

Canada Weekly

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The art of sharing in harmony a crowded planet

"It is sometimes said that, in the 15 or 20 years following 1944, Canada went through a Golden Age of diplomacy," observed Dr. Arnold C. Smith on March 12 in the introduction to his inaugural lecture as first Lester B. Pearson Professor of International Affairs at Carleton University, Ottawa. *"Certainly, in this period Canadian initiatives often proved significant, at times decisive. It is sometimes suggested that this successful burst of Canadian diplomacy was due to the fact that, in the early years after the war, so many of the erstwhile great powers of Western Europe and Asia were weakened by the world struggle that there was a vacuum, which Canada was able to fill. It is sometimes added that, since this vacuum could not last, this 'diplomatic' influence, naturally, could not continue."* Such an interpretation of "Canada's diplomatic prominence in the post-war period" Dr. Smith, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, criticized as "superficial and misleading", giving "unrealistic weight...to the factor of relative national power". "It implies," he declared, "what I consider a widespread but less-than-adequate understanding of the real nature of international affairs...".

The lecturer went on to note that "the getting, holding and yielding of power in society" was, by certain "hard-nosed theorists", regarded as "the very definition of politics, what it is all about". His own preference, he said was for "the broader, if less clear-cut, concept of political activity as action designed and calculated to help shape the future of the society you are concerned with". After a brief dismissal of politics conceived as "what social science jargon now calls a 'zero-sum game'", examples of which were Lenin's "Kto kovo?", "Who does it to whom?" view of political reality and the "divide and rule" policy historically adopted by imperial powers, Dr. Smith turned to the main argument of his lecture, which follows in part:

But history, as well as philosophy, suggests that people eventually come to recognize that the promotion of cohesion, co-operation, and a satisfying stability can be not only safer but more profitable. Towards the end of 1965, for example, Mr. Kosygin took his initiative at Tashkent to mediate the Indo-Pakistan struggle. Many people thought, and some said, that this was a "sock in the eye" for the Commonwealth in general and for me in particular. Personally, as I said at the time, I welcomed it, and for several reasons, one of which was that, as an old Muscovite, and one who likes the Russian people, I was happy to see them learn that it would be to their interest to try to heal rather than to exacerbate a quarrel outside the Soviet bloc.

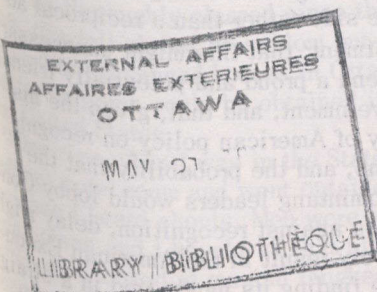
Excessive monopolization of power

used to dominate your fellow citizens is apt to be inefficient, just as the abuse of power to disintegrate societies outside your border is apt to be only superficially clever, and prove ultimately short-sighted and dangerous.

* * * *

In my experience a country's relative power, economic, military, or otherwise, while far from unimportant, is not normally the main determinant of its relative influence in international affairs — or of the relative influence of its individual representatives. I think it important to realize this, and I stress it because many people, including some powerful people in powerful governments, do not do so.

It is simply not true that the main instruments of diplomacy are the carrot and the stick — the cheque-book, as it



were, and sanctions.... There are admittedly occasions when these instruments are necessary, but such occasions are very exceptional; and often, when these crude instruments are used, they prove counter-productive – especially when used in dealings with self-respecting leaders of peoples.

Art of persuasion

The main instrument of diplomatic negotiation is the art of persuasion – based on genuine goodwill, understanding of and respect for the other side's major interests in whatever the field is that you are dealing with, and involving the insight to discern, and then the ability to propound convincingly, an effective method of serving his side's real interests that is harmonious with a way of serving your side's.

Finding and getting recognition for common interests that outweigh conflicting interests – that is the main thing.

* * * *

Everyone knows that, in a national parliament, the individual M.P.'s influence does not depend on the relative size or wealth of his particular constituency. It depends, especially over a period of time, on his demonstrated ability to evolve and to articulate and advance proposals and actions that will serve the general interest – of course including, at least in most instances, and in the long-term, those of his own constituents. It depends on earning the confidence and respect of his fellows.

The analogy between this obvious fact of domestic politics and the reality of a country's international influence, or that of one of its representatives prepared and able to act on the analogy, is only very partial, but in my experience, far from remote.

* * * *

In the years immediately after the [Second World] War, I thought that, if Stalin, instead of using the Red Army occupation to install satellite regimes, had sent the Bolshoi Ballet and the Red Army Choir on tour throughout Europe and North America, the goodwill of public opinion already gained would have been electrified by these superb artists, and that Communist parties, which had played so important

a part in resistance in Western Europe after 1942, would probably have not merely participated in but very possibly soon have led coalition governments in Italy, France, and perhaps elsewhere.

But I also realised that Stalin did not *want* Communist parties in power where he couldn't control them; his aim was was not the spread of Communist ideology but the extension of an empire that could be run from Moscow. At about that time, he gave some exceedingly bad guidance to Mao Tse-tung, who didn't act on it. I have wondered whether Stalin's bad advice was because Stalin didn't understand China, or because he did not want a Communist regime to get power there and be in a position to operate independently. Tito, you will recall, also got power on his own, not through installation by an occupying or liberating Red Army on his territory. And this soon made a difference.

* * * *

Error in Chinese relations

Not only was the official American assessment of the Chinese Communists wrong, but their action (and I regret to add Canada's action) was wrong, and would have been wrong even if the official American assessment had been correct. In the last few months of 1949, we all knew that the Chinese Communists were about to get unchallenged control of Mainland China, and that the Nationalists were going to move the last remaining forces to Taiwan, or Formosa (as we then called it), by the turn of the year.

I was then alternate representative on the Security Council and deputy head of Canada's mission to the United Nations. I started a campaign to urge Canada, and the Americans and the British, to recognize Communist China as soon as Chiang Kai-shek left the mainland.

I pressed my case that the West should recognize Communist China on the grounds that non-recognition of the stable government of an important country was stupid and did nothing but harm to both parties. I admitted, of course, that I had no direct knowledge of China; but I knew a lot about the U.S.S.R.... Under American leadership, most of the West had taken 16 years after the revolution in 1917 to

recognize that the Soviet regime was here to stay. This delay had accomplished nothing for the West, but it had helped to confirm in the minds of many Soviet people the idea that the West was irretrievably hostile to them, and it had helped Stalin erect a psychological Iron Curtain around his country and encourage xenophobia among the Russian people....

My representations were, I was assured, considered very seriously in Washington as well as in Ottawa, and after a few weeks I was told by an Assistant Secretary of State that I could be sure the U.S. would recognize China well before the end of 1946; they would not make the mistake which they agreed had proved costly in withholding recognition and diplomatic relations so long from the U.S.S.R. But they wanted to have negotiations with China about such things as the locations of consulates and trade and financial relations and so on, and since in negotiations American recognition would be a valuable counter, it should be saved for use in the talks, rather than granted as an instrument to facilitate talks.

I pointed out that this implied that the exchange of diplomatic missions and recognition was a concession by one side rather than a reciprocal adjustment; that this might unnecessarily offend a proud and potentially friendly government; and that, given the history of American policy on recognitions, and the probability that the Kuomintang leaders would lobby Congress against recognition, delay might merely result in the American Executive finding its hands tied in a straight-jacket. I was told not to worry. But this is, of course, what happened. The visits of Secretary Kissinger and then President Nixon to China a few years ago were brilliant and constructive initiatives, and have proved very useful. It is a pity that such moves did not come 20 years earlier.

* * * *

...Normally, non-recognition and the absence of diplomatic contacts does, in my view, nothing but harm. Personally, if Satan himself established a kingdom on this earth (and he has come close on occasion, as in Hitler's Germany), I should want to have one of my best ambassadors there to keep a close eye on things.

(Continued on P. 5)

Horsepower for Cundell still horses

The following article by Debbie Hannah, special correspondent, is reprinted from the Ottawa Citizen of February 25:

A trip down a narrow laneway in the Byward Market whisks a visitor back to the era of cobblestone streets.

Tucked behind the house at 115 York Street is a remnant of early Ottawa, the last remaining livery stable in the city.

It has stood for more than 85 years and proprietor Fred Cundell is quick to point out that horse-trading and cartage have provided a way of life for his family for generations.

Mr. Cundell's father, William, established the livery in 1880 and at one time owned more than "100 of the finest work and carriage horses in the city".

But now the family tradition is down to two chestnut mares that pull two sleigh rides a week.

Twenty-five years ago it was more prosperous. Mr. Cundell's horses ploughed snow off city streets until the city replaced horsepower with mechanical snow-removal equipment in 1956.

Mr. Cundell feels the streets have not been as thoroughly cleared since then.

Mr. Cundell claims he seldom purchased or exchanged horses in Ottawa. Better bargains could be obtained in the United States.

"One time when I was in the States I left my motel room and went outside because I heard shouts. Men were selling horses and I bought 18 that night.

"People looked at me and laughed. I heard one person say 'My God, what's that fat fella going to do with the horses, eat them?' But he wasn't very smart, the horses were going for a low price. Each one cost me \$100," he said.

Cheap back then

About 30 years ago an expensive horse cost \$300. Now, the average work-horse sells for \$1,000 to \$1,500. Mr. Cundell said these high prices and automobiles have cut his horse trades from one or two a day to about two a year.

The Cundells have offered sleigh rides for decades, but the demand has never been as low. Twenty years ago the family had six teams of horses, which would pull about 50 rides a weekend.



Fred Cundell's two chestnut mares pull a sleigh-load of happy children through the streets of Ottawa.

Horse-feed prices have drastically increased recently. A bale of hay which could be purchased for 20 cents four years ago now costs \$2.

"I drive a dump-truck now, make a living, pay my taxes, and everything is fine. But I'd sooner drive the horses if I could make enough. I don't make money on sleigh rides," he said.

Mr. Cundell not only loves horses but also has a way with them. He normally buys a new team every spring.

The difficulties of breaking in horses and training them to disregard the noise of passing cars are no problem for Mr. Cundell. Time and patience are all that is required to accustom horses to busy city streets.

However, on a few occasions the horses have reacted to the bustle of the city.

"There was this time some damn fool kept spinning his car wheels and scaring the horses. But that type of person is always around and always breaking the law," he said.

When a horse is frightened, a dangerous situation can develop. It's a tough job holding back nearly two tons of fleeing horseflesh.

"I can't put a brake on my horses like a man can put his foot on the brake of his automobile," he said.

Mr. Cundell said he drives his team carefully, giving all vehicles the right of way, even though he legally has the right of way over cars. His cautious and defensive driving has prevented

him from having an accident in more than 40 years.

"Sometimes in the summer I'm sitting on the front porch and I see people from the sight-seeing bus take a picture of our sign. They hardly ever see the stable, though.

"The kids love to see horses. Many of them hardly ever get a chance to see animals."

The charge for a two-hour sleigh ride is \$35. The trip begins in the Byward Market and runs to Rockcliffe Park. If customers live close to the Cundell home they may be picked up at their residences.

Bare city streets have never prevented him from hauling a load. If the street pavement is bare, a wagon replaces the sled.

Mr. Cundell's stable has survived the years of downtown expansion, and if he has his way it will exist as long as he's there.

"I'm happy as old hang. I've done this thing most of my life and I'll continue."

Dancer on arts council

Veronica Tennant of the National Ballet of Canada, has been appointed a member of the Province of Ontario Council for the Arts. Miss Tennant enrolled in the National Ballet school at the age of 9. Since joining the National Ballet, in 1964, she has been applauded by critics around the world.



Ditch-weed control

The final step has been taken in the attempt to keep irrigation ditches in south Saskatchewan free of choking weeds. A provincial firm recently completed the design and construction of a ditch-seeder.

The step brings a new and inexpensive means of control within the reach of farmers, who can now easily sow grasses that will eliminate weeds from ditches.

If the irrigation waterways are left untended, they quickly become choked with weeds, which impede and sometimes block the flow of water to crops.

Hans Korven, an irrigation-management specialist at the Swift Current Agriculture Canada Research Station, began to work on the problem five years ago. He found that seeding the ditches to low-growing grasses was the solution. Four grasses (stream-bank wheatgrass, Russian wild rye-grass, creeping red fescue and sheep fescue), he discovered, controlled weed-growth without impeding water-flow.

In tests at Swift Current and at other south Saskatchewan locations, grasses along the bottoms and sides of test canals had previously been seeded by hand — an impractical method over long distances.

The estimated cost of the machine is \$2,500 for the seeder and an additional

\$500 for the offset-arm. The contract cost for the prototype was \$7,500.

The seeder is seven feet wide, with double-disc furrow-openers spaced six inches apart. It can be mounted directly on a tractor's three-point hitch or on the end of an extension arm. A small ditch can be seeded by driving along the top of each bank. Larger canals may need an extra pass along the bottom.

Quota on St. Lawrence redfish

Minister of State for Fisheries Roméo LeBlanc announced recently that immediate conservation measures would be brought into force to protect the redfish stock of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Scientific assessments indicated, he stated, that the adult spawning stock of redfish had declined to a level of about 100,000 tons, and that further decline might endanger the future productivity of the species in the Gulf.

To conserve the depleted spawning stock, therefore, a 30,000-ton quota has been set for the 1976 Gulf of St. Lawrence redfish fishery (the 1975 catch was 60,000 tons). The Gulf will be closed to all vessels fishing for redfish until midnight April 30. During the closed period, which began March 6, vessels fishing in the Gulf for other groundfish species may not catch more

than 5,000 pounds, or 10 per cent by weight, of redfish on each trip. Mr. LeBlanc said this incidental-catch allowance for redfish might be adjusted if a change was found necessary to permit continued fishing of other species, such as cod and flounder. (The new regulations are contained in the Atlantic Redfish Fishery Regulations.)

New weather forecast service for Canadian Arctic

A new weather forecast service to the Canadian Arctic — said to be the first of its kind in the world — was jointly announced recently by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Environment Canada.

This facility results from an original plan devised by the CBC Northern Service, and developed by CBC engineers in co-operation with the Atmospheric Environment Service. Use of the latest electronic devices and engineering developments permits the rapid transmission of up-to-date weather forecasts to northern television viewers *via* two channels of the communications satellite *Anik*.

The weather forecasts are prepared by the Atmospheric Environment Service's Arctic Weather Centre in Edmonton and are relayed automatically to the CBC Television Network Control Centre in Toronto. About six times daily, the weather information is beamed *via* satellite to the Arctic, where it is telecast in the form of printed messages that gradually "roll up" on the television screen.

When necessary, special warnings or revised forecasts will be issued by the Arctic forecaster and transmitted in the next period of weather announcements.

Initially, the forecast regions will cover all of the Yukon Territory, Northern British Columbia, and the Mackenzie Valley from Great Slave Lake to the Mackenzie Delta, as well as the areas around Sachs Harbour, Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, Coral Harbour and Frobisher Bay.

Since the lack of communications in the Arctic has always posed difficulties in distributing timely weather information, the system has been specially designed to meet the unique needs of people living in the North.

Student summer employment

The Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Robert Andras, announced this month that the Government would again sponsor the Student Summer Employment and Activities Program – SSEAP '76 – to provide summer employment for students.

Some \$24 million will be spent by eight federal departments to provide 17 programs for students. About 12,000 jobs will be created. Another 109,700 students will participate in unpaid activities.

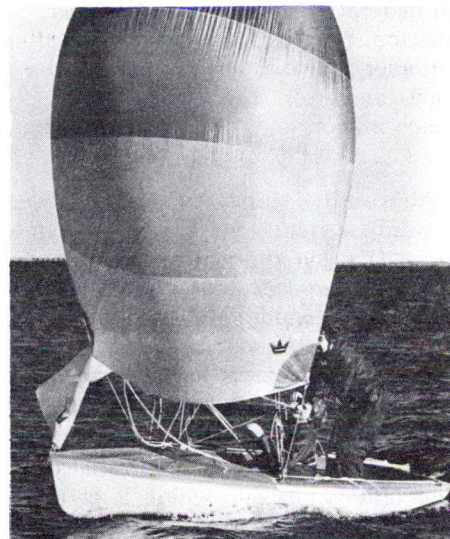
"In spite of difficult economic times, both the Government and the private sector must do what they can to provide students with work. Without summer employment, many students will not be able to return to their studies in the fall," Mr. Andras said. "I have written to my provincial counterparts to seek their co-operation in ensuring employment for students."

There are several new thrusts to SSEAP '76: parks awareness, sponsored by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, will employ students to undertake projects that will enhance awareness of the Canadian heritage as represented in the National Parks system. Health and Welfare Canada's new program, health activities, will provide the Canadian Public Health Association with funds for hiring students in the health professions to aid in research work for voluntary agencies and health institutions. The Ministry of the Solicitor General has been given \$700,000 for the employment of students in various ministerial agencies, including the Ministry Secretariat, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the National Parole Board, the National Parole Service, and the Canadian Penitentiary Service. The Department of the Environment has been allocated \$500,000 to create some 200 jobs for students, allowing them to work in environmental projects across the country.

Mr. Andras said that last year's pilot project, job exploration by students, undertaken in co-operation with the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, was successful and will be continued this year. It is designed to give students a chance to experience the business world, thus enabling them to make appropriate career decisions. Mr. Andras

also said that his department would again operate some 300 special Canada Manpower Centres for students and undertake an extensive campaign to encourage industry to provide student summer employment. It is estimated that the special Canada Manpower Centres for students will find students 200,000 jobs in the private sector.

Other departments providing programs under SSEAP '76 include the National Defence, Consumer and Corporate Affairs and the Secretary of State.



New sailboat fast, responsive

The Code 40 is a 13-foot (4-m) sailboat created by marine architect André Cornu for Nautitec Inc. of Saint-Esprit (Montreal), Quebec. Primarily intended for use by beginners and sailing schools, the sleek craft also meets competitive requirements and has been enthusiastically received by the Canadian Yachting Association. With a beam of 5.1 feet (1.6m) and a maximum weight of only 215 pounds (98kg), the Code 40 is fast and responsive and planes beautifully in moderate wind conditions. Featuring sophisticated lines, a fibreglass reinforced plastic hull and unsinkable flotation chambers, the Code 40 is an airtight, safe durable pleasure craft. The inexpensive craft comes fully rigged with a high-quality Fogh sail, mainsheet traveller and track, complete trapeze rigging, spinnaker rigging and stainless steel standing rigging. Only one year old, the Code 40 is already popular in Canada and several areas in the United States.

The art of sharing...

(Continued from P. 2)

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Nor, of course, is it only with recognized sovereign governments that regular opportunities for discussion can be beneficial all around. My personal view – and I know that it is that of a number of important Israelis whose views are of course the relevant ones – is that the Israeli Government's unwillingness to have conversational contacts with the PLO, whom, after all, the Arab governments recognize as the legitimate spokesman of the Palestinians, is not beneficial to the prospects of a peaceful settlement.

* * * *

American heresy

Sometimes I call the non-recognition syndrome "the American heresy". I suppose it started because, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States was, in general, isolationist, with a foreign policy operating chiefly only in Latin America. There were frequent *coups* there, and American recognition or the lack of it really did tend to determine whether the new regime lasted a while or quickly went away. But nowadays this policy just doesn't work. The U.S.S.R. didn't go away after 1917; Communist China hasn't gone away, I'm glad to say; and Castro hasn't gone away. If he were to be removed by covert foreign action, the cost, in the alienation of opinion in the rest of the Caribbean, Latin America, and indeed throughout the world, would be costly in the extreme for the covert aggressor.

* * * *

After the Cuban crisis, it was good to see Washington and Moscow agree on the mature and wise decision to install vastly-improved communications for use if there should ever be another such crisis. The "hot line" is the opposite of the non-recognition syndrome, and thank God for it.

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Rhodesian case

In Rhodesia, independence with African majority rule is...inevitable, and I should judge that, with the transformed strategic situation, it cannot now be long delayed. There is still, I should

hope, the possibility that it may come by agreement; but Ian Smith's obduracy, his unwillingness to negotiate realistically, makes this possibility slighter each week. I do not propose to prophesy here.

* * * *

Democracies should take their own ideology seriously. If we in the West are concerned about human freedom, it is wise to encourage and to help other open societies that are threatened and need help. This is a very different thing from a strategy of seeking satellites, of encouraging and supporting unpopular regimes, however tyrannical, on the grounds that they are pro-Western, or pro-American, or anti-Marxist. Supporting an unpopular and even tyrannical dictatorship is apt to alienate the people whom the dictator tries to dominate; the fact that they may then fall under the domination of an even more repressive dictatorship, as seems to have happened in Cambodia, does not make the former policy right.

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The moral issue

If, as I believe, the moral factors are even more weighty than material factors in calculations of political power, it is important that they be included realistically, rather than, as it were, upside-down or out of phase, in assessing changed situations. There have been plenty of relevant changes in the past couple of years....

* * * *

If morality is important in relations between governments, and in maintaining the cohesion of coalitions and nations, it is still more important in creating and consolidating new multi-cultural communities. This is the key

task of world politics today....

It is my belief that, within the next generation or so...we must achieve a community, for many purposes, that is world-wide – with the intellectual horizons of understanding, and the moral horizons of goodwill and mutual respect, and some of the effective decision-taking and decision-enforcing institutions of community, on a global scale.

Meanwhile we must, I think, within the next few years develop among governments and peoples much higher levels than have hitherto been reached, of understanding, co-operation and justice. We need greater understanding in order to avoid serious miscalculations and error. The stakes are so much higher, and they are increasing....

* * * *

Above all, I think, we need to move towards a significantly greater degree of justice, on a global scale. We have a knowledge explosion as well as a population explosion. There are plans for satellite television, for example, to link school systems in Indian villages. Increasingly, men know how what we call the "other half" lives. Unless we make adequate progress with the problem of development, which is perhaps World Problem Number 1, the dangers of frustration, despair, and the irrational acts that these can involve, could become dangerous.

Within the past two or three generations we have learned, in the Western democracies, that it is simply not safe to live in communities that are say 30 percent affluent, educated and reasonably healthy and two-thirds poor, with inadequate opportunities for education, health, and fulfilling work. It has been this prudent recognition that what Disraeli called "two nations" could not safely be tolerated within Western democracies that has led to the social-security apparatus that can be summarized under the phrase "welfare state".

* * * *

Some 24 centuries ago, Aristotle observed that, when you establish a democratic assembly, you make it inevitable that sooner or later the poor, who are many, will use their voting power to get benefits from the rich, who are few. This pressure of which Aristotle spoke is desirable as well

as inevitable and it certainly exists. Beginning in the latter part of the 1940s, when I used to represent Canada on the United Nations Economic and Social Council, I saw (and, indeed, helped to encourage) the beginning of a new international lobby, led at that time by my friend Ambassador Malik of Lebanon. The Europeans had developed a habit of writing into virtually every ECOSOC resolution that special regard must be paid to the needs and interests of the war-ravaged economies. Malik said that this sort of thing, and its implementation through policies like the Marshall Plan, would merely re-establish the inequalities of the prewar period, unless matched by a major effort to help what were then called the under-developed countries. So, nearly every time, he proposed writing in exhortations that special regard must be paid to the "undeveloped" nations.

New economic order

Today, this lobby, which has, of course, grown much more numerous with the access to independence of most of Africa and Asia, and the Caribbean, Mediterranean and South Pacific islands, is stronger and more cohesive. It advocates the concept of a new international economic order. One of my final tasks, in my previous job as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, was to appoint a representative group of "ten wise men", drawn from a balanced cross-section of Commonwealth countries, to draw up specific proposals under this heading....

One of the many uses of the Commonwealth is as an instrument for caucusing between representative groups of industrialized and developing countries. There are few such instruments, though there are many where the rich caucus among themselves, such as the OECD, and many where the poor caucus – various regional organizations, or non-aligned meetings, or the Group of 77.

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