks with

individual pressmen and think it would be useful soon to gather two or three for an evening session at my home, probably with Mr. Keith and others from the Department present. I would hesitate to put anything on paper in front of the outsiders before some degree of official benediction was given the views in such papers.

Mr. Cadieux agreed with this approach. The process of consultation inside and outside the Department, of scanning departmental material and reference to germane statements in Parliament and the press went ahead at a fairly brisk tempo. Late in March the section on press relations in Canada was complete. It proposed substantial personnel increases for the press office and was circulated for comment within the Department. The Head of the Personnel Division of the Department sent the author a memorandum dated April 7, 1966, which was revealing as to the attitude of departmental management. Referring to proposed, modest increases in the Liaison Section to be transferred to the Information Division, the letter noted "that there is little hope that the liaison function could be performed in the next five years by anything better than one middle-ranking FSO and one probationer." It continued with some direct, honest exposition of attitude:

Pardon me if I keep harping on what I regard as a very basic principle that there is not much use building up a big outfit to inform people in and out of Canada about Canadian foreign policy, if we do not first of all engage our best people in formulating that policy. Right now, with FSOs being called upon to perform so

many peripheral duties in what I can only describe, for want of a better term, non-political divisions, the department will soon look as a bunch of many tails wagging an awfully thin and decrepit dog.

The draft study went to the Under-Secretary under a memorandum of April 21, 1966.<sup>(6)</sup> The memorandum noted the intention to form a committee at this stage to give consideration to the report. This committee would consist of Messrs. McCordick, Fortier and Keith from the Department, representatives of Civil Service Commission and Treasury Board and three journalists, one of whom might be Blair Fraser. The memorandum also reported: "My inclination would be not to try to redraft this study in the committee but to send it to the Minister eventually, covered by a résumé of the committee's opinions and recommendations which may not necessarily, of course, coincide with those of the study." Mr. Cadieux' marginal comment on this was:

We should send a copy of this to the Minister and seek his views as to the journalists, suggesting alternatives in a covering memo. If Blair Fraser is to be one of the journalists, one of the three should be French speaking. This is, in my opinion, a first class study. The proposals are sensible and imaginative. Many thanks.  
M. C.

Thus sustained, the process of committee formation, following consultation of the Minister's wishes went forward. On April 29 the study was sent to the Minister and on May 3 a list of possible journalists to serve on the committee went to him. Mr. Martin consulted with



his press assistant, Mr. Maurice Jefferies, who had been Ottawa correspondent for the Windsor Star. Mr. Jefferies expressed his own approval of the study and suggested that reporters, rather than editors such as Blair Fraser or Gérard Pelletier, would be more suitable participants. He specifically recommended John Walker of Southams, Anthony Westell, then head of the Ottawa bureau of the Globe and Mail and Jean-Marc Poliquin of the CBC who had experience in both broadcasting and newspaper work. These three were then invited and agreed to serve on the committee. Meetings of this committee began on May 26, 1966, and two further meetings were held in the month of June. Outside participants took the exercise seriously and were able to contribute a good many insights, from the other side of the counter, on ways to communicate government information to the public at home and abroad and particularly, of course, to the press. The journalists were apparently impressed with the seriousness with which the Department approached this problem and with the candour of the draft report. On this latter aspect, Mr. Westell is remembered to have said: "This could be one of the few examples of 'auto-criticism' this side of the Iron Curtain." Of equal and perhaps longer-term value was the participation in the study process of the members from Treasury Board and Civil Service Commission who developed a sympathetic understanding of the importance to be attached to information work and

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the resources required to make it effective.

A memorandum of July 11, 1966,<sup>(7)</sup> to the Minister reported on the upshot of the committee consideration of report and covered a memorandum summarizing discussion on the recommendations and indicating which of these had been sustained, deleted or revised by committee consensus. Of 33 recommendations, 1 was deleted, 5 revised and the rest sustained.

The report, amended and revised in the light of the conclusions of the committee and certain comments from the Minister and the Under-Secretary, was given wide circulation in the Department, to some other government departments and to posts abroad. Despite its length, this report is attached as an appendix, without apology, because it was the most detailed examination of the aims, practices and requirements of the Department in the field of public information, before or since, and had some lasting effect on the conduct of these information activities.

The tone and direction which guided the detailed analysis and conclusions of the report are found in two sections selected for quotation here. The first is from the introductory paragraphs:

This study is an effort to examine the basis for departmental information and press activities as a support for the conduct of foreign policy which is the reason for the Department's existence. Further, an attempt is made to assess whether purposeful and useful activities are being performed, whether

adequate value is received for the time and money expended, whether the job is effectively carried out and whether the level of activity is appropriate to Canada's present position in world affairs. The study has not led to dramatic or revolutionary conclusions. Out of it has emerged a general view that activities have been and are along the right lines, that organization, programmes and procedures could be made more effective with proportionately little extra cost but that real value for Canada would result from a significantly larger programme, still well short of those of other comparable countries, if an expanded budget permitted reinforcement and improvement of existing activities and some breaking of new ground, initially on an experimental basis. In this field, as in others, the Government cannot expect to get more than it pays for and must decide what importance and priority it attaches to information and press activity in support of external policy and accept the financial implications involved.

By the very nature of this study a substantial part of the comment is critical and could lead to an impression that very little has been accomplished by the Department in the information and press field over the years. This is simply not so. Despite the long-standing lack of Government policy in this field and uncertainty about the degree of priority attached to these activities, despite very restricted funds and perennial personnel shortages, the Department has accomplished more than might reasonably have been expected and has made an important contribution to the understanding of Canada in other countries and to the understanding in Canada of international affairs and foreign policy. A solid foundation of purposeful and effective activity exists; not dismantling but an extension and improvement of structure is called for.

Certain recommendations are made below in the hope that they might lead to a somewhat

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improved function. Some recommendations are specific while others, perhaps the more important ones, are more indicative and suggest subjects and areas which could usefully be examined in detailed, follow-up studies. Whatever the recommendations which may be adopted, I wish to emphasize the opinion that they are unlikely to achieve very much unless the authority of the Department is exerted to allot and sustain an adequate priority, within its whole function, for the information and press activity. The priority must be visibly high enough to give status and respectability equal to other departmental activities and which will permit those engaged in information to feel their work is an integral and important part of the operation of a foreign office and a foreign service.

The study described the purposes and role of public information activities abroad in these terms:

For over twenty years--since the Second World War and the development of widespread Canadian representation in other countries--the Department of External Affairs and other Government Departments have made an effort to make Canada, its people, their life and aspirations better known to the world. The motivation for this activity has been partly intuitive and partly calculated. From many quarters the impulse to share knowledge of our country has been spontaneous, born of pride in our national resources, institutions and achievements and the determination to gain wide recognition for these. This understandable feeling has been reflected in Government information activity outside Canada but essentially it provides little more than stimulus and support for clearer and more systematic official purposes directed towards the service of Canada's national interests in the world.

What are the purposes of a Canadian Government information programme abroad? In this Department the question has been raised and answers given, time and time again, but there are strong and persistent indications that too many persons who have done information work have

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been unaware of the general purposes animating their activity or of the purpose of particular information projects in which they find themselves engaged. And if there is one important question any information officer must pose to himself, regularly and seriously, it is: "Why am I doing this?" Despite conscientious effort and (sometimes) good grasp of technique, it is too frequently hard for an information officer to explain--to others or himself--: "How does the initiative I am now planning serve the interests of the Canadian Government and people?" I think perhaps the basic problem arises from the anomaly that the fundamental purposes of an information programme abroad are understood but that so often the information activities themselves cannot be clearly related to these purposes.

Under rational examination, simply to impart information to the rest of the world about Canada is not a self-evident national objective; information work abroad must aim to and, in a broad sense, must be shown to support and advance Canadian interests. The ultimate objectives of such information work are those of external policy; to guarantee the security of the nation, to attain the highest possible degree of national prosperity and, in this pursuit, to fulfil those specific obligations to the rest of the world which enlightened self-interest or the humanitarian desires of the Canadian people may demand.

While it is important that a foreign information service never lose sight of the bedrock reasons for its existence, it would be inane, in operational terms, to focus chiefly on those ultimate and universal goals of peace and harmony which are more aspirations than objectives and which present a horizon far too distant for the purposes of a practical, current programme. Horizons must be lowered and targets brought closer.

In assessing and establishing the role of a foreign information service, a clear eye is called for to maintain perspective on the scope and on the limitations of the contribution which information can make to the Government's activity in foreign affairs. The central work of a Foreign Office and a Foreign Service is the conduct of government-to-government relations and in this

work an information service has no direct role to play. The information function is auxiliary to the central function but to recognize this with full force and clarity is not to degrade or minimize the utility and significance of the information arm. In the modern world of fast communication and of vastly expanding literacy and general education, it is not enough to talk to governments and to persuade them; the people-- at least an informed cross-section of them-- must be aware of the nature, intentions and performance of the country with which their government is talking and, in the long haul, the people must be persuaded that certain features make that country a valid and worthy interlocutor. To present such a picture and to persuade public opinion, within limits set by diplomatic propriety and the norms set by the local government, is the underlying job of an information service; and it is a serious and important job. However, the general task of displaying abroad those features of Canadian life which mark us broadly as a respectable and purposeful member of the international community should not be regarded as more than the backdrop to information activities which are more specific, more pointed, more directly contemporaneous. If information work is to achieve proper impact, it must be carried out in the light of the most important Canadian interests in the current circumstances, national and international. Those interests may be political, economic, commercial, cultural or other but their promotion should call for priority action, ahead of background information activities.

. . .

One further excerpt from the 1966 study, headed: "General Defects and Suggested Improvements" deals with governmental and, more particularly, departmental attitudes towards and priority for public information programs and the machinery required for them. The operational problems stemming from management's lack of confidence or apathy towards the

claims for public information activity and its funding, and the judgments on relative priority for this stream of activity have been clearly recognized by almost everyone who has worked in the field. In more recent years the picture has been brighter but some of the elements dealt with in the excerpt below continue to benight full-scale development of effective information programming:

It is not too difficult to identify a number of particular and detailed flaws in the Department's external information performance and to envisage a repair or patching job to improve these. But the malaise of the body of information work as a whole cannot be explained by symptomatic description of malfunction of the parts. On the contrary, a healthy and confident operational body would long since have found remedies for particular defects. In the more than twenty years since World War II which have witnessed the vast growth of Canadian participation in international life, the information function has not developed correspondingly and the Information Division in Ottawa has continued to be, under successive Governments and successive departmental managements, a tolerated but unloved stepchild. The information job has been and still is regarded in the foreign service as at second level and somewhat irrelevant. . . .

. . . this attitude has not developed capriciously but through observation of the less than important status allotted to the Division and the less than impressive achievements it has been able to register. Outside observers are generally critical of the information operation but for other reasons. The foreign service tends to disdain the Information Division and information work as "unprofessional" in the sense of the profession of diplomatist while journalists consider it "unprofessional" in the sense of the profession of public communication. The sad thing, to my mind, is that these two views, though often exaggerated in their scope and intensity, are not lacking in valid basis.





label of "Press Office" but that owing to lack of personnel the transfer of the liaison functions had yet to be accomplished; b) the structure of the Information Division was being altered to provide for two main streams, each under a Deputy Head of Division. On the one side were to be the essentially "operational" activities to cover publications, films, post reports, visiting journalists, etc.; on the other there would be a package to include interdepartmental relations, the external policy section, policy liaison with posts and "built into this somewhere will be the planning function which is going to be of continuing and growing importance"; c) the Academic Relations Section was being left quite separate and floating" since its final home in the Department was yet to be found; d) the plan to provide standing instructions to posts to set out broad information purposes and relate them to specific objectives in each country had not been implemented "because we have had no one to do it". As a second best, the flow of dialogue with posts had been increased and this seemed to have stimulated greater interest and initiative at posts in this field; the provision of information instructions to heads of posts on appointment had been done in some cases but not in all, depending on availability of personnel; e) the recommendation on the need for each post to prepare its information planning for each year in advance had been

given emphasis in the report and although it was one of the most important things to do, it had, in fact not got started. This would have required a great deal of preparatory work in the Information Division and there was no manpower to accomplish it; f) short training programs in information work for FSOs had been organized and put on with some success but more needed to be done; g) the study had stressed the need for innovative, effective forms of information activity and "just about the maximum possible is being done in the way of thinking and planning in this regard . . . We are engaged in collecting data on the functions and management of one or two Canadian Information Centres. . . . It is my hope that we might be far enough ahead to get some money into the 68-69 budget for a pilot project."; h) "We are . . . trying to analyze what potential use public relations agencies might be to us in information operations abroad, or, more probably as consultants in establishing programmes to be carried out on our own resources"; i) attention is now being given to the possible development of a speakers' program abroad; j) "Another activity, the value of which I am thoroughly confident of, is the development of an organized and dynamic programme of information for United States schools."; k) the possibility of creating a new prestige quarterly was being discussed with the Queen's Printer; l) planning for

the let-down following Centennial Year was under way, particularly regarding potential use of artifacts and physical properties from the Centennial Commission and Expo '67; m) a good deal of work on interdepartmental coordination was being done and the framework of the Interdepartmental Committee had been used to good effect in meeting the challenges of that anniversary year. This had proceeded through the use of sub-committees with a limited number of participants which seemed to be a good way "to energize the vastly over-populated and loquacious main Committee into talking about practical co-operative programmes rather than theoretical formulae". The memorandum concluded with a general comment:

In general, what has been accomplished since I came here last August is an intensification of work in traditional fields and development of a somewhat enhanced awareness of the need for closer relationships with posts, with the rest of the Department and with other Departments of Government. (Whether the rest of the Department is more aware of the Information Division, I wouldn't know.) I know, however, that I resist the traditional tendency of area or other divisions to take over a particular subject when they consider it a bit too serious or important to be handled by Information (and I recognize my own past sins in this respect); this may have its own missionary value. The other thing that has happened is the beginning of a serious planning function that, as I reckon, is going to go on for some years at a pretty active level. I think we can erect a programme within at least two years that will justify a seven-figure budget and there will still be a long way to go.

The Under-Secretary passed this memorandum on to Mr. Williams with these marginal comments:

1. This is a very interesting and useful report.
2. The Minister insisted the Govt are anxious that we should move quickly and decisively in this field.
3. What can we do to expedite action?
4. Could you /Williams/, Mr. Bennett /Director General of Finance and Administration/, Mr. Stephens produce a plan suggesting what you could do if you had 1, 2, 3 more officers--Where we could get them. We must move.

Mr. Williams' response was positive but not suggestive of immediate action: "This is very encouraging but the evident need is personnel. I wonder whether Mr. Stephens could identify personnel, perhaps in the Centennial Commission and elsewhere who might be available at the end of 1967."

During the next two years there was a strong boot-strap endeavour, with loyal support from departmental management, to plan, rationalize and strengthen information work abroad, while building an infrastructure which could underpin future expanded activity in the field. Considerable success was marked at posts, especially those which had set up information coordinating committees, in setting information goals and recommending programs to meet them. In Ottawa there were forward strides in objective-setting

and in proposing or deciding geographical and functional priorities. Some modest personnel increases were achieved and the budget rose in 1968-69 to the figure of \$1,600,000 (of which part was illusory because exhibition costs, previously carried by the Government Exhibition Commission, were transferred by Treasury Board ukase to departmental appropriations). And, of particular importance, planning and development of new and better organized programs in the United States went ahead with vigour and strong departmental approval. (A separate paper will record developments in the programs conducted in the U.S.) (However, momentum was checked and reversed in 1969 as a result of a new campaign of government retrenchment and austerity. The Department was called upon to find formidable cuts in funds and activities; staff was reduced and some missions were closed. In money terms it was necessary to eliminate, defer or curtail program expenditures. As large elements of Departmental disbursement were firmly committed--salaries, allowances, building and rental contracts, contributions to international agencies, etc.--funds available for discretionary use by the Department such as those for informational and cultural programs were immediately indicated as areas where retrenchment could be affected, however reluctantly. A memorandum (Confidential) of January 9, 1970,<sup>(9)</sup> from the author to Mr. Hanley Bennett indicates the level of cuts for the information program in

1970 and some estimate of the unfortunate consequences:

Information Programme Reductions

The Department's public information programmes have been particularly severely curtailed--and at a time when Government emphasis on the information function is unprecedentedly strong--as a result of financial restriction. In the current year the information budget runs at close to \$1,600,000 and in the coming year it has been reduced to \$1 million. The plan to meet reduced circumstances is to concentrate on certain geographical priorities (e.g. the United States, France and francophonie, Japan, Western Europe and Australasia) but maintaining some activity in all media programmes--film, radio, exhibitions, publications, press relations and visits; the reductions will be reflected in all of these. The budget for exhibitions and manifestations will fall from \$807,000 to \$530,000, of publications (both production and purchase) from \$476 to \$335 thousand, of the programme of visits to Canada by journalists and other opinion formers from \$80,000 to \$55,000. All plans for Canadian Information Centres abroad or for Regional Information Officers have been dropped.

Once again plans for a substantial and significant domestic information programme (except Academic Relations) must be deferred. Such programmes would be geared to the provision of information about the international scene and Canada's part in it, directly (i.e. not through the news media in Ottawa) to significant sectors of the Canadian public--trade unions, the Canadian Teachers Federation, church groups and journals, women's groups, student associations, etc. The momentum of the Academic Relations programme, however, is to be maintained with a budgetary increase from \$12 to \$24 thousand.

Perhaps the greatest blow in the information field arising from budgetary reduction is the resulting incapacity of this Department to fill the central role required of it in information abroad by the Information Task Force Report which has had, in this respect, Cabinet endorsement. The Report's recommendations allot central responsibility and leadership in bringing

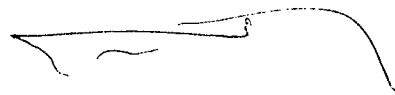
information to foreign publics, and the coordination of other Government agencies in this effort, to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. It will not be easy to be effective in this role, however, in the Department's weakened state of financial and human resources.

The quotation above refers to recommendations of the Task Force on Government Information. Discussion of that Report, the Department's input into the Task Force's research and the implications for the organization and operations of information abroad of its Report are discussed in the following chapter.

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## CHAPTER X

On August 30, 1968, Prime Minister Trudeau appointed a Task Force on Government Information "to study the structure, operation and activities of Federal departmental services in Canada and abroad and, where necessary, their publicity programs." The Task Force was to submit its recommendations by March 1, 1969. The Task Force was made up of D'Iberville Fortier (Chairman) of the Department of External Affairs, Bernard Ostry, historian and broadcaster, and Tom Ford, newspaper writer. Two Special Advisers to the Task Force were named: Derek Bedson, Clerk of the Executive Council of Manitoba, and Michel Roy, Political Editor of Le Devoir.

The first notification to the Department came in letters of September 17, 1968, (Confidential) to the Under-Secretary and to the author from Mr. Fortier.<sup>(1)</sup> In the letter to Mr. Cadieux it was noted that: "Le travail et les recommandations du groupe concernent directement le ministère des Affaires extérieures puisque la structure, le fonctionnement et les activités gouvernementales d'information à l'étranger feront,

comme les domaines intérieures, partie de l'étude."

The letter continued:

. . . Une partie de notre mandat qui n'a guère retenu l'attention à l'extérieur de nos murs et qui nous préoccupe se rapporte à la très courte période que le gouvernement nous a donné pour effectuer ce travail complexe de synthèse. C'est en raison de ce facteur que j'ai déjà pris contact directement avec M. Stephens qui nous a assuré de son plus entier appui.

Nous étudierons de très près le rapport qu'il soumettait il y a deux ans au ministère sur les activités départementales dans ce domaine. Nous voudrions également le consulter comme membre du comité interministériel de l'information à l'étranger; il a acquis à ce titre une expérience qui nous sera précieuse. L'information canadienne à l'étranger intéresse évidemment de nombreux ministères et agences, mais les Affaires extérieures sont plus que d'autres, il me semble, en mesure de contribuer à l'élaboration d'une synthèse.

Mr. Fortier also stated the Task Force's intention to study the information organization and activity of other countries and sought the Department's help in garnering material and arranging useful visits to other countries for members of the Task Force to this end. The letter to the author of the same date enclosed the terms of reference for the Task Force and a copy of a confidential document entitled "Tentative List of Research Subjects." This tentative list provided for a full chapter on information abroad. More formal notification of the place and purpose of the Task Force and which called for departmental co-

operation with it came in a letter of September 19, 1968, (Confidential)<sup>(2)</sup> from R. G. Robertson, Clerk of the Privy Council.

Before the end of the month, telegrams<sup>(3)</sup> had gone to London, Paris, Bonn and Stockholm asking for the provision of material on the information policy and practice of the governments concerned and was the beginning of the very large input by posts of substantive information on Task Force processing and consideration.

Mr. Pitfield of the Privy Council Office, in a letter<sup>(4)</sup> of October 2, 1968, asked the Under-Secretary for copies of departmental studies in the field of information and later in the month was given copies of the 1966 papers on the Department's press and information work and on academic relations. In a letter of November 4,<sup>(5)</sup> to the author, Mr. Fortier refined his description of the main interests of the Task Force with respect to information abroad. He wanted to know about program definition and terms of reference for the Department's information work: "How well defined are the Mandate or Terms of Reference for information activities in general and for individual programmes? . . . are we right in assuming that this work is being done within the five-year planning programme? Do our missions abroad have a

clear idea of what is expected of them in the field of information? . . ." He also wanted to know what program control was exercised. He asked about staffing systems; whether they were adequate and, if not, what might be done about it. Further, he sought views on what needed to be done to improve interdepartmental coordination. Finally, he sought ideas on structure for effective operations abroad and invited the author to set out his thoughts on the nature of a possible foreign information service.

This letter, supported by a number of informal discussions, impelled the author to express orally a number of views which he wished to expose first to senior departmental management before committing them to paper. An opportunity was provided to do this as a meeting of the Under-Secretary with the Task Force had been arranged for December 11, 1968. In preparation for this meeting, the author gave the Under-Secretary a memorandum on December 9<sup>(6)</sup> which covered a "think piece" along the lines of views expressed to Mr. Fortier and colleagues in conversation. The Under-Secretary was informed that: "It has been clear to Mr. Fortier and me that on policy questions I was setting out personal ideas based on working experience and that the opinions and proposals could not be considered as departmental as they had not been considered

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or endorsed by Minister or Deputy Minister. I have had the impression that the Task Force is at present looking for data and for ideas rather than for authoritative departmental despositions." The memorandum noted that the Chevrier Report was awaited and that it would no doubt be relevant and should be considered before more deliberate conclusions were reached. Discussion of the Chevrier Report is to be found in a later chapter.<sup>7</sup> The paper (Confidential) attached to this memorandum was entitled "Notes on Organization and Conduct of Canadian Government Public Information Activity Abroad." As both the Department and the Task Force were to give it serious attention, substantial excerpts are quoted here:

The purposes of Government and public information operations in foreign countries are as broad and general as can be comprehended under the definition of the promotion of Canadian interests through communication to the public of other countries. Central to the promotion of Canadian interests is the support that can be given in the field of public communication to the policies of the Canadian Government. Perhaps the major underlying purpose is to bring to bear on the policies of other governments the influence of an informed and understanding public opinion about Canada. In some circumstances, of course, the importance of this indirect communication with governments is less and it is the public access and reaction, itself, to information about Canada which matters. Tourism, immigration and, to a considerable extent, trade exemplify this. The target for provision to foreign publics of information about Canada's international political policies, on the other hand, must ultimately, though indirectly, be foreign governments. These objectives are

inextricably intertwined and programmes established for separate purposes and separate audiences inevitably have relevance to and impact on quite separate sets of objectives. It has become increasingly clear to many observers that public information abroad, diverse, complicated and highly articulated as it is, nevertheless constitutes, taken in the round, a single net of purpose and a broad, single field of action. This net, in principle, is a vehicle for the service of one master--the Government (or the policy of government).

Despite acceptance of the principle, there is little doubt that in fact the methodology of public information abroad does not respond to anything as unitary--as mythical--as something called "Government policy". Operations respond to a wide range of policies and they must do. But in the long run there is required some observation, some overview, to see whether these operations are severally compatible with our very broad interests, with healthy, fruitful relationships with the other countries concerned, that the various programmes are compatible with each other, support each other and in their sum provide balance and efficiency. Sheer overview and knowledge of the full range of governmental public information activities abroad would have purely academic value unless it were coupled with the authority of control--policy, programme and budgetary--vested in one organization, no matter how various the vehicles and methods of programming may be. This seems to me to be a policy requirement (and perhaps a management imperative) which no Government has faced up to since the demise of the Wartime Information Board and the delinquency of its successor, the Canadian Information Service, in 1947. The present review of government information may well be the unique opportunity, after more than 20 years, to correct past inadequacy and establish a rational and effective structure.

After reviewing the "dispersion and balkanization of effort" which has marked the past organization of government information endeavours abroad, the paper concludes

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that new and different machinery is called for:

There should be a single foreign information service to implement Government policy in the field of public information abroad. It would serve the foreign information policies and purposes of all Departments of Government and would be tasked by these Departments on a regular basis or from time to time. It would combine the personnel and budgetary resources of Departments and agencies of Government now carrying out separate foreign information activities. It would receive guidance from an Interdepartmental Advisory Board on Foreign Information. This Board would, annually or as required, consider the programme planning of the Service and make recommendations to the SSEA or through him to Cabinet.

Control. Authority for the Service would lie with the SSEA and, where appropriate, with the USSEA. This stipulation would be of major importance because public information abroad is a support activity for the conduct of substantive Canadian policy internationally and must be intimately related to it. The Department of Government charged with the conduct of international relations is External Affairs and this Department must accept authority for the policy and conduct of Canadian Government information in other countries. . . . However, despite the need for both policy and management control by External Affairs, the Service would have to be organized in such a way as to permit the individual purposes to be pursued with no less expertise and effectiveness than at present possessed by separate agencies. . . .

The paper recognized that there would have to be a productive and harmonious relationship between a foreign information service and whatever domestic central information agency might be established following the report of the Task Force. It was suggested that such a central unit would be small, with several main functions:



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- 1) to know the scope and nature of the information activities of each Department, to catalogue and cross-reference this knowledge for the common benefit;
- 2) to provide resources for the Department in the way of expertise, production capacity (e.g. writing, editorial, audio-visual), data circulation to Departments, etc.;
- 3) to set guidelines and recommend standards.

. . .

. . . If such a unit were established in Ottawa, its importance and value to a foreign information service as a prime resource agency is obvious. It could provide advice and practical assistance in the production of special articles, preparation of publications, use of film, TV tape, film-strip, diapositives, availability of speakers, exhibition techniques, etc. There would also develop a useful opportunity for exchange of personnel and experience with a foreign information service. . . . The relationship of a central unit to our Department's domestic information activities would be even more intimate and useful. . . .

Staffing a Foreign Information Service. This topic requires a good deal of study but I would hope that the Service could provide its own career structure, augmented by large-scale use of Foreign Service Officers for full-posting assignments and where necessary by one-time postings of very specialized people.

In response to a request from Mr. Fortier, the author sent him a letter (Confidential) of January 13, 1969, <sup>(7)</sup> covering a paper on a notional line of responsibility, organization and structure of a foreign information service. The covering letter also gives some idea of the relationship between the Information Division and the Cultural Affairs Division since the latter unit assumed

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independent life at the beginning of 1966:

You will not have failed to note that there is at least one glaring gap in the suggestions I have made: the degree, if any, of incorporation of cultural relations activities in the responsibility of a Canadian International Information Service. (The distinction should be made at once that information about Canadian cultural life and activity is and will remain the responsibility of an information service. The matter in question is the conduct of a programme of cultural exchange and cooperation.) This is not because I am unconvinced that cultural relations do not form part of the larger public affairs, public contact and public information role in other countries. I am quite certain in my own mind that activities involving the exchange of people in the field of education and the arts and the manifestation of Canadian artistic excellence abroad is a very important part of the building of the Canadian image and the communication of the feeling and experience of Canadians to other peoples. This is precisely the role of general public information abroad and this cultural facet should not be left out of the large effort. However, Canadian circumstances at present have made me reluctant to advance a formula for the inclusion of the cultural element in the scope of a C.I.I.S. The first circumstance is the current political situation where the cultural element has become very bound up in the dynamic of the complex determined by the imperative of national unity, by federal-provincial relations, the relations of Canada and Quebec with France and a connected interest in francophonie. The fact that out of a budget of \$1.3 million for cultural relations last year, \$1 million was devoted to France and some other French-speaking countries is an illustration of this. The second circumstance lies in the area of managerial pattern. Since External Affairs made an organizational and programme division between its public information and cultural activities, there has been little interest in an effort to relate and ally these activities and the administrative pattern has permitted, perhaps encouraged, the development of these

closely related functions to become separate and detached. I understand the political better than I do the managerial circumstances but in any case a pretty determined change of course would be required to put the objectives of these two streams together again. And yet, at any post abroad, it is quite impossible to separate the cultural and informational elements of public communication and great confusion has resulted.

The attached paper under this letter was a personally devised scheme for the organization of a Canadian International Information Service. There is attached as an appendix a tentative organization chart for such an institution. This plan would have called for a Director General responsible to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and would implement the policy decisions of a Directing Board as approved by the Minister or by Cabinet. There was also to be a Deputy Director General essentially concerned with administration. There would be Directors responsible for, respectively: General Information, Trade Promotion, Travel Promotion and Immigration Information. These Directors would have particular connections with the Government Departments most directly involved in these fields. There were also to be Directors for Media and Production and a Director of Regional Services to be involved in instructing and helping posts and regional information offices. The Directing Board was to be established at Deputy Minister level and to have membership

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from the Privy Council Office, External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Manpower and Immigration, CBC, National Film Board, plus the Director General of the C.I.I.S. It was left open, as a matter for later judgment, whether there should be membership from the private sector. It was recognized that, abroad, there would be no requirement for fullfledged C.I.I.S. offices in many countries but that such offices should be established in the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy and Australia. Regional C.I.I.S. bureaux were suggested for Mexico, Argentina, Abidjan, Dar-es-Salaam, Beirut, New Delhi and one of the Scandinavian capitals. On staffing, a career foreign information service was recommended which would also permit of secondments from government departments and agencies and of contracted services of experts.

Some idea of the staffing of the Information Division was provided to the Task Force, on its request, in a memorandum from the Personnel Branch of the Department of 29 January, 1969. The request had been for a table showing the comparison between the number of positions sought by the Information Division annually and the number actually approved by Treasury Board. From 1964-65 to 1969-70 this was the record:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Positions Requested</u>	<u>Positions Approved</u>	<u>Establishment</u>
1964-65	10	9	43
1965-66	(Establishment review combined with 1966-67; establishment of 43 reduced to 35 by transfer of positions to new Cultural Affairs Division.)		
1966-67	2	2	37
1967-68	1	1	40
	(2 positions transferred from Press & Liaison Division.)		
1968-69	7	2	42
1969-70	13	3	45.

This list shows a modest increase of strength but well below what the Division considered necessary to carry out its work effectively. Over this same period there were requests for 41 positions for information work at posts abroad and 26 of these were approved. At officer level 16 positions were requested and 7 approved. At secretarial or local information assistant level, 25 positions were requested and 19 approved.

Further information on budget and operational costs were given the Task Force in a letter of February 18, 1969.<sup>(8)</sup> One annex to this shows a breakdown of the estimates of 1966-67 for the Information Division. Of a total budget of \$509,000, \$289,000 was for departmental publications, \$78,000 for the purchase of publications for distribution and \$142,000 for displays, films and "other informational

publicity." Within this last catch-all category was included \$50,000 for visiting journalists programs. Salary costs for the Division in 1967-68 were \$313,500, in 1968-69, \$357,300 and in 1969-70, \$402,900. The budget allocations for Information Division in 1969-70 were shown as \$745,000, plus \$807,000 for exhibitions programs. The figures in 1970-71 were for estimates of \$880,000, plus \$807,000 for exhibitions--a total of \$1,687,000. (Beginning in 1969-70 the budget for exhibitions was carried by the Department whereas, earlier, it was included in estimates for the Exhibition Commission.) It has already been noted that the Department was forced by austerity in 1969 to reduce the 1970-71 information budget down to \$1,000,000. Another interesting set of data covered by this letter was an estimate by selected posts of the percentage of the posts total activity contributing to the information effort. The assessment was: New York (Consulate General) 32%, Tokyo 20%, Djakarta 13%, Bonn 15 to 20%, London 15%, Washington 20 to 25%.

In January (no precise date) of 1969, the Information Services Management Institute of the Federal Institute of Management (ISMI for short), a professional association of information officers of the Federal Government, submitted a long brief to the Task Force. (9)

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Much of this brief was devoted to finding better status for information officers, better and closer relations with management and the furthering of recruitment, training and advancement for this professional group. A short section was devoted to information abroad and five recommendations were put forward:

- a) a professional Information Service of adequate proportions be established at headquarters of the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa;
- b) policy be established for public information abroad defining the image of Canada to be disseminated and the information objectives to be attained;
- c) adequate numbers of professional information officers of a high calibre be assigned posts abroad on the basis of current Canadian Government policies and the priorities in political, commercial and immigration objectives;
- d) the officers assigned be responsible not only for External Affairs duties but also for trade publicity, immigration and other information services required from time to time by federal departments and agencies;
- e) the federal government and the Department of External Affairs recognize that the most important single factor in creating an effective Canadian information program abroad is the establishing of a continuing image-building program that must be a significant ingredient of Canadian foreign policy.

In a memorandum (Confidential) of January 31, 1969,<sup>(10)</sup> to Mr. Starnes for the information of the Department's Senior Committee, the author attached the ISMI brief and made some comments:

. . . 5. The major recommendation in common between the ideas I have, on request, been putting into the Task Force's maw and those submitted by ISMI is that there should be a centralized service to carry information about Canada to the public in other countries. The difference is that, in my latest letter to Mr. Fortier, I was making suggestions along the line of a relatively independent Canadian International Information Service which would be under the authority of the Minister of External Affairs but not part of the departmental apparatus. (The departmental control would be exercised through a Directing Board of which our Deputy Minister would be a member, probably as chairman); the ISMI recommendations, however, seem to envisage Information Services Abroad as an organic, if greatly expanded, branch of the department, and hence, under direct Deputy Minister's command. This juxtaposition of approach seems strangely reversed and convoluted. At a long session in December when Directors of Information met with the Task Force to discuss organization for information abroad, I had espoused with some vigour the need to make international information services an integral and important part of the responsibility of External Affairs (or any Foreign Office). I can only say that this view was supported by no one else (although everyone agreed that the SSEA was the only possibility as the responsible Minister). . . . However it arose, it is very possible, indeed, that the Department will have to come to a conclusion as to which sort of formula would best suit the general governmental purpose and the Department's particular institutional position. For what it is worth (credo), I would prefer to see the Department, as an institution, shoulder the responsibility for the function if it is prepared to undertake a rather fundamental change of attitude to the function.

There followed a suggested balance sheet of pros and cons for the formulae of an independent agency or an expanded branch of the Department. On February 7, the Senior Committee considered this question but arrived at no



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conclusion but "agreed that Mr. Stephens should be invited to meet with the Senior Committee at an early date to discuss the departmental point of view on this issue having regard to the various policy organizational and administrative considerations that require weighing." The author attended a meeting of the Senior Committee on March 5 where this subject was further discussed and certain tentative conclusions reached:

- i) in the interest of advancing Canadian interests abroad the most logical and efficient arrangement would be to have a Canadian external information service as an integral part of the Department of External Affairs;
- ii) such an arrangement would have to be accompanied by:
  - a) a substantial increase in personnel and financial resources;
  - b) a recognition within the foreign service of the legitimacy and importance of the information/cultural relations function;
  - c) the acceptance into the foreign service of people who possess talents different from those which in the past have been regarded as equipping them to serve as FSOs;
- iii) if the Government were to decide to establish a semi-autonomous information service reporting to the Secretary of State for External Affairs efforts should be made to establish close working relationships at every level with the new entity.

The final report of the Task Force was not formally presented to the Government until August 29,

1961, but the draft report was in the hands of the Cabinet by early June of that year. The interim was taken up by Cabinet consideration of the discussion and recommendations of the report, principally by an Ad Hoc Committee of Cabinet set up for the purpose and by a special committee of officials under the chairmanship of Mr. Marc Lalonde of the Prime Minister's Office. There was provided through this mechanism an opportunity for a certain amount of comment by Departments of Government. The first official notification of Government consideration of the Task Force Report came in a letter of July 22, 1969,<sup>(11)</sup> to the Minister, Mr. Sharp, from Mr. Drury, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee. Mr. Drury remarked that the Cabinet Committee on Priorities and Planning would consider the matter of government information the following day, noting that this Committee would concern itself with the major structural recommendations of the Task Force and not with proposals of detail concerning individual departments. However, he wished to draw Mr. Sharp's attention to Chapter 12 of Volume II of the report dealing with information services abroad.

On August 1, Mr. Lalonde wrote to the Under-Secretary giving notice of the Working Group of Officials which he would chair. The terms of reference for the Working Group were authorized in Cabinet document 828/69

of July 29, 1969 (Secret):

. . .d) a working group of officials be established, including representatives of the Prime Minister's Office, the Treasury Board, the Department of Justice, the Department of the Secretary of State, the Department of Supply and Services and the Department of External Affairs, to make detailed recommendations to the Prime Minister or such minister as he may designate, on:

- i) the organization, personnel and budget of Information Canada,
- ii) the handling of all the recommendations of the report of the Task Force on Government Information, including in particular, those recommendations pertaining to specific departments,
- iii) an appropriate public response by the Government to the publication of the report,
- iv) the timing of the publication of the Task Force report (in consultation with the Task Force on Government Information), as well as its form and distribution,
- v) such other matters related to government information, as may be assigned to it by the Prime Minister.

The Working Group, in which the author represented External Affairs, had a brief but very active existence and was largely occupied in sorting out the Task Force proposals which appeared operable in the existing circumstances, setting aside some which seemed impracticable, administratively, or politically, and trying to organize the recommendations in a form capable of managerial implementation. Very little attention was paid by the Working Group to comments

and proposals concerning information abroad and the major concentration was on the form and function of Information Canada.

The first exposition of the content of the Task Force Report as it affected External Affairs came in a memorandum (Secret) of August 5, 1969, <sup>(12)</sup> from the author to the Under-Secretary. It concluded with a general comment:

If we take Volume II of the Task Force Report as our text--and it is this volume which is directed towards official implementation rather than Volume I which is turned towards the grandstands--I think the cause of government information and of our Department's information work can take stronger impetus and clearer direction from these analyses and recommendations than they have had heretofore. The adverse criticism is general, toughly phrased and awkwardly balanced. There are instances of poor focus, of lack of proportion and some errors of fact. But the Task Force has recognized a generally badly conducted function of government, has accurately identified a number of its causes--the chief being the vast indifference of governments over many years--and has suggested ideas for improvement, most of them intelligent and operable. But it is ideas that the Task Force has produced rather than a system or systems of management blueprints. This was as it had to be, considering the limitations of personnel and especially time allotted to the Group and I think they have made good use of what they had to work with. . . .

Before publication of the Report, the author, in a memorandum (Secret) of August 19, 1969, <sup>(13)</sup> to the Under-Secretary quoted those parts of the Report which might require departmental consideration and possible decision.

These points dealt with the financial and administrative treatment of departmental information activities, with staffing and with operations. On the financial side, the thrust was to accomplish definition of information activities for accounting purposes, recording of information disbursements and priority setting to eliminate or curtail programs of lesser value. On the structural side, the director of information was to be recognized as "senior policy adviser responsible to his Deputy Minister, and to be a member of the departmental or agency management committee, with easy access to the Minister and Deputy Minister." The idea of financial responsibility centres was raised in the proposal: "Departmental and agency Information Divisions be responsible for information budgets." On the personnel side, the central recommendation was that the Government should: "Cause to be created a career service for Information Services Officers to be called the Canadian Information Services of which the officer members would be recruited, trained and thereafter assigned and transferred by the Public Service Commission, in consultation with the departments and agencies. . . ." Information Canada was to set up a Personnel Division to advise the central agencies (Public Service Commission and Treasury Board) on standards for recruiting, classifying and performance standards. The recommendations on press

relations urged the need to strengthen government operations in this field. One of the proposals was that: "The media relations function be carried out by, or under the immediate supervision of departmental information directors or where, as in foreign affairs, a separate press office appears to be warranted, in close consultation between the respective heads." The recommendations also provided that the media relations officer not only have early notice of developments in departmental policy but also have direct access "to all departmental levels including his Minister."

With regard to programs of Canadian public information abroad, the Task Force made nine recommendations:

1. The Cabinet Committee charged with information policy meet, from time to time, to develop and facilitate a more coherent approach to governmental information policies and programmes abroad consistent with general objectives and priorities of Canadian foreign relations.
2. The authority of the Secretary of State for External Affairs to fulfil his responsibilities for the projection of Canada abroad be reinforced by giving his Department the necessary resources.
3. Departments and agencies directly involved in information abroad retain responsibility for developing their respective policies and generally for implementing them to do so within the framework of the government's foreign and general information policies in order to avoid duplication.

4. In place of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad, the government set up a board on information policy abroad with necessary support staff and composed of deputy heads of departments, heads of government agencies and representatives of private organizations and associations directly interested in Canadian information abroad to advise the Secretary of State for External Affairs.
5. An Assistant Under-Secretary for Public Affairs be appointed in the Department of External Affairs to be responsible for the Information, Cultural Affairs and Historical Divisions, and the press office of that Department. His responsibility should also include Information Canada centres abroad and liaison with appropriate departments and agencies.
6. Recommendations concerning the establishment of a career "Canadian Public Affairs Service" designed to achieve higher standards and mobility of personnel apply to full-time information personnel abroad and, where appropriate, to foreign service personnel involved in information activities.
7. Information Canada be given sufficient resources to support Canada's information programmes abroad including the production of materials of common interest to all agencies concerned, research into the publics and the efficacy of Canadian information programmes abroad, and a liaison facility for visiting journalists programmes.
8. Information Canada centres be set up in foreign countries which have been given the highest information priority by the Government, and that all information personnel located in such places be regrouped under the authority of respective heads of mission; whether or not such centres exist, information activities of all departments in a foreign country be closely co-ordinated under the authority of the head of mission and be provided by the mission with common services conducive to improved efficiency.

9. Regional Information Canada centres be set up in stages to support the efforts of groups of missions selected on a high priority area basis; these centres make use of information specialists familiar with the region's interests and problems.

The covering memorandum commented on some of these recommendations. The comment on recommendation 2 was: "What this will mean in current fiscal circumstances [the severe austerity of 1969] I don't know but the objective is estimable and may some day bear fruit. The explicit recognition of our Minister's authority is useful." On recommendation 7 the comment was: "These resource facilities will be very useful and should lessen the degree of growth required in the Department's own resources." On references in 8 and 9 to "Information Canada centres" abroad, it was noted: ". . . the Task Force, when questioned, said there was no doubt in their minds that the Centres would be operated and controlled by External Affairs and not by Information Canada." Any other interpretation would, of course, have been in direct conflict with recommendation 5 which gave External responsibility for such centres. This choice of titling the centres had been chosen by the Task Force because they thought it sounded well as a distinctive label but not because of any institutional connection with the domestic information agency. Despite their intentions, the choice of title was ambiguous of connotation and caused some minor friction before it was sorted out.



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It should be pointed out, before moving ahead, that the nine recommendations concerning External Affairs, which have been quoted above, appear in Volume II of the Task Force Report which institutes the mass of the report, with detailed data and discussion. The much shorter and more popularly oriented Volume I is more summary in nature and advanced only 17 principal recommendations to cover the thrust of the whole report and to relate to all governmental information activities. This set of recommendations in Volume I contains only one directed to information abroad:

14. Canada's information programmes abroad be developed by the interested departments in harmony with the policies administered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs with the advice of a board drawing its membership from the public and private sectors; and that appropriate programmes be serviced by a division of Information Canada.

The first memorandum to the Minister (Secret) giving him a description of the Task Force Report, together with some comments, was signed by the Under-Secretary on October 6, 1969.<sup>(14)</sup> It covered the report of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee and the views of the Working Group of Officials on the conclusions of the Task Force concerning information abroad, and the record of the Cabinet Committee on Priorities and Planning at its meeting on July 29, 1969, (Cabinet document 828/69 (Confidential)) when the Task Force Report was considered

in the light of comments from the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee. The P&P Committee decided that the Task Force Report would be published but that decisions on timing and form would be taken by Cabinet in September. Decisions on the location and administration of Information Canada were to be taken following recommendations from the Working Group of Officials. The conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee on information abroad were confined to three sentences and followed the ideas of the Task Force. The comments of the Working Group of officials on information abroad were also not very extensive. They noted that External Affairs was urged to give greater emphasis to its information work, that an Assistant Under-Secretary for Public Affairs was called for in the Department and that Information Canada was to establish a unit to service information programs abroad. These comments were more extended on the proposals of the Task Force for coordination of information abroad. While supporting the Task Force recommendation for a new Directing Board, the Working Group nevertheless concluded that ". . . the main weight for improvement in information abroad and for its effective coordination must depend, to a large extent, on External Affairs."

In the October 6 memorandum to the Minister there are certain suggestions of a departmental approach to the Task Force recommendations on information abroad

and the sequence of events foreseen for the nearer future:

The Task Force Report, its discussion and conclusions, are essentially conceptual in nature; they point to defects of attitude or policy and suggest directions or areas for improvement but they do not provide, with one or two exceptions, blueprints for administrative action. Similarly, the Cabinet conclusions, based on the report, give a general green light but provide little in the way of specific directives. In these circumstances the door is open and a unique opportunity is offered the Department to develop the kind of authority, policy and structure to enable it to carry out its inherent responsibilities in the field of public information, especially abroad. It is most improbable that any Government of Canada within the next generation will again undertake such a comprehensive review of information policy and I should think we would be wise to grasp this opportunity while it exists to help develop a more rational and effective policy than we have had to make do with (or without) in the last twenty-five years. To achieve this the Department will need to consider and recommend at an early date a number of blueprints for administrative and other action.

As I understand it, the Task Force Report will be published after the conclusion of the debate on the Speech from the Throne, say October 30 or 31 or November 3. The Report itself is to remain Secret until that time. Then, a week would be allowed to pass, while the press regales its readers with the Report's criticisms of governments past and present, after which, say November 10, the Prime Minister would announce the Government's plans in the realm of information. Once the general Government announcement had been made, individual Ministers and Departments would be free to answer questions and to comment on particular aspects of the Report which concern them directly.

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Although our actual activities in information programmes in 1970-71 will be taking several long paces backward and we shall be in no position

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to take early concrete steps to undertake the enlarged programme responsibilities proposed by the Task Force, I am sure that this sombre consideration should not deter us from planning now the sort of policy and structure which would serve us most effectively over the course of many years to come.

The Minister signified his agreement with these views.

The Task force had devoted a good deal of attention to the public's right to information from government. The problem of providing the citizen with legitimate access to information in the hands of government had, of course, been under consideration by government for many years but not much movement was visible. The Task Force Report occasioned renewed soul-searching on this score. The first major recommendation of a general nature by the Task Force was:

That the right of Canadians to full, objective and timely information and the obligation of the State to provide such information about its programmes and policies be publicly declared and stand as the foundation for the development of new government policies in this field. This right and obligation might be comprehended within a new constitution in the context of freedom of expression.

In its report the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee commented on this recommendation (Secret):

The Ad Hoc Committee had a number of important reservations concerning this recommendation, and the above text represents compromise wording agreed to by the Task Force, but which did not fully satisfy the Ad Hoc Committee. The essence of the Ad Hoc Committee's reservations was that while the right of citizens to be informed, or to information, was indispensable to the operation

of the democratic process, it should not be considered a fundamental right in the same sense as the freedom of speech, or the freedom of assembly. It should be considered primarily as a prerequisite of good, democratic government, and thus need not be enshrined in a constitution.

. . .

While the Report deals with the obligations of the State to ensure that its citizens receive objective and timely information, it says nothing about the State's obligation to safeguard certain types of information, and its obligation to ensure that decision-making processes are as efficient as is consistent with the demands of the democratic process.

In a memorandum (Secret) of October 9, 1969,<sup>(15)</sup> the author brought these comments on access to government information to the attention of the Security and Intelligence Division of the Department and added some views on what implications they might have for departmental practices in this respect:

I don't pretend to know what weight the Government will attach to this general philosophy of considerably more open and willing Government information but it will not be at all surprising if it is generally endorsed and made a guideline. If so, there will be a need to look at our departmental habits of mind and perhaps to rule that "Why not?" should replace "Why?" when we are asked for legitimately unclassified information. I suspect that bureaucratic inconvenience will no longer be a satisfactory reason for not providing information. We may also need to examine daily the need for giving security classification to a considerable range of our paper. To give a security classification to something which might be awkward or mildly embarrassing (to us bureaucrats) would, I imagine, be unacceptable if the new attitude is decreed by Government. If anything changes as a result of the labours of the Task Force and openness is declared a Virtue, I think that, at the very least, we shall have to project the Appearance of Virtue.

Although the Department was offered an opportunity to suggest to the Task Force changes in the draft text of the Report as it related to external information, it was decided not to take advantage of this, even though Volume I particularly, written in racy and often frivolous journalese, was replete with half-truths or imbalances of various sorts; a basic rewriting would have been called for and that sort of revision was not offered nor, in the time available, possible. In one respect a minor revision was asked for and made. The original heading for the Chapter 6 of Volume I had been "Who Gets the Goon Cup?" and was related to a gratuitous sentence in the text which was unsupported by any evidence. This read: "One submission to the Task Force suggested the endowment of a trophy for ' . . . the best anecdote about a lunacy committed that year in the name of Canadian information by the Department of External Affairs. It could be called the External Goon Cup'." The word "lunacies" appeared, as well, in the first sentence of the next paragraph. It was suggested to the Task Force that this offensive sort of verbal interjection was unnecessary, unjustified and only too certain to provoke protest which would not be helpful to the general cause. (And how would it have translated into French?!) In the event, the sentence about Goon Cups and lunacies was deleted; "lunacies" in the following paragraph became "shambles" and the Chapter

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heading was altered to the equally joky title of "Around the World in an Official Daze". The Department possibly gained something by its intervention, but not a lot.

On October 31, 1969, the author sent the Under-Secretary a memorandum (Confidential)<sup>(16)</sup> about the timing and conditions of publication of the Task Force Report and attaching suggested comments which might be made by the Minister or senior officials of the Department following publication. It was noted that the Cabinet had decided that no Minister or Department would be free to comment on the Report between November 4, when it would be table in the House, until on or about November 24, when the Prime Minister would make a statement of the Government's intentions in that regard. As the memorandum noted: "(It will be hard to make this stick for that length of time)." The Under-Secretary's reaction was: "This gives a very great advantage to the critics--no reply for 3 weeks. M.C."

The attached notes on the line the Department may take by way of comment on the Report when the deadline had passed were formulated under a number of headings which suggested the elements of a broader Departmental attitude:

1. Recognition of the contribution made by the Task Force in its Report to the

philosophy and policy of government to govern the relationship of the public information function to the programmes of individual departments of government as well as to government as a whole;

2. The renewed and strengthened stress on the obligations and the opportunities offered to departments by the Task Force findings. . . . an expression of affirmative determination is called for here as the fundamental departmental policy. At the same time, a note of caution is required about two limitations faced by the Department--limitation of access to classified documents because of our particularly sensitive relationships and the limitations on human and financial resources in the immediate future . . . .
3. A recognition of the great value to External Affairs public information work of the creation of a central information resource unit--Information Canada. . . .
4. Information Abroad. The recommendations of the Report can lead to a considerably improved base for programmes of public information abroad. . . . the impetus provided by the Report is welcomed.
5. The Department can respond positively to a number of specific references: the Task Force's views on the need for increased authority in information abroad for the SSEA and his department; the creation of an Advisory Board on Information Policy Abroad and its authority to coordinate programmes of departments and agencies; the extended concert of federal government information at posts abroad; the creation of a new position in the Department for greater attention to public affairs activities; the recommendation for augmented information resources in the Department . . . .
6. There are a number of specific criticisms of the Department to which some response, no doubt, will be required:



- a) The public information arrangements for the Latin American Ministerial Mission. I hope we do not allow ourselves to be thrown into a defensive stance about this. A certain amount of emotion and resentment has been aroused in the departmental heart on this score but I think it would be wise to leave it unexpressed. . . .
- b) Comment on the seal hunt. External Affairs comes off reasonably well here, Department of Fisheries is the goat and I think we should avoid much comment;
- c) The criticisms about our press work abroad. Perhaps a little educational work about the limitations on the possible achievements by Embassies in the field of timely news would be useful but some illustrations of useful effort in interpretation, amplification and back-grounding could be offered;
- d) On the unsatisfactory state of co-ordination of government information abroad, there is not much argument but some mention of positive measures can be proven . . .
- e) The criticism of the sort of image of Canada projected abroad does not really relate to this Department's programmes and we can recite our own policy as in complete accord with what the Task Force recommends;
- f) Attitude towards and priority for public information work in the Department. The reaction to this line of criticism depends on certain policy decisions which have not, as far as I know, been formally taken. The general line of criticism coincides with the analysis in the study I wrote in 1966 which, in general terms at least, was accepted by the then Minister and by the Under-Secretary. I would like to think that the Department might be willing to agree that its attitude to public information work for the past twenty-five years has not

been notably characterized by respect or vigour and that the Task Force Report has given the occasion for review and, possibly, for reassessment of the priority for this line of function. . . .

The Under-Secretary blessed this suggested line of comment in the margin of the covering memorandum: "Looks O.K. to me. This is a sound and positive line of comment. M.C."

The Task Force Report, in two volumes, was made public on November 4, 1969,<sup>(17)</sup> (although the letter of transmittal of the report is dated August 29) under the title "To Know and Be Known" in English, "Communiqué" in French. It attracted the expected, immediate reaction from the media which particularly played up the critical analysis and example but, in general, expressed a good deal of opposition or hesitation about the establishment of Information Canada as a central information unit. Posts abroad were immediately sent copies of the Report which they circulated to the appropriate persons and offices in their territories and a good deal of foreign media comment was produced, most of it more positive and approving than that of the domestic press. The three-week interim period that had been planned to ensue between publication of the Report and a Government statement stretched out to over three months and it was not until February 10, 1970, that Prime Minister Trudeau made the long heralded statement in the House.<sup>(18)</sup> This statement is attached as an appendix. The statement itself gives no clue from internal evidence

as to why it should have been so long delayed; conjecture on this score will have to be satisfied from other sources. The statement was largely concerned with the institution of Information Canada and there was not the slightest direct reference to information abroad. This omission did not occur from any failure of effort by External Affairs. In a memorandum of January 21 to the Minister<sup>(19)</sup> (Confidential) in preparation for Cabinet discussion the following day, it was reported: "The draft text which has been circulated for the consideration of Ministers contains no reference to Government policy in the field of information abroad." It went on to review the recommendations of the Task Force in this respect and the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee and warned: "In the light of these recommendations the exclusion in the Prime Minister's statement of any reference to information abroad might be publicly interpreted as governmental intention to reject or ignore this aspect of the recommendations." The memorandum proposed a one-sentence addition to the text to correct this omission. The Minister approved this and noted in the margin: "I gave copy of proposed amendment to Cabinet Secretary. M.S." However, in the event the addition failed to be included. Implicitly, if not expressly, information abroad was, in fact, included in the Government's approval because No. 14 of the Principal Recommendations of the Task Force, the recommendation on

information abroad, was one of these which the Government accepted in principle. Of the 17 Principal Recommendations only two were not endorsed: the recommendation on Citizens Advisory Bureaux was set aside for further study and the recommendation on the role of a Public Advocate was rejected since the Government thought that role properly belonged to Parliament.

The recommendations of the Task Force regarding information abroad have already been quoted but they must be understood in the light of the discussion in the Report of the problems and requirements in this field. This discussion is to be found in Volume II of the Report, pages 265-277. Although some of the comment on methods for better interdepartmental coordination for information abroad will be quoted in a subsequent chapter, at this point those passages dealing with Cabinet and departmental responsibilities are presented:

The formulation and carrying out of government policy on information abroad should receive much closer attention at the Cabinet level than they have in the past. The Task Force has already recommended in Volume I that a Cabinet committee be charged with defining information policy. The committee, with the participation of interested Ministers, should meet to review the policy of the departments and agencies involved in information abroad. The committee should ensure that the various information activities abroad are mutually consistent. It should review the priorities for information work in different areas or countries, and the balance of the programme as between general information and information directed

towards particular audiences. It should ensure that research is carried out into the appropriateness of the media employed for each purpose. Finally, it should be a guarantee that the government's information policies are consistent with the general objectives in the field of external affairs.

On External Affairs authority and responsibility for the conduct of information programs abroad and on the related question of whether a relatively independent Information Service should be approved, the Task Force stated:

The Task Force feels that the government should reaffirm the responsibility of the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the matter of Canadian information abroad, and reaffirm as well the responsibility of his Department to place and carry out basic information programmes abroad. The Task Force considered the idea of establishing a special agency under his direction to carry on an external information programme. It concluded, however, that a separate agency is unnecessary to the creation of a strong, consistent voice for Canada abroad, and it might result in the kind of conflict that existed during the two-year experiment with a Canadian Information Service. To be effective, information policy abroad must be closely related to other aspects of Canadian international policy. The logical organization to plan and carry out the information programme would, therefore, be the Department of External Affairs.

From the record it would be fair to say that External Affairs took its responsibilities seriously in this respect but there is no indication that the Cabinet Committee on Culture and Information ever got around, except in one instance, to examining the requirements for information abroad.

Comments in a later chapter will deal with the consequences of the Task Force recommendations for a coordinating mechanism for information abroad and with the implementation of programs or institutional changes related to the Task Force conclusions.



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## CHAPTER XI

The initiation of a coherent, organized program by the Department to establish means whereby it could collate information about its relations with university and para-university circles in Canada and develop a system for liaison and cooperation with academics can be traced to a memorandum (Confidential) of March 16, 1966,<sup>(1)</sup> from Mr. Bruce Williams, Assistant Under-Secretary for Administration, to the author, at that time Inspector General. The memorandum is entitled: "Relations with the Academic World" and is quoted extensively below as being the launching-pad for what has become a large and important activity of the Department.

The Under-Secretary has for some time been concerned about our relations with the Canadian universities. As you know, some of the more vocal members of the academic fraternity have from time to time suggested that the Department was less than co-operative in making files and official documents available to them. While there is some substance to these criticisms, the root problem is the Government policy on accessibility of files. This, of course, is not the whole story. One could probably argue that the Department has not been aggressive in pressing the Security Panel to adopt more "realistic" policies on release of confidential and other files. . . .

. . . .

It is the Under-Secretary's view that in spite of the limitations on our practices with respect to accessibility, we have a good record of co-operation with the universities. The difficulty is that no one has ever studied the sector as a whole and produced in a coherent fashion what we have done. This, the Under-Secretary would like you to do. It is, I believe, his intention that if you can pull together a fairly comprehensive report on our relations with the universities, he would be prepared to seek appropriate authority presumably both ministerial and financial (where required) to initiate new and desirable links with the universities and, indeed, to expand existing ones if required.

The following are some points which have occurred to the Under-Secretary and myself, which indicate that our relations with the universities have not been quite so negative. It is possible that each of these can be expanded. Moreover, there are undoubtedly other areas where we have had fruitful co-operation:

- 1) Access to documents. . . . while there has been some limited cooperation between the Department and the universities in this area, much remains to be done.
- 2) The Department has from time to time provided financial assistance to university professors to assist in research projects.  
.
- 3) We have from time to time offered summer employment to university professors to work on specific projects of interest to us or to assist generally in the Department. . . .
- 4) We have, as required, sought the services of university professors to assist us with United Nations conferences, in particular, as members of the Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. . . .

- 5) The universities have over the years sought the services of members of the Department to attend seminars organized by various faculties of the universities. The Department has generally acceded to the requests . . .
- 6) The Department publishes primarily for the purposes of the universities the Monthly Bulletin.
- 7) The Department requires and uses members of the Canadian universities to assist in the recruiting of foreign service officers.
- 8) Members of the Department are asked, with increasing frequency, to assist Canadian university students with essays and theses.

. . .

It was some two months before the author was in a position to address himself to this project but in a memorandum (Confidential) of May 12, 1966, <sup>(2)</sup> he set down a preliminary conceptual basis for the study to seek the Under-Secretary's concurrence:

I think I would want to begin with the Why and proceed to the What and How. The main reasons why we have an interest in good relations with the academic community are, I should think, to be catalogued in terms of the promotion, directly or indirectly, of Canadian foreign policy. The direct promotion I have in mind is the achievement of understanding for and, as far as possible, support for Government external policy. Indirectly, assistance in recruitment, training and research from the universities can bolster the Department's capacity to do its job of carrying out established policy and recommending developing policy.

I think I should try to tabulate what we want to get from relations with the academic world and what we should (or will have to) give. The study would then attempt to produce some ideas of the lines along which we might proceed.

I can already see that some of the profitable activities we might well get into would call for some outlay of money in support of training and research facilities which, in the course of time, could amount to something quite substantial but I assume that potentially expensive ideas should not be precluded at this stage.

In a marginal note to this memorandum, the Under-Secretary agreed that this very general outline was what he had in mind and commented: "The end product should be a series of recommendations relating to the various aspects of the problem. Some of these may be implemented over a longer period of time. Others may call for the submission of recommendations to the Minister or the government as to alternatives."

There followed a period of intensive research into and analysis of the past and current links between the Department and academia and of consultations within the Department and a substantial number of academics regarding this relationship. On August 5, 1966, the first draft of the study<sup>(3)</sup> had been prepared and was offered for comment, in the first instance, to two Assistant Under-Secretaries, Messrs. Wershof and Williams. Mr. Wershof's comments related largely to the limitations imposed on access to departmental information by government

security regulations and also to existing manpower shortages which could frustrate the recommendations of the study. Mr. Williams' comments, in a memorandum (Confidential) of August 16, 1966, were more extensive and somewhat more optimistic:

. . . It seems to me that we should try to move forward in the directions which you have indicated, with both determination and speed.

. . . I wholeheartedly agree with your recommendations. I would like to see us seek an additional appointment for an assistant under-secretary who would assume responsibility for the various areas of which you have written. As a minimum, I would think that there should be a university liaison section which would pursue the various useful ideas which you have put forward.

Mr. Williams had a number of specific comments of interest. One of these concerned the study's comments on the interest of professors in becoming engaged in the development of policy and in limited engagements in the Department or foreign service: "We have never really been able to accommodate university personnel in these terms. It may be that, as you propose later, we could do something particularly in terms of cultural appointments. My principal reservation about a proposal of this kind is that the university professor is more likely to be interested in pursuing his own academic interest rather than those of the Government." The Williams memorandum referred to discussion in the study of the relation of academics to the departmental recruiting programme and stated: "I would suggest that this might be

the least important area of cooperation." It might be noted that this opinion was in the most direct conflict with that of Mr. Norman Robertson. Mr. Robertson, then in retirement, had assembled a small group of scholars to discuss with the author the main lines of his study. His final summary was that the study, itself, was useful to the Department but that the recommended program should be largely confined to action in the area of engaging the academic community in helping the Department to recruit first-class people. He was not opposed to some academic research activity facilitated by the Department but he was unimpressed by the stated need for better public relations as a required element of the departmental association with universities. Furthermore, he thought that any persuasive communication with the academic community which might lend support to the Government's foreign policy was inappropriate behaviour for civil servants. Another former Under-Secretary, Mr. Arnold Heeney, had been given a copy of the draft report and in a congratulatory letter to the author of September 6, 1966,<sup>(4)</sup> he wrote: ". . . your suggestions for bridging the gulf between academics and the Department seem to me all worthy of sympathetic consideration. . . . I have been increasingly depressed by evidence of the wide gap between many younger academics and what they would call

"the Establishment". I believe this to be bad from both points of view and as External has a primary advantage-- and responsibility--in this area, I am delighted that there is prospect of something being done about it from our side."

In a memorandum (Confidential) of September 9, 1966,<sup>(5)</sup> now incorporating some suggestions from Messrs. Wershof and Williams, the study was presented to the Under-Secretary. A copy of the study itself is attached as an appendix. The purpose of the study was summarized in the second paragraph:

The coincidence of interest of universities and the Department in observing and analyzing international affairs would seem to bespeak a continuing dialogue, close contacts, exchange of information, reciprocal services and, most important, the maintenance of a relationship of mutual respect and confidence. The object of this paper is to look at the relations between the Department and the academic community and to discover whether the assumed interplay exists on an adequate scale and with satisfactory results and to make some suggestions on means to achieve a more fruitful relationship. The purpose of such a departmental study, by definition, is to propose improvements and benefits for departmental operations but clearly the co-operation of academic circles to this end is unlikely to be enlisted wholeheartedly unless parallel and roughly equivalent benefits can be offered to them.

After reciting the various areas in which there had been significant contacts between the Department on one side and universities and other learned groups on the other, the study undertook an analysis of the nature of the

problem of the not quite satisfactory relationship between the two: "Despite the numerous points of contact between the Department and the academic community, the relationship is tenuous and the dialogue is unsatisfactory." After quoting the views of the journalist, Charles Taylor, from the July 21 issue of the Globe and Mail that since the Pearson days "many academics tend to look on the men of External as tame and uninspired, and there seems to be a lack of fruitful intellectual exchange," the study asserted a general departmental recognition of the need for such exchange. However, it did not challenge Taylor's description of the general academic opinion and referred to:

the gulf, unnecessarily deep, between the academic student and theorist and the civil servant who operates in the same field but with very different terms of reference. To the civil servant the scholar may appear "academic" in the pejorative sense, undisciplined by public responsibility and often ill-informed. To the scholar the civil servant may appear to be intellectually incurious, timid and unimaginative, short on perspective, short on specific expertises, traditional and conservative and, withal, haughty. In this connection, it is interesting and perhaps significant to note that both groups are sometimes inclined to regard the other as arrogant. Departmental officers now and then wonder by what right certain dons feel qualified to set themselves up, without close knowledge of the facts, as stern critics and judges of the conduct of foreign policy. From the other side, concerned scholars are puzzled and hurt that their detailed knowledge-- much more extensive, certainly, than that of



most Foreign Service Officers--is not accepted or respectfully disputed or, often, even acknowledged.

. . . . .

If relations between the Department and the academic community are inadequate in volume, in detail and in spirit, I estimate the remedy can be found not in any general formula but in examining the various areas of contact between the two in the effort to find specific improvements in specific situations. However, underlying any sincere effort by the Department must be a recognition and acceptance that good public relations with the academic world are required and that this general requirement should inform and shape any particular initiatives and relationships which may be planned. The ultimate objectives of connections with the academic world are substantive--not good public relations for their own sake--but without good public relations we are unlikely to achieve the things we want.

The study proceeds to examine the various areas of interface with academia and devotes sections to the fields of personnel recruitment, academic research, research for government purposes, the operations of Schools of International Studies, etc. There is favourable discussion of the value of having foreign service officers as resident visitors at Canadian universities, of using academic people for particular tasks, limited in duration, in the Department or at posts abroad and of the provision of some funds to assist academics in programs of research which could be practically useful to the conduct of foreign relations.

Finally, the paper suggests the need for departmental reorganization to provide a nucleus for the overview of academic relations and to carry out some programs in this field. The more concrete conclusions of the study were embodied in a set of recommendations:

- 1) That current efforts to provide wider access to departmental documents for academic research be pressed and that Historical Division be provided with the personnel resources it is seeking to facilitate academic research.
- 2) That an advisory panel of scholars be appointed to assist the Department in conducting the various aspects of its relations with the academic community.  
...
- 3) That members of the Service be more forcefully alerted to the need for good relations with the academic community and the obligation to assist scholars and relevant academic activities within reasonable limits.
- 4) That a greater use be made of university teachers in our recruitment programme for whatever intrinsic merit this may hold and with the aim of convincing academic circles of the importance the Department attaches to their co-operation in this regard.
- 5) That the Department undertake a systematic programme of commissioning scholars to work in the Department to undertake research for departmental purposes which cannot be performed within the present personnel limitations by our own officers.
- 6) That certain longer-term research projects be commissioned at appropriate universities on a larger scale than at present.

- 7) That centralized departmental co-ordination and control of the use of departmental officers in participation in university activities--lectures, seminars, discussion groups, etc.--be established to further efficiency and priorities in this respect.
- 8) That a special study be made by the Department, probably using the services of academic people, to determine whether it would meet a departmental need in terms of recruitment, training and research to provide financial assistance to certain schools of international studies and more specialized subjects. This study would aim to assess the quality, actual or potential, of such institutions and to suggest a scale of priorities for any such assistance.
- 9) That early and serious consideration be given to making a start on a programme of resident Foreign Service visitors in Canadian universities.
- 10) That an early experiment be undertaken in the use of a scholar on contract to act as "Cultural Attaché" at some important post where the mother tongue is neither English nor French.
- 11) That the Department expand and regulate its relations with the academic community in a systematic fashion and that an early study be conducted to determine the best ways in which this can be accomplished.

The Minister, Mr. Paul Martin, was shown a copy of the study at the beginning of October 1966, and his first reactions were recorded by his Departmental Assistant, Mr. John Hadwen, in a memorandum of October 3<sup>(6)</sup> (Confidential). His response was highly favourable but the comments were specific and related to individual paragraphs

rather than a general reaction. One of the specific marginal comments by Mr. Martin was perhaps indicative of the peculiar needs of a minister vis-à-vis the academic fraternity. Opposite the paragraph dealing with the desirability of good public relations with university people he penned what was probably a heartfelt "How True!". Indeed, from conversations with Mr. Cadieux and, later, Mr. Martin, the author became aware that part of the impulse to improve the Department's academic relations had stemmed from the Minister who was vexed and disappointed by a substantial amount of criticism, too often badly informed, of foreign policy and diplomacy. Mr. Hadwen made some comments of his own on the study in a memorandum of January 27, 1966,<sup>(6)</sup> which pointed up the Minister's stake in the relationship with the universities:

It has always seemed to me that there is a tendency to speak as if the relations on this subject were between "the Department" and some other Canadian agencies in a way that excluded the Minister's participation. In a very real sense our relations with universities are conducted by and through the Minister but I don't recall very much reference to this fact in your draft. I think it might be useful to include some reference to the occasions on which he speaks before university communities, to the fact that all delegations involving university participation are submitted for his approval, and to the large volume of correspondence which he conducts with university leaders in all provinces and at all levels.

The study was formally presented to the Minister under a memorandum from the Under-Secretary of October 28,

1966<sup>(7)</sup> (Confidential), which set out a proposed, rather notional phasing of a program to carry out the recommendations in the study. Some effort was made to suggest hesitant estimates of the dollar costs of this staged development of the activity. The first Phase was to consist of the appointment of an FSO as academic relations officer who would organize further planning, begin the search for an academic who might join the Department to head up this activity and to pull together the strands of departmental relations with university and para-university circles. Additionally, planning for the posting of cultural relations attachés (selected from universities) would be undertaken. In Phase II, which would cover the period April 1968 to April 1970, the plan was to provide for:

- 1) Establishment towards the beginning of this period of an Academic Advisory Panel. . . . a small but impressive group of, say, six scholars or university administrators. . . . no honorarium but . . . travel and living expenses for the members whenever they met. A rough estimate of costs for possible quarterly meetings might be \$4,000.00.
- 2) Hiring of perhaps four scholars to undertake research for Departmental purposes. Possible costs \$43,000.00.
- 3) The strengthening of our departmental resources for historical research . . . to add to the establishment of the Historical Division three historians at the Technical Officer 6 level, one at the Technical Officer 5 level and four Junior Executive Officers

(rotational). Some clerical and secretarial help would be required. Estimated cost might be of the order of \$85,000.00.

- 4) The appointment of two Departmental Resident Visitors to universities. . . . costs might amount to about \$35,000.00.
- 5) Depending on studies yet to be made, two or three large-scale research projects might be commissioned at academic centres. An exceedingly rough guess at the costs might be \$15,000.00.
- 6) Additional positions for three further cultural attachés abroad. Salary, allowances and removal expenses might amount to \$100,000.00.

Total for Phase II - \$282,000.00.

### Phase III

Activities and possible expenditures in this later period must necessarily remain very hypothetical and speculative. . . . However, given some reasonable success, I think the following might be considered:

- 1) Raising the number of Resident Visitors from two to six. Additional cost \$70,000.00.
- 2) A doubling of the number of cultural attachés mentioned in Phase II from three to six. Cost \$100,000.00.
- 3) An expansion of the programme of research to be commissioned at universities. Cost \$15,000.00.
- 4) Financial assistance to specialized schools of international studies. Any figures must be largely guesswork but an initial budget of \$50,000 might be thinkable.

Additional total for Phase III - \$235,000.00

The Minister responded positively and gave his general approval to this outline. In a marginal note, he wrote: "I agree. We should proceed on a year by year basis-- looking at the programme year by year as we go along. P.M."

On January 23, 1967, a circular memorandum<sup>(8)</sup> to all officers of the Department was issued by the Under-Secretary announcing the formation of an Academic Relations Section which would, initially at least, form part of the Information Division. This circular summarized the Department's intentions in this regard and called for the notification by all Divisions of contacts with academics to the new Section. It also clearly stipulated that both the Historical Division and Cultural Affairs Division would continue to carry on the work with universities for which they were responsible, keeping the Information Division abreast of these contacts. This memorandum was sent to all posts abroad in Circular Document R8/67 of February 6, 1967.<sup>(9)</sup>

The question of the location in the Department of the academic relations function had been left open in the 1966 study. However, the Under-Secretary, principally for practical reasons decided to locate it, pro tem, within the Information Division. This Division, of course, had a substantive claim to responsibility for some of the

elements of the academic relations function: the provision of information to scholars and the public relations aspect which bulked large in departmental thinking. But probably more practically important in the institutional decision was the fact that the present author, then Head of the Information Division, had been deeply involved in the subject field as author of the 1966 study and its follow-up. In any case, the Information Division provided an administrative home for the Academic Relations Section and this affiliation was to continue until that Section became a full-fledged Division on its own. This decision did not sit well with the Head of the Cultural Affairs Division, Mr. René de Chantal, who in a memorandum of February 13, 1967,<sup>(10)</sup> suggested that if he had been consulted he would have made a strong case for associating the work of academic relations with his Division. He pointed out in some detail the substantial contact which Cultural Affairs had developed in the fields of Education and Fine Arts with universities, provincial authorities and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC). This memorandum had not been copied to the Information Division but was sent there by the Under-Secretary for comment and a request for further consultation with Mr. de Chantal. A response was made by



the author to Mr. de Chantal in a memorandum of March 10, 1967,<sup>(11)</sup> which pointed out that there had been detailed consultation with Miss Dench, a senior officer in Cultural Affairs Division (confirmed in a memorandum of March 16, 1967,<sup>(12)</sup> from Miss Dench to Mr. de Chantal) and that the university relations dealt with in the study and in the program for academic relations were not the same as those pursued by Cultural Affairs. The work of the Academic Relations Section would involve contact with university professors and departments of political science, economics, law, history and with learned societies concerned with these same fields; the Section would not be primarily interested in Fine Arts and Education faculties. However, the record since this time would show that boundary problems continued, over the years, to arise (and to be practically dealt with) between the responsibilities of Cultural Affairs and the Academic Relations Service.

The work of the Academic Relations Section began in a modest way and gradually took on momentum. The first six months were spent very usefully by a relatively junior officer, Mr. C. D. Fogerty, in assembling data, intra-departmental discussion and program planning. In mid-1967 the work was assumed by Mr. G. K. Kristianson who had recently joined the Foreign Service following a period of university teaching. He was able to provide insights into

contemporary views of academics about the Department's operations and attitudes and to adjust program planning to scholarly needs and aspirations. It was at this time that the program became operational with a series of visits to universities for liaison purposes and to develop departmental knowledge of requirements. Some of these visits were made by Mr. Kristianson himself and others of the Department. He was able to introduce other program elements into the planning: a) a program to invite professors in relevant disciplines to address officers of the Department, b) notification to faculties of the availability of FSOs to visit universities and address gatherings of students and/or faculty, and c) arrangements to talk to academics returning from abroad about their experience in the countries concerned. The approved recommendation in the 1966 study for the establishment of an academic advisory panel had been meeting heavy weather within the Department and it was now proposed that a series of conference/seminars consisting of members of the Department and appropriate academics might be a reasonable substitute. Further spade-work on the development of the Foreign Service Visitors Program was carried out but time and financial problems prevented inauguration of this important activity in 1967-68. The program remained inexpensive and, indeed, the projected costs for academic

relations in 1968-69 amounted to only \$13,000, almost all for travel costs.

Late in 1967, a more senior officer, Mr. K. B. Williamson, came to the Academic Relations Section. He worked over with Mr. Kristianson a revised version of the author's 1966 study, amended and reoriented as the experience of a year's practical operation suggested. This new study, "Relations Between the Department of External Affairs and Canadian Universities" is dated January, 1968.<sup>(13)</sup> With the advent of Mr. Williamson, supported by one or two capable officers, the program of academic relations became substantially broader and reached a flowering of activity which marked it as a distinct, relatively autonomous operational field of the Department. Mr. Williamson's memorandum of August, 1968,<sup>(14)</sup> "Recommendations for a Programme to Develop Academic Relations" gives a solid overview of activities in progress and the requirements for future programming. This paper is attached as an appendix. Although it was not to be administratively separated from the Information Division until over two years later, it had found its own separate functional life and the present paper will leave it at this point to record more purely informational activities.

It might only be added that the Foreign Service Visitors Program was inaugurated in the 1969-70 academic year with the assignment of A. J. Andrew to the University of Toronto and of Pierre Charpentier to Laval University.

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## CHAPTER XII

In early 1967 the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad showed serious intentions and efforts at vigorous, practical renewal. Recognizing the perennial inanition of the full committee, the thrust at this stage was to work, relatively intensively, by means of a series of sub-committees devoted to specific subject or activity fields. Thus were spawned sub-committees or working groups on films and other audio-visual programs, exhibitions, publications, visitors to Canada, Centennial-cum-Expo publicity programs, post-Centennial programs, etc. This new avenue led to a great deal of interdepartmental consultation on joint activity and to some sense of the value of common endeavour, spurred, no doubt, by the psychology of pulling-together so manifest in the centennial year. The sincere willingness to do joint planning and execution of programs abroad was linked to the fact that there was more program money available for information projects in that year and this lent reality and substance to planning in the knowledge that there was some possibility of practical implementation of the projects under consideration.

Some but not all of the subjects with which sub-committees had been busily engaged were reflected in the agenda and discussions of the full Interdepartmental Committee on June 8, 1967. (1) These included such items as: Canadian participation in the Alaska Centennial celebrations; participation in the U.N.'s International Tourist Year; joint promotions abroad; plans for the Canadian participation in the Osaka World Exhibition in 1970; progress report on Expo '67; the Visitors Program which had been particularly active because of Expo '67 and the centennial State Visits program; information planning for the post-centennial period; review of government publications for distribution abroad; information activities of the Centennial Commission abroad, in cooperation with other departments and agencies; the problem of rapid delivery to posts abroad of governmental information releases; and a report on the Government project for a "Canada-Commonwealth Caribbean Broadcasting System."

In the field of publications, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics had made an important contribution by producing a special centennial year-book "Canada 1867-1967" which was very widely distributed abroad by External and by Trade and Commerce. It proved to have a long shelf-life and became mainstay for reference purposes and for dissemination to interested readership.

Subsequently External undertook the translation into Spanish and wide distribution of the centennial year-book in Latin America. At the same time the Department produced a new and attractive publication, "Facts on Canada" which appeared in a variety of foreign languages as well as in French and English. Other Departments had produced new publications at this time and the Committee was able to arrange for joint usage of all these. The meeting on June 8 gave most of its attention to the use after 1967 of the properties and artifacts of the Centennial Commission and the Expo '67 Corporation. Particular attention was paid to the possibility of using in the United States, and possibly Western Europe, the Centennial Train, one or more of the Centennial Caravans and the presentation abroad of the splendid Centennial Military Tattoo. Feasibility studies were carried out and a lot of hope was invested in such projects but the cold fiscal dawn of 1968-69 put paid to this sanguine planning and the projects fell to ground.

Another and a major project which did not achieve realization was the plan for a Caribbean Broadcasting Centre which would be planned and largely paid for by Canada. At a conference in July 1966 of Heads of Government from Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, there had been discussion of a proposal



advanced by Caribbean officials that Canada might provide these countries with more radio and television material.<sup>(2)</sup> As a result of this, discussion led into consideration of the broader problem of radio communication in the West Indies as a medium capable of fostering mutual understanding and of promoting regional cooperation. The conclusion was reached that lack of a central broadcasting facility, powerful enough to service the entire area, posed a serious obstacle to progress in that direction. It also, in Canadian eyes, hindered the development of Canadian information activities which could reflect the importance of Canadian interests and policy in the Caribbean. With these considerations in mind, Prime Minister Pearson expressed at the conference Canadian willingness to establish and maintain, in cooperation with the governments concerned, a radio broadcasting centre for standard band and short wave transmission which would serve as a regional voice for these Commonwealth countries and as the keystone of inter-island network facilities. It would also provide technical training and programming facilities, particularly in public affairs and educational broadcasting. The CBC was commissioned to do a feasibility study and carried this out in considerable detail and with an understanding and imaginative approach. External Affairs was called upon to assume responsibility for recommendations to

government on this project and engaged in its consideration the Departments of Trade and Commerce, of Finance, the External Aid Office and the Treasury Board, as well as the CBC. To cut this narrative short, the ultimate recommendations to Cabinet that the project should be adopted and executed met with a decision to defer consideration of the plan on financial grounds principally. Despite expression of real disappointment and surprise from the West Indies governments, the project has never been revived and has now been by-passed by events in the Caribbean.

At the same time the Department and other agencies were putting more steam into new modes of interdepartmental consultation and coordination, the Department was pressing posts abroad to give close attention to their local needs for coordinating governmental activities in information and cultural relations. Circular Document R.20/66 of April 4, 1966, had recommended the establish of Post Coordinating Committees on Information. On December 18, 1967,<sup>(3)</sup> an assessment was made of how this recommended procedure was working. It was reported that most posts which had tried it had found it useful. However, the box-score showed that only 19 posts had established coordinating committees, 23 (mostly small posts) had decided a committee was unnecessary for their purposes,

and 42 had not reported on the subject at all. It was confirmed that it would be primarily large posts, with representatives of several departments and agencies present, which would require coordinating machinery and committees were established and working in London, Paris, Washington, Tokyo, Bonn, New York and Mexico City. Heads of posts and other participants in these committees were satisfied as to their practical utility.

A further effort to circumvent the unwieldy and discouraging main Interdepartmental Committee was recorded in a meeting of officials from External Affairs, Trade and Commerce and Manpower and Immigration, the three Departments with major foreign programs. Aware of the inherent incapacity of the full committee to direct its discussions to effective planning and operations, these departmental representatives decided to recommend to the Committee the re-establishment of an Executive Sub-Committee comprised of the departments mentioned above, plus a member of the Treasury Board Secretariat. It was hoped that this smaller and more directly involved group would be able, under the authority of the full Committee, to reach operable conclusions with greater ease and assurance. The objectives of the Executive Sub-Committee were: a) to be a working committee of those departments and agencies continuously engaged in information abroad and which would meet regularly, b) to

provide for full coordination of all operations in the field of information abroad, c) to exchange budgetary information with a view to identifying total expenditure on information abroad and to ensure the most efficient and rational use of funds available, d) to undertake joint program planning and e) "to assist the Department of External Affairs in the development of a coherent policy framework for information abroad, within which the various departments and agencies might most fruitfully operate and to identify priorities and specific objectives." A meeting of the main Committee on June 20, 1968,<sup>(4)</sup> approved the recommendation for reactivation of the Executive Sub-Committee and its proposed functions.

At the same meeting there was expressed approval for a design which had been favoured for some time in the Department's Information Division: the commissioning of a professional survey of Canadian information activities abroad. It was understood that the selection of a survey team and establishment of its terms of reference would take some time but the Treasury Board representative thought his Department would welcome such an initiative. Although such a systematic, expert survey did not take place, the idea of working towards a generalized business-like system of program setting persisted and was later to find form when the Department mounted its New Look exercise.

In the second half of 1968 and through most of 1969 the meetings of the Interdepartmental Committee and of the Executive Committee became sporadic and their work more desultory although the organization and coordination of information work at posts abroad took on some new direction and strength. A possible cause of the slackening of coordinating effort in Ottawa was the setting up of the Task Force on Government Information. Not only did the servicing of the Task Force demand a good deal of time and thought from members of the information community concerned with information abroad but, also, the belief that the Task Force would make recommendations on coordination of information tended to suspend efforts which might otherwise have been made to this end until such time as the Task Force findings were made known and consequent governmental decisions announced.

The Prime Minister's announcement of government policy on information, consequent to the Task Force recommendations, was made on February 10, 1970. The Information Division, on February 11, gave the Under-Secretary, Mr. Ritchie, a draft memorandum<sup>(5)</sup> to the Minister for his consideration. This draft reflected the present author's view that, after twenty-five years of operations in the field of information abroad, it was time to seek Government approval for the philosophy or

principles which would underlie policy for the future.

In this respect the draft memorandum--which was not sent to the Minister--stated: (Confidential)

It seems to me that the first step might be to prepare a memorandum for Cabinet (in consultation with the P.C.O. officials concerned) outlining the policy objectives for a programme of Canadian information abroad. The paper would attempt to identify the policy purposes determining these objectives and to explain the philosophy behind them. In short, if approved, it would become a basic policy document giving specific Cabinet authority for the general implementation of the Task Force recommendations on information abroad.

The next step would be to submit a second memorandum which would propose an organization and structure for the Board to be set up to advise the Secretary of State for External Affairs. . . .

The idea of getting Cabinet to approve a statement of policy and guiding principles for the conduct of government information programs abroad conformed to a pattern of policy-setting approved by the Privy Council Office and P.C.O. officials welcomed this approach. It had the blessing, too, of Treasury Board officials who sought a statement of policy elements against which performance could be measured. For those, like the author, engaged in information work it seemed merely logical that a statement of policy under governmental authority should precede and justify whatever machinery might be recommended to execute it. There was, moreover, a selfish professional and institutional urge to have

stated policy backing for gaining human and financial resources for information programs in competition with a large number of other useful lines of activity. In any case, the effort to seize this opportunity to arrive at declared government policy was not successful. The Under-Secretary had independently arrived at a firm conviction that Cabinet would be unimpressed by a statement of "theoretical" policy purposes and objectives, probably would not take the trouble to read them and should only be offered practical recommendations on organization and structure which they could accept, reject or amend. Alternatively, the Under-Secretary wondered whether any submission to Cabinet was really required. A meeting of the Senior Committee on March 4 accepted the Under-Secretary's general views but left over the question of whether a Cabinet memorandum on ways and means was required.

On March 12, 1970, the author followed up with a further memorandum to the Under-Secretary (Confidential): (6)

As agreed at the Senior Committee meeting of March 4, we have prepared a draft memorandum to Cabinet which is attached for your consideration. In submitting it, I should like to outline the reasons why I think Cabinet authority is necessary before we can proceed with the implementation of the Task Force recommendations on information abroad.

The Government's acceptance (the Prime Minister's speech of February 19) of the recommendations places a responsibility on the Department of External Affairs to establish the apparatus for government information abroad. This means setting up an Advisory Board on

Information Abroad to advise our Minister. The Board, to be comprised of representatives from both the public and the private sector, would have the very important role not only of advising on policy but also of examining programme plans and budgets for information abroad not only of all relevant departments and agencies as indicated in paragraph 4 of the draft memorandum. This co-ordinating machinery is essential to the effective conduct of all government information programmes abroad, and for ensuring that they are "developed in harmony with the policies administered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs." It is desirable therefore that on the official side it be established at the Deputy Minister level to give appropriate authority to its decisions and to the directives it will issue to its Executive Committee which would be made up entirely of officials of the Departments concerned. The inclusion of members representing private interests such as exporters, international carriers, etc., would have considerable public relations value . . . It would offer a positive and constructive way to channel the type of criticisms we have been receiving over the years about inadequate information programmes abroad.

A further point is that the existing Inter-departmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad needs to be dissolved. As it was set up by Cabinet decision, we as a Department cannot denounce it, and another Cabinet decision is necessary to put it out of existence. . . .

In line with your comments of March 4, we have not attempted to lay a theoretical base for the establishment of Government policy for information abroad.

The recommendations of the attached draft memorandum to Cabinet provided for the dissolution of the old Inter-Departmental Committee and for the establishment of a new Advisory Board drawn from both the public and private sectors. The Departments and Government Agencies to be



represented at Deputy Minister level were: External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Manpower and Immigration, Privy Council Office, Treasury Board Secretariat, Information Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National Film Board and CIDA. From the private sector five or six members would be selected by the SSEA in consultation with appropriate colleagues to represent such interests as international carriers, exporters, publishers, the press and universities. There would be an Executive Committee of the Board, chaired by an Assistant Under-Secretary from External Affairs and including senior information officials from the departments and agencies involved.

A memorandum (Confidential) of April 22, 1970, from the author to the Under-Secretary discussed further consultation regarding a memorandum to Cabinet but also took note of another governmental initiative which could affect the means of interdepartmental coordination of information abroad. A Task Force on Foreign Operations of the Government had been set up under the chairmanship of Mr. S. D. Pierce and it was to recommend measures for increased effectiveness of foreign operations through greater coordination or integration. It was reasonable to think that foreign information operations would be comprehended by this interdepartmental survey.

The memorandum reported:

You will recall that at the Senior Committee meeting of April 1 it was agreed that I should consult appropriate officials in government departments concerned with information abroad to get reactions to our draft memorandum to Cabinet . . .

As a first step I approached Mr. Paul Tellier of the Privy Council Office who is Secretary to the Cabinet Committee on Cultural Affairs and Information and who has been in close touch with other officials concerned with the Fortier Task Force recommendations. Mr. Tellier's general reaction was to be favourably disposed to the submission of our memorandum, as an element of the follow-through on Task Force recommendations with which the Cabinet Committee has not yet concerned itself. However, he felt that a number of points needed elaboration. In particular he thought the objectives should be spelled out with more precision and that the leadership role of the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Department should be emphasized, with mention being made of the need for increased resources, both human and financial, to enable us to discharge the responsibilities for planning and carrying out basic programmes and activities abroad. Mr. Tellier's recommendations have been incorporated in a new draft memorandum to Cabinet which is attached herewith.

My reason for submitting it to you again before going ahead with interdepartmental consultations is that since the meeting of the Senior Committee I have been wondering, in the light of impending consideration by Cabinet of the Pierce Task Force Report on Foreign Operations whether any recommendations on information abroad should not be held in abeyance until some Cabinet decisions on the Pierce recommendations have been taken. You will recall that you raised this question in a general way at the April 1 meeting; after discussion it was agreed to proceed with the "information" recommendations but to include in the text some such formula as "within the framework of whatever comprehensive arrangements might be made in future for coordinating the

foreign operations of the Canadian Government." While that formula has been included in the new draft there is still the possibility that at least until more precise details of the Pierce recommendations (and the extent of their acceptance) are known, there may be some conflict, or at least some difference, between the two. In that case, any recommendations which we would offer in present circumstances, and based on the Fortier Task Force report, for an improved information apparatus might be overtaken by events. It might also be that Ministers would not wish to consider only the information aspects of foreign operations knowing that the more comprehensive recommendations of the Pierce report would be claiming their attention in due course.

. . .

On the other hand, if we fail to make recommendations now, we risk leaving the impression of inactivity and failure to show the intention of leadership in this field. The lack of any positive action on our part could have the effect of confirming in the eyes of some ministers and interested elements of the public the Task Force's indictment of the Department's traditional lack of vigour in this field. . . .

From the foregoing you will see that the arguments for and against submitting a memorandum to Cabinet on "Information" are fairly evenly balanced . . . I hope you will have some direction to offer.

If it is decided not to proceed with a recommendation at present, it might be useful to compose a brief letter for the Minister to send to Mr. Pelletier, as Chairman of the appropriate Cabinet Committee, to say that this Department would be holding off an initiative in the field of information abroad and the reasons for this. The purpose would be to forestall any tendency by that Committee to begin any policy consideration in this respect until we are ready.

The Under-Secretary agreed with this final suggestion and the Minister wrote a letter in the proposed terms to the Secretary of State on May 11. (8)

At a meeting of May 21, 1970, framed in a Record of Cabinet Decision dated May 26 (Confidential),<sup>(9)</sup> the Cabinet decided that the Government would "seek the maximum degree of integration of its foreign operations consistent with the most effective achievement of governmental objectives." To pursue this aim, there would be established, under the general direction of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, an "Inter-departmental Committee on External Relations," to become better known by its initials--"ICER." This Committee was to be supported by a secretariat drawn from External Affairs and other interested departments as appropriate. The Under-Secretary of External Affairs was to be Chairman and members were the deputy heads from Public Works, Treasury Board, Privy Council Office and "departments with major external operations." ICER was enjoined "to guide the process of integration during the initial phase and to advise the Government, through the Secretary of State for External Affairs" on such matters as the formulation of broad policy on foreign operations, harmonization of country plans of the several departments, allocation of resources for foreign operations, implementation of foreign operations and "where appropriate," recommendations of heads of mission. One Sub-Committee, the Personnel Management Committee, was set up in the ICER organization.

The Cabinet decision made no specific reference to information operations abroad.

The Senior Committee of the Department held a meeting on July 29, 1970, to consider a new draft of a memorandum to Cabinet<sup>(10)</sup> on information abroad which was still based principally on the recommendations of the Task Force on Government Information. The proposals for an Advisory Board drawn from both public and private sectors and for an effective Executive Committee were maintained. The reference to the decisions derived from the Pierce Report and Establishment of ICER were, seen retrospectively, laconic and inadequate: "Together they the Advisory Board and Executive Committee would be recognized as the principal instrument for the effective coordination of Government information abroad within the framework of whatever comprehensive arrangements might be made in future for coordinating the foreign operations of the Canadian Government." A rather advanced degree of central authority and control was to be exercised by the Advisory Board, largely through the work of the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee be responsible for submitting to the Board recommendations based on an annual review of program plans and budgets for information abroad of all the relevant departments and agencies. This review would cover an analysis of the effectiveness of the previous year's activities as well as an

examination of the program budgetting proposals of each agency for the next year. It should bring to light conflicts of approach or duplication of effort, to suggest areas where co-operation would provide greater efficiency, where programs of lower priority should be discontinued, and to make recommendations for new activities.

The draft memorandum, in its list of recommendations, included a proposal (or sanguine aspiration) that: "The Department of External Affairs be empowered to increase progressively its manpower and program budget resources to enable it to discharge its responsibilities for planning and carrying out approved information programs abroad." The senior Committee, however, had some reservations and called for amendments in two respects: ". . . the Memorandum should be amended to reflect recent developments, e.g. creation of the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations which has responsibilities in the area of concern to the proposed Advisory Board on Information Abroad, (e.g. resource allocations for foreign operations)." And also: "The Committee was agreed that recommendation 7 on page 13 should be deleted, the point regarding the need for additional resources for the Department of External Affairs having been made under the heading 'Financial Considerations' on page 9 of the draft." The Committee further decided that the Information

Division should proceed with interdepartmental discussions with a view to sending a submission to Cabinet within a month; furthermore in order to give pause to Information Canada in efforts it might be considering for undertaking programs abroad, the Under-Secretary was to write to the Director of Information Canada, drawing his attention to the creation of ICER and its interest in information abroad. (The relationship of the Department with Information Canada is discussed in a separate chapter.)

In proposing that the phase of interdepartmental consultation should be completed within the span of a month, the Senior Committee had, it turned out, been wildly hopeful, for these discussions went on through February of the following year and the Cabinet decision on the means of coordinating information abroad was reached in early March of 1971. The path to interdepartmental agreement on the text of a Cabinet memorandum was far from smooth. Discussion was candid and tough, arguments were obdurately sustained and consensus ultimately but grudgingly reached. Behind the less than harmonious course of consultation lay certain departmental suspicions (mainly of External Affairs claims to primacy in the field--a position stipulated in the Fortier Task Force Report) and rivalries. At the same time, the new

Government thrust towards "integration" of foreign operations and the creation of ICER had sent other departments to the barricades in the face of apprehended territorial takeovers by External Affairs. In the re-drafting of the text of the proposed memorandum to Cabinet, representatives of Trade and Commerce and of Manpower and Immigration sought to reduce references to the central responsibility of the SSEA and, very particularly, sought to maintain the budgetary autonomy of individual departments in the conduct of external information.

It took some time, because of summer holidays and subsequent preoccupations, to start the ball of consultation rolling; it was not until October 13, 1970, that a preliminary meeting of representatives of External, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Manpower and Immigration and Treasury Board met to consider what sort of recommendations should go to Cabinet. Some attitudes became apparent without much delay. External Affairs had a mandate to get on with a memorandum to Cabinet while the other two major Departments felt that this should not happen for some time, certainly not until it was clear what the form and direction of ICER would be. Most of those at the meeting voiced objections to the Task Force proposal to include private sector representatives in the Advisory Board on Information



Abroad, principally because "outsiders" should have no voice in assessing and recommending budgetary decisions for departmental programs. The majority feeling at the meeting was that it was premature to arrive prescriptions for foreign information operations. However, the External Affairs representative (the author) pointed out that Information Canada was under requirement to report to Cabinet on implementation of the Task Force recommendations and that External Affairs had the responsibility of providing that part which dealt with information abroad. Moreover, the Under-Secretary had written to the Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce and had proposed that ICER should consider the recommendations on information abroad and the latter had given full agreement. The External representative was under obligation to report to the Under-Secretary the results of the present meeting and to give advice on ongoing action. The Treasury Board representative agreed that it was soundly based for External Affairs to initiate action in this respect. In summary, this meeting's outcome was that: a) no judgment was made on the text of the draft memorandum but that the meeting's views be reported to the Under-Secretary and that he bring to ICER's attention the draft Cabinet memorandum and seek that Committee's guidance; b) serious reservations were expressed about including the private sector in the

proposed Advisory Board and; c) that the main concern of most of the group was related to the timeliness or otherwise of submitting proposals to Cabinet on this subject.

In a memorandum of October 23, 1970,<sup>(11)</sup> the author reported this meeting to the Under-Secretary and recommended that the ICER should have a look at this matter on some early occasion and that it be asked to set up a Working Group of information directors to consider recommendations. He remarked: "Although I hope ICER might be prepared to take a positive attitude to the information recommendations, even a clear decision from ICER to defer or desist from movement in this area would provide a certain clarity of situation." Mr. Ritchie's marginal comment on this memorandum was: "'Integration' of policies and even of programs in this field does not seem to me to depend on organic integration of the foreign services or even of the support services. We should try to move ahead now. On the matter of private representation on the Advisory Board, I think the option should be left open by leaving the composition a bit vague." The author had also suggested to Mr. Maybee, Secretary of ICER, that he (Mr. Maybee) should join the Working Group and be its Chairman. (The idea was to allay interdepartmental distrust of External at that time by having a "neutral" Chairman.) Mr. Maybee declined the honour, pleading

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pressure of work in organizing ICER activities but suggested that Mr. David Monk of Treasury Board Staff should take it on. This was done.

On November 2, 1970, the Chairman of ICER, Mr. Ritchie, circulated a memorandum to members of that Committee recommending that ICER:

- a) Give approval in principle to the recommendations in the attached draft memorandum to Cabinet,
- b) Request a working group consisting of the Director of Communications of Treasury Board (Chairman), the Directors of Information of External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, of Manpower and Immigration and a representative of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau and of Information Canada to examine the draft memorandum to Cabinet urgently and, if possible, reach an agreed text which could then, if approved by the Ministers concerned, be submitted to Cabinet, or, if an agreed text cannot be reached, the points of disagreement be brought as soon as possible to the attention of the ICER.

The ICER considered this matter at a meeting on November 12, 1970. The summary record (Confidential)<sup>(12)</sup> of the discussion shows some development of ideas. The Chairman noted that Cabinet had asked for reports on action taken or pending on the Information Task Force recommendations approved by Government and he considered that the objective of coordinating information abroad was consistent with the objectives of ICER and it was appropriate for the Committee to be concerned with this question. Mr. Warren, Deputy Minister of IT&C, thought ICER did not need to approve

the draft memorandum in principle but it should serve as a basis for discussion for experts from departments. He wondered whether the Executive Committee proposed in the memorandum could not be established as an Information Committee which would report to ICER. Mr. Warren went on to say that ICER or the Executive Committee might be given authority in the area of information priorities but it would be hard to imagine ICER with quasi-executive functions; somewhere there had to be a basic integrity of departmental programs. The representative of Manpower and Immigration, Mr. Adams, shared this view on the realm of departmental autonomy. Mr. Johnson, Secretary of the Treasury Board, shared with Mr. Ritchie the view that ICER itself should assume the functions attributed to the proposed Advisory Board, with the addition of other appropriate public servants when discussion, at this level, of information abroad was called for. Mr. Jean-Louis Gagnon, Director General of Information Canada was asked to comment and said that, having compared the draft memorandum with the Task Force Report, he considered the memorandum a reasonable interpretation of the intentions of the Task Force. Mr. Johnson, in true Treasury Board tradition, suggested that one paragraph of the memorandum which dealt with the need for additional resources should be deleted. The Chairman summarized the discussion as

indicating ICER's view that ICER, with additions, should constitute the Advisory Board on Information Abroad, that a working group of officials should finalize a memorandum to Cabinet with a minimum of delay, and that members of the working group should report to their own Departments to determine whether their Ministers would be prepared to support the eventual submission to Cabinet. The conclusions in the summary record were stated in this way:

It was agreed that: Mr. Stephens should take the initiative to set up a working group along the lines proposed in the Chairman's memorandum of November 2 to ICER members;

2) In addition to those mentioned in the Chairman's memorandum, the working group should include representatives from the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the ICER Secretariat, the latter to provide information concerning the country programming system within the context of which the coordination of information abroad should be developed;

3) The working group should complete preparation of the draft memorandum to Cabinet and report back to their Departments for necessary consequent action.

The Working Group held long, difficult meetings in December of 1970 and these were supplemented by considerable bilateral discussion between its members through the following January. By early February the manifold disagreements on substance and form of the text of the memorandum to Cabinet had been whittled down by reasoning, accommodation and fatigue. On

February 11, a memorandum (13) reported the state of play to the Under-Secretary and noted the sometimes vexed interdepartmental differences. External Affairs had upheld the continued use of the Task Force formula of an "Advisory Board on Information Abroad" by referring to "ICER (in its capacity as the Advisory Board) on Information Abroad" not only for continuity but also to note that ICER in this capacity had a different membership and function from its normal one. Moreover, if it were later decided to coopt membership from the private sector, these could reasonably be added to an "Advisory Board" but scarcely to an "Interdeprtmental Committee." However, on this issue the Under-Secretary was not urged to take a last-ditch stand. On the question of chairmanship of the Executive Committee being filled by External Affairs, on the protection of the authority of the SSEA for information abroad and the phrasing of the authority of heads of post over information functions in their areas, a continued firm position by the Department was recommended. On motivation for the truly difficult drafting problems encountered in the Working Group, this memorandum reported:

The changes [of drafting] request--a good many of them accepted--have borne very largely on references to the responsibilities of the Secretary of State for External Affairs or of the Department or of Heads of Post. The attitude has seemed to us (and also to Mr. Monk, a

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relatively disinterested observer) to be derived from rather deep suspicion and/or jealousy of External. We have now excised some references to the need for information policies to be "in harmony with the policies administered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs" but we have also insisted on leaving this in in a couple of places. Similarly, we have been willing to amend the "authority" of Heads of Post over information programs in their respective countries to phrases such as "responsible for"; we have, however, refused to accept watering-down to "under the general supervision of" as recommended by IT&C. The recommendations from Immigration about the Chairmanship and Secretariat of the Sub-Committee are, of course, part of the whole piece.

On the same date, February 11, 1971, Mr. Monk transmitted a report and draft text of a memorandum to the ICER Secretariat noting that he had used some discretion in ignoring last-minute efforts at revision by some members of the group. ICER considered the report of the Working Group and the revised text of the draft Cabinet memorandum and expressed its agreement. A memorandum of February 19 to the Minister (Confidential)<sup>(14)</sup> sought his approval for and signature of the Cabinet memorandum. The Minister signed and forwarded the document to Cabinet on February 24, 1971. The memorandum to Cabinet is attached as an appendix. The ICER meeting on February 16 reached decisions on the two questions which had been left open by the Working Group:<sup>(15)</sup>

i) it was agreed that references to ICER in the Memorandum to Cabinet on Information Abroad would make it clear that, in informa-

tion matters, ICER would have an expanded membership including the Director-General of Information Canada and senior officers of other appropriate agencies. However, it was noted that the phrase "in its capacity as Advisory Board on information abroad" would not be included as part of the ICER title in the Memorandum.

- ii) it was agreed that the chairmanship of the Information Sub-Committee be with External Affairs, provided that a close liaison existed between that Sub-Committee and Information Canada.

These decisions were incorporated in the text of the memorandum to Cabinet.

The decision was taken by the Cabinet Committee on Science, Culture and Information on March 4, 1971, and confirmed by Cabinet on March 11. The decision appeared in Cabinet Document (Confidential) 250/71. (16) It is attached as an appendix. As well as allotting to ICER coordinating responsibility for information abroad and establishing the ICER Information Sub-Committee to carry out this function, certain duties were assigned:

That the Sub-Committee be responsible to the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations for the submission of recommendations based on an annual review of program plans for information abroad of all relevant departments and agencies;

- e) the annual review be conducted in conjunction with the preparation by the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations of recommendations to the Government concerning the allocation of resources for foreign operations and the harmonization of country plans of departments and agencies with external interests; and



- f) pursuant to the Cabinet Decision of May 21, 1970, Heads of Post be responsible for all information operations at posts abroad progressively in accordance with the development of approved country plans.

Following consultation between Departments, ICER approved detailed terms of reference for the Sub-Committee on Information.<sup>(17)</sup> The Sub-Committee held its first meeting on November 23, 1971 and devoted most of its attention to methods of relating its activities to the general country planning process. The meeting agreed that it would need to undertake some spade-work in the compilation and analysis of objectives and programs of member Departments in these terms:

- 1) arrive at a set of objectives for information abroad, using "Foreign Policy for Canadians" as a guide;
- 2) compile an inventory of the programs of each Department which might have a bearing on foreign policy objectives;
- 3) judge which programs best met the objectives and make recommendations to ICER accordingly.

The meeting also requested the Chairman (the author) to prepare a paper "setting out the practical application of the Sub-Committee's terms of references and send it out along with the minutes." This paper was delayed in preparation but was circulated to the membership on December 21, 1971.<sup>(18)</sup> It dealt principally with the phasing of work to meet the timing of the country program exercise and the preparation of budget proposals and

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suggested the periodicity of meetings in the short run, as well as the longer-term intention of meeting every two months. The work of compiling inventories of external information activities by all the departments and agencies went on apace and most had been delivered by the time of the Sub-Committee's next meeting on January 25, 1972.<sup>(19)</sup> That meeting discussed the need to bring some measure of comparability to departmental inventories and recognized that there were variations in the way the material was presented which would make analysis difficult. Nonetheless, the meeting decided that an analysis of the inventories must be done and called on a secretariat group, principally from the ICER Secretariat, to carry it out with assistance from the Treasury Board staff. The T.B. representative offered at least to devise a format for analysis which would be comprehensive enough to register the content of the various inventories. The analytical charts<sup>(20)</sup> are undated but apparently were completed in late April, 1972. The principal charts showed: I) a breakdown of information activity by regions of the world, II) Information activities as a percentage of departmental expenditures and, III) Information activities as a percentage of total expenditure on information abroad. It is interesting to note that External Affairs was putting 59% (\$1,597,000) of its information-cultural budget into

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Western Europe and only 12% into the Western Hemisphere (\$317,000), whereas the proportions for these two areas for the Canadian Government Travel Bureau (the big spender) were 10% (\$932,000) and 87% (\$7,402,000) respectively. For the Trade Promotion budget of IT&C, the figures were 49% (\$1,300,000) and 39% (\$1,020,000). Manpower and Immigration spent 100% of its information budget (\$365,000) in Western Europe. A fuller and more complete analysis was provided by the ICER Secretariat under a letter of August 25, 1972, <sup>(21)</sup> to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee. This report told of how the analytical work had been conducted and reached certain conclusions:

The broad, general conclusion of the analysis of the inventory seems to suggest that resources allocated to particular cultural or information programmes are worked out through negotiations between individual departments and Treasury Board: they do not, therefore, represent any overall plan for information and the total amount allocated for any country is not at present worked out within the context of the country planning system. With information activities being formulated on departmental objectives at best, and at worst on the continuation of the traditional activities that have lost their rationale or purpose, a greater degree of co-operation and co-ordination is required in the formulation of an information strategy. Since there are minimal spin-off benefits between programs, and in some cases an overlapping of activities in other programs, there appears to be a need for analysis and evaluation of the impact of one against another and the cost

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relationship of overhead to program activities.

Conclusion: The inventory has provided some data concerning the total amount of resources allocated for information abroad which indicates lack of co-ordination in planning and programming, program overlaps, and the lack of program validation. Until these elements are resolved and consultations on cultural/information programs for 1974-75 take place, the Information Sub-Committee is not in a position to make specific recommendations on the allocation of resources for foreign operations and on the co-ordination of Canadian Government information programs and activities abroad within the framework of country plans. Further development of techniques of co-ordination and of resource allocation are still required.

With this valid commentary on the problem of coordination of Canadian information abroad, this paper completes its discussion of the subject. The new machinery has proven to be almost as unsatisfactory as those operated in earlier years. It is the author's unhappy conclusion that, until one single agency is given the responsibility for all government information policies and programs abroad, the problem will remain fundamentally intractable.

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CHAPTER XIII

Although coordination of governmental programs of information abroad on a multilateral basis had been a wavering pursuit of an elusive goal, there was a constant reality of bilateral relationship between the Department of External Affairs and certain government agencies directly and principally engaged in communication of information and impressions. Regular and substantial liaison by the Department with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board and the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission had been a sizeable element in the daily work of the Department's Information Division from the days of the Wartime Information Board; at later date, the relationship with Information Canada during its lifetime occupied a good deal of the Department's attention. It was, of course, not exclusively with these agencies that the Department had working relationship geared to programs of information abroad and very important connections were maintained with the Queen's Printer, the National Library and Public Archives, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the National Gallery and National Museums, etc., but cooperative efforts with

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regard to radio, television, films and exhibitions were in the first line of information programming.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

An earlier chapter has discussed the nature of the relationship between the CBC-International Service and External Affairs during the forties and fifties. With the general relaxation of international tension in the sixties, the once, fairly intense political interest of the Department in international radio broadcasting diminished radically but interest in the use of international radio for the carriage of information about Canada and Canadians continued unabated. The level of liaison, was less hectic and dynamic, carried on in an accepted, routine and generally harmonious way. A pattern of regular, often daily, consultation became normal. This became even easier and smoother when CBC-IS established an office in Ottawa but before and even since that happened, the habit of reciprocal visits between the Department and the International Service--Radio Canada International--as it was later rechristened--had been established and proved its value. Much of the routine activity of CBC-IS officers was the search for suitable broadcast material from both domestic and foreign branches of government, particularly External and Industry, Trade and Commerce, but also and in good measure from Agriculture, Environment, Indian and Northern Affairs, etc. Beyond the



collection of data, however, CBC-IS continued to get foreign policy information, briefing and guidance and a feel for attitudes in developing situations. In a quite explicit way, the International Service recognized that External Affairs would have to provide the leadership in determining the geographical priorities for Canadian international broadcasting and consequently for the languages to be used in broadcasting. In a manner which the CBC could not tolerate in domestic broadcasting, the right of policy and program suggestion from Government, principally through External Affairs, has been recognized and honoured with respect to foreign broadcasts. A low-key, continuing and friendly partnership has been the result.

The National Film Board

The film has been, and continues to be, considered as one of the major weapons in the arsenal for the conduct of information abroad. Because of the establishment of the National Film Board in the wartime period, a creative agency was available for production and distribution of films about Canada at an early stage in the history of Canada's programs of communications with other peoples. Not only did the National Film Board produce a wide range of motion pictures but they attained from the start a remarkably high standard of excellence, internationally acclaimed, which made the product a

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popular and highly usable medium of information in foreign countries. Before the Department of External Affairs was able to develop information programs using other media of mass communication, the film provided really the only "promotional" information program possibility for the large majority of External posts. (Although the more passive role of response to enquiries was carried out everywhere.) Before other resources were available, before any true program planning on the basis of government objectives had been undertaken and before the Department had any reasonable basis for claims to control and organize the film distribution function, the Department and the posts were only too glad to accept whatever film prints they could get from the N.F.B., on whatever terms, and to engage in the process of circulation and exposure to foreign audiences. But, with the growth of departmental vocation and "muscle" in the information field, elements of conflicting institutional impulses in the way of jurisdiction began to put in an appearance. The fundamental problem, which continues to the present day, though softened by a series of accommodations, was that of overlapping mandates. A series of governmental decisions authorized External Affairs not only to operate information programs abroad, of any type, but also to coordinate programs of other agencies and to ensure that they were in line with their SSEA's policies. At the

same time, the National Film Act enjoined the Film Board "to initiate and promote the production and distribution of films in the national interest and in particular . . . films designed to interpret Canada to Canadians and other nations" [Author's underlining]. The Act also stipulated that the Government Film Commissioner, who was also executive head of the N.F.B., was to advise the Government "as to the distribution of Government films in other countries."

An Information Division memorandum of August 8, 1963, (1) took a look at relations between the Department with the N.F.B. up to that date and, with an eye to the strong and specific statutory backing for N.F.B. jurisdiction, commented:

On the surface there appears little room for participation by EA in the distribution of NFB films. It soon became apparent, however, (if the experience of our Embassy in Paris during the late 1940s is any indicator), that EA would have to become involved. Not only were there sound administrative and budgetary reasons, but the fact is that EA was plainly assuming the proper role it was specifically authorized to assume. The crux of the matter was the accepted principle that "information is an essential aspect of the conduct of foreign policy." Logically, therefore, EA has the primary responsibility for foreign information activities. The NFB challenged this view in the late 1940s but the attempt was unsuccessful and led to a change in the Film Board management.

There is an inherent danger in a duality of authority or joint action, so it was found necessary to define the respective spheres of

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responsibility for both the NFB and the Department. It was agreed that EA would have the sole responsibility for non-commercial distribution abroad and, in addition, theatrical distribution would be supervised by the Department with respect to the subject matter of the films involved.

On the other hand, NFB is specifically charged with the production of government films and non-commercial distribution in Canada. Thus a reservoir of films is established upon which EA and others can draw. In the foreign field, NFB's interests are strictly commercial and these interests are developed by their own field representatives. As previously mentioned, this informal arrangement has faced challenges from the NFB and always emerged unscathed. It is particularly the production people in NFB who remain unreconciled to the idea.

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It might also be mentioned that the Department did not participate in any advance discussions on film policy or planning in the early years. However, it slowly became evident that the Department should have something to say with regard to the substance (or even the production) of films having political connotations vis-à-vis our relations with other countries. Thus we now have a situation where the USSEA /Under Secretary/, as a member of the Board of Film Commissioners, may exert considerable influence in determining present and future NFB policy in that respect.

In a memorandum of February 10, 1969, to the Deputy Under-Secretary, the author referred to an earlier memorandum quoting a letter from the Film Commissioner. The memorandum commented both on the place of films in the totality of information programming and on how the distribution of films abroad might be improved:

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The Film Commissioner's reference to NFB representatives abroad as "representatives of a prestigious agency of Government responsible for the greatest part of Canada's information program abroad" is very robust and expansive but unfortunately does not stand up to examination. It may be arguable that film programmes are the "greatest part" of information activity but a more modest statement ("a very important part") would seem more accurate to me. In any case, beyond its commercial distribution through theatres or TV, it is not the NFB which is responsible for or active in the programme of distribution of films abroad. NFB representatives, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the place or the person, can be helpful occasionally but the great bulk of film distribution abroad is done by diplomatic and consular posts and I don't think this fact should be fudged.

I was particularly interested in para 3 of your memorandum which raises the question of budgetary responsibility for the conduct of non-commercial film distribution abroad. For some time I have thought that there was a good deal of logic and considerable operational advantage for this Department, as a major film user and distributor, and probably for the Travel Bureau and Immigration Branch as well, to purchase from the NFB the film prints as services which we now receive free from the Board. This logic is administrative and managerial in nature and has already been applied to the services provided us by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. . . . This change of pattern was ordered by the Treasury Board. I imagine the Treasury Board has, at one time or another, given similar thought to the budgetary relationship of the NFB to Departments sponsoring and conducting film programmes but I have no real evidence of this. The NFB is in quite a different position as a relatively independent agency of Government operating under its own statute which enjoins or authorizes it to distribute its films both in Canada and in other countries.

The disadvantage of our carrying the budget for films and film services in the Departmental budget is probably the tactical problem of displaying a considerably expanded budget to Parliament and the public. Additionally, I imagine some additional man-years might be involved for financial control and other administration. The advantage lies in the area of control and direction of the film programme. At present we ask for prints to meet requests from individual film libraries at our posts but we must be content if the Board is not prepared, within its own budgetary plans, to produce more prints of the particular films involved. If we were a paying customer, I believe we could do a more satisfactory planning job to meet our priority requirements rather than having to depend on what the Board may be able to afford at a given point of time. I think we would also avoid the occasional serious disagreements we have had about distribution abroad of films that we considered inappropriate; if we were buying prints with our own money, we would buy only those we thought compatible with policy considerations. . . . I don't know whether or not--because I have never previously discussed this question in the Department--to raise this possibility in connection with the proposals for 1970-71 estimates. I have a feeling that a good deal is happening or may happen on the public information front and I don't want to suggest too much more than the traffic will bear. . . .

This idea of departmental budgeting for the purchase of films and film services met with a positive response but no real decision on consequent action. The author returned to the lists in a memorandum (Confidential) of June 2, 1969, to the Under-Secretary.<sup>(3)</sup> This memorandum dealt in the first place with a NFB initiative whereby film distribution to schools in the United States, hitherto carried on by Embassy and Consulates as a mainstay of their school information programs in that country, would

be handed over by the Board to commercial distributors such as McGraw-Hill and Encyclopedia Britannica. There was some reluctance to accept this change as the Department regarded its information work in U.S. schools as important and the film side of it as very important. However, it was clear that U.S. school systems could afford to pay for film prints, that the commercial distributors could reach a large market and that the result probably would be to gain greater exposure for films on Canadian subjects in American schools. The debit side, of course, was that any chances of planning a film program for these schools to back up Canadian policy initiatives would be lost. In the event, the Department acquiesced in the new arrangement and devoted its film programming only to adult audiences, except on special occasions.

In the same memorandum, the arguments for budgetting by the Department for film operations were again adduced, possibly with increased conviction, and a more concrete proposal put forward:

I suggest we should look seriously at requesting funds either this coming fiscal year or the next to permit us to buy our film prints, /foreign language/ versioned prints and allied servicing from the NFB and to begin a planned and programmed activity. It would involve annual consultation with our posts (and area divisions), the setting of priorities and all the usual range associated with programme budgetting. But I think we would end up with a controlled, systematic activity, the result of planning and purpose-

ful use of resources. I have talked to Dewar, of the Treasury Board, and he thinks that it would better fulfil the Treasury philosophy than the present haphazard system whereby the users (our posts) are not the budgetters. . . .

Possible commissioning of production. . . . I mention this because so many posts have been complaining about the lack of a good, recent documentary film on Canada. They suggest the only way to get one--perhaps a new one every three years--would be for the Department to engage the Film Board and pay them for a general film to be made from an agreed scenario. I have a good deal of sympathy with that recommendation but I think it might wait until the fiscal forecast is a bit more relaxed.

Mr. Cadieux' comment on the proposed departmental budget for films was: "Worth exploring" and on paying for a film production was simply: "Yes."

The idea of commissioning a general film on Canada for use abroad was kept in mind and discussed during 1970 and some consensus was reached that such a film, as a first venture, should be directed towards United States audiences but not so uniquely that it could not be used elsewhere in the world. There was a good deal of consultation with the Embassy in Washington and the consular posts. This dialogue had not been of a confidential nature and news of it came to the alert ears of Crawley Films. As a result, a letter of January 29, 1971, <sup>(4)</sup> came to the Department from Crawley's giving the purposes and outline of the contents of a film



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that they would be prepared to make for the Department to meet its needs. The suggested treatment was attractive, the price (\$75,000) was reasonable and the Department regarded this bid very favourably. Crawley's proceeded to let the NFB, as Government Film Adviser, know about its offer and gave the Board a copy of its outline. To the surprise of the Department and the indignation of Crawley's, the NFB rather promptly gave notice that, instead of submitting a competing bid, as we had anticipated, it had decided not to approve the Crawley offer but would make the film itself. It transpired that Treasury Board so interpreted the National Film Act that the Film Board had discretionary right to approve, disapprove or radically amend contracts between private film producers and government departments. The outcome was that NFB did produce the film, "Here's Canada" and it turned out very well. Its cost far exceeded the Crawley price but the NFB was so well pleased with its product that it picked up the costs of production over and beyond the Department's budgetary share.

Despite the production of a good, useful film much appreciated by posts in the United States and elsewhere, an administrative principle had been cited and enforced which bedevilled the relationship of External Affairs and other departments with private film and television producers over the following years. The

Film Board, supported by Treasury Board officials, has been required to approve or reject or to offer to wider tender, film or TV ideas which would be produced under contract by a private company. Not only was the variety of sources restricted by this procedure but it also resulted in very lengthy delays which sometimes through loss of time meant that the program would no longer be useful. A major source of irritation arising from this system was that sometimes the production schedule of the NFB would not permit an early start on a film commissioned by a Department when a private firm was prepared to undertake it immediately. Another complaint was the high cost of NFB production, most often because of higher quality standards than the departmental film in question really required for its purposes. As one departmental information officer once expressed it: "When the program calls for a Betsy Ann treatment, who needs a Queen Anne production?" The author understands that in 1977 the problem created by the allocation to the NFB of decision control over departmental contracts with private film and TV producers still exists.

In one respect the Department was able to adjust the partnership with the Film Board for the distribution of films abroad in the direction of greater departmental control. For most of the period under review, correpon-

dence with the film libraries at posts had been conducted by the NFB directly with posts, a carbon copy of the correspondence being sent to the Department. For some time, because of sheer lack of personnel to do the job, the Department had not been able to do anything about this. However, it was an unsatisfactory arrangement when head office scarcely knew the needs of posts and was in no position to issue instructions or guidance. During 1970 and 1971 the Department gradually assumed the job of communicating with posts and passing on requirements to the NFB, leavened by whatever views the Information Division, with a certain world overview of policy and operations, might be able to add. This seemingly minor adjustment of procedure had a considerable effect on the Department's sense of participation in the film function, on the knowledgeable capacity of the Division and a deeper sense of responsibility for attuning film programs to wider programs of information abroad.

The Department did not fail to let the Film Board know the direction its thinking was taking on the matter of developing departmental authority and responsibility, in program and financial terms, for use of the film medium in information abroad. The ideas expressed within the Department about budgetting

for the purchase of film prints and foreign-language versions, and the stocking of post film libraries with titles and prints determined by the Department, within a broader information policy, were openly discussed with officials of the Board. At first the NFB people treated these heretical ideas with astonishment and some resentment. Efforts were made to dissuade the Department from continuing to pursue these unwelcome initiatives. With the advent of Mr. Sydney Newman as Film Commissioner in August of 1970, the NFB officers appeared to become more open to these new ideas and to discuss the possible modalities by which they might be introduced, at least partially. The Department, too, was not anxious to rush into a new situation too quickly because it did not have the personnel nor the money to effect a sudden take-over and, moreover, did not wish to put in jeopardy the positions of film distribution officials at the NFB with whom they had worked closely and cordially over the years. The feeling of concern in the Department for the position of the NFB became even deeper in 1971 and 1972 when the outline of a new Government Film Policy, which was being put together through the Department of the Secretary of State in a rather secretive way, began to suggest that the responsibility and, only too probably, the creative capacity of the NFB might be in some

jeopardy. (The story of the way in which plans for this new film policy of government were developed will not be dealt with in this paper but merits future historical attention. It might, however, be noted that, except for a one-hour interview with the author on questions of film distribution abroad, the task force put together by the Secretariat of State failed to consult External Affairs on the external aspects, cultural and informational, of government film policy.)

The Film Board, despite apprehensions as to what the new attitude of External Affairs might mean for diminution of NFB responsibility for film programs abroad, realized that the old status quo could not be maintained intact. Accordingly a form of accommodation was sought, a middle way which would give some degree of satisfaction to both the Department and the Film Board. The compromise formula advanced by the Board was discussed during 1972 and is set down in a paper of February 12, 1973, appended to the agenda of a joint meeting on February 21, 1973. (5) In brief, this plan provided for a joint operation by the Board and the Department to be carried out by a joint Committee of two officers from each agency. This group would recommend to their principals policies and programs for non-commercial distribution of films abroad. A co-operative and reciprocating budgetary arrangement would

support these programs and each side would put in \$100,000 annually to cover the provision of film prints for post film libraries. Additionally, the Board and the Department would each budget \$15,000 to buy prints of privately produced films. As another element of considerable importance to the Department, each side would contribute \$100,000 for the foreign-language versioning of films. A major joint fund made up of \$500,000 from each partner was to be set up to produce films aimed mainly at distribution abroad (such as "Here's Canada" which reached completion at about this time); it was expected this amount might meet the production cost of four films which would be versioned in eight or ten languages. This general sort of arrangement was accepted by the Department not with the conviction that it met all their policy and program requirements but as a step forward which would not cause a rift in the very good working relationship which had existed for so many years between the Film Board and the Department. This administrative device did permit the Department the opportunity to plan external film programs and to coordinate them with information activities in the other media. With certain alterations and refinements, the Department and the Board proceeded to put this form of partnership into effect.

Canadian Government Exhibition Commission

The official life of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission began under the authority of two Orders in Council in the year 1918 (P.C. 1348 of June 3, 1918 and P.C. 3206 of December 31, 1917). This authority gave the Commission "responsibility for carrying out Canada's participation in exhibitions abroad, securing the cooperation of Canadian importers and exporters to exhibit in the same, the conduct of preliminary negotiations with the organizers of large exhibitions in foreign countries, supervision of the erection of Canadian pavilions and the collecting and setting up of Canadian displays therein . . ." It has been noted earlier that during the war, consultation and a certain amount of planning for exhibitions had been undertaken by the Supervisory Committee of the W.I.B. and, thereafter, of the C.I.S. This constituted the first solid association of the Department of External Affairs with exhibitions abroad and it was an association which expanded during the years until it became one of the Department's most important, most active and most expensive activities among programs of information abroad.

Order in Council P.C. 4171 of November 28, 1946,<sup>(6)</sup> (copy attached as an appendix) brought the Commission's authority up to date and reaffirmed its

functions. The central and exclusive authority of the Commission was asserted and strengthened: "The Commission shall be solely responsible for the erection of Canadian pavilions, the collecting and setting up of displays in all exhibitions, fair and display promotions in all countries outside of Canada in which the Government may decide to participate, and in all international exhibitions which may be held in Canada." Other departments were to be involved in the planning of exhibitions through consultation and cooperation in the C.I.S. Interdepartmental Committee. First contacts for participation in exhibitions abroad was to be undertaken at inter-governmental level by External Affairs but negotiations with the administrative organizers was to be handled by the Exhibition Commission. The assignment of unique executive authority for exhibitions abroad did not sit well with all members of the C.I.S. Supervisory Committee when it considered the draft text of this Order in Council. A memorandum of October 29, 1946,<sup>(7)</sup> quoted an excerpt from an October 21st letter from the Acting Government Film Commissioner (Mr. Ross McLean):

My feeling about the Order in Council is that it is too sweeping insofar at least as the terms of one paragraph are concerned. I should like to see the fourth paragraph of the recommendations amended to read as follows:

"The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission shall be responsible for the erection of

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Canadian pavilions in respect of such large exhibitions, the collecting and setting up of displays in all exhibitions, fairs and displays in all countries outside of Canada in which the Department of Trade and Commerce may decide to participate. It may also act in a similar manner on behalf of any other Department of Government which requests its assistance." As it stands just now, I think the sweeping nature of the powers conferred on the Exhibition Commission may tend to inhibit rather than encourage other government departments which because of their functions are concerned with international exchanges of one sort or another.

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In other words, what I really mean is that I think the authority conferred on the Exhibition Commission by the Order insofar as it affects departments other than Trade and Commerce should be permissive and not mandatory.

The Acting Film Commissioner's plea struck a responsive chord in the Department. In a memorandum of October 31, 1946,<sup>(8)</sup> to the Under-Secretary, Mr. Pearson, the author wrote in reference to the enhanced powers of the Exhibition Commission:

Ross McLean objects . . . and I feel he is on good ground.

It does not seem reasonable that the Exhibition Commission should have mandatory authority over all Canadian exhibits abroad. They have their own proper function within Trade and Commerce to look after trade fairs. However, Film Board, National Research Council, C.I.S., the CBC, National Gallery, etc., are quite capable of turning out good exhibits for showing abroad and can probably produce better exhibits in their own field than can the Exhibition Commission.

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I should therefore urge that the Exhibition Commission be given no mandatory authority in this regard, but it might be recommended that their facilities be made available to any government agency that can use them. Similarly, all government agencies should be asked to consult the Exhibition Commission whenever suitable.

I also think that no Canadian exhibit should be shown abroad without the knowledge of this Department.

In marginal notes on this memorandum Mr. Pearson wrote with regard to the powers of the Exhibition Commission: "Should they be given a sort of co-ordinating authority?" And in respect of the final sentence of the memorandum he wrote: "I emphatically agree." However, the Order in Council was approved by Cabinet unchanged. It proved to be the basic authority for the conduct of exhibition programs abroad until 1968.

Whatever doubts the Department may have had at the outset, a very cordial and cooperative relationship developed between the Department and the Exhibition Commission over the course of the years and this produced some effective information enterprises in large parts of the world. Through the 1950s and into the 1960s, the Department's role respecting exhibitions abroad was principally one of consultation and provision of advice on areas of priority and the sort of messages which displays might best carry. Most of the venues were at trade fairs and political interest in these, except

insofar as they represented acts of presence, tended to be rather limited. It was perhaps not until 1962 that the Department became deeply involved in the planning of the content of an exhibition and the itinerary for showing it; this was a portable exhibit which toured Latin America for two years. Only in 1966 did the Department intensify its exhibition program--through the agency and budget of the Exhibition Commission--when it caused to be planned and constructed thirty-seven portable, general information exhibits using thirteen languages. The first portable exhibits were of simple design, consisting of sixty panels divided into groups reflecting various aspects of Canadian life, and which could be shown in individual groups or as a whole. The Department's objective at this primary stage was to provide simple displays of a general nature to as many of the posts as possible. Also in 1966, a more specialized sort of display was sponsored by the Department; this was an "info-trade" exhibit for use at Canadian stands or pavilions at a number of international trade fairs in France. The purpose was to give backing to the trade promotion efforts of the Department of Trade and Commerce with a display which advertised no particular commodities or services but which attempted to depict a modern country with which good business could be done. In the following year, a more ambitious exhibition called

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"Réalités canadiennes" of a somewhat more cultural nature was erected for showing in French-speaking countries. Starting at Bordeaux, moving on to a highly acclaimed showing on the Champ-Elyseés in Paris, it went to a score of centres in France and Switzerland. For the first time the exhibit made use of films in its presentation and became a multi-media "happening" when it was used as the scene for Canadian performing artists. This was only the first of a growing number of major portable exhibits, most of them of a "horizontal" type giving a broad picture of Canadian life. As budget and sophistication developed, "vertical" exhibits with a theme concentrated on some particular facet of Canadian life were conceived and circulated to suitable audiences in a number of countries.

In 1968 an important change was made in the administrative and managerial procedures by which the Government would conduct its exhibition activities at home and abroad. A Government decision had been reached to transfer Ministerial responsibility from the Department of Trade and Commerce to the Department of Public Works. The occasion of the transfer was taken to review the operations and terms of reference of the Commission and an interdepartmental task force of officials, under Treasury Board aegis, was assembled to report on these

matters. The task force worked over the course of a number of months and its report, which embodies Treasury Board doctrine on the relationship of program responsibility to fiscal responsibility, formed the basis for Government decisions. These were manifested in Treasury Board Minute TB 683553 of September 26, 1968.<sup>(9)</sup> Treasury Board authority to govern the future of the Exhibition Commission was then empowered by an enabling Order in Council, P.C. 1968-31/1999 of October 29, 1968.<sup>(10)</sup> The nub of the change in terms of reference of the Commission is explained in the task force report which formed part of the documentation for the TB Minute:

In the past, the Commission's budget has included the cost of financing all Canadian exhibits abroad. . . . It was recognized, however, . . . that the Commission is providing a service and that the program responsibility for an exhibit sponsored by a client department must be retained by that department. It follows then under responsibility accounting concepts that client departments should also retain the budgets for these exhibits in their respective appropriations. Until a firm policy on charging for services and a practical schedule for its introduction has been established it is recommended as an interim measure, beginning with the 1969-70 estimates that, the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission budget for the total funds and manpower required for all exhibits and reflect in their estimates a recovery from their clients of all but the Commission's common operation, maintenance and capital expenses. The Department of Public Works would then provide for the fixed overhead of the Commission and the clients for the specific expenses associated with each project. All

clients are ready to institute this intermediate change for the 1969-70 estimates. . . . Ultimately it is expected that the Commission will be made financially self-sustaining under a separate working capital advance into which they would recover from their clients the entire cost of the Commission's operations.

The reaction of the user departments had, of course, been mixed. All welcomed the degree of independence in planning and executing exhibition programs abroad which the transfer of financial authority would produce. Equally, however, they feared the amount of additional funds they would have to seek, individually, to maintain the program level under the proposed total cost recovery, including overhead, by the Exhibition Commission. The wind had been tempered to the shorn lamb for the period of one fiscal year but when in the following year total cost recovery set in, the Department of External Affairs, at least, found that the same number of dollars would buy little better than half the program volume. Program responsibility and control had turned out to be costly. For the cost of purely program projects abroad at the time of transfer (for 1969-70) the exhibition costs were reckoned at \$2,978,000 for Industry, Trade and Commerce, \$807,000 for External Affairs, \$70,000 for Energy, Mines and Resources and \$75,000 for Manpower and Immigration. The system of total cost recovery began on April 1, 1971.

With the advent of drastic fiscal curtailment in 1969, the Department's 1970-71 budget for exhibitions was reduced to \$525,000. The fiscal climate improved in the following year 1971-72 and the Information Division put in for an exhibition budget of \$912,600. The problem of total cost recovery was manifested in this budgetary planning: of the total figure, \$540,000 would go to actual project costs for the production and presentation of exhibits, while \$372,000 was to cover overhead costs for the Exhibition Commission. At that, the Division could take some (cold) comfort from the fact that the Commission had not charged fully for its overhead which would, if rigidly interpreted, have amounted to some 60 per cent of the total budget. A figure produced in a note for file of October 22, 1970,<sup>(11)</sup> indicates the very large role which External Affairs had assumed in government exhibition programs abroad; it showed the Department accounted for 25.1 per cent of the costs of foreign exhibitions, although the traditional major exhibitor abroad, the Trade Promotion Branch of IT&C, continued to have the lion's share--61.7 per cent.

In the 1971-72 year, the Department was able to do considerably better planning related to foreign policy objectives and to refine its exhibition activities, in cooperation with the Exhibition Commission (now become a branch of Information Canada), to a more selective and

sophisticated set of exhibits aimed at specific audiences. Having had a very successful experience with a mobile caravan exhibit in West Africa, the Department sponsored a major mobile exhibit, using a geodesic dome, for circulation in Japan. (In the year following the period covered by this study, the Japan exhibit proved itself a failure and was withdrawn, not because the concept was considered faulty but because the execution of the exhibit was unsatisfactory and the organization of its presentation was far from perfect.) Additionally, planning was undertaken for a major project in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and possibly Germany, using a barge which would use West European canals, anchoring at exhibit sites and reaching audiences hitherto largely untouched. This project had to be deferred for some time but ultimately was a great success.

Discussion of exhibitions abroad would be incomplete without some reference to the Department's involvement in the field of World Exhibitions--those major international exhibitions or World Fairs organized under the authority of the International Bureau of Expositions (B.I.E.). This is a quite separate activity from the circulation of national government exhibits on a bilateral basis and transcends participation in locally or nationally arranged trade fairs or other international



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exhibitions not recognized or authorized by the B.I.E. There are two main types of World Exhibitions: those of Category 1 World's Fairs such as those in Brussels, Montreal and Osaka; Special Category Exhibitions with more specific themes and normally with less widespread international participation. At the time responsibility for the Exhibition Commission was transferred to Public Works, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce maintained responsibility for World Exhibitions and for liaison with the B.I.E. It was in 1967 and, more particularly, in 1968 that External Affairs became more closely engaged in planning in this field. There is no clear record that the Department had had input into plans for participation in the Brussels World's Fair or, perhaps understandably, the contents of a Canadian pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. However, the Director of the Exhibition Commission at that time, Mr. Patrick Reid, sought the collaboration of the Department in planning Canadian participation in the Special Category World Exhibition, "Hemisfair" at San Antonio in 1968. The Department also worked closely with Mr. Reid throughout the planning for Canadian participation in the Osaka Category 1 World Exhibition. The role of the Department and its responsibility for World Exhibitions became paramount in 1970 when this activity was transferred to External Affairs. This transfer is

discussed in the following discussion of the Department's relations with Information Canada.

Information Canada

As a result of Government decisions largely derived from the recommendation of the Task Force on Government Information, a new government organization-- Information Canada--came into being on April 1, 1970. Essentially dedicated to the task of providing information to Canadians about the actions and policies of the Federal Government, it also had some function in information abroad through the services available from the Exhibition Commission which had become a component of Information Canada upon the latter's formation. As well, Information Canada had assumed the function of Queen's Publisher and it was open to it to have connections with similar organizations in other countries or to open government bookshops abroad. Information Canada was also to provide support services for the information programs of departments of government, including the Department of External Affairs. Based on their understanding of the nature of Information Canada's mandate, those in the Department concerned with information activities were inclined to welcome this new organization which could provide resource facilities which the Department could utilize for its own programs. The Department set out its understanding of the function of Information

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Canada with regard to information abroad in Circular Document R.16/70 of May 25, 1970<sup>(12)</sup>:

. . . As a point of departure it is suggested that you review the Task Force recommendations regarding Information Canada. They are to be found on page 61 of Volume I (Recs. 9 to 16) of the Report . . . . .

. . . In addition to the above references to Information Canada it is also relevant to review the recommendations on Information Abroad on pp. 265 to 280 of Volume II of the Task Force Report, and particularly the Conclusions and Recommendations beginning on p. 277.

From the reference to the setting up of "Information Canada centres" in foreign countries (Recommendation 8, page 280 of Volume II) it might be inferred that these centres were to be established by Information Canada. However, the use of this term in the Report is merely a notional title and should be interpreted to mean "Information Centres" or "Information and Cultural Centres" directed and administered by External Affairs and not offices abroad of the government agency, Information Canada. The detailed recommendations on information abroad should be read in conjunction with the major recommendation which is as follows: "Canada's information programmes abroad be developed in harmony with the policies administered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs with the advice of a board drawing its membership from the public and private sectors; and that appropriate programs be serviced by a division of Information Canada." It is clearly understood in this connection that the servicing role of Information Canada is to provide resource support, guidance on standards, advice when called for and, perhaps, assistance with programme audit.

. . . . .  
This Circular was sent to all posts for their information and guidance; a copy was also sent to Information Canada

to define the Department's interpretation of the word and spirit of the Task Force recommendations and Government decisions and because there had already been certain intimations that some officers in Information Canada had different and more ambitious concepts of the direct role of Information Canada in programs abroad. That this suspicion in the Department of Information Canada's longer-term intentions was justified was attested in a letter of June 18, 1970,<sup>(13)</sup> from Mr. Jean-Louis Gagnon, Director-General of Information Canada, to the author. Referring to the Circular quoted above, he wrote:

. . . I fully agree that Information Canada will not be opening any posts abroad in the immediate future. I hope, however, that no one would infer . . . from your document that such an eventuality is out of the question for all time. When we are staffed and organized, we shall naturally be seeking to give a priority to information abroad. At that time we would no doubt be reviewing the desirability of Information Canada centres in the light of the realities of the time.

On July 3, 1970, the author replied<sup>(14)</sup> to Mr. Gagnon in conciliatory tones but maintaining the position that the Task Force on Government Information "did not envisage the setting up of Information Canada Offices abroad as separate entities, but rather that Canadian posts abroad, through the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa, would be able to consult and draw on the advice, experience and resources of Information Canada in the conduct of their government approved information programs whether directly from the posts or from the Canadian

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Information Centres we have envisaged for some time." Mr. Gagnon was in no way deterred by this exchange and on August 11, 1970, wrote to the Under-Secretary, Mr. Ritchie.<sup>(15)</sup> After quoting part of his June 18 letter, Mr. Gagnon continued:

I am still of the opinion that before opening offices abroad, Information Canada must establish a satisfactory operation in Canada. But this does not alter the fact that for all practical purposes, Information Canada already has offices in Paris and London, since the Exhibition Commission is one of its components. I therefore regard this as a question of deriving the maximum possible benefit from an existing situation

In the near future, the Exhibition Commission will be absorbed into the Audio-Visual Division of Information Canada, and from that time on, there will be offices in Paris and London that will be known as Information Canada offices. In the light of our mandate, I fail to see how their duties could remain precisely and exclusively those previously assigned to the Exhibition Commission.

It is certainly possible to consider moving the Information Canada offices into the embassy building, where our staff could work closely with the press adviser and the cultural attaché under the direction of the head of mission. There again, one might wonder whether it might not be to the embassy's advantage to take the opportunity to set up its press operation in the Information Canada offices. . . .

The High Commission in London learned of the intention to change the name of the Exhibition Commission office in London to that of Information Canada and registered concern and objection because of the confusion that

would result between that office and the information and press services of the Government in Canada House. Word of this came to Mr. Gagnon through the Privy Council Office, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Paul Tremblay, Deputy Under-Secretary of the Department on August 24, 1970<sup>(16)</sup>:

Un coup de fil . . . m'apprend qu'on s'inquiète au Secrétariat des Affaires extérieures de la situation qui existerait à Londres depuis que le bureau local de la Commission des expositions a été intégré à Information Canada. A vrai dire, nous n'avons pas encore demandé officiellement à la Commission de changer son nom et son papier à lettre, mais il n'est pas impossible que quelqu'un ait voulu prendre les devants et que cela ait créé une certaine confusion.

Par ailleurs, il est bien exact que la question se pose: précisément celle qu'a voulu poser le groupe de travail sur l'information: "To Know and Be Known." Vous trouverez sous pli copies des lettres échangées avec monsieur Stephens qui portent exactement sur la présence d'Information Canada à l'étranger, et la lettre que j'adressais à monsieur Ritchie, le 11 août. Comme vous le constaterez, la question de principe est largement dépassée puisque, en héritant de la Commission des expositions, nous avons acquis de droit les bureaux qu'elle occupe à Londres et à Paris.

Mr. Gagnon concluded by suggesting a meeting with Mr. Tremblay. In preparation for this meeting, the author sent Mr. Tremblay a memorandum (Confidential) on August 24, 1970,<sup>(17)</sup> to summarize the points at difference between Information Canada and the Department. It noted that Mr. Gagnon had not acknowledged or referred to Mr. Ritchie's letter of July 30 which had pointed out the existence

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activities was announced to all posts in Circular Document R 24/72 (FAI) of October 31, 1972. (26)

It is reproduced in its entirety as an appendix.

Because of its importance it should be read in full and only a brief excerpt from the introductory paragraph is quoted here:

A complete review of the Information activities of the Department is currently under way, with the object of obtaining adequate resources to carry out Public Information programs overseas which in the view of Heads of Posts and the Department are necessary to provide a program of sufficient size to allow persuasive communication with citizens of foreign countries who should be influenced in favour of Canada and Canadian policies and indirectly with their Governments. To this end, after full discussion with those responsible for the country program operation, we are asking posts to give particular consideration to the formulation of forecast plans for effective "new look" information programs which posts should include in the program forecast for the 1974/75 fiscal year. You may wish to know that this request is organically linked to the country program operation. Attached is an Information Program Forecast sheet which we would ask posts to reproduce as required and complete in some detail (where appropriate to their circumstances).

. . . . .

The response from posts was enthusiastic and industrious. The material, when collated and analyzed, was very successful in justifying the value of information activity; and the systematic ordering and explanation of the goals of

and relevance of ICER and it was suggested that this point should be raised again. On Mr. Gagnon's mention of "Information Canada offices" abroad, the memorandum remarked: "It is really a very wild leap to suggest that the operations abroad of the Exhibition Commission justify the establishment of general-purpose offices by Information Canada. The Exhibition Commission is purely a service body, has absolutely no programs of its own and exists to carry out the programs determined and paid for by Government departments, basically IT&C, External Affairs and M&I." On the matter of future intentions regarding Information Centres abroad, the memorandum commented:

. . . The only peg for Information Canada to hang a claim on would be the words "Information Canada centres." When I first saw the Task Force Report in draft, I called the Chairman's (Mr. Fortier) attention to this designation and asked whether it meant that the organization, Information Canada, was to have responsibility for such information and cultural centres abroad. He said that this was in no way the intention, that the suggestion was that of a title only and all the surrounding discussion and other recommendations made it clear that External Affairs and its posts abroad, under the authority of respective heads of post, would be in charge of such centres and their programs. . . . Moreover, the earlier recommendation No. 5, relating to the functions of the recommended Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs (Public Affairs) stated: "His (i.e. the Assistant Under Secretary's) responsibility should also include Information Canada centres abroad and liaison with appropriate departments and agencies." . . .



In a memorandum of August 28, (18) Mr. Tremblay recounted to the author the upshot of his meeting with Mr. Gagnon.

I discussed the issues mentioned in your memo dated August 24 with Mr. Jean-Louis Gagnon.

I was struck by the fact that there is an appreciable difference between the positions Mr. Gagnon took with me and those implied in his correspondence with us.

He agrees that the role of "Information Canada" is essentially one of support with regard to our present information establishment abroad and accepts the fact that the C.I.S. concept has been rejected by the Task Force Report. He disclaims any intention on their part to establish information centres abroad which would be responsible to Information Canada although he believes that in Paris and London it would be desirable to integrate their CANGOVEX /Exhibition Commission/ offices with the information services of the Mission.

The central agreed conclusion at this meeting was that any future questions of determination of role and function would be best taken up within the framework provided by ICER, particularly in the new Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad. From this point on, Mr. Gagnon's attitude coincided quite closely with that of the Department. His Deputy Director General, Mr. R. A. J. Phillips did not discard his views quite so quickly and, in the course of a series of visits to diplomatic posts in 1971 managed to leave impressions of the direct role of Information Canada in external information activities which it took the Department some time and effort to correct. Although the subsequent course of relations

between the Department and Information Canada turned out to be reasonably unruffled, one situation that surfaced late in 1970 led to a limited period of strain.

When the Exhibition Commission was transferred to the Department of Public Works, responsibility for Canadian participation in World Exhibitions, those major international enterprises approved by the International Bureau of Exhibitions, was retained by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and a small task force, led by Mr. Patrick Reid, stayed in IT&C, largely concerned at that time with preparations for the Canadian presence at the World Exhibition to be held in Osaka in 1970. As mentioned earlier, those in IT&C responsible for planning world exhibitions had brought External Affairs into interdepartmental consultation on these plans. External had been quite content with this level of responsibility and had no inclination to seek more than such a consultative role, leaving the leadership and responsibility for this specific sort of international communication work to its sister Department. However, there was a growing view in Industry, Trade and Commerce that world exhibitions had become much less devoted to commercial exposition and probably were not fundamentally related to that Department's vocation to promote trade and the export of Canadian goods and services. Accordingly, officials of IT&C began in 1970 to suggest and gently

to persuade External that world exhibitions fell more naturally into that Department's ambit. This line of thought, not pushed to a conclusion, coincided with the establishment of Information Canada which began to cast its net wide in the quest for its own vocation. As the Exhibition Commission had become part of Information Canada, it was probably not unnatural, given the institutional enthusiasm of a new government agency, for Information Canada to think that world exhibitions should be included in its portfolio of responsibilities. This was, indeed, the case and a memorandum of October 8 (Confidential) from the USSEA brought the situation to the Minister's attention:

I understand that Mr. Stanbury [the Minister responsible for Information Canada] may recently have written to Mr. Pepin [Minister of IT&C] suggesting that responsibility for Canadian participation in World Expositions, at present with the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, should be reallocated to Information Canada. We have no direct confirmation from either Information Canada or Industry, Trade and Commerce, but it seems likely enough that the information is true.

We have been aware for a considerable time that a number of officials in Industry, Trade and Commerce have seriously questioned whether that Department should continue to be responsible for World Fairs since the presentations are in no way commercially oriented; on the contrary Canadian participation in recent Expos has been generally informational and cultural and devoted to the projection of a Canadian image. The feeling among those concerned at Industry, Trade and Commerce is that these objectives properly fall to External

Affairs, although there has been no correspondence yet to this effect.

I would have serious doubts as to whether responsibility should fall to Information Canada but I think that at any rate the options should be kept open until the matter can be seriously considered. As participation in World Fairs is certainly a major governmental operation abroad, I think it would be directly appropriate for ICER to give this matter its consideration and to make some initial recommendations. . . .

No particular haste seems to have been attached to taking decisions on any change of departmental responsibility. At a meeting on May 13, 1971, Cabinet gave approval in principle to Canadian participation in the Philadelphia Exposition in 1967 [which never took place], set up an Advisory Committee of officials on Canadian government participation, chaired by Information Canada, authorized a feasibility study to be made by IT&C under general direction of the Advisory Committee and decided that Cabinet would later reach a decision on further phases, including selection of a Commissioner General for the Canadian pavilion. The Under-Secretary notified the Minister of this development in a memorandum of July 15, 1971<sup>(20)</sup> (Confidential) and took the occasion to revert to the matter of departmental jurisdiction:

For more than a year, officials of IT&C have been letting us know that they thought it was time for their Department to be relieved of responsibility for planning and administering Canadian participation in World Expos and that they believed External Affairs should take on this responsibility. They point out with some force that the type of exhibition included in an international pavilion at a World Fair is in no way commercially oriented but carries general information and cultural manifestation. . . . We understand that Mr. Pepin shares the view that responsibility for World Fairs might suitably be shifted from his Department to this one.

Mr. Stanbury, on the other hand, would appear ready to urge the claims of Information Canada to assume central responsibility and may hold this view with some vigour. Officials of IT&C would be strongly opposed to turning over administration of Canadian participation in World Fairs to Information Canada. I think that we too could not welcome that proposal for two main reasons:

1) the doubt that Information Canada, which has not yet advanced very far with its own, proper domestic programs, would have the back-up staff or the experience to do the job very successfully,

2) that Information Canada does not have a general vocation for information and cultural activities outside Canada. Canadian representation at Category 1 Expositions is the largest periodic information-cultural effort abroad and, at a time when concentration of foreign operations is being pursued, it seems unsuitable to project a further agency of government into a central role in a major foreign operation.

In the end, the combined will of Industry, Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, supported by Treasury Board, was to be determinant. Effective from April 1,

1972, the responsibility for World Exhibitions and for representation at the International Bureau of Exhibitions was transferred to External Affairs where it became a component of the Department's Bureau of Public Affairs.

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## CHAPTER XIV

The five years from 1967 to the end of this study in 1972 and part of 1973 was one of the growth periods in the development of the Department's information policies and programs. It is true that 1969 and 1970 had severely curtailed resources for these programs as a result of deep-cutting government economy measures. In a sense, however, that episode caused no prolonged disadvantage and may have served to discipline and refine the development of information programs and to provide a solid base for management of the program plans for ensuing years. Although public affairs budgets were vulnerable to the axe because this type of disbursement was discretionary rather than fixed and committed, the program devastation produced by austerity was so universal in the departmental activity that those engaged in information could not feel singled out as an object of retrenchment. At a time when missions were being closed, personnel released from employment and funding for operations abroad reduced, the information service could advance no respectable claim for separate and more favourable treatment.

In an earlier chapter there has been discussion of the state of information activity in 1967 connected with Expo '67 and the manifestations of the Centennial Year. It was also possible for the Information Division at that time, owing to the provision of a few more capable officers to undertake more active planning, and the seeds for a number of later, rewarding programs were laid: a Speakers Program, provision of timely government information to posts, a special information program for U.S. schools, locally produced newsletters at posts, information training programs, the need for the use of consultation with public relations firms, a more dynamic departmental publications policy and a number of others. Much more attention was paid to contact and dialogue with posts on information programs, while some growing interest in an effort to identify post objectives and information work adapted to these was shown. The new management requirement for Program Planning and Budgeting had come into play for all departments of government, and External Affairs, in addition to beginning to put this system to work at headquarters, experimented with its application to post operations. A pilot project was mounted using the examples of the Canadian missions in Yugoslavia and Tanzania. The aim was to identify the policy objectives of these posts,

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determine what programs were called for to meet them and to estimate resource needs for these ends. The exercise was a useful drill for the Department, including its information and cultural components, despite the fact that the two countries selected were scarcely prime targets for public affairs activity. Experience gained in this pilot project helped the Department to devise a system, later through ICER, on an interdepartmental basis which would establish a general country planning and program-setting operation of general application and related to the provision of resources. The country program system was, of course, not specifically designed to tailor information programming but its general philosophy provided a guide; more specific application to information programs was made later in the project which came to be known as the "New Look."

It was also in the 1967-68 period that greater emphasis was placed on better staffing for posts abroad in the information field and for the injection of greater expertise from people with experience in information and public relations. The Department agreed to make personnel provision for this sort of specialization and a modest start was made. A competition for the post of Press

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Counsellor in Paris was run and this resulted in the appointment there of Mr. Paul Boudreau, who brought to the job experience in both journalism and the field of commercial public relations and advertising. In Washington, Mr. L. R. (Dick) O'Hagan was appointed Minister-Counsellor (Information). His background in advertising and as Press Secretary to Prime Minister Pearson gave him the training and experience on which he based an outstanding job for Canadian information in the United States during the following nine years. In Paris, Mr. Boudreau, through the years of prickly Gaullism, was successful in maintaining a balanced presentation of Canada in France. In West Africa, a Regional Information Officer was appointed but in operation his functions tended to be more political and related to governments than to public information as such; nevertheless, a foundation of knowledge about the West Africa media was laid at this time.

A strong priority was given to information in the United States beginning in 1967. Information staffs at the consular posts were given some modest additional strength and more materials for U.S. distribution were provided. Information programs in the United States provide material for a quite separate study and are not

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properly dealt with here. One particular program--the provision of information about Canada to U.S. schools--might be mentioned, however. It was clear to all that information programs directed to the American press and people were urgently necessary on a contemporary basis but there was also a feeling that a longer view should be taken towards informing a new generation of Americans about the country with which they must share a continent through their whole life. The answer seemed to lie in bringing to American children in the course of their school work some clearer and more accurate picture of Canada. The need for expert help in learning how to go about this in an orderly and effective way was recognized. School programs had been a mainstay of Canadian information work in the U.S. from the beginning and, no doubt, had been useful. But the work had been largely responsive, relatively unplanned and uncertain of its aims. In 1967 the Department employed the talents of Dr. Gerald Nason, then Secretary General of the Canadian Teachers Federation, to study the various problems involved in bringing Canadian information into the schools and curricula for American children and to make recommendations for activities. The Nason Report duly appeared and provided much clearer clues about the school system and the way that Canadian information programs could operate in

cooperation with it. In consequence, school program activity was emphasized, rationalized and intensified; although a number of other important programs were introduced and developed in the United States, the school program was able to grow and be maintained as a major element.

Questions of management and organization for information abroad continued as a sporadic but recurring theme during these years. The defects or gaps in system for relating and structuring all the government information programs abroad were persistently visible. One possible avenue towards solution or, at least, clarification was suggested in 1968. In a memorandum (Confidential) to the Under-Secretary of July 26<sup>(1)</sup> of that year, the author wrote:

I have discussed this matter in the Executive Sub-Committee of the Inter-departmental Committee on Canadian Information Abroad and have found unanimous willingness there to explore ways to establish a satisfactory structure and machinery for the rational conduct of Canadian information abroad. . . .

At the meeting of the Committee it was agreed that an expert study of the problem should concentrate on structure and organization rather than technique and that it would be essentially a management survey. In this case, the expertise required would be a special sort of management experience rather than public information know-how by itself. On the other hand, it was agreed that application of industrial management knowledge was unlikely

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to produce a structure to guide Government public information in other countries. The sort of people involved in such a survey might have to be found outside Canada (e.g. I understand the British Information Service has used professional consultants in organizing its work). My own idea would be to ask the Public Service Management and Organization people to set up a survey, sub-contracting for the necessary expertise wherever it could be found. I think that Treasury Board would have to provide impetus as well as approval for this survey if it were to be launched. . . .

Mr. Cadieux' response to this suggestion came in a note of August 26: "I am reluctant to move in this area now, 1) we are very busy in policy review, 2) Mr. Fortier i.e. the Task Force<sup>7</sup> would be looking into some if not most aspects of this. So will Mr. Chevrier in so far as the U.S.A. is concerned. M.C."

The survey conducted by Mr. Lionel Chevrier was the result of a special mission with which he was charged by the SSEA, Mr. Sharp, in September 1968. The object of the mission was two-fold: "a) to survey the information and cultural activities of Canadian consular posts in the United States and make a report thereon which would include a definition of Canadian informational objectives in the United States and recommendations as to how these objectives might best be attained, b) to undertake a number of speaking engagements in the United States about developments in Canada." Mr. Chevrier was accompanied by Mr. Reeves Haggan, Deputy Head of the Department's Information Division

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and Mr. Pierre Asselin, Second Secretary at the Embassy in Washington. His report was completed and transmitted to Mr. Sharp by a letter of December 30, 1968.<sup>(2)</sup> In about three months Mr. Chevrier had given addresses in a number of cities, paid representational visits in these and others, visited the Embassy in Washington and the consular offices in Boston, New York, Dallas, New Orleans, Seattle, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago and had had consultations with the heads of each of these posts. It was, therefore, not surprising that the analysis in the report tended to the sweeping and the superficial. While there were a number of useful detailed suggestions on means whereby individual program elements could be more effectively conducted, the main thrust was based on the finding that he "can find no justification whatever" for the division of information activity abroad between several departments. The solution recommended was to establish in Ottawa a Canadian Information Service responsible for coordinating and conducting all government information programs in the United States, with the express exception of those of the Government Travel Bureau. The second part of this central recommendation was that in the United States a Canadian Information Service office be set up in New York to coordinate and direct the information work of all Canadian posts in the U.S. The Canadian Information Service was to



be a separate entity in terms of program and financial responsibility, but controlled by the foreign policy of the Government as defined and expressed by the SSEA. It was to be noted that this central recommendation appeared to have been made without knowledge of the earlier incarnation of a C.I.S. and subsequent thinking about an independent entity of this sort. The central point was not well received by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce or by Manpower and Immigration, both of which doubted that they would wish to have their information and public relations objectives in the United States directed by an outside agency. Consular posts headed by Trade Commissioners generally were hesitant about or opposed to the idea of a C.I.S. while those headed by External Affairs officers were more inclined to see merit in it. The Ambassador in Washington gave the report due attention, paid the effort a number of courteous tributes but came down clearly against the main recommendations. On the idea of establishing the main U.S. office of a C.I.S. in New York, the Ambassador felt that despite the fact that New York was the greatest communication centre of the country, the advantages of a Washington location, which would more closely link information operations with knowledge of government policy, would make for a better system. With regard to the principal feature of the report, the

Ambassador wrote in a letter (Confidential) of March 28, 1969<sup>(3)</sup>:

In summary, we remain to be convinced of the validity of the desirability or feasibility of an integrated information service as envisaged by Mr. Chevrier. We believe that all possible energy and attention should be focussed first on how to proceed with information within the Department of External Affairs. If it is accepted that External Affairs must assert itself more forcefully in the area of information, then it necessarily follows that certain basic changes in organization and approach must follow. To this end, we recommend:

- a) establishment of a Bureau of Public Affairs whose operating jurisdiction would embrace the Press Office, Information, Cultural Affairs and perhaps Historical Division; . . .
- b) the appointment of a senior officer of the Department, preferably an Assistant or Deputy Assistant Under Secretary, who would have time to concentrate on this one area and to provide leadership for the work of this new organism;
- c) as a consequence to the foregoing, institution of a realistic personnel policy for information service;
- d) provide new means for effective and continuing liaison with other departments and with extra-governmental agencies.

A clear conclusion can now be drawn that the Chevrier Report had little effect on future decisions. Not only did the absurdly short time-span of the survey foreclose the possibility of an examination in depth, which resulted in basically unresearched conclusions but, even more important, it appeared at a time when the Task Force on Government Information, which did have research facilities, was well

advanced with its studies. As we have seen, the Task Force did not accept the idea of a separate service for information abroad.

### Publications

A great deal of attention was paid to programs based on the printed work in the period 1967 to 1972. The Department had been able to find expanded funds for information activities at this time and more personnel was available, enabling the Information Division to go ahead with increasing confidence to larger and more closely directed programs using publications. The effort now was to produce publications aimed at specific audiences to serve more specific objectives, without eliminating or reducing the printed material of more general content and with wide application which continued to be useful. The series of brochures aimed at people throughout the world with little or no knowledge of Canada and which would provide something like a simple introduction to the country were found useful for prospective immigrants, tourists, students and for response to enquiries of a simple nature. These general, basically educational booklets were brought up to date, packaged and illustrated more attractively and translated into a greater number of languages. At posts abroad--these included London, Dublin, Brussels, New Delhi, Canberra, Washington, Mexico City--there had

been sporadic efforts for years to produce periodic newsletters about Canada for local or regional circulation to assorted lists of recipients. Such publications tended to depend on the inspiration and interest of individual officers of the post and not infrequently ceased publication when that person moved on. Part of the planning undertaken by the Information Division in 1967 was to encourage better, more professional and more regularly sustained local publication efforts, based on whatever funds and editorial assistance and guidance the Division could provide. An opportunity came to hand in 1967 in Paris when the Centennial Commission had available some money to publicize Canada's anniversary abroad. The Commission held consultations with the Department on useful ways to spend its money and, given the state of Canadian relations with France at the time, it was determined that a program which could increase French understanding of Canada and Confederation would have a high priority. Accordingly, Mr. Haggan of the Centennial Commission discussed the project of a regular newsletter or small magazine to be produced in Paris under guidance from the Embassy and the Department. The Paris public relations firm of Henri Dumon was identified as a capable outfit which had served the Embassy before and this firm was able to put forward a proposal, costed

in detail, which would begin a quarterly publication. In May of 1967, Henri Dumon, accompanied by Paul Boudreau, later Press Counsellor of the Embassy, came to Canada for a discussion of his proposal with Mr. Haggan and the author. He subsequently put the proposal in writing in a letter from Mr. Boudreau of August 28, 1967.<sup>(4)</sup> In the meantime the Department and Embassy were being asked to give their blessing to the publication proposed, Le Canada d'aujourd'hui, for which the Commission would pay as a centennial project. Departmental approval had been given to a sample issue of the magazine forwarded to the Under-Secretary under cover of a memorandum of September 12, 1967,<sup>(5)</sup> from the author in which he noted:

I enclose a sample copy of the first issue which is now ready for circulation and distribution. It has the approval of the Centennial Commission and the Embassy in Paris. However, the Embassy has suggested that it might be better not to proceed with this project unless the Department agreed, as had been contemplated, to continue publishing the brochure in 1968. . . . This involves a decision which, quite apart from budgetary considerations amounting roughly to \$25-30,000 yearly, we prefer to delay considering until an assessment can be made of the impression created by at least the first issue of Canada d'aujourd'hui. Moreover, since this is a Centennial Commission project, financed within their budget, and to which they are committed, we do not feel that the Department could reasonably object to the publication of these three issues except on policy grounds which do not exist at present.

We propose therefore to tell the Embassy that we see no objection to the Commission's going ahead with this publication and, indeed, regard it as a pilot project that should be helpful to our plans to provide for publication of a similar quarterly of Canadian information in France. Do you agree?

The Under-Secretary did agree and Canada d'aujourd'hui began its editorial life. A memorandum of December 18, 1967, sought his authority for the Department to take over responsibility for the indefinite continuance of the quarterly, at a cost then of about \$30,000 a year. Approval was given and the Paris Embassy was so notified in a letter of December 19, 1967.<sup>(7)</sup> Since that time the small magazine has carried on with considerable success, using local publication expertise under Embassy direction and concentrating on a selected, priority readership.

Early in 1969 plans had taken shape to realize a similar project in the United States which had been long discussed but which had not enjoyed the pump-priming which Centennial Commission money had provided in France. An early stage of decision on production of a Washington newsletter of professional quality was shown in a telegram of May 22, 1969,<sup>(8)</sup> from the author to the Embassy in Washington:

Proposed Emb Newslet  
We agree in principle and with enthusiasm

to publication beginning Sept or Oct of proposed Emb Newslet.

Amount of dollars 17,000 can be made available to enable production from Sept if possible to end of current fiscal year . . .

Only reservation concerns possible new demands on limited personnel in Info Div if extra material to be supplied from Ott. . . .

A telegram from the Embassy in reply reassured the Department about possible demands on the Information Division for assembling editorial content, since "Our intention was to have all original writing and editing done here." This question had been raised because the Information Division had been deeply involved in procuring both raw material and semi-processed text for the Paris operation. Some token of the importance attached to the Washington local publication was the fact that deep austerity had seized the Department, money was hard to find but nevertheless it was made possible to secure financing at very modest level for the newsletter. The objectives of the Washington newsletter and the proposed methods of production and distribution had been set down at the start in Washington Embassy telegram 1704 of May 15, 1969,<sup>(9)</sup> copy of which is attached as an appendix. The editorial policy was expressed in these terms:

. . . It would be our aim to reflect in succinct readable form the character and

variety of Canadian life. We would hope at various times to be able to touch judiciously on political, economic, social and cultural subjects, not so much to inform in the conventional sense (though we will attempt to do this as warranted within limits of our resources) but to provide special insights and shadings as a means hopefully of provoking more active awareness of the Canadian presence in North America.

To this end, the newsletter would be directed primarily to carefully selected range of opinion leaders, including editors and commentators, teachers and legislators especially in USA Congress. . . .

It was not until the Fall of 1969 that the Embassy, with the leadership of Mr. O'Hagan, fully backed by the Ambassador, Mr. Ritchie, was able to provide the organization for the newsletter, to hire editor, writers and layout people and look towards publication, which did not begin until February of 1970. Before that time, the Department had to make financial provision to carry the magazine through the coming fiscal year. On January 12, 1970, the author gave the Under-Secretary a memorandum<sup>(10)</sup> reporting progress on preparations and discussing finances:

. . . Washington has asked us for approval to spend approximately \$27,950 (U.S.)-- approximately \$28,453 (Cdn)--during the fiscal year 1970-71. . . . in view of the budgetary restrictions which will be in force next year we may have to curtail other aspects of the total information programme.

We are convinced, however, that like "Canada d'aujourd'hui" in France and the "Canadian Bulletin" in India, this new publication can play a most effective role in efforts to



register the Canadian "fact" in the United States, and we hope that you will agree. As you will note, Mr. Ritchie suggested . . . that we re-confirm with you the "favourable attitude" you adopted toward this initiative when you discussed it with him in Washington.

Mr. Cadieux' attitude had long been favourable in any case but the fact that he was to succeed Mr. Ritchie as Ambassador to the United States in a few weeks was unlikely to alter his opinion. The publication date was set back for some time but in a personal note of April 13, 1970,<sup>(11)</sup> the new Ambassador, Mr. Cadieux, wrote to the new Under-Secretary, Mr. Ritchie, noting that he should already have received his copy of the first issue of Canada Today/d'aujourd'hui and adding: "Because of your own role in its development, I thought you would be interested to know we have had many complimentary messages from United States senators, editors, academics and businessmen." From this time forward, the excellent new magazine, in modern format, with first-class art work, has appeared with ten issues per year and from very widespread comment has been notably successful in achieving its stated objectives.

Another important initiative in the field of information publications for use in the United States was begun in 1968. For many years the pamphlet Canadian Neighbour, had been widely used in the U.S., particularly

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for school children, to provide an introductory look at Canada. It had been a useful workhorse but had become dated and outlived its full usefulness. In casting around for an author, the choice had fallen on Dr. John Saywell, then Dean of Arts at York University and a very successful author of school history texts. Dean Saywell was asked to look at Canadian Neighbour and to make suggestions as to what sort of book, primarily for use in American schools, might best replace it. His initial ideas are quoted in a telegram of July 10, 1968, (12) to the Embassy in Washington from the Information Division:

The best way to secure the use of the book will be to make it useful to the students and the teachers. The book, therefore, should be at such a level and organized in such a way as to be used as part of the curriculum. It seems to me that it is illusory to think that students will, of their own volition, pick up a book on Canada and read it for pleasure. This would seem to me to be one of the great faults of your present publication (Canadian Neighbour). . . . We should attempt to find a somewhat grabby [John Saywell was also a TV performer] approach and to keep the book sharply focused on matters of contemporary concern while at the same time providing the necessary information for the student to understand contemporary Canada. It should also be written with the American student and his questions about Canada in mind. He is concerned about the differences between Canadian and American society, about Canada as a producer of raw materials for the American market (perhaps forgetting that we are a mature industrial nation), about the North, about French Canada, about our relations with Britain, about our debate as to whether we should be an American satellite or a Middle Power in an independent bloc. He should be made

aware that we are also an urban and cosmopolitan society with vigorous culture. He should be led to see in the Canadian ethnic structure an attempt to foster a plural society as contrasted to the conscious effort in the United States to nationalize everything. He should be made aware, too, that Canadian and American history have been inextricably related since the earliest settlement of the continent. He should be encouraged to integrate what he knows of his own history with what we can tell him of ours. . . .

These ideas from Dr. Saywell, and others he produced in the course of consultation, recommended themselves to the Department. The Department and the Embassy also offered certain concepts which he accepted. A contract was signed with Dr. Saywell and the intention was to have the book printed and published by the Queen's Printer. However, there were some afterthoughts about using the Q.P. as publisher: a) it would seem preferable not to have the book stamped with the identity and authority of the Canadian Government to avoid easy allegations that it was propaganda and also to avoid procedures which would hamstring good writing by subjecting it to various governmental sensitivities on all sorts of issues, b) it became apparent that the printing schedule of the Q.P. might delay delivery of the book until after the beginning of the school season, c) that cost estimates of the Q.P. seemed very high. A solution

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was suggested by Dr. Saywell whereby his contract would be cancelled, the book would be printed and published by his own publisher, Clarke, Irwin and Company, and the Department would buy copies from Clarke, Irwin with sole rights for a number of years to distribution in the United States. Clarke, Irwin offered a very advantageous price (50,000 copies at 74¢ per copy and additional 10,000s at 41¢ per copy). The Department adopted this course and the book was delivered and distributed in the Fall of 1969. It was good history, was highly readable and had great success in American schools. The book has been updated and reprinted more than once, given distribution in many other countries and has now been translated and put to use in a number of other languages. (Those interested may, of course, order the book from the publisher.)

Early in 1970 managerial movement began towards the achievement of a long-cherished hope on the part of the author (since 1946) to supplant or supplement the traditional publication External Affairs: Monthly Bulletin with another publication which would interpret and comment on international affairs and foreign policy. The occasion for reviving and advancing such a program was most improbable: a response to an effort to reduce publications costs as a result of 1969-70 austerity! In a memorandum of February 11, 1970,<sup>(13)</sup> the author commented on certain views of the Under-

Secretary that savings could be made if the Monthly Bulletin were to be published as a quarterly instead of monthly. He estimated that no staff would be saved in this way but that money in the range of \$10 to 14,000 could be saved annually and went on to outline an alternative proposal:

I suggest that the best course to pursue is not to cut back the number of issues of the Bulletin but at long last to undertake steps to convert it into an effective and relevant instrument to convey to Canadian readers more useful information about the international scene and Canada's role in it. Nobody (and I claim priority membership in the group) thinks that the Bulletin, as it has existed for 25 years, is a good, purposeful journal. It has been dull and has very often been repetitive and remote from timely actuality. We have developed some ideas for a better publication but, outside the Information Division, there has been little or no interest or policy authority for mounting a new and good enterprise.

What is required is a good professional look at our need for a publication (or publications) in the domestic information field and the outline of a policy and programme for such a publication which would make recommendations on objectives, readership market, contents and production requirements. In quite specific terms I recommend your authority to talk to Bruce Macdonald of Hopkins, Hedlund /should be Hedlin/ of Toronto to ask him, without commitment, what it would cost us for a survey and report on our needs in this area. . . . I think he is attuned to the government information requirements at this time and could probably do something quite useful for us.

The Under-Secretary approved of pourparlers with the firm of Hopkins, Hedlin who nominated Mr. William Gold for this assignment. A contract was arranged and on March 25, 1970, Mr. Gold presented the Department with his report and recommendations.<sup>(14)</sup> In a way, this consulting effort reflected the adage that "A consultant is a man you lend your watch to so that he can tell you the time." The Gold report was well done and offered some useful insights of its own but followed rather faithfully the policy views expressed to him by the Information Division and others in the Department. Mr. Gold summarized his main recommendations for the Bulletin--or rather its successor--in this list:

1. A reference section should be created in direct consultation with those persons in the community concerned with information retrieval.
2. Each issue should begin with a topical, well written, major lead article. . . .
3. Each issue should have a second background article, perhaps one of a series, casting further light on internal or external considerations.
4. The above material should be prepared directly for readers of the Bulletin, with journalistic considerations of readability, topicality and impact in mind.
5. The Bulletin should become the definitive public reference for explanations of external policy, controversial or otherwise.
6. None of the foregoing can be achieved without the participation of senior department personnel.

A small group of officers of the Department was assembled to review the Hopkins, Hedlin report and to make recommendations on a future publication. The conclusions of this group were reported to the Under-Secretary under a memorandum of May 22, 1970.<sup>(15)</sup> While no name had been determined for the new publication, the group thought it important that a new policy for publication should be exemplified by a new title. Besides approving in principle the recommendations by Mr. Gold, the departmental group added that: "Commissioned articles by outside experts would have their place from time to time on the advice of the Editorial Board. They would be signed." Provision for reviews of relevant books was also recommended. There was also elaboration of the functions of the proposed Editorial Board. On the periodicity of publication, the group agreed that the Gold recommendation of ten issues a year should be accepted and that the idea of a quarterly journal should be rejected because of "the scholarly and learned nature associated with a quarterly.":

It would be expected to contain a greater variety of more profound articles than a monthly publication; it would need an editorial staff of scholars and in these respects would be beyond the capability of the Department; it would have to bear comparison with the C.I.I.A. Journal and university quarterlies. All these factors suggest that a quarterly would be much too ambitious a project and in fact inappropriate for the Department to undertake.

The philosophy to underlie the new publication was expressed

by the review group in these terms:

There was a strong and unanimous opinion that a "heroic" effort should be made to revitalize the Bulletin. At this juncture, when the Government is attaching a high priority to information to the public, the Bulletin is our only regular instrument for providing information directly to Canadians about Canadian foreign policy and international affairs generally. What is needed is not so much a drastically new type of publication, but rather a definite change in attitude and editorial policy which would give significance to the content and make the Bulletin a useful vehicle for the expression of governmental, departmental and sometimes personal views on a wide range of subjects of public concern. To be successful in this direction, we must be prepared to waive some of the caution which has surrounded our Bulletin policy in the past and accept some risks in adopting a more free approach, including articles on controversial topics from time to time.

A note for file dated November 23, 1970, <sup>(16)</sup> recorded discussions and decisions about the new publication at a September 16 meeting of the Senior Committee. The views of the group of officials were generally endorsed and two additional concrete decisions were taken:

1) that the title, "International Perspectives" should be adopted, 2) that the journal should issue six times a year, i.e. every two months. In terms of the origin of articles, the direction from the Senior Committee clearly authorized most of the articles to be prepared by officers of the Department and some by other gov-



ernment officials. The proviso was maintained, however, that commissioned articles from outside would be published "from time to time."

Following consultation with the Minister, a firm decision was reached to proceed with a new publication along the lines discussed above. A certain amount of time was required during 1971 to establish an administrative base and to find a suitable editor-in-chief. The Department was fortunate enough to engage the contract services of Mr. Murray Goldblatt who had been chief of the Ottawa bureau of the Globe and Mail and who taught a journalism course at Carleton University. It was greatly due to Mr. Goldblatt's efforts, in cooperation with the Editorial Board, that the new enterprise was launched so smoothly and successfully. An editor for the French version was found in Mr. Turenne, an officer of the Department. An Editorial Board was established and held its first meeting<sup>(17)</sup> on September 28, 1971, with the Under-Secretary in the chair. This meeting's chief concern was to come to grips with the Board's terms of reference and to plan the first issue, that of January-February 1972, of International Perspectives. An announcement to posts abroad of the imminent appearance of the new publication was made in Circular Document R 68/71 (FAI) of November 12, 1971,<sup>(18)</sup> in which officers abroad were put on notice that they would be expected on appropriate occasions

to contribute articles to the new journal. A press release of February 19, 1972, (19) made a public announcement of the inauguration of the magazine. The release quoted the foreword of the first issue by the SSEA, Mr. Sharp:

After considering various ways of improving the Department's monthly bulletin, "External Affairs," it became clear that something new was required, and International Perspectives is the result.

The change is not only of appearance and presentation. Each issue of International Perspectives will contain, as did its predecessor, "External Affairs," essential material of an informative and archival kind. But each issue will also contain contributions from people who have no connection with the Department and who are expressing their own personal views on Canada's role in the world and on current international questions of interest to Canadians.

Readers will be invited to submit their own criticisms and comments on material presented, and I hope that by printing a selection of these from time to time the new publication will be able to offer a variety of views.

Appearing every second month and dealing to the extent possible with current issues, International Perspectives will not compete with the learned periodicals published by the universities and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

International Perspectives is an experiment, with all the risks that accompany experimentation. It remains to be seen if one publication can combine the expressions of official and unofficial opinions with

comments and criticisms from the public, comprising and contrasting the views of the practitioners and the theorists of international affairs.

The magazine, from the start, achieved outstanding quality and was widely greeted, not only as an improvement over the old Bulletin, but as a true, valuable contribution to the literature on international affairs. It has carried very useful information and opinion in this field to interested Canadians and has, in the process, gained a new measure of prestige for the Department. A review of the issues of the magazine through the following years would tend to show some alteration of course from the original design in that there is less discussion of Canadian foreign policy, as such, than was originally intended and that it has become more of a forum for discussion of political and economic phenomena in almost any part of the world. The result has been interesting and highly readable and may be the best line to pursue. On the other hand, the Department may wish at some point to conduct a review in depth to assure itself that International Perspectives is, indeed, pursuing a proper vocation for the journal of a foreign office and bringing to a broad range of Canadians the information and thinking that this Department should be providing in terms of its public information duty.

Organization, Structure and Program Planning

Program Planning and Budgetting became an important part of the management scenery in the late 1960s. An example of the forward planning for information activities is found in a return dated May 27, 1969,<sup>(20)</sup> to the Central Planning Staff from the Information Division in response to a requirement to submit a five-year forecast of disbursements as part of a departmental return. The Information Division submission is attached as an appendix. It shows a planned growth from the current year, 1968-69 of program costs of \$580,000 to \$1,550,000 in 1969-70, \$1,840,000 in 1970-71, \$1,860,000 in 1971-72, \$1,990,000 in 1972-73, \$2,147,000 in 1973-74 and \$2,240,000 in 1974-75. The breakdown into individual programs by function and medium is also shown. These were brave plans and clearly the dark cloud of the heavy austerity to come, if visible at all, was "no larger than a man's hand." By the end of the year 1969, stern fiscal reality had imposed itself and the time-table for necessary program growth was set forward, rather indefinitely.

The place of information work within the total compass of foreign policy and operations found an opportunity for expression in the process of foreign policy review conducted by the Department from 1968 to

1970. Representatives of the Information and Cultural Affairs Divisions participated in the European, Latin American and Far Eastern reviews and the role of these services is reflected in the compendium, Foreign Policy for Canadians. All sections of the Department had been asked to compile a list of programs within their purview connected with government program objectives to be listed in the projected White Paper--Economic Growth, Natural Environment, Justice, Peace, Sovereignty and Security, and Quality of Life--and this posed a considerable problem of composition for those engaged in public affairs. In a memorandum of December 1, 1969, the author gave the Under-Secretary a partial response:

. . . At the risk of institutional immodesty, the programmes of this Department related to the communication to the publics of other countries (and indirectly to government) are relevant, perhaps in varying degree, to all the policy themes and all of the programme objectives.

In addition to providing some editorial material for this foreign policy review, the Information Division was responsible for the art work, physical production, printing and proof-reading and, subsequently, distribution of Foreign Policy for Canadians. It was a busy time and served to distract the Division's attention from the financial straits into which regular programming had arrived.

In 1970, partly because of the foreign policy review and its organizational implications for the Department, the departmental structure was being re-examined. As part of this exercise, the author sent the Under-Secretary a memorandum of September 8, 1970, (22) on possible restructuring of the information services:

. . . I think that attention might now be given to further articulation and more logical organization of the public information activities.

There is, to begin with, the question of the size of unit organization. The Information Division now numbers 20 persons at officer level, 9 clerks and 10 secretaries or typists. To complete the picture for organization purposes, there can be added 2 officers in Academic Relations and 2 officers, plus support staff, in the Press Office; considering only numbers of officer staff, the figure of 20 relates to (July phone list) 13 for African-Middle Eastern Division, 13 for Cultural Affairs, 26 for the whole Office of Economic Affairs, 16 for European Division, 19 for Legal Division, 12 for the Office of Politico-Military Affairs, 15 for Security and Intelligence Division, 11 for United Nations Division. These are the larger political or functional formations. Another yardstick of activity and span of control, I suppose, is the flow of communications. I have no figures for comparison but last year Information Division's numbered letters and telegrams went well above the 4000 mark and to this must be added the formidably large number of letters--to a great extent in answer to enquiries--to the public in Canada and abroad; and quite a lot of interdepartmental correspondence. I don't think these computations are the real basis for the proposed structural changes but they do indicate a rather large supervisory span . . .

To my mind, there is a case for subdivision of the public information work, in terms of re-

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grouping for specific purposes and objectives. The Department has a responsibility to carry information, images and impressions to two separate and identifiable publics and to conduct and develop good relations with both. These are public audiences (a) abroad and (b) in Canada . . . . .

In eventual administrative logic, it seems to me that a potential Office of Public Relations and Information should have three modest component divisions: 1) Information Abroad, 2) Information-Public Relations in Canada, 3) Information Support Services. This third would naturally include services to both programmes at home and abroad, such as editorial and writing services, audio-visual services, enquiry services and financial/administrative services.

The memorandum related the development of the academic relations program to the proposal for a division of information for Canadians:

More recently, the academic relations programme has made a substantial contribution to the development of good public relations with a specific and important public sector in Canada. The hope is that this example can be extended to our departmental relations with other groups--business, trade unions, teachers, women and youth groups, etc. I think the organizational object now should be to relate these domestic public relations and information activities and develop them to achieve a fundamentally integrated and balanced programme.

The proposed staffing pattern called for 18 officers for the Division of Information Abroad and 9 for Information for Canadians. The possible inclusion of the Press Office in the latter division was left open

for later discussion. Nothing much came of these proposals at the time but Academic Relations shortly became a separate division and it was not until 1976 that a division devoted to providing information for Canadians was established as a separate unit.

Another sort of structural innovation was approved in 1970 and put into operation at the beginning of 1971. This was the creation of a Bureau structure whereby kindred Divisions would be assembled into Bureaux, each Bureau under the direction of a Director General. Under this arrangement Directors General were responsible directly to the Under-Secretary for all departmental operations within the framework of established policy. Assistant Under-Secretaries were no longer to have operational responsibilities but were to have time to devote themselves to policy consideration and recommendation. By virtue of this general departmental restructuring, a Bureau of Public Affairs came into being at the beginning of 1971 and embraced the Information Division, Cultural Affairs Division, Academic Relations Division and Historical Division. The author became the first Director General of the Bureau. The Press Office continued to have a separate existence. This change of organization went some way to meet a major recommendation of the Task Force on Government Information and provided



the opportunity to begin pulling together the planning and the operations of cultural and information programs which had drifted into very separate compartments. A table attached to a memorandum of March 9, 1971,<sup>(23)</sup> shows the following division of manpower in the Public Affairs Bureau:

Office of Director General--1 FS0, 1 Secretary

Cultural Affairs Division--11 FS0s, 3 AS0s, 3 Clerks and 9 STs

Information Division--8 FS0s, 8 AS0s, 6 IOs, 11 Clerks and 8 STs

Historical Division--1 FS0, 2 Historians, 1 Clerk and 2 STs

Academic Relations Division--2 FS0s (plus 3 FS0 positions for Foreign Service Visitors) and 1 ST.

Attached as an appendix is the final organization chart of the Information Division to appear in this study. This chart shows a section called "area desks." A memorandum to the Under-Secretary of October 13, 1972,<sup>(24)</sup> sought his approval to restructure the Information Division so as to provide a "matrix system" which would correlate area and country program concerns to the functional activities of the sections concerned with operations in particular forms and media of communication. Four area desks--Western Hemisphere, Europe (E.E.C.), France and francophonie, and one for Asia, Africa and Australasia--were to be manned. These desks would be responsible for a good deal of

communication with posts and with area divisions of the Department and would attempt to ensure that posts within their respective areas were offered balanced program direction and materials to serve objectives established for the post. For some reason, the Under-Secretary did not welcome the matrix system, perhaps because it might seem to intrude upon the overview responsibilities of the area divisions. The idea did appeal to the administrative side of the Department, however, and ultimately Mr. Ritchie did not stand in the way.

The genesis of a major improvement in planning and budgeting for information (and cultural) programs abroad came to pass in 1972. The country program system of setting objectives for each post, planning programs to pursue these objectives and identification of resource requirements for this purpose had been undertaken by the Government on an interdepartmental basis and was being carried out with determination. The public affairs programs, of course, were encompassed by this comprehensive exercise but there was evidence that the procedure was so general that the public affairs component tended to get lost or to be dealt with in a manner that was more rhetorical than systematic. The Information Sub-Committee of ICER, the ICER Secretariat and, especially, the Treasury Board Staff were at one with the Department's Public Affairs

Bureau in aiming at a system of program-setting for information abroad which would associate this activity more identifiably with the country program system, the achievement of post objectives in stated orderly steps, and with some computation of the resources required to do these things. The general system of country programming seemed somehow to leave information objectives, programs and the resources required for them in a relatively obscure state, principally because the management of the system lay with the Area Bureaux which had no particular interest in the field of public affairs. In any case, the need was felt for a particular and specific survey of information imperatives, post by post, to show what programs in this field would best serve post objectives and what the cost would be. A very special management technique was called for to assess the requirements and to make them as quantifiable as the nature of the art would permit. The Department was fortunate to find available the requisite talents in Mr. Patrick Reid and Mr. R. H. N. (Dick) Roberts, both of whom had had recent training in the methodology of management. In June of 1972 Mr. Reid began the process of systematic information planning which became the very important "New Look" scheduling of information and cultural programming related to country objectives, by post, and within the general

system of charting all the activities and required resources abroad. In a memorandum of June 16, 1972, (25) Mr. Reid reported to Mr. Barton, Assistant Under-Secretary for administrative matters, on his initial steps:

More important, perhaps, than the attitude of Treasury Board staff, are the departmental implications of the working papers so far completed. These papers are contained in the enclosed copy of a folder which it is proposed should now be exposed to some of the managers who would have to contend with any outcome. Mr. Stephens has suggested that the Information Officers in Washington, Paris and London should be those abroad requested to contribute. You yourself may wish to specify those at home who should do likewise. . . .

I would like to emphasize that this must be considered a preliminary working document if only because it has been prepared in some isolation. The next stage is the incorporation of inputs from operational managers (and there is enough woolly thinking in the papers to ensure, hopefully, a vigorous response on that score by 1st July). Then there would be an assessment of objectives, and goal and strategy priorities, and a more precise costing of the strategies that survive. This would lead to a final program proposal which, for build-up and review purposes, should span a three year period.

I have thus strayed far from my terms of reference but I had little alternative. As matters stand now, this Department has--to the best of my initial impression--an inadequate Information Division in terms of any sort of program. In addition, there is no formalized program. (To compensate for this there are, inevitably, a number of dedicated people hard at work on singular tasks.)

It is, of course, all too easy to be a consultant. I will therefore withhold any further comment until I am asked.

Mr. Reid's working papers were discussed at a meeting of Directors General of the Area Bureaux who arrived at a statement of Information Objectives in these terms: "To (attempt to) create, internationally, conditions conducive to the achievement of Canada's national objectives by carrying out information programs in support of posts' country objectives and Canada's national priorities." Mr. Reid thought this formula verbose and recitative of the obvious and reduced it to: "To provide effective information media support for the objectives of each Canadian post abroad."

After a very intense period of consultation within the Department, with posts, with the ICER Secretariat, the Treasury Board and other departments, the New Look came into being. It was essentially a system to permit posts to plan their information programs in advance to meet the objectives agreed upon between them and the government departments, particularly External Affairs, to which they responded. The survey was conducted as a separate part of the country program exercise; although it was a "one-shot" affair, the technique employed in the New Look was to provide a base for future annual planning for information programs. The review of public affairs

these programs enabled the acquisition of resources which began to be commensurate with the challenge and opportunity for this form of government operations abroad. It can be properly claimed that information abroad finally crossed the threshold into acknowledgedly purposeful and effective operation in the year 1974. Certainly all the hard work, serious thinking, ambitious planning (and the associated, often agonizing, frustration) had been more than a Prelude but it was only in the wake of the New Look that the Department came to give fully earnest attention and began to take some pride in its vocation for public information.

Back

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It will have been apparent to the reader that this paper, spanning about thirty years of activity, has aimed to be a panoramic view of certain crests in the development of policy, structure and programs for Canadian information abroad. Selection of subject areas and material from the thousands of accumulated pages of governmental records has been made on the basis of subjective judgment of what was important in the development of governmental action in this field. Inevitably, much has had to be excluded which is certainly of some historical importance and much else that is interesting or entertaining.

This study in its essence has been a history of the management of external information programs during the period covered and by its very nature deals with measures taken in Ottawa by Government and by the Department of External Affairs. It is a Head Office story and the work of Branch Offices has been mentioned largely by passing reference. Programs have been discussed mainly in the context of policy, planning and resource organization and not by the narrative of their implementation in



countries around the world. The story of program execution in the "firing-line," of what happened at the sharp end of communication campaigning, is not told here and, in many ways, that would be more likely to appeal to interest and imagination than a catalogue of bureaucratic considerations and decisions. Moreover, the eventual information work by diplomatic and consular posts was the object of all the headquarters planning and organizing and was the end product of the system.

Historical treatment of the information and cultural programs carried out by posts abroad would be a valuable addition to departmental knowledge of its past and could provide some signposts to the future. The wealth of recorded activity in the United States, Britain and France would merit separate treatment of the information activities of posts in those countries of major importance for Canada; but valuable and interesting research could also be undertaken in the activity records in Germany, Japan, Mexico and some other countries.

A separate and distinct line of research into information and cultural activities abroad would reveal valuable information: a record on a functional, rather

than geographical, basis to follow and note the use made of various media and types of activity at a number of posts, accompanied by some assessment of the relative effectiveness of each for the Canadian government and people. This line of research would also need to include certain production or program activities conducted in or from Ottawa such as creation of publications and exhibitions or the reception and facilitation of visiting journalists. In this whole area there is a mass of interesting and useful material, hitherto relatively unexplored, waiting for the eyes and pens of historical writers. It is sincerely to be hoped that this present paper may do something to give some clues to help chart further studies.

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