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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NATO Ministerial Meeting—Paris, December 1955

At the Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris on December 15 and 16, the representatives of the fifteen member governments exchanged views on three basic questions:

- (a) the military problems of the alliance;
- (b) the international situation in the light of the Geneva Conferences;
- (c) the future development of the Atlantic community.

Canada was represented at the meeting by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ralph Campney, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Walter Harris and the Canadian Permanent Representative to NATO, Mr. L. D. Wilgress. They were assisted by Mr. W. M. Benidickson, Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance, and by officials of the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence, Finance and Defence Production.

Military Problems

The Council reaffirmed the basic strategic objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and agreed on the measures necessary to adapt its forces to be prepared for a possible future war and on the general order of magnitude of these forces. In addition, principles to govern the development of defence planning, both collectively and nationally, were adopted; and consideration was given to the establishment of priorities for the defence programmes of individual member countries so as to achieve the most effective pattern of forces, given the resources in men, money and material likely to be available to the Alliance.

One specific problem to which the Council devoted some attention was the urgent need for an effective air defence and-warning system in Western Europe. It was decided that the Supreme Allied Commander Europe would be responsible for co-ordinating the air defence of NATO European countries, and the main outlines of the system to be developed by SACEUR were also approved.

Review of the International Situation

The members of the Council exchanged views on current political issues and, in particular, discussed recent Soviet non-military activities including their recent moves in the Middle East and Asia. As the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers had ended only a few weeks earlier, and as this was the first annual NATO meeting at which German representatives were present, it was natural that the German problem should be given special attention. Although there were, of course, differences of emphasis it was apparent that all members of the Council were in substantial agreement both in their assessments of Soviet policy and on the broad outlines of recent Western policy towards the Soviet Union.



—NATIS

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

A Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council was held in Paris in December 1955. The Canadian delegation included the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, centre, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. R. O. Campney, right, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Walter Harris. Speaking to Mr. Pearson is Lord Ismay, the Secretary-General of NATO.

There was a general awareness that the Soviet leaders were exploiting in their current diplomatic offensive all situations that could give rise to difficulties for the members of NATO in an attempt to break up the unity of the Alliance. There was unanimous agreement that greater unity is the only possible answer to these tactics. The exchange of views on the international situation gave further evidence that NATO is becoming increasingly important as a forum in which members hear each others views and, where possible, try to achieve an agreed approach to outstanding international issues.

Implementation of Article 2

That the Council is developing into something more than a purely military alliance was also stressed by the discussion at the Ministerial meeting of the need for extending consultation within NATO to the economic, information and social fields. As noted in the final communiqué, the Ministers decided that the Council in permanent session should "examine and implement" all measures conducive to closer co-operation between members as envisaged in Article 2; the discussion did not, however, reveal any desire to establish new machinery for this purpose.

The consensus was that the meeting was a successful one. The political discussions, in particular, were very useful and were conducted in a frank and informal manner. The communiqué was intended to make clear to public

opinion the unanimity of the member states on the essentials of their German policy, in the face of the negative results of the second Geneva Conference. It also showed an awareness that, while the Council has taken cognizance of the new threat which exists for the free world in Asia and the Middle East, the problems of Europe are by no means solved and will continue to demand the close attention of the Council.

Final Communiqué

The North Atlantic Council held its regular December Ministerial Session in Paris on the 15th and 16th of December. Member governments were represented by Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers. Dr. Kristinn Gudmundsson, Foreign Minister of Iceland, acted as chairman.

I

The Council examined and assessed the present international situation.

It unanimously welcomed the vigour with which the three Western Ministers had presented to the second Geneva Conference the proposals already outlined at previous meetings of the North Atlantic Council. These proposals aimed at the reunification of Germany through free elections; left the unified German Government free to choose its own foreign policy and offered a security pact to the U.S.S.R.

The Council noted with regret:

1. that the U.S.S.R. had repudiated the proposal to negotiate on the reunification of Germany through free elections, in spite of the directive agreed at the first Geneva conference;
2. that the U.S.S.R. was opposed to any effective system for the control of armaments including the air inspection plan proposed by President Eisenhower;
3. that the U.S.S.R. had given proof of its fear and hostility with regard to the free exchange of information between the people of the Soviet Union and the free world.

The Council declared that the negative outcome of the Geneva Conference had in no way halted the efforts of the North Atlantic powers to secure the reunification of Germany in freedom, such reunification continuing to be held by them as an essential condition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

The Council reaffirmed that they consider the Government of the Federal Republic as the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs; it is stressed once again that the security and welfare of Berlin should be considered as essential elements of the peace of the free world in the present international situation; it urged the importance of consulting further within NATO on the question of German reunification and on the situation in Berlin.

The Council also reviewed recent provocative moves and declarations by the Soviet Union regarding the Middle East and Asia. They recognized that these tactics, coupled with a continued increase in Soviet military capability created new problems and a new challenge to the Free World.

II

Following a report by the Secretary-General on the work and activities of the Organization in the last eight months, the Council discussed future defence planning of NATO. It considered the Annual Review Report for 1955 and approved force goals for 1956, 1957, and 1958. The Council welcomed the German Federal Republic's participation for the first time in the NATO Annual Review. The Council adopted procedures *designed to give new impulse and direction* to the future defence planning of the Alliance and to ensure even closer co-operation in this field. The Council expressed the firm determination of all member governments to see the Atlantic forces equipped with the most modern weapons. The Council noted with satisfaction that substantial progress could be achieved in this respect as a result of the valuable assistance of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada.

The Council devoted major attention to *improving the arrangements for air defence and warning in Europe*. It accepted recommendations for the re-organization and closer co-ordination of the air defence in NATO European countries, so as to integrate further NATO activities in this vital field. The Council also received a report on a *new type* of communications system for air defence and warning. The United States offered to finance a pilot project for this new system.

III

The Council recognized that recent developments in the international situation made it more necessary than ever to have closer co-operation between the members of the Alliance as envisaged in *Article 2 of the Treaty*. They decided to instruct the Permanent Council to examine and implement all measures conducive to this end.

IV

In concluding its work, the Council declared that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the essential foundation of the security of the *fifteen* associated nations. Such association is in direct contrast to the obsolete system under which isolated nations are in danger of being subjugated, one by one, by despotic groups such as the Soviet bloc.

Palais de Chaillot,

Paris, XVI^e.

16th December, 1955.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MR.

L. B. PEARSON, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1955.

The recent NATO meeting gave a straight answer to the Soviet Union's recent efforts to weaken our alliance. Besides approving more effective defence plans, the Paris meeting demonstrated four things in particular: (1) the need for strength and vigilance in defence and for flexibility and unity in policy; (2) the need for continuous and frank political discussion in NATO to ensure this unity; (3) the importance of the problem of German reunification and (4) the welcome growth in NATO consultation on economic and other non-military questions.

The meeting emphasized that we cannot relax either in defence or in diplomacy, in the face of new Soviet tactics. This was agreed by all of us. If the Soviet Union can be made to realize the determination of the fifteen NATO members to work closely together to resist aggression and infiltration, the world will be spared a lot of unnecessary trouble.

The Council meeting also showed that the NATO countries sincerely seek to relax tensions but that they will not be deceived by mere technical manoeuvres. In this period of Soviet zigzag tactics NATO must be both strong and flexible; it must be strong militarily, though it is more than a military alliance, and it must be imaginative and ready to meet new diplomatic situations. The Paris meeting reflected the firmness with which these views are held by NATO governments.

The communiqué mentions German questions a good many times. At the recent Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference the Soviet Union unmistakably revealed their real policy towards Germany. They are not merely opposed to German rearmament or membership in NATO. They would not even be satisfied with a "neutralized" Germany, whatever that may mean. Their present price for German reunification was a fully communist satellite state. Therefore, it was obvious they would not permit free elections. We agreed in Paris that it was of primary importance to make this clear to public opinion and to pin the responsibility for a divided Germany where it belongs.

At Paris the German situation was re-appraised with care and candour, and it was concluded that the NATO countries should continue their efforts "to secure the re-unification of Germany in freedom, such reunification continuing to be held by them as an essential condition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace". We agreed, in short, after this searching re-appraisal that we should follow our present line in German policy, as that which was in accordance with the wishes of the majority of German people and as that which was being steadily and firmly pursued by the German government. We came to these conclusions only after receiving the considered views of the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany.

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CORRIGENDA

Vol. 7, No. 12, December 1955, page 331, column one, three lines from bottom, for "nation" read "notion".

Ibid, page 332, column one, line 16, for "It is" read "Is it".
line 20, for "approach." read "approach?"
ten lines from bottom, for "concerned." read "conceded."

column two, twenty lines from bottom, for "Acquire" read "Acquired".

Ibid, page 333, column one, twenty lines from bottom, for "persons" read "person".

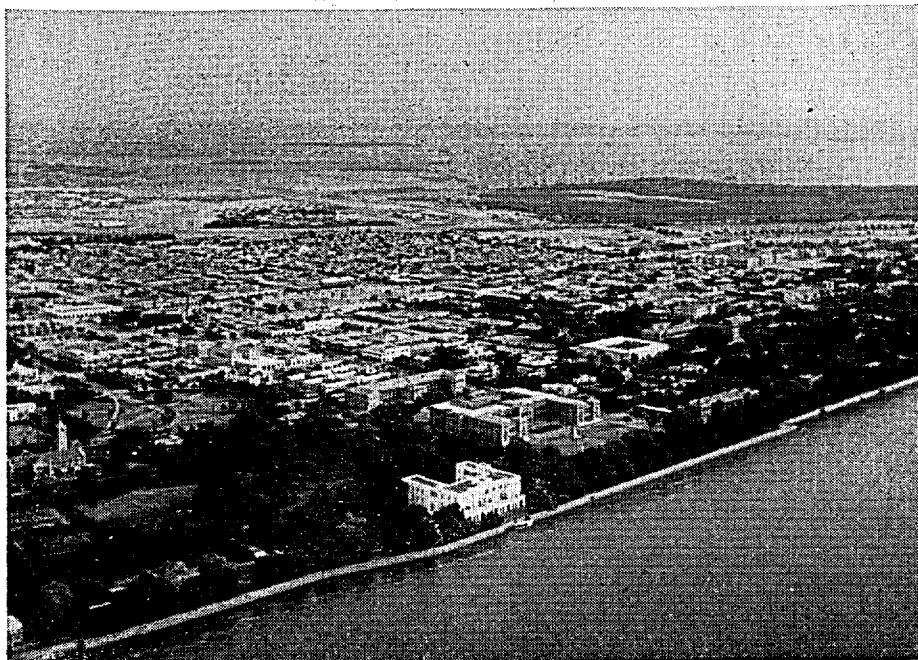
Canadian Recognition of Sudan

Following a decision for sovereign status taken by the Sudanese House of Representatives on December 19, 1955, the independence of the Sudan was formally recognized on January 1, 1956, by the governments of the United Kingdom and Egypt. These two countries had exercised a *condominium* over the Sudan since 1899. Canadian recognition of the new state of the Sudan was extended on January 6 in a telegram of congratulations from the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, to the Prime Minister of the Sudan, Mr. Ismail el Azhari, as follows:

“On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I extend my warmest felicitations on the achievement of independence by the Sudan. The progress of the people of the Sudan towards full government has been followed with sympathetic interest in Canada. It is a source of much satisfaction to me to be able to join in welcoming the Sudan into the comity of sovereign nations and to offer sincere best wishes for the happy and prosperous future of your country.”

Mr. Ismail el Azhari replied to Mr. St. Laurent, as follows:

“On behalf of the people and Government of the Sudan I heartily thank you for your warm message of felicitations on the occasion of Sudan's independence and send you and the people of Canada our most sincere wishes for your well being, happiness and prosperity.”



KHARTOUM, THE CAPITAL OF THE SUDAN

Mayurakshi Project

THE Mayurakshi River rises in the Chota Nagpur hills of Bihar State, flows east and then south through West Bengal, and after 150 miles joins one of the rivers by which the sacred waters of the Ganges pass through its delta to the sea. The Mayurakshi used to be like many Indian rivers. During the monsoon it would be so swollen by the rains that its banks could hardly contain it. During the dry season it would become a trickle through the barren waste of its bed. Meanwhile the villagers in its basin, particularly those who farmed in the West Bengal district of Birbhum through which the upper part of the river flows would see their crops once in every four years wither and die for want of water. As recently as 1927 the crop failure was so bad that the district of Birbhum experienced severe famine.

Today the Mayurakshi—or peacock's eye if we may translate the name from Bengali—is like the old grey mare—it isn't what it used to be. There is this difference, however, the change has been for the better. While it still may roar in the monsoon and hibernate in the dry season, the river has now been tamed. It has become the subject of the Mayurakshi project—West Bengal's largest river valley project.

The key structure of this vast undertaking is a dam 2,000 feet long and 155 feet high over its deepest foundation. On the white granite face of the dam above the three main sluice-gates is set a black marble plaque on which these words have been cut in golden letters:

CANADA DAM

This Dam in connection with the Mayurakshi Project was constructed with funds made available by the Canadian Government and opened by the Hon. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, on 1st November, 1955.

Therein lies our tale.

As a result of the Birbhum famine, investigations were begun in 1928 with a view to providing this district with irrigation facilities. After years of study by its engineers the Government of West Bengal approved a composite scheme by which the water value of the Mayurakshi system would be eventually realized instead of dissipated. The plan was put into effect by stages beginning in 1948. First, some irrigation canals were built and barrages to supply them. However, a barrage across a river can hold back only a relatively small amount of water and therefore, if the demands of established canals always were to be met, and indeed the needs of new ones, a master water bank was necessary from which supplies could be drawn when required. This meant that a dam worthy of the ambitious project which had been put in train had to be built. Fortunately just across the border from West Bengal in Bihar the Mayurakshi empties from a narrow valley at Messanjore, an ideal site for a dam.

Before work could begin two important problems had to be solved. One of these concerned location. Being in Bihar the dam would flood a part of that

State mainly for the benefit of West Bengal. Moreover, in a heavily populated country land cannot be flooded without people being displaced. In the area of 27 square miles destined to be submerged, some 14,000 people lived in more than 100 villages. Many of these were an aboriginal folk called Santhals, whose forebears had occupied the valley at a time immemorial even in the historic land of India. As might be expected, they faced the prospect of being uprooted from their ancestral lands to meet an unknown future without enthusiasm.

The question of the dam site was settled by the good sense and goodwill of the Governments of West Bengal and Bihar. After a series of conferences they arrived at an agreement in the spring of 1949. Under this agreement, people displaced from the catchment area were given the choice of taking compensation for their land in cash or moving to well-planned and reclaimed areas with irrigation facilities. Although this choice was given at a cost of more than double the amount which would have been involved if the land in the reservoir area had simply been requisitioned, it had the happy and worthwhile result of enabling the valley to be vacated with the co-operation of all concerned. Another element of the agreement ensured that in Bihar the dam would be regarded as something other than an unwanted engine affixed to its soil. Provision was made for water to be drawn direct from the dam into a canal dug to serve the irrigation needs of Bihar farmers.

Financing the Undertaking

The second problem was the familiar one of financing the undertaking. River valley projects are not bargain-basement propositions. However, the Indian Government was about to embark on its first Five-Year Plan to develop the economy of the nation and in that Plan it gave pride of place to schemes calculated primarily to enhance agricultural production. Satisfied with the merits of the Mayurakshi project, it agreed to lend to West Bengal the money it needed to complete the enterprise. In June 1951 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, laid the foundation stone of the dam. Eight months later the first bucket of foundation concrete was poured. Work on the project has continued ever since.

The temporary transfer to the federal authority of responsibility for financing only solved the problem as far as West Bengal was concerned. It added another to those with which the Indian Government had to cope. While the Government was determined to make the maximum use of the country's resources to improve the standard of living, these resources fell short of enabling the Government to accomplish everything it planned. Thus, if the Government provided the Mayurakshi project with all the funds it needed it would have to pare its aid to other deserving projects. It so happened that during a food emergency Canada had provided India, under the Colombo Plan, with wheat worth \$15 million. According to the agreement between the two countries India sold this wheat for rupees and credited the sum realized to a special account called a counterpart fund. This fund could then be used to finance the local costs of some economic development project mutually acceptable to both Governments. Mayurakshi clearly was such a deserving project and hence it was agreed that the money should be allocated to pay part of the costs of the local labour and materials needed in the construction of the dam. Subsequently the fund was further swollen by the addition of the counterpart rupees generated by the Canadian gift to India of about \$2 million worth of locomotive boilers.



—Gov. of West Bengal

ARRIVAL AT THE CANADA DAM

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mrs. L. B. Pearson arrive at the site of the Canada Dam for the opening ceremonies. Included in the party, at Mrs. Pearson's right, is the Chief Minister, West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, and the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott M. Reid.

Our assistance did not stop here. The plan for the dam included provision for a small hydro-electric plant. Canada agreed to donate, at a cost of about \$3 million, the electrical equipment needed to put this plant into operation. The powerhouse will have an installed capacity of 4,000 kws. of hydro-electric power, half of which will be certain throughout the year. Its full capacity will be realized during the monsoon season when the power will be most needed for cottage industries which are being developed in the area to help the villagers supplement their means of livelihood. During the rains they cannot work their plots. When they can, those whose lands lie in areas where lift irrigation is necessary, will continue to derive benefits from cheap power in their farming activities. Electricity will operate the irrigation pumps.

West Bengal and the Indian Union have reason to be proud of what Indian skills and labours have accomplished in the Mayurakshi project. We have mentioned the length and height of the dam and the size of the reservoir. However, there are other facts about the project equally impressive. For example, the method followed in constructing the dam combined the employment of manual labour for rubble masonry work with the use of light hoists for lifting operations. Through this method six million cubic feet of masonry work were completed in a single year even though the only shift was of eight hours and the work had to be done in circumstances which were not always favourable. The structure was finished before schedule at a cost within the estimate. Since the time of the President's visit to Messanjore more than 15,000 manual labourers have toiled on the dam and in the canals. Strikes have been unknown.

The dam has been designed to withstand floods, wave pressure and even seismic disturbances. Its northern wing is a gravity bulkhead section while its southern wing has a 740 ft. spillway controlled by twenty-one gates each 30 ft. long by 15 ft. high. The bulkhead section includes three low-level and three high-level under-water sluice gates for the control and passing of irrigation water. The penstocks each 6 feet in diameter will provide the powerhouse with its water needs.

In West Bengal the canals of the Mayurakshi project are over 840 miles in length and more are being built. They fan out from the harnessed river system in an arterial network which will irrigate 600,000 acres of land. During the *khari* or main crop season (June to October) all of these acres will be provided with water. During the remaining seven dry months, known as the *rabi* season, 120,000 acres will benefit. Although the project can ration its store of water, it can only get new supplies when the monsoon so wills. In Bihar the canal which leads from the dam will carry water to 30,000 acres in the Santhal Parganas region in the wet season and to 6,000 the rest of the year.

Over the more than 1,000 square miles through which the project extends, the staple crop is rice and the yield per acre has been low. Through sample surveys and harvesting experiments Indian experts have calculated that henceforth irrigation will increase the rice output grown in the *khari* season by 325,000 tons a year. Most of what will be grown in the *rabi* season will be pure gain because before there was very little double cropping. Sugarcane and cotton will probably become the main crops of this season. Long ago, by Canadian but not Indian standards, Birbhum cotton was famous in South Asia and merchantmen of the East India Company beat their way home under sails made from it.

Official Estimates

According to official estimates, the total capital outlay for Mayurakshi—some \$31 million—will be recovered in about three years' time in the form of increased agricultural produce. Such an estimate does not take into account the possible secondary results of irrigation. For example, villagers will be encouraged to invest their new-found savings in improved implements and fertilizers and hence to increase their production still more. Small wonder that Mr. Pearson when he opened the dam should speak of the magic of this project where an initial investment of Canadian wheat (not to mention boilers) would be transformed into great harvests year after year after year. Instead of being a wasting asset this project is a compounding one.

In northern India the weather smiles from November to February and it got off to a good start on November 1 when Mr. Pearson came to Mayurakshi. The dam, curried, brushed and tidied for the occasion, bounced back the bright light like a glacier. The lake of its creation still burdened with the red silt from the fields below spread out like an arm of the upper Bay of Fundy. The jungle-clad hills threw a scalloped hem around the horizon. Below the dam near the three sluice-gates a gayly coloured canvas canopy had been erected to shield from the sun the official party and distinguished guests. About this canopy and along the sluiceway crowded thousands of inhabitants of the area,



OPENING CEREMONY

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, officially opens the "Canada Dam", the main reservoir in the Mayurakshi Project.

who before dawn had left such romantic sounding places as Mahammad Bazar, Ahmedpur and Dumka to see what was going on at the dam.

Mr. Pearson, who was introduced to the gathering by the West Bengal Minister for Irrigation, said Canada had been honoured through the naming of the dam. "Our peoples have shared the cost. And because, among friends, when the welfare of some is furthered by help from others, we also share the benefit. It is as simple and as fundamental as that; as simple as neighbourly help and as fundamental as friendship." The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, then paid tribute to our country for the active help it was giving India in its drive for economic regeneration.

The time had come for the dam to be opened. Mr. Pearson pushed a button and simultaneously the curtain which had shrouded the name plate on the dam swept back and from the sluice-gates the tawny water spouted in three roaring jets. The ceremony was over and the official party had hardly left the dam site before the sluice-gates were shut again. Because it had taken twenty-seven years of planning and striving to capture the water treasure of the Mayurakshi only so much and no more could be spent of it for ceremonial purposes. This seemed peculiarly fitting.

On the day Mayurakshi formally became a part of India's destiny, Prime Minister Nehru sent a message of good wishes which concluded with these words: "The dam will be a visible and enduring link of friendship between Canada and India. Let this friendship endure."

AN ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MR. LESTER B. PEARSON, AT THE MAYURAKSHI CEREMONY, NOVEMBER 1, 1955.

It is good to be back in India after nearly six years. My absence almost coincides with the period of your First Five-Year Plan which has put so many and such large developments in train. I welcome the opportunity to learn something about these at first hand, reflecting, as they do, India's steady progress. Of course, my second-hand knowledge of them is already pretty comprehensive. Our High Commissioner takes great pains to ensure that this is the case by providing a continuing flow of information on these matters. But nothing, not even a High Commissioner's reports, quite takes the place of a personal visit and a personal experience.

Canadians rejoice whenever we hear that free India is succeeding in its drive for a fuller and better life for her people. We rejoice because our nations and our peoples are friends who are fraternally associated in the Commonwealth; and who are co-operating for the common good within the framework of the Colombo Plan and the United Nations. We are striving for the same things; for peace and security on earth; for the advancement of the dignity and worth of the individual, irrespective of his class, his creed or his colour; for free government, carried on by the consent of the governed.

An Enduring Monument

It is most fitting that the Mayurakshi project should be the first I am seeing in India. For one thing, you have done us the honour of naming it the "Canada Dam", and this will give us a special and continuing interest in the project. Here indeed is an enduring monument to Indo-Canadian co-operation and friendship. Our peoples have shared the cost. And because, among friends, when the welfare of some is furthered by help from others, we also share the benefit. It is as simple and as fundamental as that; as simple as neighbourly help and as fundamental as friendship.

The Mayurakshi development is an integral part of your First Five-Year Plan. You are now about to embark on a Second Plan—the successful completion of the First. The Mayurakshi development is also an integral part of the Colombo Plan, which is one of the most farsighted and imaginative attempts at international co-operative assistance ever devised. Last week at Singapore, the Indian, Canadian and all the other governments concerned, agreed to continue in operation this Plan for at least another five years—evidence enough that the Colombo Plan has been a success. Mayurakshi bears true witness to that success, and to the friendship between peoples without which it would not have been possible.

It is not for me to tell you about this project—you who have made the plans and executed them with results which stretch well beyond the horizons which hem us in today. Although I could not recognize a kilowatt if I saw one, I have some idea of what 2,000 kilowatts of hydro-electric power can do when turned over to people with the initiative and resourcefulness to use them well. Although my practical experience with irrigation consists of dampening a small lawn with a hose, I know what water can mean to 600,000 acres spread in the path of the Indian sun, and to the people who must work them. Developments such as these have inspired some observers to say that the face of India is being transformed. Such comments smack of face-lifting, and I do not like the ungallant implications. Rather would I say that through developments such as these, India is staking her claim to a good future in the material and economic sense, without losing her wise heritage from the treasury of the past, or her sense of deeper spiritual values.

The magic of the Mayurakshi, then, is something for great satisfaction. And magic it is when you consider that here an initial investment of Canadian wheat will be transformed into a great harvest of Indian rice year after year after year. It is a

magic not of sleight-of-hand, but of hands, the hands which harvested the wheat, drew the plans, carried the cement, dug the ditches—Indian hands and Canadian hands—all moved by a will to do good. And now the great part of the work is done, and soon the water, tamed by this dam, will be adding the benefit of electric power to those other benefits it is already providing.

Mayurakshi now becomes a part of India's great destiny. I offer my sincere congratulations to all those who have brought it into being and my good wishes to all those who will sustain it henceforth.



CANADIAN GIFT FOR INDIAN FLOOD VICTIMS

—*Republic News*

The High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott M. Reid, right, presents to the Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross Society, a gift of 2,500 woollen blankets and other articles for distribution to flood victims in India. This gift, which was specially flown to India by the Royal Canadian Air Force, was part of the relief supplies bought by the Canadian Red Cross from a donation of \$50,000 made by the Canadian Government for Red Cross relief work in India.

Candel, Kampot, Cambodia

By MAJOR A. L. MACLEAN, CD, RCEME

(Some impressions of the life and work of a member of the Canadian Delegation on the Fixed Inspection Team at Kampot, Cambodia, during the first year of its activities.)

A team was established in Kampot, on the south coast of Cambodia, on September 15, 1954, with a strength of seven: two Indian officers, two Canadian officers, two Polish officers and a Polish-English interpreter. During the first year the composition of the team varied from nine (an addition of an Indian (English-French) interpreter and a Polish-French interpreter) to only four (one officer from each country and a Polish-French interpreter). This group lived together in a large villa, ate their meals together there and had their headquarters there. The writer was a member of this team from the beginning until August 20, 1955.

During the early months the life was novel, the work new and interesting and the relationship between members grew from being formally polite to relaxed and informal associations. However, when such a small number of persons with vastly different backgrounds are together for work, for meals and for relaxation, relationships tend to become strained. This situation was aggravated by the climate: it rained nearly all day every day for the first month and then intermittently until early November. It wasn't a cool refreshing rain but a warm tropical one. It was difficult to dry laundry and the dampness permeated everything; clothes, bedding, etc. When the dry season arrived we had hot dry weather for seven months: the dryness was appreciated but not the heat. Then the rains started again.

Language Difficulties

Another factor which tended to separate the members of the team was language. It is very difficult to carry on detailed and interesting conversations through interpreters. Also, because we were together all the time, it was mutually agreed not to discuss politics or religion or any other topic that might bring to the surface deep-rooted prejudices. Thus, conversations were kept on a light plane and topics were soon exhausted. Because of the language and background, eventually the Poles tended to keep pretty much to themselves and the Indians and Canadians spent considerable time together. But, "familiarity breeds contempt", and therefore we soon found it better not to be too much in each others' company. When team members went to Phnom Penh for a few days each month they invariably went alone, so that they would spend their time in a different atmosphere and with different people.

A logical escape from this "desert island" was to seek companionship with the local inhabitants: French, Cambodian and Chinese. Here again the language problem arose. In Kampot only five persons, apart from the team members, had any knowledge of English. The answer to this, and the eventual inactivity of the team, was to learn French. Most officers on the teams in Cambodia managed to pick up a good working knowledge of that language.

During the first three months life was new, exciting and interesting. Everything we saw was different from what we were accustomed to and there was much to learn about the country: socially, politically, geographically and administratively. In the beginning we worked with the local Mixed Group, the representatives in our area of the Joint Commission, composed of an equal number of officers from both the Cambodian Army and the Communist forces. The job of the Mixed Group was to arrange the disbandment of the Khmer Resistance Forces (local communists), and the evacuation of the Viet Minh forces from Cambodia. Our task was to supervise these activities, and in many ways this was the most interesting part of our work in Kampot, working as we were with both Viet Minh and Cambodian officers.

Escort Duty

On one occasion the team, accompanied by a Cambodian and a Viet Minh officer, had to go by boat 90 miles, almost to the border of Thailand, to escort a few Viet Minh troops to the regrouping area at Chhuk, 25 miles north-east of Kampot. We took a small motor junk from Kampot and went down the river and out into the Gulf of Siam where we boarded a French Navy Patrol Craft (600 tons). This ship took us to Lem Dam where we picked up 26 Viet Minh (25 soldiers and one nurse). Each man carried a personal weapon, a bandolier of ammunition and a bandolier of rice. This latter was a tube of cloth about four inches in diameter and about four feet long. It was carried slung over the shoulder and contained about 6½ lbs. of rice, sufficient to feed one man for about 4 days. Besides this there were certain common stores: cooking utensils, dried fish, a mortar and ammunition, first aid kit, and similar items. The 26 were completely self contained and could move very quickly across the country. We escorted this group back to Chhuk without incident, and the Viet Minh seemed quite happy and in good spirits.

Several days later all the Viet Minh who had assembled at Chhuk (about 500; some with wives and children) were escorted to the Mekong River at Neak Luong where they embarked in French Navy craft bound for Viet Nam. The Cambodian Army provided the trucks and drivers and were responsible for the security of the convoy. We, in our white jeeps, escorted them; the Indians at the head of the column, the Canadians in the middle and the Poles in the rear. Due to excellent co-operation on both sides and the good security arrangements, the evacuation was carried out on schedule without any trouble. Troops of both sides carried loaded weapons.

Once all the Viet Minh were out of the country, our next job was to check on the re-integration of the disbanded Khmer Resistance Force personnel into the community, and to see that they were not subjected to reprisals. We received several complaints against the government but on investigation all were found to be groundless. During this period we visited nearly every district in the populated parts of the two provinces for which we were responsible, Kampot and Takeo. We visited the towns and numerous small villages, many accessible only on foot. One trip was made down the Takeo River in a small motor boat, another was made to Kompong Som Leou by boat, bicycle, foot and finally, elephant.

Many humorous incidents took place. In one village we were investigating a charge that the inhabitants were not allowed freedom of movement. We



CAMBODIAN FIXED INSPECTION TEAM

The Kampot Fixed Team, consisting of Indian, Polish and Canadian Officers, is shown above with interpreters during an investigation in a remote village. Seated in the front row are: Commander Malia, Indian Navy (in the white uniform), Captain Malianowski, Polish Army, on his right, and the author, Major Maclean, Canadian Army, on his left. French coconuts, brought by the villagers, are shown in the foreground.

asked one old man if he ever left the village. He replied, "no". When asked why, he stated that he was old and he didn't want to leave, all he wanted to do was to sit by his house. We decided then to ask a younger man and chose a good looking Cambodian about 18 years old. He was asked if he could leave the village and go into the nearest town (sic) if he wished. He said; "no". We all perked up at this and were ready for a story of local authorities' suppression of freedom of movement. When asked who would not allow him to leave he replied: "my father". That broke up the meeting and we moved on to another nearby village. The outcome of this investigation was that we found no government restriction on the freedom of movement of the villagers.

When in the rural areas on a case we always draw a large crowd and at the end of the investigation we asked if any one had any complaints. On one occasion an old man came forward and stated his case: he complained that

the previous year he had paid only 100 piastres (three dollars) tax but this year the government was demanding 150 piastres (four dollars and fifty cents). Of course this question did not come within our terms of reference and we told him so. Many of the peasants complained about having to pay taxes. On another occasion, a man asked us for which party he should vote in the coming election. We steered clear of that one too, although we had a good laugh over it.

Translation Problems

Language was not only a problem among the team members, but also during investigations. On most cases one officer from each country did the investigation; that is, an official team consisted of three people. However, our three jeeps carried a total party of twelve: the three officers, an Indian (English-French) interpreter, a Polish-English and a Polish-French interpreter, two Cambodian-French interpreters (employed by the Commission and representing both sides), a servant to look after our meals, and the three Cambodian Army drivers. It was quite an entourage and caused great excitement when we arrived in the small villages. When we had settled down in a shady spot and selected our witness, questions were decided upon, and then asked by the Indian team head in English, translated on the side into Polish, then into French and from French into Cambodian. The answer came back through the same channel: Cambodian-French-English-Polish. From this it can be readily understood that we soon learned to ask simple direct questions which required short definite answers. Another problem was that Cambodian is a simple language and one word has many meanings in English. For example, *Tchop* means: arrest, stop, detain for questioning, etc.; another, *Samlain* means; parents, relatives, friends, neighbours, etc., and another, *L'hoa* means; good, nice, well, fine, pretty, etc. Therefore, in many instances, in order to assure that the exact meaning was clear, it might take from 15 to 20 minutes to get an understandable answer to one simple question.

In one investigation an important witness was a Viet Nameese who spoke only that language. Our Cambodian interpreters did not speak Viet Nameese so we had to search the village for someone who spoke Viet Nameese and Cambodian or French. We found a Chinese merchant who spoke Chinese, Cambodian and Viet Nameese, and who agreed to act as interpreter. So the questions and answers went; English (then Polish)-French-Cambodian-Viet Nameese-and back. Obviously only the most elementary questions could be answered with any degree of accuracy, particularly since Cambodian was an intermediate language.

Rural Cambodians don't have much use for calendars or watches. They tell the time by the sun and the date by the phases of the moon related to the seasons (there are two seasons: dry and rainy). Thus, a time and date may be given as: when the sun was descending on the eighth day of the waning of the third moon since the last rains. When this is translated into English and then corrected to the best of every one's ability it is realized that the witness meant in the afternoon of some day late in January. But that was as near as it was possible to come. Hence the establishment of the exact time of any specific occurrence was very difficult to determine.

After the Viet Minh had withdrawn and the ex-members of the Khmer Resistance Forces had been taken back into the community and given equal

rights with the rest of the population, the teams had little to do except to be in the country in case something happened. Thus we had no specific jobs for weeks on end. The first few months of this inactivity were not too bad because we spent our time learning as much as we could, considering the language problem, and seeing as much of our area as possible. However, except for the main highways, roads are very bad and travel is not easy. Trips on jungle tracks and cross country mud routes are not comfortable in old jeeps. The Kampot jeeps travelled a little over 14,000 miles during the first ten months of the team's activity and we were reluctant to use them more than was necessary.

Boredom, the Great Problem

The inevitable boredom eventually set in and was our biggest problem after March 1955. We were fortunate in Kampot to be near the sea and a good bathing beach, at Kep, and we took full advantage of this during the dry season. There was a local tennis club where we played from time to time. A great deal of reading and a little writing were also done; but still, life was rather dull. There was only one Canadian officer at Kampot from mid March unto early August and lack of a country-man to talk to was the worst feature of life during that period. This was overcome to a degree by frequent (every three or four weeks) trips to Phnom Penh; however, the feeling of isolation and loneliness was always present and sometimes spirits sank pretty low. There were compensations though.

On one occasion the Governor of the Province of Kampot had a large party, and according to custom, several girls were hired as dancing partners for the guests (wives do not take part in such activities in Cambodia). All team members attended, resplendent in our uniforms, prepared to watch the dancing, which is Cambodian style, not Canadian. Imagine our astonishment when the girls came over and asked all of us to dance with them for the first number. After much self-conscious kidding we got up and tried to go through the motions; much to the delight of the several hundred locals present.

On Christmas eve a group of local friends decided to entertain the one Canadian and one Indian remaining in Kampot over the holiday. We finally went to the hotel at Kep, the beach resort mentioned earlier, and had a few drinks on the verandah under "a star-filled tropical sky on the palm lined shores of the Gulf of Siam." As is the French custom, we sat down to dinner (which was quite good and included roast turkey, unfortunately a little under-done) at 2 A.M. But the remarkable thing about this Christmas dinner was that it was attended by 15 people: seven Cambodians, six Chinese, one Indian and only one Christian, the Canadian. Nevertheless, it was enjoyed by all, and the Canadian certainly appreciated the party.

Other memorable events were: walking across rice paddies in the heat of the day to reach an isolated village and being given fresh coconuts from which to drink the milk, which was most refreshing; attending a Chinese School Children's concert and sitting through four hours of singing and dancing and not understanding a word; swimming in the Gulf of Siam in December, January and February; leave in Hong Kong and a week-end in Bangkok; eating a Chinese meal at a small native sidewalk cafe and watching the teeming population walk by in various styles of dress, very short shorts, sarongs, sampots, pyjamas or western clothes; struggling at learning French; the early long ses-

sions to reach agreement on our reports; having dinner with the ex-king, Norodom Sihanouk, who speaks excellent English; visiting Angkor Wat; eating fried crickets at a Cambodian home; finally meeting the replacement officers and commencing the journey home.

Life with the Fixed Team, Kampot, during the first year varied from most interesting to very boring. We had our high points and our low ones. However, despite the circumstances, there was never an occasion when tempers got out of hand, and the team members got along remarkably well together. Personally I enjoyed the tour of duty. I saw many places and things about which I had only read in the past and I met and made friends of many peoples of different nationalities and ways of life. However, one year on a "desert island" is sufficient.



—Capital Press

FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL VISITS OTTAWA

The Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Moshe Sharett, visited Canada November 30 and December 1, 1955. He discussed the situation in the Middle East with the Governor General, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Mr. Sharett is shown talking with the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

Canada and the United Nations

Security Council Elections

The tenth session of the General Assembly ended on December 20. At its last meeting, the stalemate in the elections for the Eastern European seat on the Security Council, which had engaged the General Assembly eight times since October 14, was finally broken by the election of Yugoslavia on the 36th ballot by a vote of 43 to 11 for the Philippines (Finland and Sweden receiving 1 vote each). The required majority was 38 votes. The Council's elected membership from January 1, 1956, is as follows: Cuba (replacing Brazil), Australia (replacing New Zealand), Yugoslavia (replacing Turkey), and Belgium, Iran and Peru (whose terms expire on December 31, 1956).

A somewhat confused situation resulted from the behind-the-scenes proposal of the President of the General Assembly that the two contestants draw lots, the winner to resign after filling the first half of the two-year term, and the loser to be elected next year for the remainder of the terms. Before the 35th ballot, the President announced that both countries had agreed to this procedure and Yugoslavia had won the draw. Nevertheless, the vote given Yugoslavia on this ballot (34 to the Philippines' 19) fell short of the required majority of 40. The failure to achieve an overwhelming vote in favour of Yugoslavia indicates how little general support there was for the scheme to end the deadlock. The Canadian Delegation made no commitment, public or private, regarding any arrangement by which Yugoslavia would resign after one year on the understanding that the seat would then go to the Philippines.

Disarmament

On December 16, the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 56 in favour, 7 against (Soviet bloc) with no abstentions, the disarmament resolution approved by the Political Committee on the initiative of the Western members of the Disarmament Sub-committee (Canada, France, United Kingdom, United States). The Communist countries had been the only opponents of the Four Power resolution in the vote of the Political Committee.

The resolution urges the States concerned, and particularly countries members of the Sub-committee, (1) to continue their efforts towards reaching agreement on a comprehensive disarmament programme and (2) "as initial steps, to give priority to early agreement on and implementation of (A) such confidence-building measures as President Eisenhower's plan for exchanging military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection, and Marshall Bulganin's plan for establishing control posts at strategic centres; and (B) all such measures of adequate safeguarded disarmament as are now feasible" in spite of the technical difficulties which have arisen in regard to the detection and control of nuclear weapon material. The resolution at the same time suggests that account be taken of the French proposals for the exchange of information on military budgets and the allocation of savings resulting from disarmament for economic development, of the Eden proposal for a "pilot scheme" of inspection and

control and also of the Indian proposals regarding the suspension of nuclear tests and an "armaments truce".

The final text adopted embodied a number of Soviet and Indian amendments. In spite of this, both countries insisted on a number of additional amendments all of which were defeated by a substantial majority. The closest vote was on the Syrian (and Indian) suggestion that the disarmament Commission and the Sub-committee be enlarged. At the suggestion of the United States the Assembly decided by 35 votes in favour, (including Canada) 18 against and 7 abstentions that the Syrian amendment should not be put to the vote.

A United Kingdom motion that no vote be taken on a Soviet resolution under the Soviet item "Measures for the Further Relaxation of International Tension and Development of International Co-operation" was adopted by the Political Committee by a vote of 40 in favour (including Canada), 11 against (including Soviet Bloc, India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia) and 6 abstentions (including Burma, Argentina, Lebanon). In plenary, the Soviet Union did not ask for a vote on its resolution.

Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

On December 3, 1955, the General Assembly approved by a unanimous vote the resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy which had been approved by the First (Political) Committee on October 27. There had been no dissenting votes in the Committee but all six Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen) had abstained. In plenary, the Arab delegations explained their affirmative vote by pointing out that the resolution was no longer a draft sponsored by 18 countries (including Canada*) but a proposal from the First Committee as a whole.

By its resolution, the Assembly recommended that a second international conference for the exchange of technical information regarding the peaceful uses of atomic energy (similar to that which took place in Geneva in August 1955) be held in two or three years' time. For this purpose, the Assembly decided to continue the Advisory Committee of Scientists (of which Canada is a member) which assisted the Secretary-General in organizing last summer's conference. This Committee will also advise the Secretary-General in the study of the relationship of the International Atomic Energy Agency to the United Nations, which he is called upon to make under the resolution. The Assembly endorsed the decision of the governments sponsoring the Agency to invite all members of the United Nations or of the Specialized Agencies to participate in a conference on the final text of the statute of the Agency. The Assembly at the same time welcomed the extension of invitations to the governments of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the U.S.S.R. to participate as governments concerned with the present sponsoring governments (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) in negotiations on the draft statute of the Agency.

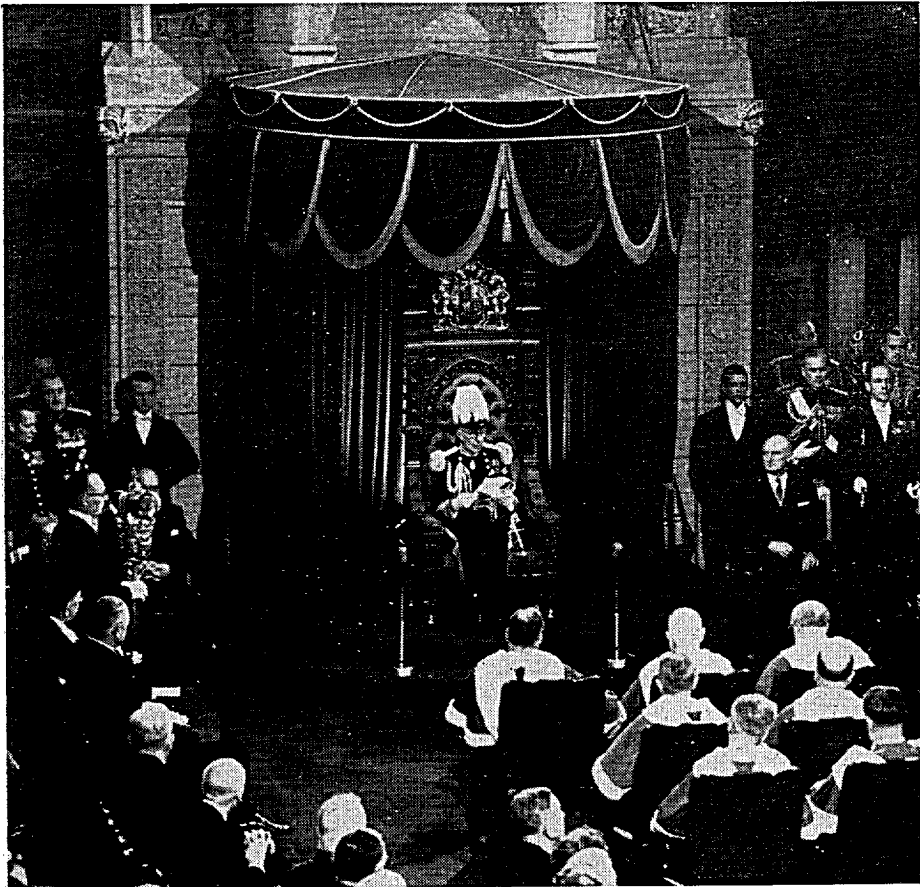
* Other sponsoring countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Iceland, Israel, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

External Affairs in Parliament

Speech from the Throne

Delivering the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Third Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament on January 10, 1956, the Governor General said in part:

Since you last met there have been significant international developments. Some of them have been welcome as releasing tensions in certain parts of the world while others unfortunately have had the contrary effect. My Ministers remain convinced of the need to maintain the defences of the free nations as a deterrent to war. A strong North Atlantic Treaty Organization and adequate



—NFB

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT OPENS

The Third Session of the 22nd Canadian Parliament was opened in Ottawa on January 10, by His Excellency the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, Governor General of Canada. Above, the Governor General reads the Speech from the Throne in the Senate Chamber, with the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Louis S. St-Laurent, seated at his right, and on his left, the Leader of the Government in the Senate, the Honourable William Ross Macdonald. Seated in front of the Governor General, are the members of the Supreme Court.

protection for this continent are in their view fundamental to the preservation of peace and the security of Canada.

Security, however, cannot rest on arms alone. The Government, therefore, is continuing its constant efforts, through diplomacy and negotiation and through the United Nations and other international agencies, to bring about better understanding between nations.

A meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers will be held in London in June to consider matters of mutual interest. My Prime Minister has accepted the invitation to attend.

Meanwhile my Ministers are looking forward to the visit to Ottawa in February of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom.

The annual meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan agreed that this constructive work should be continued for a further period and you will be asked to authorize Canada's continued participation in the Plan, as well as in the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme . . .

The Middle East

The following statement was made in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on January 24, 1956.

Export of Military Equipment to the Middle East

I propose this morning to discuss first the question of the export of military equipment to the Middle East and secondly—and this I hope will put the first question in perspective—the political situation in that part of the world, with particular reference to the relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours.

As to the first question, I wish to outline the principles which governed the policy of the Government in this matter and then give particulars regarding the application of those principles and that policy, both as to the procedures that are followed and the results in terms of shipments over the last two years.

* * *

Now, what are the principles, the rules governing the shipment of military equipment from this country? These principles are the result of careful consideration and are, I think, sound and reasonable. The decisions based on them are made only after studying the relevant factors in every case submitted to us. The system of controls and checks through which policies and decisions are carried out is as effective as that of any other free country.

The basis of our control system is the Export and Import Permits Act of 1954, which superseded the Export and Import Permits Act of 1947. Incidentally, both these acts were discussed in the House and the earlier one was referred to a committee, and in all the discussion of these two acts no reference was made at that time by the hon. members opposite to the question of arms shipment. Under the act of 1954 it is illegal to export or attempt to export to any destination affected any item included in an export control list except under an export permit issued by or under the authority of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

The exporter must present this permit at the time he clears his shipment through Canadian customs at the port. The Minister of Trade and Commerce has the power to amend, suspend or to cancel permits if changing circumstances should render this necessary after issuance of a permit and before a shipment is made. The act provides severe penalties for those convicted of offences. The powers for enforcing the controls, imposing severe penalties, and revoking permits if circumstances so require are provided in that act. Shipments are, of course, checked by the customs authorities at the ports and action can be taken then as well as at the permit stage if required. Procedures are also laid down to prevent diversion and there is co-operation with many governments in the free world to ensure that so far as possible such procedures are effective.

There was published in the *Canada Gazette* on May 27, 1954, the export control list established in accordance with the provisions of the act. Group 8 within the list is headed, "Arms, Ammunition, Implements or Munitions of War; Military, Naval or Air Stores". The list of arms, aircraft, etc., specifically includes parts of these various items. So much for the legislative basis of our policy.

Government Policy

The following principles govern the policy of the Government in carrying out this act.

(1) In the case of certain allied and associated states, for example, NATO and most Commonwealth countries there are no restrictions on the export of military equipment, except—and the exceptions are important—those of supply, of domestic requirement and of security.

(2) No shipment of any kind to the Sino-Soviet bloc is permitted.

(3) Shipments of any significance are made to other areas only after consideration and approval at cabinet level, according to a procedure which I will later describe. Special attention is given—and special care shown—in respect of areas of tension or strife or what we call sensitive areas. A list of such areas, they are now 34 in number, is kept and, naturally, is modified from time to time as conditions change.

(4) Arms shipments are made only to the defence department or regular military establishment of the country concerned; and the recipient government may be required to give appropriate assurance regarding re-export.

(5) Shipments are not permitted if, in our opinion, they exceed the legitimate defence requirements of the state in question or which would themselves constitute a threat to neighbouring countries.

(6) Shipments are not permitted to sensitive areas of arms of such a character that they might increase any temptation to commit an aggression or begin a preventive war.

It is not, however, our policy to put a complete embargo on arms shipments except to the Sino-Soviet bloc, or to other countries, if any, who are a threat to our own security or where the United Nations has declared an embargo.

An embargo on all shipments in other cases, if it became general international policy and practice in the free world, might frustrate the right of nations under the United Nations Charter to defend themselves; or it might

drive them wholly into the arms of Russia and its satellites as the only source of supply. It might perpetuate inequalities between states in respect of their defensive capacities, thereby creating fear and insecurity; and encouraging aggression. One state might, for instance, have its own defence industries, and another—its neighbour—might be wholly dependent on imported defence equipment. An embargo could not possibly operate fairly in such cases, and might indeed encourage armed conflict over disputed territory. I can assure you that this is no hypothetical argument.

Let us see, for instance, how such an embargo—if it could have been agreed on and enforced internationally—would have operated in the Middle East in respect of Israel and its Arab neighbours. I gather from observations made in this House and outside that this is the policy that is advocated by at least certain members of opposition parties.

This area has been one of tension and unrest and indeed danger from the very day that the State of Israel was created. That creation—it should not be forgotten—was the result of a United Nations decision which Canada supported. If the embargo principle had been adopted, Israel would have been completely powerless to defend her very existence; unless she had agreed in desperation to throw herself into the arms of communist suppliers. If it had suited their purposes, and for a price—and it would have been a high price—the Moscow government which controlled these suppliers would have been quite happy to arrange such a deal.

An alternative, which could be in hon. members' minds, would have been to permit certain quantities and types of military equipment to go to Israel during this period of tension and to allow nothing whatsoever to go to any Arab state in any circumstances. That would, of course, have been considered as an unfriendly policy by those states with which Canada has normal diplomatic relations. Neither this policy nor that of the complete embargo for both sides has, so far as I know, been adopted by any country. Indeed a policy of control which has been adopted by the United Kingdom, the United States and France, the policy which has been accepted by the free world, is that which we ourselves are now following.

Exchange of Information

Another important principle which we have followed is that of consultation and exchange of information about orders and requests—except those of no significance in quantity or nature—with certain governments who have special responsibilities in this field. We do that so that one country may know what the others are doing and thereby ensure that so far as possible the principles that I have mentioned above are adhered to.

If, for instance, we are asked to supply some ammunition for 25-pounders for a particular country—and we have been asked for that, and it is still before Cabinet—we try to find out, before taking any action, not only whether such an order would be excessive having regard to the number of guns involved, and existing stocks, but whether orders for this ammunition have also been received by other governments. The responsibility for the decision, however, is of course ours.

Now, what is the procedure by which this policy is carried out?

Under the law, as I have said, the export permit must be given by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. Before doing so, if the destination is one

of those 34 sensitive areas where consultation is required, he consults with both the Departments of National Defence and External Affairs and acts only after agreement with those two departments. If the application is a particularly significant one, either in quantity or because of the political circumstances surrounding it, and even though the three ministers may have agreed to the permit, the matter is referred to the whole Cabinet.

In the case of shipments to NATO or most Commonwealth countries, the Minister of Trade and Commerce may act after consultation only with the Department of National Defence, in order to make sure that security and supply factors are considered as well as our own defence requirements.

In all cases where government surplus supplies are involved, the matter must also go to the Treasury Board for approval. Even after there has been ministerial agreement on an export permit, that board, a committee of the Cabinet, may also ask the full Cabinet to reconsider a decision taken.

Export of Harvard Aircraft to Egypt

Now, having indicated the procedures laid down, I should like to show how they were applied to the case of the 15 Harvard trainers approved for export last July.

In the spring of 1955 a supplier of these aircraft received enquiries from qualified representatives of the Egyptian Government concerning 15 Harvard trainers. There were also received at the same time somewhat less formal enquiries about F-86 jet fighters. There was no problem regarding the jets. The reception by the Government to the idea was negative and the matter was dropped even though that order, and others for jets about which we have been approached from other quarters, would have been very attractive commercially and would have assisted in maintaining work and employment in our aircraft industry.

As for the Harvards, the matter was brought to the attention of the Department of Trade and Commerce by the company and referred by that department to the Department of National Defence and the Department of External Affairs for an opinion. The Department of National Defence studied the matter from the point of view of possible domestic requirements and of the military implications of supplying these aircraft to the particular government in question.

Information was also exchanged with certain friendly governments about the request. No objections were raised to the transaction from these or any other quarters. After all these steps had been taken, and as the matter in my judgment raised no new policy issue or important international consideration, and as the planes could not be made into effective combat aircraft, and as the request fell within the criteria I have mentioned already, I gave my approval. The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Howe) was so informed and an export permit was issued in due course, the first week in September.

Before proceeding further I should like to answer the question addressed by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Drew) to the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) in these terms:

Whether any field artillery weapons are being or have been dismantled and the parts sold separately by the War Assets Corporation under circumstances which would make it possible for those parts to be sold outside of Canada.

That was the question. I am informed by the corporation, on the basis of a check going back to January 1, 1952, that where any gun barrels or breech blocks have been disposed of they have been sold as scrap and in respect of each sale there is evidence available that they were mutilated prior to delivery as scrap. Such scrap also requires an export permit. Surplus field artillery or surplus artillery parts, as opposed to scrap, that is to mutilated parts, can be sold abroad but always subject to the export control procedures I have mentioned.

What are the results of this policy in respect to arms shipments to the Middle East? An impression may have been created that Canadian arms were flowing into that area in great quantities. That is not the case. The amounts involved are small and do not contravene the principles which I have outlined as governing our policy. The impression may have also been given that we were releasing modern and dangerous weapons whose capabilities could disrupt the military balance among the countries in that region and encourage all-out aggression or an arms race. That also is not the case.

Shipments to Israel and Egypt

There are certain figures I should like to give and I give these figures although similar figures are not given in respect to arms shipments by other countries. In 1954 export permits for military equipment to the value of \$735,574.60 were granted for Israel; for Egypt the figure was only \$296; for all other Arab states, none.

In 1955 the figure for Israel was \$1,332,110.59; for Egypt, \$770,825; for all other Arab states, \$70. The figures for the two years were \$2,067,685.19 for Israel, and \$771,121 for Egypt.

The Harvard trainers and spare parts for them were responsible for practically the whole of the Egyptian figure. The main items covered by the other figures are:

- Harvard aircraft parts

- 75 mm. shells

- Anti-tank equipment

- Tracks and spare parts for world war II type tanks (Shermans)

- 25-pounder guns and accessories

- .303 calibre Browning machine guns

- 3.7" anti-aircraft guns, accessories, spare parts and ammunition (This was a large proportion of the total)

The anti-aircraft guns are of course defensive weapons, and the 25-pounder guns are trailer guns in this case. In respect to the tank tracks and spare parts, which constituted a rather large proportion of the total, we were at our request given written and official assurances that they would not be re-exported and that they were all required for normal maintenance and servicing purposes for the existing stock of tanks. I have available the exact descriptions by item, quantity, value and destination of all the items covered by the totals I have mentioned. I am reluctant to make these figures public as the recipient government—there is only one in this case because in the case of Egypt the totals have already been made public—feels that, in spite of the relatively small amounts involved, the information might be prejudicial to her security. I would, however, be happy to let any hon. members who may desire, see all these details in confidence.

These figures show what has been approved. If there could be shown a similar table for the dollar value of the requests for military equipment that have not been approved the amount would be many times as great. Some requests had to be refused in toto, such as those for F-86 jet aircraft. Others covered a legitimate requirement of a type which did not contravene the principles we had established but in our opinion the amount was excessive for such requirements.

I mention these cases of rejection to make it clear that the procedures I described earlier are not merely a complicated method of in fact releasing everything we are asked for. The procedures do constitute an effective control system. This control has been applied because in the view of the government it is important that Canada should not contribute to the development of an arms race in the Middle East or any place else; that is, should not permit exports which would give either of the conflicting sides—if there is a conflict, a political conflict—a military advantage which the other would be bound to try to correct by increasing its military purchases in turn.

* * *

The Political Situation in the Middle East

I should like to turn now to the political situation in the area in order to give the background to the question we have been discussing. It is a situation which has been disturbing and unsettled, as I have already said, since the very foundation of the State of Israel. It is becoming increasingly clear that some solution must be found for the problem of the relationship between Israel and her Arab neighbours if that situation is to improve. If it does not improve it will get worse and the danger of conflict will increase. This is especially the case because there are governments which are cynically hoping to obtain political advantage from keeping the Arab-Israeli dispute burning without any concern for the damage that this would cause the Israeli and Arab people, or the danger to peace that might result. I think there would be no contribution on our part to improving the chances of peace in that area by cutting off all shipments of defence equipment to the State of Israel, if that is the policy of my hon. friends opposite.

It is the realization of this danger, the danger of conflict, which prompted Western statesmen recently to offer the assistance of their governments and themselves in helping Israel and the Arab States find a solution for their disputes and problems. We in this government are very much in accord with the spirit of such pronouncements which point to the necessity of a settlement based on conciliation, understanding and compromise, which alone can afford a real basis of security and prosperity for both the Arab and Israeli peoples. The difficulties are great and the dangers are very real, as they always are when passions are high and feelings are deep.

We can sympathize with and understand the fear felt in Israel when they hear across their borders threats of destruction; and, of course, the United Nations did not establish the State of Israel in order to see its obliteration. Similarly, we can understand the feelings of Arab peoples at the alienation of land which was occupied by Arabs for centuries; we can sympathize with the sufferings of the many thousands of Arab refugees who have been made home-

less. But surely to both sides the advantages of a confirmed and secure peace, instead of the present condition of precarious armistice, are so great both economically and politically that a negotiated settlement should not be impossible.

I cannot mention the armistice without paying tribute here, and I know the House will join me in this, to the work of Major General Burns, the chief of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine. He is not, of course, serving as a Canadian but as a United Nations official. Nevertheless, since he is a Canadian, I am sure that all hon. members are as proud as I am of his devoted and skilful work in safeguarding the armistice in most difficult and, indeed, at times dangerous circumstances, and of the high regard in which he is held by both sides for his sincerity and impartiality.

Discussions with Israeli and Egyptian Leaders

As hon. members know, I have had the privilege recently of exchanging views with Israeli and Egyptian leaders. In July the Egyptian foreign minister visited Ottawa and I had the honour of being received by the Premier of Egypt, Colonel Nasser, at Cairo on my way back from Southeast Asia in November. I might at this point answer a particular question put to me by the hon. member for Prince Albert [Mr. Diefenbaker] when he inquired whether I would "equalize" Canada's position in the Middle East by going to Israel, in view of my visit to Egypt. I hope that it may soon be possible for me to visit Israel to see for myself the exciting and constructive things that are being done there. The reasons why I could not do so during my recent journey have been fully explained already, and I will not waste the time of the House in repeating them here, especially as they were made known to and understood in Israel at that time. I was all the more pleased, therefore, because I had not been able to visit Israel on this trip, to welcome to Ottawa at the beginning of December Mr. Sharett, the Foreign Minister of Israel, who came here at the invitation of the Prime Minister [Mr. St. Laurent]. I agree whole-heartedly with the hon. member for Prince Albert that our attitude should be "equal" but I doubt whether anyone would seriously contend that the criterion of such an attitude is an exact and prompt balancing of my journeys to foreign capitals. This "equality" which, as I say, I endorse, must rest on a sturdier basis than that.

In any event, during 1955 two cabinet ministers, two senators and six members of parliament visited Israel from Canada and each spent some time there. The members included the leaders of two parties, and, above all, they included the hon. member for Prince Albert himself. I am flattered, indeed, I am flabbergasted, by the suggestion that all of these visits by such distinguished Canadians were more than equalled by a day and a half stopover by me in Cairo on the way home from a Colombo Plan meeting.

My own discussions with Egyptian and Israeli leaders about the problems of the Middle East and my study of these problems, which I share with others in the House, have left me with the impression that, while the issues are complex and difficult, and even dangerous, there is a basic desire for peace on both sides because it is realized, it must be realized, that this is indispensable to social and economic progress. There seems, then, to be at least this foundation upon which a settlement could be reached.

I believe that the Western powers are ready and anxious—I know that Canada is—to assist in the achievement of a settlement. I hope sincerely that the Soviet Government and its friends are equally anxious. If they are, they

will not stimulate and encourage an arms race in the Middle East which can have no good result, except for the political machinations of the stimulators. I agree, of course, with the hon. member for Winnipeg North that the way to blunt the machinations of those who seek to gain advantage from inflaming the troubles of the Middle East is to bring about peace there. I am sure any Canadian Government, any government, would wish to do what it could, along with other similarly disposed governments, to assist in bringing about such a peace.

With all respect, however, I do not think that the speech of the hon. member for Winnipeg North made much of a contribution to that end. Among other things he complained of the "passionate admiration" of officials in the London foreign office for the Arabs. His own attitude seemed to me to be one of passionate hostility to the Arab governments. Passion on either side of this issue is not likely to help; indeed, it already has hindered and bedevilled the chances of a settlement. The hon. member implored this Government to pay a "more significant part" in bringing about such a settlement. The attitude he took in the House, however, would make it more difficult, not less difficult, for any Canadian representative, if he were charged with any responsibility in this matter, to be considered as an impartial and objective conciliator and to pay effectively what he referred to as an "honourable part".

It is easy enough to criticize indiscriminately those powers and those persons who have had to cope directly with this complex issue. It is easy enough to put forward proposals which fortunately no one is expected to put into practice. If our response to recent Soviet moves in the Middle East were to abandon friendly relations with the Arab States and support Israel, completely and exclusively, with our diplomacy and our arms, then we should indeed be playing the communist game. The moral position of the Western powers in that area is based on the fact that they have, though not without mistakes and contradictions, tried to preserve peace on a basis of mutual accommodation rather than on the triumph of one side over the other. I suggest we must not abandon that position because the Russians have done so for their own purposes.

Compromise is Needed

The important question is, however, how can an honourable and satisfactory solution be brought about? The main issues are now commonly known. It seems clear that both sides, if they recognize the desirability of a settlement, must give something to achieve it, must make some compromise. There can never be a negotiated settlement where one side or the other remains adamant. Each must enter into negotiations prepared for some sort of give and take although, of course, no one would expect one of the sides to make prior or unilateral concessions.

It seems to me that an essential, indeed, a first requirement, is that the Arab states should recognize the legitimate and permanent existence of the State of Israel. That, as I see it, necessitates abandonment by them of the impractical stipulation that we must return to the United Nations resolutions of 1947 which provided for a divided Palestine. The Arab states took up arms to prevent these resolutions becoming effective and I do not see how they can claim the right to have them accepted now as the price of peace in that area. The people of Israel have the right to know that their national existence is not at stake. That seems to me to be fundamental. Efforts to bring peace and all

its benefits to the Middle East will be of no avail unless Israel and the people of Israel are released from the overhanging fear which naturally envelopes the country as a result of the threats of destruction and of the political and economic warfare directed against it by its neighbours. Deep fear leads to desperate acts which, though they cannot be condoned, may at least be understood. Surely it is essential, therefore, that this basic cause of fear must be removed if there is to be a solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Just as we should like to see Israel freed from the fears and economic pressures which are being imposed on her, we must also hope that the Arab populations will be enabled to move forward toward their goals of economic betterment and social progress. There have, indeed, been concrete proofs that this is the hope of the West.

It may perhaps be said that there is fear also on the part of the Arab states lest they should be attacked. But so far as I am aware, the 1950 tripartite declaration of the three leading Western powers is still valid, that they would oppose the changing of borders by force. Moreover, the United Nations is dedicated to the prevention of aggression and the House will be aware of the fact that only recently the Security Council of the United Nations, in considering a most regrettable development of the Arab-Israeli dispute, gave unanimous evidence of its determined opposition to the resort to aggressive force. These, I maintain, are no inconsiderable safeguards. They would be even stronger if there were permanent frontiers settled by negotiation.

The Arab states on their part are, however, entitled to certain assurances. There must be a fair and honourable solution to the problem of Arab refugees. That is a subject which my hon. friend touched on the other day. The unhappy plight of these refugees is of serious concern not only to the Arab countries and to Israel because it poisons their relations but also, for humanitarian and political reasons, to the whole free world. These unfortunate people have largely been maintained by the United Nations, and Canada has contributed its share toward their support. But that cannot go on much longer. Shelter and a dole are pitiful substitutes for a permanent home and opportunities for gainful work. As I see it, some compensation should be paid these refugees by Israel for loss of land and home. But it is clear that so large a number cannot return to their former land, which is now in the State of Israel whose total population is less than two million; nor in all probability would many desire to live in what would now be to them an alien country. A limited amount of repatriation might be possible such as that which would be involved, for example, in the reuniting of families. For the rest, resettlement as an international operation, to which Israel among others would make a contribution, seems to be the only answer.

Question of Boundaries

But even more important is the question of boundaries. There are at present armistice demarcation lines. They are therefore lines which have not been finally determined by a peace settlement. I believe that they could be susceptible to readjustments. This, of course, is by no means to suggest one-sided concessions of territory or any such thing as the "truncation" of Israel which would be crippling to the new state. But perhaps certain boundary rearrangements could be made so as to produce mutually acceptable permanent borders. There is no doubt, in my mind at least, that if the permanent borders

could be agreed upon in this way the United Nations would be deeply interested in the maintenance of their security.

In return for the international guarantee which might result from this interest, with security and stability in the area which would result, I should think both the State of Israel and the Arab States would be willing at least to discuss such readjustments at a peace conference table. It seems to me also that any state which would refuse to discuss peace at such a conference table—and on some such basis of principles as that outlined above, although sketchily—would be taking on a very heavy responsibility indeed. I share, however, the optimism of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who is now visiting this area on a mission of conciliation and peace, that such an uncompromising attitude will not be adopted by anyone and that a settlement based on justice and security will be found. Please God it may be so and that this tense and torn area, the Holy Land of so many millions, may become again a land of prosperity and of peace.

■



—Capital Press

FOREIGN MINISTER OF PORTUGAL VISITS OTTAWA

The Foreign Minister of Portugal, Dr. Paulo A. V. Cunha, and Mrs. Cunha are shown being welcomed to Ottawa on December 11, 1955, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. During his two day visit in Canada, which immediately preceded the December meetings of the North Atlantic Council, Dr. Cunha discussed questions of common concern with the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

Issued by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation International Service.

For those concerned with international relations, and for those devoted to the long quest for peace and security and international justice, this has been in many respects a turbulent and disappointing year, and we shall enter 1956 with many anxieties. During the coming year, it seems evident that we shall need all the patience, good sense and resolution which we can command.

When I spoke on this programme a year ago, the principal international problems were as follows: relations between the Soviet and the free world; disarmament and the menace of atomic warfare; the unification of Germany; friction and violence in the Near East and serious unrest in many parts of the world, notably North Africa, Indochina and Formosa.

These problems are still with us; and it would not be difficult for a pessimist or a cynic to compile a list of our failures and of our disappointments during the last 12 months.

Must Accept Setbacks

It must, however, be remembered that these international problems, and the circumstances in those areas where peace is uncertain, have been the consequence of many centuries of world history; and it is unrealistic to expect the progress from year to year in their solution will be easy, inevitable and cumulative. We must, it seems to me, be prepared to accept setbacks and disappointments without giving way to despair; and to take comfort and courage from what has in fact been accomplished without becoming complacent.

If this has been a difficult year for all of us, we are ourselves in some measure to blame. We expected, for example, far too much from the Summit Conference in July; and then, later, we tended to go to the other extreme of dejection when the results of the later Ministerial Conference in Geneva proved so disappointing.

In this problem of the relations between the Soviet and the free world we have gained this year at last one very solid advantage; we now have far more knowledge of policies and objectives of those we fear. If we have the wisdom to benefit by what we have learned, we shall not a second time allow ourselves to become too elated by successes or too dejected by failures as we face and deal with

the tortuous and contradictory tactics and policies in which the dictators of Russia indulge.

While sharing the disappointment felt about many of the events of 1955, I believe that in many matters important progress has been made. At the Tenth Anniversary Assembly of the United Nations, for instance, the deadlock on the acceptance of new members has been very largely broken. We are happy that Canada was able to make an important contribution to this objective. We still think it most unfortunate that the United Nations will not have the benefit of a delegation from Japan; but the acceptance of 16 new members, thus making the United Nations more nearly a universal body, is clearly an important forward step. Nor have we given up, nor will we give up, the search for an agreement by which armaments can be reduced and atomic weapons outlawed.

Another achievement of the United Nations this year has been the decision to set up an international agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This has brought great satisfaction and hope to those areas of the world, and there are many of them, in which the absence of a cheap and continuous source of power has been a principal reason for lack of progress in economic development.

There are other U.N. achievements. The unspectacular but vital work of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations has continued, and a good fight is going on against ignorance, disease, poverty and misfortune.

NATO Stronger

Also during the year NATO has grown in strength and unity and remains our most effective deterrent against aggression. Our progress here is an answer to those who hope that in an atmosphere of relaxation of tension NATO will weaken and fall apart. This is, of course, a danger, but it can be met by strengthening the non-military aspects of our association—and by rejecting all temptations to weaken our defences merely because of communist blandishments.

During the year, NATO and free Europe has been strengthened and made more secure by the decision of Germany to join the company of Western European nations prepared to unite their efforts to defend their freedom. It is reassuring to know that our new associates resolutely refuse to accept Soviet terms

for the reunification of their country which could result only in their becoming one more Communist satellite. We of the NATO alliance welcome free Germany to our association and we look forward to the time when she will be reunited in dignity, freedom and in safety.

In Asia and the Middle East, while there has been no armed conflict during the year—except sporadically but dangerously on the border of Israel—difficult and complicated problems remain to be solved. Korea and Vietnam remain divided while the two Chinese regimes continue to face each other with implacable hostility; at one point with only a few miles of water between them. No one can be other than anxious about the prospects for peace in the Far East while this situation continues, especially when each of these Chinese regimes has power and support behind it from outside.

The Soviet Union, in pursuance of its policy of "all conflict short of war" is fishing—and

scattering bait—in these troubled Asian and Middle Eastern waters. This is not reassuring in assessing the prospects for peace.

Turning closer to home, we in Canada rejoice in our continued friendly relations with all countries of the world whose motives we can trust, whose policies do not threaten peace, and who use language in a sense which seems to us intelligible and sincere. Particularly with the nations of the Commonwealth and the United States are those relations very close and very important. We will do our best to keep them so, and also to improve relations with those who have given us heretofore more cause for fear than friendship.

1956 will certainly have its problems, but these need not cause any despair. We must be resolute but not provocative; patient, but not indifferent. If we can, and if the free governments can work together for good purposes, it may be possible a year hence to report real progress toward peace and security in the world.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. H. G. Norman, CMG, appointed Consul General of Canada, New York. Proceeded to New York December 2, 1955.
- Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine appointed Minister to Sweden and Finland. Departed Ottawa November 30, 1955.
- Mr. P. R. Jennings posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, effective October 17, 1955.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective November 22, 1955.
- Mr. J. D. Foote posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective December 5, 1955.
- Mr. P. Dumas posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective December 12, 1955.
- Mr. R. H. Jay posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective December 14, 1955.
- Mr. C. S. Gadd posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective December 21, 1955.
- Mr. J. R. Barker posted from home leave (Moscow) to Ottawa, effective December 27, 1955.
- Mr. J. J. Dupuis posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective December 28, 1955.
- Mr. G. E. Logan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as an Administrative Officer, Grade 3, effective December 1, 1955.
- Mr. J. Timmerman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as an Administrative Officer, Grade 7, effective December 16, 1955.

OFFICIAL VISITORS TO CANADA DURING 1955

January

His Excellency Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

February

His Excellency Paul Eugène Magloire, President of Haiti, and Mrs. Magloire.

His Excellency Paul-Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister of Belgium.

March

Dr. Manuel ReSumil Arangunde, Secretary of State for Industry and Commerce of the Dominican Republic.

Senor Salvator Ortiz, President of the Sugar Commission.

Honourable Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia.

Mr. J. Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State.

His Excellency R. S. S. Gunewardene, Ambassador of Ceylon to the United States of America.

His Excellency Mario Scelba, Prime Minister of Italy, and Mrs. Scelba.

His Excellency Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy, and Mrs. Martino.

April

H. R. H. Prince Tongi, Premier of Tonga.

Dr. M. Y. Candau, Director-General of WHO.

Rt.-Hon. Clement Attlee, Leader of the Opposition (United Kingdom).

May

Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (United Kingdom).

Members of the 1955 Tour of Journalists from other NATO Countries.

Members of the NATO Council.

Senor Don Rafael Cavestany y de Anduaga, Minister of Agriculture for Spain.

Field Marshall P. Pibulsonggram, Prime Minister of Thailand.

June

Dr. Hermann Punder, Member of the German Rudestag.

32 Journalists from France.

His Excellency Khrisna Menon, India.

His Excellency Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Egypt.

Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Federal German Minister for Economic Affairs.

Fifth Annual Meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries.

ACARD Advisory Group for Aeronautical Research and Development.

July

Honourable Eric H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Finance of the Union of South Africa.

Honourable Howard Beale, Minister of Supply of Australia.

August

Professor Victor Pires, Under-Secretary of Agriculture of Portugal.

Annual Congress of the Guild of Carillonners in North America.

Delegation of Agricultural Experts from the U.S.S.R.

Japanese Delegation to the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

September

The Honourable Garfield Todd, Premier of Southern Rhodesia.

The Honourable Ichiro Kono, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Japan.

October

H. R. H. the Princess Royal.

Colonel A. D. Dodds-Parker, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (United Kingdom).

Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Fourth World Convention of French-Speaking Journalists.

November

Mr. C. Staf, Netherlands Minister of War.

December

His Excellency Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister of Israel.

Rt.-Hon. Reginald Maudling, United Kingdom Minister of Supply.

Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Doutor Paulo A. V. Cunha, Foreign Minister of Portugal.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1956.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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The British Caribbean Federation

ON February 23, 1956, sixteen West Indian leaders put their signatures to an agreement to federate the British colonies of Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Barbados, the Windward Islands and Trinidad. Before the federation becomes a reality, however, a constitution must be drafted and approved and the formal consent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom obtained. It is expected that the British Parliament will give its approval before its present session comes to an end and a draft of the constitution is expected to be ready before the end of this year. This draft will then have to be approved before the first federal general elections are held, probably early in 1958.

Federation is regarded by the United Kingdom and by the Caribbean leaders as a major step towards full independence within the Commonwealth of Nations. However, full independence and Commonwealth membership will probably not be attained until the Federation ceases to be dependent upon United Kingdom grants-in-aid.

Some Notes on the British Caribbean Islands

The British Caribbean islands stretch from Grand Cayman, a Jamaican dependency in the western part of the Caribbean Sea, through Jamaica to the Leeward Islands and south from the Leewards past Barbados and through the Windward Islands to Trinidad and Tobago, a distance of about 1800 miles. In area the islands are only two-fifths the size of Nova Scotia but their population almost equals the combined population of Canada's three westernmost provinces. The figures for area and population are as follows:

	<u>Area (sq. m.)</u>	<u>Population</u>
Jamaica	4,411	1,490,000
Leeward Islands	423	122,000
Windward Islands	826	290,000
Barbados	166	221,000
Trinidad	1,980	678,000
Totals	<u>7,806</u>	<u>2,801,000</u>

Bermuda and the Bahamas are not included among the Caribbean territories.

The majority of the people are descendants of Africans originally brought to the West Indies as slaves for the plantations, but a substantial (East) Indian minority is to be found in Trinidad. It is descended from indentured labour recruited in India after the abolition of slavery. There are comparatively small white populations and a large number of persons of mixed descent. Despite their varied racial origins the people of these territories have set notable examples of how to live together in a multiracial society. Coloured persons play an ever-increasing part (in some cases the preponderant part) not only in politics but also in the civil service and in the business and professional life of their territories.

Literacy is widespread. British law is long established and representative institutions are of very long standing. Adult suffrage, however, has been introduced only within recent years. Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad now have

Executive Councils or Cabinets where elected ministers are in the majority; this means in practice that these three territories are close to self-government in internal affairs. For practical purposes their powers are limited only in respect of foreign affairs, defence and internal security. The Windward and Leeward Islands have not yet attained the same degree of self-government, partly because most of them are financially dependent on the United Kingdom, but even here a ministerial form of government has been introduced.

Economic development of the islands has been and will continue to be limited by their scattered geography and their small size. The economies of all the territories are mainly agricultural and depend on export crops of which sugar is the chief. Oil in Trinidad and bauxite in Jamaica are the only minerals of commercial significance. A growing industry is tourism, which so far has been developed mainly in Jamaica and Barbados. But it is on agriculture that the territories must mainly rely for increasing their capacity to support their people.

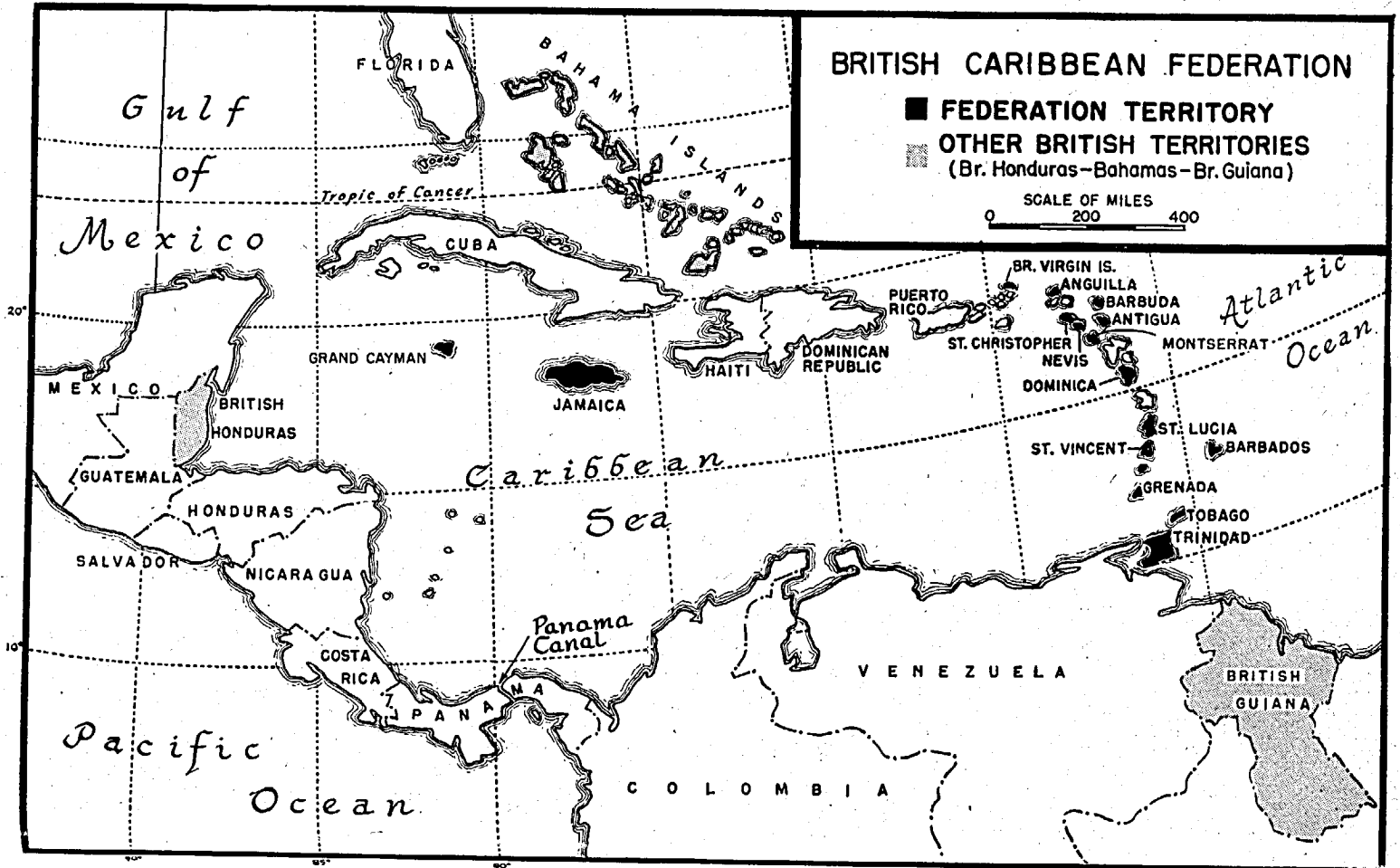
The economic difficulties of the islands are aggravated by the major problem of the West Indies—its expanding population. The islands are heavily overpopulated and the situation is not improving. The best solution would appear to lie in extensive industrial development but such opportunities are not to be found in the West Indies. Home markets are small, raw materials are few, labour costs are not so low nor special skills so high as generally to counterbalance these disadvantages. Closer co-operation is needed if their economic problems are to be solved.

Some Historical Notes on the Federation Idea

The idea of federating the British West Indies is not a new one. In 1922 it was discussed but rejected because of local opposition. During the economic strains of the 1930's the idea again appeared. A royal commission examined the question in 1938 and reported "that while local opinion has made a considerable advance in the direction of political unity . . . it is doubtful whether the time is yet ripe for the introduction of any large scheme of federation." Nevertheless, the commission recommended that a combination of the West Indian colonies into one political entity was the ideal towards which policy should be directed. In the meantime, attempts should be made to encourage regional thinking.

Undoubtedly the greatest single influence in developing a regional viewpoint among West Indians was the Second World War. Regional organizations such as the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, the Barbados Sugar Cane Breeding Station and the West Indies Development and Welfare Organization brought West Indians together on a regional basis to tackle their common problems and helped to lay the foundation for regional political action; but it was the demands of wartime cooperation in the Caribbean which did most to break down the isolationism bred by an island life. Communications were vastly improved, impressive military establishments were built at top speed, military and naval bases were leased to the United States, and in all these activities the West Indians participated. When the war ended and the pace of economic expansion slackened the time was ripe for another attempt to bring the territories closer together.

In 1945, the Secretary of State for the Colonies launched the idea of federation once again, stressing the United Kingdom Government's view that



movement towards political unity must come from within and not from outside the area and asking the colonies to keep federation in mind as self-governing institutions developed. The ultimate aim of a West Indian federation would be, he said, internal self-government within the British Commonwealth.

Principle Accepted

The Legislatures of the Bahamas, Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad and the Windward Islands debated the idea of federation and with the exception of the Bahamas agreed to participate in a conference to discuss proposals for federation. In 1947 at Montego Bay in Jamaica, West Indian representatives met with the Colonial Secretary, agreed that closer association was desirable, and accepted "the principle of federation in which each constituent unit retains complete control over all matters except those specifically assigned to the federal government." It was further agreed that a Standing Closer Association Committee should be constituted to recommend, *inter alia*, "the form of a federal constitution and federal judiciary most likely to give effect to the aspirations of the people".

By May 1948 the legislatures of the colonies represented at Montego Bay had agreed to participate in the work of the Standing Closer Association Committee and Sir Hubert Rance, who became governor of Trinidad in 1950, was appointed chairman. Seventeen months later the Committee's report was published. The Committee worked on the assumption that the main purpose of its task was "to seek the shortest path towards a real political independence for the British peoples of the region, within the framework of the British Commonwealth". The Committee recognized that this independence could not be given substance unless an economically viable political unit could be created. Special attention was therefore given to the soundness of federation from an economic point of view.

While the Committee found that the finances of the area were sound, it also found that the causes were, unfortunately, only temporary. World prices for the exports of the region were high but the productivity of the islands, on which permanent prosperity depends, had not shown any real increase. It was further recognized that the Caribbean territories were not richly endowed with natural resources and that if a reasonable standard of living was to be achieved for the people of the islands "the not-too-abundant resources will have to be freely fertilised with brains, skill and hard work." In the opinion of the Committee, this could be done if the political and administrative arrangements of the region are such as to enable modern knowledge to be applied efficiently when and where needed; "... Federation, and only Federation, affords a reasonable prospect of achieving economic stability and through it . . . political independence".

With the basis of their thinking thus clearly stated, the Committee went on to outline in detail the type of federal structure it wished to see organized. Their report was debated in the various legislatures and, with the exception of British Guiana and British Honduras, accepted in principle. There were, however, objections to some features of the Committee's federal plan and the Secretary of State for the Colonies accordingly proposed that there should be a conference of delegates from the territories which had accepted federation in principle. This conference was convened in April 1953 in London.

Delegates from Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Christopher Nevis and Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Kingdom, and observers from British Guiana and

British Honduras examined in detail the report of the Standing Closer Association Committee. The delegates agreed on numerous modifications and were informed of the extent and the nature of the financial support which the United Kingdom Government was prepared to give to the Federation. The Colonial Secretary assured the delegates that the region would continue to share the financial assistance the United Kingdom extends to her colonies under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, that the Government was prepared to invite Parliament to grant up to £500,000 towards the capital cost of establishing a federal headquarters and that the United Kingdom would assist the Federation in meeting the annual deficits of those units which might be unable to pay their way from their own revenues or reserves. If, however, the Federation was to gain full independence these latter grants must be temporary; the United Kingdom was consequently thinking in terms of grants-in-aid for a five-year period with a possible further five-year extension.

The Federal Plan Approved by the London Conference of 1953

The London Conference in 1953 agreed that a federation should be established comprising the following member units: Barbados, Jamaica (excluding the dependencies of Jamaica), Antigua, St. Christopher Nevis and Anguilla, Montserrat, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica.

The federal legislature should consist of a Governor General, a Senate and a House of Representatives, and have the exclusive right to make laws in fields such as defence, exchange controls, external affairs, immigration into and emigration and deportation from the Federation, and the seat of government of the Federation. Both federal and unit legislatures should have the right to make laws on matters such as banking, the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money, the census, currency, coinage and legal tender, imposition and collection of import duties, and collection of export and excise duties, postal services, taxes on income* and trade and commerce; but in the case of inconsistency between any federal law and any unit law on any such subject, the provisions of the federal law should, to the extent of the inconsistency, prevail. All residual legislative powers should be vested in the unit legislatures.

It will be seen from this brief description of the proposed division of legislative powers that the Australian pattern of federation has been followed in preference to the Canadian system. Residual powers rest with the units, not with the central government, as is the case in Canada. It will also be noted that the concurrent legislative list includes many subjects—such as banking and currency—which most federations bestow exclusively on the central government. Many of these subjects will probably be assumed gradually by the Federal Government as the economies of united action became apparent.

The London Conference in 1953 agreed that the federal Senate should consist of nineteen senators appointed by the Governor General for a term of five years and that each unit, with the exception of Montserrat, should have two senators. Montserrat, because of its small size and population (32 square miles and less than 14,000 persons), should be represented by one senator.

The House of Representatives should consist of forty-five elected members with representation based roughly on population. However, each unit should

* Provided that the federal legislature should not have power to impose taxes on income for the first five years.

not have fewer members in the elected house than it has in the appointed chamber. It was agreed that Barbados should have five members, Jamaica seventeen and Trinidad ten, while the other units should each have the minimum representation allowed.

The proposed federal plan left no doubt as to which of the two chambers should be the paramount legislative authority. Money bills may be introduced only in the House of Representatives and provision is made for overcoming a negative Senate vote. On other legislation the Senate would be empowered to delay for twelve months. The London Conference also agreed to empower the Governor General to reserve certain bills dealing with defence, external relations, and proposals which might lead to the need for financial assistance from the United Kingdom Government. A very limited power of disallowance would be granted to the Government of the United Kingdom.

Composition of the Council

The federal plan provided that the executive power of the Federation should be exercised by the Governor General on the advice of a Council of State, a body of 14 members consisting of the Prime Minister and seven persons of either of the chambers of the federal legislature chosen by him, three officials appointed by the Governor General, and three members of the federal Senate appointed by the Governor General in Council.

The delegates to the London Conference further agreed that the judicial power of the Federation should be vested in a Federal Supreme Court, and in such other courts as the federal legislature may create or invest with federal jurisdiction. The Federal Supreme Court should exercise appellate and original jurisdiction and have the power to interpret the provisions of the constitution.

Thus the federal plan as approved by the 1953 Conference called for the establishment of a federation with certain limitations on its independence of action primarily due to its expected dependence on the United Kingdom Government for grants-in-aid and assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. The plan also visualized the creation of a comparatively weak central government in the first years of federation.

Developments Since the London Conference of 1953

By January 1955 the proposals of the 1953 Conference had been adopted by the legislatures of the territories which sent delegations to London. The Colonial Secretary then announced the establishment of three commissions to examine the fiscal, civil service and judicial aspects of federation.

While these commissions were being organized, a conference was convened in Trinidad in March 1955 to reach agreement on one of the most difficult problems confronting the Federation—the movement of persons and goods. Some of the more prosperous islands feared that unrestricted movement would result in serious dislocation of their economy; however, the conference agreed that the preamble to the constitution should emphasize the desirability of the greatest possible freedom of movement for persons and goods within the Federation and that control of movement between units should be exercised jointly by the Federal Government and by the units for the first five years after Federation. Beyond the five year limit the Conference recommended that any local legislation affecting movement of persons then in existence or enacted thereafter would require federal validation.

The three commissions studying the fiscal, civil service and the judicial problems of federation presented their reports late in 1955. The Secretary of State for the Colonies then invited the colonies concerned to send representatives to a conference to be convened in London on February 7, 1956.

The London Conference of 1956

The principal task of the London Conference of February 1956 was to study the reports of the three commissions on the fiscal, civil service and judicial problems of federation and to incorporate the recommendations arising out of their reports and out of the Trinidad Conference in the federal plan of 1953. The report of the fiscal commission gave rise to the greatest amount of discussion.

In 1953 it had been agreed that the Federal Government should receive the postal revenues, when the Federation assumed responsibility for the postal services, and fifteen per cent of the custom duties on imports; the fiscal commission thought, however, that the Federal Government should be assured of a more reliable and productive source of revenue if it were to be able to discharge its responsibilities satisfactorily. The 1956 Conference agreed, and it was decided that for the first five years the Federal Government would obtain its revenue from profits on the issue of currency and from a mandatory levy on the unit governments. It will also have the right to raise revenue by excise and custom duties concurrently with the unit governments.

It was also agreed that there should be an integrated trade policy for the Federation and that a customs union should be introduced at the earliest opportunity.

Certain constitutional changes were agreed upon. As noted above, it had been agreed in 1953 that the Council of State should consist of the Prime Minister and seven members of either houses of the Federal legislature chosen by him, plus three officials appointed by the Governor General and three members of the federal Senate appointed by the Governor General in Council. The 1956 Conference decided, however, (a) that the three officials appointed by the Governor General would only have the right to attend meetings of the Council of State and to participate in its discussions; (b) that the three federal Senators would be appointed to the Council on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and not of the Governor General in Council.

One matter which was not settled at London was the site of the national capital. The Conference agreed to appoint an independent fact-finding commission of experts which would recommend three suitable sites for a capital and indicate its preference. One of the sites on the commission's list would then be chosen as capital by the delegates to the London Conference who agreed to continue to act as a standing Federation Committee to carry out constitutional and administrative pre-federation functions. The United Kingdom Government has undertaken to contribute to the cost of the necessary federal buildings up to one million pounds, an amount double that pledged in 1953.

The Conference ended on February 23, 1956, with the historic announcement that the sixteen delegates had agreed to federate their respective islands. The first Federation Day in 1956 will be proclaimed when Royal assent is given to the United Kingdom Act approving federation; in subsequent years, however, February 23 will be the official Federation Day.

Visit of Prime Minister Eden to Ottawa

THE Right Honourable Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Right Honourable Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom arrived in Ottawa on February 3, following a visit to Washington. During their four days in Ottawa, Sir Anthony Eden and Mr. Lloyd were guests of the Governor General at Government House and attended luncheons and dinners given in their honour by Mr. Massey, Prime Minister St. Laurent, Mr. Pearson, and Sir Archibald Nye, the United Kingdom High Commissioner. Mr. Lloyd also addressed a luncheon meeting of the Women's Canadian Club at the Chateau Laurier.

While in Ottawa, Sir Anthony and Mr. Lloyd attended a meeting of the Canadian Cabinet and met members of both Houses of Parliament informally. In addition, they had informal talks with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs about questions of common concern to Canada and the United Kingdom, with particular reference to recent developments in the Middle East, the Far East and Southeast Asia, the forthcoming conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and Anglo-Canadian trade.

On February 6, Sir Anthony addressed a joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate, and on the following day Mr. Eden and Mr. Lloyd held a press conference in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings. The text of Sir Anthony's speech to Parliament, and extracts from the record of the press conference, are reproduced below.

Statement in the House of Commons by Sir Anthony Eden on February 6.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am indeed grateful . . . for your generous words, and to the Canadian Parliament for this invitation. I am deeply moved by the compliment which you have paid to me for the second time in my life. That must be a rare event. I believe that it is in fact unique in history. On neither occasion have I been able to catch your eye. I do trust the backbench members will not in consequence be so much aggrieved that they will move the closure on me. I was a little reassured to learn that this is an unusual custom for your Parliament.

You know that I speak sincerely when I say I am happy to be amongst you again. It is now 30 years since I first came to Canada and travelled across your country. On many occasions since then I have had opportunities to visit your vast and hospitable land. I am proud to think that I have more friends here than in any country outside my own.

Canadiens de langue française, je vous remercie chaleureusement de votre accueil. Je tiens à vous dire combien j'admire et je respecte la culture et les traditions que vous gardez si fièrement. Vous savez que cela me fait un plaisir sincère d'être de nouveau parmi vous. Trente années se sont écoulées depuis ma première visite au Canada. Je suis revenu maintes fois dans votre pays si hospitalier et à chaque occasion je retrouve beaucoup de vieux amis et j'en fais, je l'espère, de nouveaux.

Je suis profondément reconnaissant du grand honneur que vous m'avez fait en m'invitant, pour la seconde fois dans ma vie, à parler devant le Parlement canadien.

Inevitably, my mind goes back this afternoon to that earlier occasion, to which you, Mr. Prime Minister, have referred, when I spoke to you during the war. Then, though the tide had turned, victory had yet to be won and the future beyond it lay all uncertain. He would be a rash man or an ill-informed man who would attempt a confident prophecy for mankind today.

Balance of Good and Evil

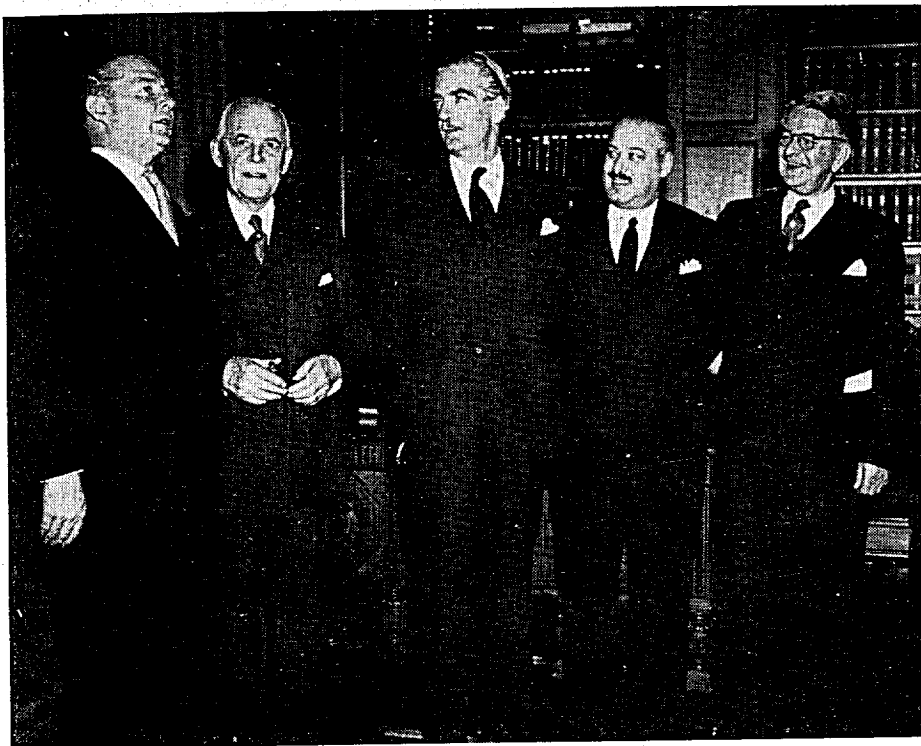
Yet there is a certain balance sheet of good and evil which we can draw up, and I propose to do so, and to begin with the good, because it is more comforting than the evil. There is next the unshakable strength of the Anglo-American alliance in which we all join. Third, the growing unity of Western Europe within the framework of NATO. Fourth, and grimmer but still real, the deterrent power of the new weapons, including the hydrogen bomb, which restrain where they cannot reform. Fifth, the growing understanding by the West of the threat of communist penetration which it has to meet and of the new methods which we will have to employ.

And now on the debit side I would cite, first, the increasing hazards which some are prepared to take; second, the dangers of aggression by countries which believe they can ignore the deterrent; third, the continued existence of local disputes, whose consequences could engulf the world; fourth, the daily communist call to abhor the West sounds sharply. In contrast, the steady effort of the West to raise the standard of life for all free people must take time. It is easier to spread hatred than to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before.

It is with this balance of good and evil in mind that we have to prepare ourselves. Economic weapons may take the place of military ones. But always our purpose must be the same; to maintain the right that men's minds may be free and the care that their bellies be filled. Well now, to achieve this, free nations like ourselves, like free men, must draw and hold together and it is in the spirit of those reflections that I would like to make some comments on the recent conversations which I have held in Washington with President Eisenhower.

I can best sum up my impressions of those talks by saying that there has never been so full a measure of agreement between our governments. In the whole field of European diplomacy, which a year or two back was troublesome enough, there was no difference between us. You may have noticed the attempts of the Kremlin to obscure the issues and confuse our councils. In fact they only provided most obligingly an opportunity to underline the unity between the United States and ourselves.

Now much of our meeting was devoted to the difficult and critical problems of the Middle East. Here too we were in agreement that the first danger was the continuing Arab-Israel dispute. We were also in agreement as to what we should do to try to resolve it. We decided that the necessary treatment should be of three kinds. We should continue to work without publicity—I really think diplomacy is more effective without publicity—and by every means



—Capital Press

PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM VISITS OTTAWA

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Eden, and Foreign Secretary, the Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, visited Ottawa on February 3-9, following talks held in Washington with President Eisenhower. During his Ottawa stay, Sir Anthony had consultations with Government officials and gave a press conference. Left to right: Mr. Selwyn Lloyd; the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent; Sir Anthony Eden; Mr. Rene Beaudoin, Speaker of the House of Commons; and Mr. Wishart Robertson, Speaker of the Senate.

to bring about a settlement in that area. This can only be realized if both sides are prepared to reconcile the positions they have taken up to now. That means a compromise. Some people tell me compromise is a horrible English habit; however, some might learn from it to their own advantage in the world. But we can both help, and are ready to do so, for example by financial aid to help settle the tragic refugee problem and by a guarantee of the frontiers once agreed.

Meanwhile, as you know we, the United States and France have our responsibilities under the tripartite declaration of 1950. We arranged for discussions on the action to be taken to meet an emergency should it arise. The French Government has agreed to join us in this. Personally I am convinced that to make ready in this way is to reduce the risk of conflict. It may also be that a strengthening of the United Nations truce supervisory organization would assist to prevent incidents. Both the United Kingdom and the United States governments are very ready to agree to this. But of course we should wish to be guided by General Burns, a brave Canadian soldier who is resolutely carrying out this thankless task.

As regards the dispute which we have with Saudi Arabia our position is this. We are not prepared to return to arbitration. There can be no question of

that in view of our recent experiences with their bribery and corruption. On the other hand, as we made clear in Washington, we are ready to enter into direct discussions.

The United States Government has declared its solid support to the Bagdad pact to which we belong. This again we welcome and here again our views are alike. The fact has economic purposes and aims which fully match its military provisions and importance. We have considered the kind of help which each member country needs and we are determined to make a success of the pact.

All this does not exclude some help to other countries in the area. An example is Jordan, to whom we shall continue to make substantial payments under our treaty.

Other Problems Discussed

So much then for what is perhaps the most critical region at the present time. Of course, we talked of many other problems, in many parts of the world, just as I had the privilege to do with the Prime Minister and your Cabinet this morning. We discussed the Declaration of Washington which the President and I issued together. In this we set forth the true principles which guide the free world. Some say that these have been stated before. Maybe, but it does no harm to state them again in a manner which make it clear that we are aware of the modern communist challenge. The Declaration of Washington is, in fact, a charter to which the whole of the free world can subscribe. I am sure that here in Canada you will agree with its purpose. It is in the tradition of the work you have done so well to unite the countries on either side of the Atlantic in defence of the free world.

I now come back to our own friendship and the work of our two peoples together. Many speakers and writers have tried to define the Commonwealth. None has really succeeded, for the reason no doubt that the spirit which gives it life is indefinable.

In a few months' time I look forward to welcoming the prime ministers of the Commonwealth to our London meeting. Foremost amongst them is your own Prime Minister, wisest of counsellors and most loyal of friends. May I here suggest that though we enjoy being the hosts to all these meetings of prime ministers, it would be good if from time to time the meeting place were to revolve.

I am here this afternoon surrounded by the familiar setting of our own House of Commons. This morning, Mr. Prime Minister, you were good enough to invite me and my colleague the foreign secretary to attend the Canadian Cabinet. Our systems, our modes of thought, our traditions and our ways of life are all so much alike, that perhaps we ought not to take too much credit to ourselves, but Anglo-Canadian relations are a model to the world.

But there is more to it than all this. The pervading influence which the Commonwealth carries into the four corners of the earth is one of understanding among friends, of tolerance and of peace.

In all this work Canada now plays a leading part. It is impossible to travel, as I had to do as foreign secretary until a year ago, into so many lands without

constantly hearing warm praise of the judgment and kindly help you have so often extended to less happier lands. The service that you are rendering in Indochina is but one example of the world's debt to you. By this action alone you made possible an armistice which may yet become a peace.

If I may conclude on a slightly more familiar note, I have from my childhood, like many of you, seen this great nation grow up into a position where its authority is among the foremost in the world. I have no doubt of what the future holds. You will be called upon to carry ever more burdensome responsibilities, but they go with authority. That is inescapable. Yet ever so at home and over the world at large there is great comfort in that thought, for I have no doubt that the guidance and wisdom of Canada will always be thrown in the scales on the side of toleration and peace.

It is not given to many of us to look far into the future, but of this no one who observes your country from outside can doubt a future, an almost unimaginably great future, is in your hands. I have no doubt that you will fashion it in a manner worthy of a great people.

And so I salute this Canada which commands the future as probably no other land in the world today. I salute you also as the standard bearer of loyalty and a herald of goodwill. And I wish you well.

Press Conference Excerpts

(A Press Conference was held by the Right Honourable Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom assisted by the Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, at Ottawa, February 7, 1956.)

Question: In your speech yesterday to the House you said you were ready to participate, I believe, in an international police force in Israel, if such a force were set up and if General Burns found favour with the idea of strengthening the truce commission there. How do we get the ball rolling on that? Where does the first move come from?

Mr. Eden: It was not quite that. What I think I said, and it is on the record, was that there are already observers on the spot and it might be desirable to increase the number of observers. If so, we were in favour of that, but it must be for General Burns to advise. Let me say I have the utmost confidence in him. He is doing an absolutely first class job. It is also a matter for the United Nations Secretary-General. It would not be proper or possible for our countries to just say we think the United Nations should have more. But we have expressed the view that if they wanted to have more we would be willing to join in that effort. Perhaps the Foreign Secretary who has been dealing with this idea a long time would like to say a word about that.

Mr. Lloyd: It would be a matter for the United Nations and also for the governments in the area concerned. There is going to be no attempt to impose on an unwilling people something which they do not want. The question of recruitment and increased facilities and all the rest of it must be a matter for the detailed recommendation of General Burns, and also the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, who has been there and has been discussing the matter. We shall have to await his return to discuss the matter further.

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Question: I wanted to put a question on Indochina. Have you officially

rejected the idea advanced by Chou-en-Lai for a conference on the Indo-chinese elections?

Mr. Lloyd: One of the jobs which I inherited has been co-chairman with Mr. Molotov of the Geneva conference. The position is that we have received a communication; that is known, and we are obtaining the views of the other governments concerned. I think it would be premature for me to announce any United Kingdom decision on the matter until we obtain the views of the other people. Let me make it clear that it is our policy to sustain the 1954 agreement.

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Question: Is your government going ahead with plans for the visit to the United Kingdom by Premier Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev following their interesting tour of the Far East and the remarks that they made?

Mr. Eden: The invitation stands.

* * * *

Question: Yesterday you mentioned that the Commonwealth conference may take place some place else. Would that mean it may take place in Ottawa or some other Commonwealth country?

Mr. Eden: Yes, I am glad you have taken that up. I was hoping somebody would. I hope I did not say anything to embarrass anybody. The word I used was "revolve". I used it deliberately because I would have thought there would be a good deal to be said for a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting taking place occasionally in other capitals than London. Ottawa obviously has a very high claim but there are others, too, to which in due course we may go. I do not mean they are never coming to London because that would be bad indeed, but just occasionally to move around I think brings a new atmosphere, a new sense of the worldwide nature of this organization to which we all belong, the different atmospheres in which it works; that is what I really had in mind.

* * * *

Question: Do you feel it has been helpful to the West, the United Kingdom recognition of communist China, under present conditions? Is it a good thing to have a British representative in Peking?

Mr. Eden: That is a thing about which many people could have different points of view. For quite a while our representatives in Peking had practically no contacts with communist China. In fact, the position was we recognized Peking and they did not recognize us—at least, not so you would notice. That was the position for a while. Then, after the Geneva conference there have been more contacts which have certainly been useful, and I think not only useful to us. But my only word on that is that I do think it is a matter of opinion and judgment by everybody, and the best of friends can disagree about it or have different views. Generally speaking, as I say, our recognition is never based, as some people seem to think, on approval or disapproval—our recognition of foreign countries. It is based on what we think is a recognition of fact.

* * * *

Question: With regard to Palestine, there was this suggestion while you were in Washington that Canada might contribute observers to act as sort of police officers. If Canada does do that, how might that prejudice the position of General Burns who is a Canadian serving for the United Nations, and how do you balance, so to speak, General Burns against a possible contribution of Canadians to the truce team there?

Mr. Eden: I feel there may have been some misunderstanding on this. What we contemplated was that the number of observers under the United Nations might be increased with advantage. That, of course, is a matter for the United Nations. General Burns is there under the authority of the United Nations. If the numbers were increased they would be no doubt increased by recruiting from a number of countries, of which yours and ours might be one. I have never heard of any specific proposal—certainly we did not have one in mind—to allot some special task to Canada.

Mr. Lloyd: We have the United Nations as the principal supervisory organization, and the people to be recruited would serve in that organization. There was no idea of sending an actual national contingent.

* * * *

Question: In view of the fact the expression "H-bomb" was used twice yesterday, are we ready to go on with it knowing that possibly the enemy has a good stock of such weapons?

Mr. Eden: You mean, what is the additional danger from the fact that three countries have or will have the hydrogen bomb? I tried to explain in Washington that, in my view, that creates a certain mutual deterrent. It is good because nobody who knows about these things is going to start major trouble; that is what I call the negative advantage, the deterrent advantage. It does not solve any of our problems, but it prevents in certain instances their becoming explosive, even though the bomb itself goes off.

* * * *

Question: I should like to refer to the question of the Middle East. You mentioned yesterday, sir, the possibility that the great powers might guarantee negotiated frontiers. In the event of negotiations failing or it being impossible even to start them, do you mean to suggest that the great powers should, in effect, guarantee the present frontiers by forcibly restraining any act of aggression in that direction?

Mr. Eden: The present position, so far as we and the United States and France are concerned, is covered by the tri-partite undertaking. What I said yesterday, if we could get agreement—that represents the position of the United States government and ourselves—if we could get agreement between the two sides we would then guarantee the frontiers resulting from that agreement.

* * * *

Question: Would you have any observations to make, as a result of your visit, on the means of furthering our Anglo-Canadian trade?

Mr. Eden: I am glad you have raised that topic. It is a point of some interest to both of us. We very much want to increase mutual trade. Few things are more important in our relations. I have certainly already had the advantage of some informal discussions since I have been here. For instance, I have seen James Duncan, who is a very old personal friend of mine and who has done wonderful work in this direction.

As you probably know, I think it worked out last year that your exports to us, which have increased a great deal or considerably were about twice our exports to you. Now, we want the trade to go on growing but it is most important that the unbalance should be rectified to some extent if the trade is to go on growing. Now, that is one of the problems. I am sure it can be met and there are a number of ways in which you are already helping.

May I say I should like to mention one. You have been sending representatives of your industries over to Britain. I think that is a good thing indeed. I hope you go on doing that on an increasing scale because they can then see at home, on the spot, what it is they want and decide whether they want to order it or do not want to order it. It is a better method in certain respects than any other that could be contrived. I want to assure you that we in Britain are most anxious to meet your requirements in this Canadian market. We understand that it is highly competitive but all the same we want to be in the competition and, from time to time, we want to do very well in it.

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Question: On British trade, I believe the sales of British cars here have dropped off quite badly. I have found it is due largely to the fact Canadians have lost confidence in being able to get maintenance, spares and proper servicing quickly. Do you know if the British manufacturers are going to do anything about that situation or whether they are aware of it?

Mr. Eden: I am aware of the facts about the sales. I have heard different explanations, not all the same. Sir William Rootes was over here the other day with this important commission and also representatives of the Board of Trade, and I look forward when I get back to hearing their report about the position.

* * * *

Question: Have you any solid hope or can the West have any or anything else but the continuation of the current cold war with Russia in our time?

Mr. Eden: That is a good question. You know, just about two years ago I was in Berlin and we sat through that conference for weeks and weeks and we did not agree on anything at all. The advantage that was gained, and it certainly was one, was to show that we, the United States Government and the French were completely in agreement, but there was a deep division between us and the Russians on everything, including, in particular, Austria. If you had asked me after that meeting what the chances were of ever getting an Austrian settlement that year, I should have rated them very low indeed. Most people would have said they were non-existent. Well, two months and a year later, the Austrian business was settled. Now, foreign troops have gone from Austria.

One of the most difficult problems Europe has to face is that one, so you just cannot tell. You have to keep on making the effort, the more you and we and the United States are together in making that effort, the more chance we have of making a success of it. That is the whole basis of the foreign policy that the Secretary and I were pursuing.

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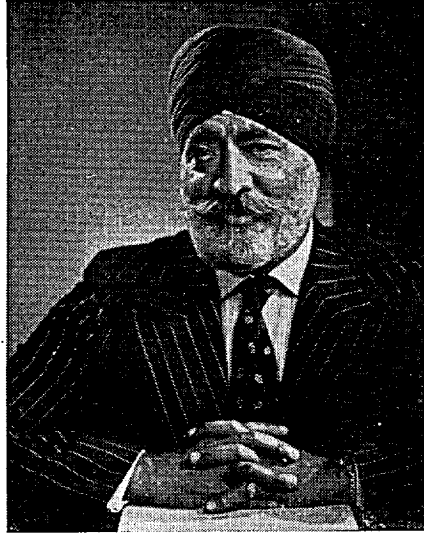
Question: Can you tell us something about the forthcoming three-power talks in Washington on the Middle East, what the purpose is and what we hope to do?

Mr. Eden: That is a good point; that is the other side. You see, the observers have become very prominent in our discussion. As I said yesterday, there are the observers, there is the attempt to try to keep the peace by quiet negotiations or discussions and there is finally the responsibility which we three share under the tri-partite declaration. In respect of that, as our communique says talks are to begin between us. I understand the French government has accepted to join, in which case I should think they would be going on within the next day or two.

Indians in Canada*

By Sadar H. S. Malik

ONE of the most moving experiences of my life was my first meeting with the Indians who have settled down in Canada. It was in 1948 when I was posted to Ottawa as India's first High Commissioner to Canada. My wife, my daughter and I arrived at Vancouver by train and were met by what looked like every member, man, women and child, of the Indian community settled in Canada. There were among them the original settlers who had gone there almost 50 years ago and they presented an impressive appearance with their white beards and soldierly bearing. Many of their womenfolk although domiciled in Canada for many years still looked as if they had just come from their villages in the central Punjab but the younger



Sadar H. S. Malik

folk looked very much like any young Canadian. My family and I were received with an enthusiasm and kindness that was most moving. They had gathered in their hundreds to welcome us and they brought with them, each and every one of them, a garland of flowers for us. They insisted that we go in a procession to our hotel and Vancouver can surely never have witnessed such a sight as our procession presented on that day with over a hundred cars, full of our people now settled in Canada, bedecked with flowers, and to the astonishment of the citizens of Canada, aeroplanes overhead showering flowers on us as we drove slowly through the streets of Vancouver.

India's First Representative

I asked myself: "Why this great and moving welcome?" The answer was that these folk who had taken an active part over the years in the struggle for India's independence, some of whom had lost their kith and kin in that movement, and practically all of whom had subscribed generously to funds in India to help the national cause, felt deeply moved on this occasion because for the first time free India had sent her own representative to Canada. They took a tremendous pride in this as they felt that they had played a part in bringing about this evolution.

Practically all the Indians in Canada, now about four thousand in all, are Sikhs. Most of them have settled down in Vancouver or Victoria in the

* Script of a talk which was broadcast over the All India Radio on November 22, 1955. Wing Commander Sadar Hardit Singh Malik was the High Commissioner for India in Canada from September 1947 to August 1949; leader of the Indian delegation to the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly held in Paris 1951-52; and the Indian Ambassador to France since August 1949, accredited as Minister to Norway since May 1950.

Province of British Columbia. Some of them have done extremely well in the lumber trade and now own their own forests and lumber mills. Others are doing well in business, most of them being engaged in the business of supplying fuel, wood and coal, to the cities of Vancouver and Victoria.

The whole story of this Indian emigration into Canada is a fascinating one. It is one of great courage and enterprise, of many hardships suffered in the beginning, of many difficulties overcome. Now they have earned for themselves a real place among the various communities in Canada and are accepted as full citizens. The first emigrants were mostly young farmers. Weary of the back-breaking struggle in their own country, many of them mortgaging their all—their small land holdings—to pay for passages, they migrated to this new land. They were strong and tough and they worked in labour camps, on the road-gangs and on the railroads. I asked one of the first pioneers how they fared in the beginning and I said to him: "I suppose it was easy for you to get work because you were prepared to work for lower wages than the European emigrants." His reply astonished me. He said: "Oh, no, we worked for the same wages and indeed we claimed higher wages than the Europeans because we worked harder and on one occasion we struck for higher wages, on this ground we got higher wages."

Co-operative System

Naturally in the beginning their resources in a foreign country were limited and they were wise enough to adopt a co-operative system of living. They pooled their wages, bunked together and took turns at cooking and other domestic tasks. Of course it must be remembered that in the beginning they did not have their womenfolk with them. Living in this way they were able to save some money and indeed there was established in this way the beginnings of a co-operative system. This system was the basis of the comparative prosperity of Indians who settled down in Canada. This co-operative system was built up on a remarkable mutual trust which was established among the members of the community. They invested both money and labour; irrespective of the size of his financial investment each investor was an active participant in the common business enterprise. In addition the community lived co-operatively with their stores, housing and food arrangements and in most cases the members of the community worked without pay as shareholders in the common enterprise.

Today when you meet our Indian folks settled in Canada, you are struck by the success that they have achieved but this success story has not been an easy one. The demand of these people has always been that they should be treated in the same way, should have the same rights and responsibilities as other Canadian citizens. This fight for equal rights has been very real and at times heart-breaking—a chapter in the battle against racial discrimination. They have faced and overcome both bitter economic and political opposition as well as racialism. But all that is past history. The traditional friendliness, and sense of social justice of the Canadian people has helped and is helping to solve all the problems that stood in the way and today they live freely and happily, proud of their exciting vital new country—the country they have helped to build but proud too of their mother country and ever aware of the old civilization and traditions which are their inheritance, and of the place of honour and respect that the new independent India has built for herself among the great nations of the world.

The International Supervisory Commission in Vietnam: Fourth Interim Report

Since its inception in August 1954, the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam has published four reports reviewing its activities in supervising the Cease-Fire Agreement in that section of Indochina. These reports have been rendered to the two Co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference (the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R.) for transmissions to the Geneva Conference Powers.

The Fourth Report, which was published in December 1955, is particularly significant since the period of activity which it reviews (April 11 to August 10, 1955) covers the concluding date for the completion of the most important military provisions of the settlement in Vietnam—the regroupment of forces on either side of the provisional demarcation line at the seventeenth parallel. Of special interest in Canada is the fact that the Fourth Report includes a Canadian Minority Note which brings to the attention of the Co-chairmen and the Geneva Conference Powers as well as the general public, the obstructionist tactics employed by the North Vietnamese in connection with the movement of refugees from the Northern zone of Vietnam.

One of the major tasks of the Commission has been to supervise the withdrawal of armed forces, equipment and supplies, and the transfer of civil administration on either side of the demarcation line without disrupting public services and without injury to persons or public property. This regroupment was to be completed within a three hundred day period—by April 20, 1955. According to the Fourth Report, this phase of the agreement was completed before the time limit expired and in a satisfactory manner, with public services handed over in running order and the withdrawal of military forces and supplies completed to the satisfaction of both parties. Indeed, the report states that the successful completion of the task improved the general atmosphere of co-operation and good will between the People's Army of Vietnam (P.A.V.N.) and the French High Command.

Freedom of Movement

While the regrouping of the military forces on either side of the demarcation line was carried out successfully, the Fourth Report indicates that the Commission was faced with many difficulties in the implementation of some of the political and administrative measures connected with this regrouping. Article 14 (c) of the Cease-Fire Agreement states that each side is to refrain from reprisals or discrimination against persons for their activities during the hostilities, and to guarantee their "democratic liberties"; Article 14 (d) states that persons wishing to change their zone of residence should be allowed freedom of movement to do so until the regrouping of military forces is completed. According to the Fourth Report, lack of co-operation by the authorities in both North and South Vietnam in the implementation and supervision of these articles greatly hindered the Commission's activities. With respect to the

provision for freedom of movement, the majority view (Indian and Polish) was that by May 18 the bulk of those wishing to do so had changed their zone of residence. As indicated in the Minority Note which is included in the Fourth Report, the Canadian Delegation did not accept this conclusion.

Canadian concern with freedom of movement had previously been expressed in a Note accompanying the Third Interim Report, recommending that the Geneva Conference Powers consult together to study such measures as might be necessary to ensure that the provisions of the Cease-Fire Agreement on freedom of movement were respected. As a result of this suggestion, an extension of the period allowed for the free movement of refugees was agreed to; however, owing to the failure of the parties to agree on details of the arrangements, only a comparatively small number of persons were able to move during the extended period which ended on July 20.

Communist Obstruction

The Canadian Minority Note illustrates by specific instances the extent of Communist obstructive tactics in the North and modifies the impression created by the majority report that the problem of freedom of movement was solved to a far greater extent than was really the case. According to the Canadian statement, the reports of the Commission's teams showed that individuals wishing to move South were not in fact permitted and helped to do so but in some cases were actually prevented from moving. An atmosphere of fear and suspicion, in part a legacy of the war years, had not been dissipated and served to inhibit and restrict effective investigation by the teams.

The Canadian Note states that reports of the teams also indicated that there was good reason to believe that Communist authorities in areas visited by Commission teams had taken special measures to prevent the complete facts from being brought to light and to inhibit effective contact between would-be evacuees and the Commission's representatives. Soldiers, political cadres and the local militia were frequently stationed in the homes of the Catholic population and prevented them from contacting the teams. In some cases, persons desiring to appear before the teams were called away to meetings organized by the local authorities to coincide with the arrival of the teams; in other cases, would-be evacuees were grouped in village churches and attempts made to keep the teams from interviewing them. In further instances of obstruction, organized groups presenting petitions complaining about forced evacuations demonstrated in such a fashion that the teams were unable to complete investigations and would-be evacuees were intimidated; and on at least a dozen occasions evacuees were physically molested and sometimes forcibly dragged away before they had an opportunity to meet a team, (on one occasion a crowd of 500 persons whisked away the director of a seminary before the eyes of the members of one team). In the Canadian view, these obstructive tactics on the part of local authorities were a part of an organized plan. However, it was impossible for the Commission to obtain absolute proof that such was the case.

Evasive answers and conflicting statistics also prevented the teams in the North from obtaining a complete picture of the extent of the non-implementation of the provision for "freedom of movement". However, it was evident by May 18 that action had not yet been taken on the majority of the more than 11,000 petitions in the North, and on about 1000 petitions in the South received from people wishing to change their zone of residence.

The Canadian Note states that the P.A.V.N. submitted 320,000 petitions claiming that people in the North had been forced to move to the South. After investigations which were carried out among 25,000 of a total of 121,000 persons in refugee camps in the South, the teams reported that these complaints of the P.A.V.N. were without foundation.

According to the Canadian Note, there was no problem with respect to "freedom of movement" in the South until the closing days of the 300-day period. During the 300-day period, 888,127 persons moved from the North to the South and 2,598 persons from the South to the North; during the extended period, (i.e. to July 20) 4,749 people moved from North to South and 1,671 people from South to North. Local administrative difficulties in the South prevented some persons who wished to do so from moving during the two-month extension. The Canadian Note indicates that the measure of co-operation offered by northern authorities was less than the Commission had a right to expect.

The Canadian Delegation considers that Article 14 (d) has still not been satisfactorily implemented and the Canadian Minority Note states clearly that the Commission has a continuing responsibility, particularly toward those persons who had expressed a desire to move by July 20 and were prevented from doing so. Full implementation of the provisions of the Article would mean that every individual wishing to move would have been helped to do so by July 20. In the Canadian view, the Commission is not only unable to report that full implementation in this sense had been achieved, but it should recognize that this problems has not yet been fully solved.

Another matter on which the Canadian Delegation entered a minority statement in the Fourth Report relates to the co-operation of the parties to the agreement, and particularly to difficulties which the Commission has encountered with respect to the implementation of some of its recommendations in South Vietnam. The majority view, as stated in the Fourth Report, is that the Commission's difficulties in the South are due solely to the "independent attitude" taken by the South Vietnamese government and its "categorical" denial that it is bound by the Cease-Fire Agreement. In the Canadian view, the situation is far more complex. The Canadian Note points out that with the completion of the regroupment of military forces, the Commission has become increasingly concerned with matters which in South Vietnam are not, for constitutional and administrative reasons, the direct responsibility of the French High Command; yet the French High Command remains the only party which is legally responsible to the Commission. The situation is complicated by the fact that in some matters the local authorities directly concerned are responsible not to the French High Command but to the Vietnamese government which did not sign the Cease-Fire Agreement and does not, at present, consider itself bound by its terms.

In the Indian and Polish view, the Commission cannot function effectively unless the Co-chairmen find some solution to these difficulties at an early date. The Canadian Delegation agrees that the situation adversely affects the work of the Commission but expresses the hope in its minority report that the negotiations between the French and South Vietnamese "will be able to work out a more durable and dependable arrangement which would place the Commission in a more favourable position to carry out its functions".

Canada Lends Three Frigates to Norway

ON December 20, 1955, the Canadian and Norwegian Governments concluded an Agreement by an Exchange of Notes between the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Norwegian Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency A. C. Gunneng, for the loan by Canada to Norway of three Prestonian class frigates. The three ships are the modernized anti-submarine frigates HMCS "Penetang", "Prestonian" and "Toronto".

These ships, which have formed part of the reserve of ships of the Royal Canadian Navy, will now be immediately available as part of NATO front line strength. Their loan is, therefore, evidence of the Canadian Government's continuing strong support of NATO, and demonstrates the type of co-operation between free and equal NATO partners which has enabled the Organization to develop to its present state of efficiency as a deterrent to aggression.

The first ship to be transferred by the RCN to the Royal Norwegian Navy was "Penetang". The ceremony took place in Halifax on January 25, when "Penetang" was re-christened "Draug" by Mrs. Gunneng. The ship's first port of call in Norway will be Oslo; a reception will be held on board for press and radio, in which the Canadian Ambassador to Norway, Mr. C. A. Ronning, will participate.

It is expected that "Prestonian" and "Toronto" will be handed over at Halifax at the end of March. They are to be re-named "Troll" and "Garm" respectively. The names "Draug", "Troll" and "Garm" are traditional in the Norwegian Navy.



KNM "DRAUG"

—National Defence

Canada and the United Nations

Assessment of the Tenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly

Effects of the "Geneva Spirit"

At the opening of the tenth session of the General Assembly, two factors helped to shape the attitude of the majority of delegations. One was the widely-heralded "spirit of Geneva" which had emanated from the meeting in July of the Heads of Government of the United States, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and France; the other was the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of these four countries which was to be held about the half-way mark in the scheduled timetable for the tenth session. The first factor encouraged the belief that the tenth session would prove to be a turning point in the struggle to achieve the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter; the second tended to hold in suspense the Assembly's discussion of the clearly controversial items on its agenda. The general desire of delegations seemed to be to preserve the Geneva spirit as long as possible and, in order to do this the Assembly was prepared to postpone discussion of controversial questions until after the Foreign Ministers had had an opportunity to pursue in detail the directives issued in July by their Heads of Government.

Accordingly, statements in the general debate in the Assembly contained many hopeful references to the improved international situation. These speeches were, on the whole, conciliatory in tone though, in many cases, coloured by over-optimism. There was a noticeable absence of propaganda in both Western and Communist speeches and many appeals were made for restraint in expressing strongly held opinions. Except for some discordant notes in the later stages of the session, there was general avoidance of extreme propaganda, which reflected a significant and welcome change from previous sessions. The Soviet delegation in particular seemed at pains not to provoke the acrimony of earlier cold war debates in the United Nations. However, this did not prevent them from pointing out whenever the opportunity arose the superior qualities of Soviet communism and the shortcomings of other ways of life. In the Second Committee for example, they deplored the alleged discriminatory trade-practices of the Western democracies against the countries of Eastern Europe.

The atmosphere of *detente* was of course more pronounced prior to the Foreign Ministers' meeting, which produced no positive results as regards the two most important subjects, on the agenda of the tenth session—disarmament and the admission of new members. After that meeting, however, there was no clearly discernible return to cold war tactics by the major contenders. It became less appropriate, perhaps, to refer to the new air of *rapprochement*. The behaviour of Messrs Bulganin and Krushchev during their Asian tour added to the doubt and dismay about East-West relations but there seemed to be little inclination to draw the lines for a renewed cold-war struggle in the General Assembly. Co-existence—by then clearly recognizable as competitive rather than co-operative co-existence—continued to be the preferred alternative. Exchanges between the United States and Soviet representatives

became more frequent and perhaps less restrained than earlier in the session, but on the whole the debates continued to be moderate. Clearly distinguishable however, in the Assembly proceedings after the Foreign Ministers' talks, was the acute disappointment of many delegations at the rapid evaporation of the Geneva spirit in which the tenth session had been launched.

Admission of New Members

Measured by any yardstick the admission of the sixteen new members was, for the United Nations, by far the most important achievement of the tenth session. Not only was a deadlock of long-standing broken; not only was new blood injected at a time when the Organization was debilitated from many years of cold war; but the General Assembly was able to reassert its claim to be a centre for harmonizing international action. In the immediately preceding years, a number of international arrangements had been negotiated outside the United Nations: the Indochina settlement, the Bandung Conference, and the Geneva talks were signs of the draft away from United Nations diplomacy.

This trend was broken by the failure of the Foreign Ministers to agree in November. They had apparently tried and failed to reach agreement on the admission of new members, as a by-product of their Geneva talks. Unwilling to accept this particular failure because of the high hopes which had been raised, the majority of the General Assembly doggedly pursued the move initiated by Canada to admit eighteen new members. The pressure of opinion became so strong that it finally proved irresistible. There can be little doubt that the Soviet Government was strongly influenced by this pressure not to let the opportunity pass. Thus, by a sudden change of position they allowed admission of sixteen countries, after the original motion for the admission of eighteen had been vetoed by Nationalist China in the Security Council.

Colonial Issues

The determination of the new nations of Africa and Asia to press for the political and economic independence of all dependent peoples was evident at the tenth session at which they campaigned energetically both in the political committees and in the Third and Fourth Committees where the questions of self determination and colonial administration arose in several forms. And it was perhaps paradoxical that the session which succeeded in breaking the deadlock on new members should also have witnessed the withdrawal from the General Assembly of the French and South African delegations, by way of protest against Assembly consideration of matters which they held to be exclusively of national concern. Nevertheless, although the Afro-Asian countries undoubtedly feel it is the duty of the United Nations to deal with the urgent problems of colonialism, there were signs that they recognized that a succession of withdrawals from the General Assembly of important member countries would seriously weaken the effectiveness of the organization. Painstaking negotiations were therefore undertaken to bring about the return of the French, an accomplishment which required the co-operation, perseverance and tact of many delegations. The Afro-Asian delegations also displayed a spirit of accommodation on the questions of Morocco and West New Guinea, the plebiscite in British Togoland and the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa. In general, these delegations showed themselves willing to make temporary concessions in the interests of wider harmony without abandoning in any

way the colonial causes which they have espoused. They may have sensed that the majority in the General Assembly was not in the mood at this session for repetitious debates on colonial issues of long standing and that it would resist resolutions demanding radical action. In consequence the comparatively reasonable manner in which the Assembly dealt with colonial issues at this session appeared to be in large measure the result of shrewd and responsible judgment on the part of the Afro-Asian delegations.

Atomic Energy

The resolutions on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and on the effects of atomic radiation provided similar evidence that the United Nations could work together. The Western Great Powers were required, in promoting their ideas, to make modifications in order to meet objections mainly from the Arab, Asian and Scandinavian countries. The Soviet Union, however, had little success in gaining support for their point of view.

It would be unrealistic not to recognize the difficulties involved in implementing the resolutions on the atomic items. The complexities of running the proposed atomic energy agency have only begun to appear; the negotiations on its statute are likely to be protracted and it may therefore be some time before the agency comes into being; furthermore, the committee established to study the effects of radiation on man and his environment may not produce immediate results. However, both these bodies would appear to be essential in a world of atomic development, and the necessity for their success may compel the powers concerned to reach agreement. In any event, the tenth session not only demonstrated the continued interest of the U.N. in all matters relating to the establishment of an international atomic energy agency, but also created the committee on radiation. The majority of member countries are unlikely to relax their interest in these agencies, and will undoubtedly continue to press for a practicable solution to atomic problems.

Disarmament

The debate on disarmament was somewhat disappointing after the hopes raised at the ninth session. As between the major powers, it consisted mainly of a repeat performance of what had taken place during the discussions of the Disarmament Sub-committee in September and October where no progress had been made. This was perhaps inevitable in view of the deadlock reached a few days earlier in Geneva on the other outstanding issues between the East and the West. The truth of the matter is that the major powers and, for that matter, other member states had little time before the Assembly discussions to examine the situation resulting from the Geneva negotiations. In view of this, the Assembly seems to have taken a sensible step in recommending that priority be given to the implementation of "confidence-building measures" such as the Eisenhower plan for the establishment of a warning system through the exchange of military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection and the Soviet plan for establishing control posts at strategic centres.

Korea

A long debate held late in the Assembly disclosed lack of progress towards the goal of peaceful unification of Korea and was the occasion for perhaps the

harshest and most combative exchanges between Soviet and Western delegations. The Indian and Yugoslav representatives tried, without much success, to introduce an element of reasonableness and impartiality. The statement of the Canadian delegation suggested that, since United Nations military action to repel aggression in Korea had been successfully completed by the conclusion of the Military Armistice Agreement, the United Nations should make use of all its resources for conciliation and peaceful settlement in its search for a just and equitable procedure for unifying Korea. Countries which had unhesitatingly supported South Korea against aggression were not bound to support South Korea's approach to national unification as the only acceptable procedure.

Economic and Social Question

In the matter of economic development the results of the tenth session were, on the whole, satisfactory. It was generally agreed that encouraging progress was being made in the field of technical assistance, and this confidence was reflected in the promises of increased contributions to the Expanded Programme which were given at a pledging conference during the session. The forthcoming establishment of the International Finance Corporation was welcomed in the Second Committee, although some delegations expressed the view that the International Bank had acted precipitately in opening for signature the draft statute of the IFC before referring it to the General Assembly for consideration. The main difficulty in the Second Committee's proceedings related to the question of establishing a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). The less economically-developed countries have in recent years applied increasing pressure for its establishment, and at this session it was only with difficulty that the chief supporters of the Fund were persuaded not to force an early decision in this matter. The compromise resolution on SUNFED, which was adopted unanimously, requested the Secretary-General to invite comments from member states and from the Specialized Agencies concerning the establishment, role, structure and operations of a special fund. An *Ad Hoc* Committee was appointed to analyze the replies of governments, and hope was expressed that the idea of SUNFED would win increased support.

At this session the Third Committee produced few useful results. In the discussion of the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Soviet delegation, without abandoning in any way its basic position in favour of the early repatriation of refugees, modified its earlier attacks on the sincerity of purpose of the High Commissioner and accepted resettlement and integration as possible alternatives for a small number of refugees. A Soviet draft resolution was submitted which, among other things, instructed the High Commissioner to assist in the early repatriation of refugees and displaced persons to their countries of origin. The Soviet contentions were, however, so clearly contrary to the spirit of United Nations assistance to European refugees that they failed to commend themselves to the Committee, even though the Arab delegations showed considerable sympathy for the Soviet position. The Committee finally adopted a Nine-Power draft resolution which underlined the High Commissioner's responsibility to seek solutions for the problems of refugees through voluntary repatriation, resettlement and integration, and requested him to continue his efforts to effect solutions by these three means. However, because of the lack of response among many Arab, Asian and Latin-

American countries, the prospects for attaining the target figures for the United Nations Refugee Fund for 1955 and 1956 are not promising.

In the field of human rights the Third Committee devoted a large part of its time to debating the question of self-determination, mainly in the context of Article I of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights. The efforts of the Western Powers have been directed to preventing precipitate and questionable action on this subject in the various United Nations bodies which have been dealing with it. The Afro-Asian delegations have, however, been most assiduous in pressing, with the support of the Soviet bloc and many of the Latin-American countries, for universal recognition of self-determination as an inalienable right of all peoples and for legal formulation of such a right in the draft Covenants on Human Rights. These efforts were intensified during the tenth session and, as the outcome of a difficult and inconclusive debate, a text was adopted for Article I of the draft Covenants which was far from satisfactory to many delegations. The adoption of this article would seem to prejudice objective consideration of a constructive proposal of the Secretary-General for the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee which would attempt to reach agreement on certain basic principles concerning the whole question of self-determination. Prospects for achieving any real progress in this important matter are therefore most uncertain.

Trusteeship Questions

One of the many achievements of the Fourth Committee was the adoption of a resolution whereby the Assembly recommended that the United Kingdom organize and conduct without delay, under the supervision of the United Nations, a plebiscite in British Togoland. The plebiscite—the first of its kind to be held in United Nations Trust territory—is to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants concerning their political future; that is, whether the territory should be linked with an independent Gold Coast, or continue under trusteeship pending final determination. The Fourth Committee also endorsed the views of a visiting mission to French Togoland that implementation of the political reforms contemplated by the French would be helpful in enabling the inhabitants of that territory to decide their future status at an early date. In these developments the anti-Colonial powers showed a spirit of accommodation; but on the question of South West Africa they pressed their attack against the Union Government which had continued to resist United Nations efforts to bring the territory under the trusteeship system.

Legal Questions

The most important matter discussed by the Sixth Committee was the draft Convention on Arbitral Procedure. It was apparent that whereas most member states agreed that arbitration was a necessary means of solving disputes between states, few (and in particular the Soviet Union) were prepared to underwrite a provision of the draft Convention aimed at ensuring that an obligation to arbitrate once entered into could not be repudiated. The discussion on this subject—as was generally the case in the Sixth Committee this year—was free from political controversy.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the disappointment caused by the rapid evaporation of the Geneva spirit, most delegations seemed satisfied at the end of the session

that the General Assembly had been able to produce positive results of considerable importance and that the United Nations had been strengthened in the process. The withdrawal from the danger of thermo-nuclear chaos, which had already begun prior to the ninth session, was clearly continuing during the tenth session notwithstanding halting steps and backward glances. The General Assembly could take some pride in the admission of sixteen new members, the unanimous approval of the resolutions on peaceful uses of atomic energy and on the effects of atomic radiation, and the relative calm in which colonial questions were discussed and disposed of, at least for the time being. On the whole, the tenth session provided encouraging evidence of the capacity of the United Nations—by limiting its immediate objectives to areas in which a substantial measure of agreement can be achieved—to move forward towards the fulfilment of the high purposes to which the organization is dedicated.



—Capital Press

OTTAWA CLUB FOR COLOMBO PLAN AND UNITED NATIONS TRAINEES

Club rooms have been opened in Ottawa under the auspices of the Overseas Friendship Society for the use of scholars and fellows who are training in Canada under the Colombo Plan, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies and Canadian Government post-doctorate fellowship schemes. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, formally opened the club, which is called "Friendship House" at a ceremony which took place on February 15, 1956 in the presence of a large number of foreign students.

The above photograph shows Mr. Pearson signing the visitors' book as Dr. James A. Gibson, President of the Overseas Friendship Society of Ottawa (left); Mrs. E. Ito, a Japanese scientist who is working with her husband at the Canadian National Research Council, Ottawa; and Mr. Muddappa Bettiah of Mysore, India, looks on.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Foreign Policy Statement

The following statement was made in the House of Commons on January 31, 1956, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

Work of the Armistice Commission in Indochina

... I should say at least a word about the work of the armistice commissions in Indochina, which was referred to earlier in the sitting this afternoon. In that area of the world Canadians continue to make an important contribution to peace through their work with these commissions. Our men—there are some 170 of them in that area, mostly from the Department of National Defence, members of the armed forces—have discharged their extremely difficult and trying duties with great credit to themselves and to their country. In one of the countries, there, namely Cambodia, we have reached the winding-up stage of the commission, and we have been able to reduce the strength of that commission. Elections have been held in that country, and as a result the commission and its members can leave Cambodia with the satisfaction which they must feel at the stability which has been achieved in a country so recently a victim of war.

In Laos, one of the other countries, the situation is not so good. Elections have also been held there, but the communist Pathet Lao forces, which are grouped in the northern provinces of that country, have refused to accept the Laotian Government or the authority of that government and to take part in the election. Hence no reduction there has been found possible either in the numbers of the commission or in its activities up to the present time.

Political Aspects

So far as Vietnam is concerned—and that is probably the most important of the three countries—the military phases of the armistice work have been completed and with little disturbance. I think the commission deserves a good deal of credit for that result. The political aspects, however, present a less satisfactory picture. Little progress has been made in that country toward the national elections visualized by the Geneva conference, and which are scheduled to take place in July of this year. If they do not take place it is hard to say what effect that failure will have on our obligations in the commission.

This work in Indochina is arduous and difficult, as I have said, and it imposes a heavy burden on the armed forces of our country and upon the Department of External Affairs. We are most anxious to complete it at the earliest possible date. Nevertheless we shall not abandon that work so long as we are convinced that it is making an important contribution to peace.

Recognition of Communist China

I should also say a word about a problem which is very much in our mind these days, namely that of the legal recognition of the communist Chinese government in Peking. One of the most difficult questions which face this country and many other countries is that of determining our relations with the two rival and bitterly hostile governments of China. It is not as simple an issue to decide as some seem to think. There is more than one factor to take into account before any decision can wisely be taken. Such a decision requires a careful balancing of many national and international factors, moral, political and economic.

Some time ago—indeed, last summer—I expressed the view that we should have another look at this question in the light of the cessation of hostilities in Korea and in Indochina, in the light of the situation in and around the Formosa straits and in the light of the recent policy of the Peking Government in so far as it is possible to determine it. We have made this re-examination and we feel that the careful policy we have been following, and are still following, has been the right one; rejecting on the one hand immediate diplomatic recognition but rejecting on the other hand the view that a communist regime in Peking can never be recognized as the government of China.

The arguments for and against recognition of this government have more than once been discussed, and in detail, in this House, and I do not intend to repeat them at this time. I wish merely to state as briefly as possible the considerations which determine our policy as a government in this matter.

The first consideration is the interest of our country, remembering that the paramount interest of us all is international peace and security. In addition, we are obliged to give consideration to the interests and views of our friends and allies, some of whom are even more directly involved than are we in the consequences of diplomatic recognition. It is also important not to confuse recognition with approval. There are, of course, moral considerations involved and, in the case of a ruthless communist regime, these considerations inevitably must have a bearing on our attitude. But the decision remains predominantly a political one to be taken on the basis of enlightened self-interest, as in many other cases where we have recognized totalitarian regimes.

Paramount Interest

It should not, however, be assumed that Canadian recognition of the Peking government—even if it were to be granted at some time in the future—would extend to the island of Formosa. As we see it, the legal status of Formosa is still undecided and no step taken vis-a-vis the communist regime should prejudice that issue. In particular, we would not be a party to any action which handed over the people or the government on Formosa, against their will, to any mainland government, let alone to a communist Chinese government.

We condemn the cruelties and tyrannies of the Peking regime, and we continue to hope that the Chinese people will one day be governed by a more enlightened government of their own choice.

But, we must accept the fact of communist control of mainland China. That is one thing we cannot fail to recognize with the corollary that in certain

circumstances and in our own interests we may be obliged to deal—as we already have been obliged to do—at Geneva and elsewhere with that government in respect of certain problems which cannot be solved without it. Nor should we, I suggest, base our policy on the likelihood of the nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek returning to power on the mainland. Furthermore, the anomaly of that government representing China at the United Nations, with a veto that can block any action desired by 52 other members, is becoming increasingly apparent. I believe also that we should accept no commitment to intervene on behalf of the nationalist government in the struggle for the Chinese off-shore island. Our view on this matter has already been made clear in this House, outside this House and in the United States.

As for Formosa, the only commitment—and this also has been stated in the House—we have is that which might arise out of our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. So far as diplomatic recognition is concerned, we should from time to time review the position in the light of conditions; of our interests and of the views of our friends and allies. However, I believe we should not get ourselves into such an inflexible position that a change in policy, if it were considered to be wise and necessary, could be brought about only with maximum difficulty.

I should like to express one further thought on this subject. We are all concerned, and rightly so, that the utmost in good judgment be applied to this complicated and controversial problem of legal recognition. As I see it, however, we must not let it distract us so much that we ignore the longer term issues which are raised by communist China's emergency as a new and powerful force in the world. The consolidation and growth of Chinese power under communist rule which is now taking place may be historically as important an event as the Russian revolution of 1917. The implications for us in China's determined drive to achieve military and industrial might and a position as a world power may be as far reaching as similar developments which have taken place in Russia. Indeed, one day in the future these two revolutionary forces may clash. It may now seem to us to be of great importance to recognize or not to recognize the communist regime in Peking. It is of far greater importance to recognize that a revolution of cataclysmic force has taken place in China as a fateful part of the emergence of a modern awakened Asia . . .

Objectives of Soviet Policies

Hon. members will recall the feeling of optimism that was developed at the summit meeting as it is now called, at Geneva last summer: It may well be that hopes at that time were too high and that thinking was too wishful. I remember, along with others, taking that view in this House in the discussion we had on July 23 last year. At that time I, along with a good many others, felt that the real test of the reality and importance of the Geneva spirit was to be the foreign ministers' meeting which was called for November in an effort to achieve some of the objectives of the summit meeting.

We now know that the results of that November meeting was almost 100 per cent negative. We learned at that time that Soviet words differed from Soviet deeds, and that Soviet tactics were not the same as Soviet policy. As hon. members will recall, as a result of that foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva in November, not a single basic objective of Soviet policy was changed.

What are those objectives? I believe myself that the fundamental objective of Soviet policy, the long-range one, is security for the Soviet Union and the triumph of communist ideology in a world of communist States controlled and dominated by Moscow, I believe this objective remains unaffected either by relaxation or by increases of tensions. The cold war in that sense goes on, and I suggest it is misleading to think of the cold war in any other terms.

This was very well put in an editorial in *The Economist* magazine last November, which reads:

“Cold war” is an even more misleading phrase than most of the monosyllabic slogans that headline writers love. It is commonly identified with such rudeness and crudeness as the Russians practised until lately. For those who make this over-simple identification, the “cold war” presumably ended when Vyshinsky’s diatribes gave place to Mr. Khrushchev’s waggery, . . . “Cold-war” in that sense need not now return, and it probably will not . . . But the phrase “cold war” was originally coined with reference not to a form of etiquette but to a policy—the policy of “struggle”, to borrow a communist keyword. This “struggle” is basically a contest for power over men’s minds, a political contest in which economic and military pressures are auxiliary. The “cold war” in this deeper sense never ended, and can never end while the communist rulers cling to their aim of worldwide victory. All that can change is the tactics employed, both by them and by the nations that are ready to defend their liberty.

These are very wise words indeed. But tactics, even on this interpretation of Soviet policy, have changed, and in one sense at least I think the change of tactics has effected a change of strategy, and in a sense that is very important indeed.

I believe myself, and I share that belief, of course, with many others, that the deterrent effect of the hydrogen bomb is now recognized in Moscow. It is now admitted there as in other places that hydrogen warfare means universal destruction, and it is now accepted in Moscow, as in other places, that a balance of terror has been achieved. No one, however, can take much comfort out of it as a solid foundation of peace.

Competitive Coexistence

I think, as I said a few moments ago, that the Soviet leaders do want peace in the sense that they do not want atomic warfare, and that they will not deliberately provoke or risk that kind of war with the certainty of mutual destruction. Yet I add that in my view their policy is still conflict short of war that is what they mean, surely, by competitive coexistence; not friendly co-operation.

It is always wise to go to the Soviet leaders’ own words to get inside their minds, especially the words they are aiming not at their potential enemies outside, but the words which they use for their own friends, their own people. In that connection, Mr. Stalin himself expressed what he meant by coexistence, and it is a definition that has never been disavowed by his followers, when he said:

The limits of coexistence are set by the opposite characters of the two systems between which there is opposition and conflict. Within the limits allowed by these two systems, but only within these limits, agreement is quite possible.

Then, more recently Stalin's successor, Mr. Khrushchev on September 17 last, in addressing an East German delegation in Moscow, said this, and these words are now pretty well known:

We always tell the truth to our friends as well as to our enemies. We are in favour of a detente; but if anyone thinks that for this reason we shall forget about Marx, Engels and Lenin he is mistaken. This will happen when shrimps learn to whistle.

He went on:

We are for coexistence because there is in the world a capitalist and a socialist system, but we shall always adhere to the building of socialism. We do not believe that war is necessary to that end. Peaceful competition will be sufficient.

That should be reassuring but it is not so reassuring when you try to analyse what is meant by the kind of competition which is referred to; competition under their rules, or under no rules. I suggest we must face the fact of their kind of competition.

Another objective which has not changed because of any Geneva spirit is to win over, subvert and eventually engulf the uncommitted millions of Asia and Africa. The recent visit of Soviet leaders to India is just one example of their determination to pursue their objective—a visit which I am sure did not deceive our Indian friends. Another example is the Soviet policy in backing Arab states military and politically.

Flexible Tactics

This objective, I think, is fixed but here again their tactics are flexible. They are willing to either take the peace approach to the achievement of their objective or the force approach. Mr. Khrushchev is an outstanding example of the ability to use either tactic. In India he could pay pious if unconvincing tributes to Gandhi, the great apostle of pacificism, on one day and the next day boast that one of their hydrogen bombs could destroy an Indian city. The most important tactic of all in the achievement of this objective is, of course, to exploit and lead, if possible through local communist parties, the insistent demand for political freedom, racial equality and social betterment which exists in that part of the world today. They are having too much success in the achievement of that objective.

The third objective which I suggest has not changed is to weaken, divide and eventually destroy the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and drive the United States out of Western Europe. How do they expect to achieve that? Well, there is the tactic of smiling away our fears so we will throw away our arms and our unity, to convince us that the Soviet Union is merely a country of footballers, fiddlers and flowers.

There is another tactic, and that is the Soviet attitude concerning Germany and its relationship to NATO. This is specifically shown in the Soviet attitude toward the unification of Germany, where it is now quite clear that they will refuse to consent to that unification except on their own terms. And what are those terms, at least at the present time? Mr. Khrushchev said it was withdrawal from NATO. He told me that on more than one occasion, but I suspect that he told me only half the story and that Mr. Molotov told the other half

at the Geneva conference. It became clear as a result of the statements he made at that meeting that even a Germany out of NATO, even a Germany neutralized and disarmed, would not be enough as the price for unification. The present Russian position goes further than that, and I think we can take Mr. Molotov's words at face value when he said there will be no unification unless the social and economic benefits of the Germans of the East are preserved.

That means there will be no unification unless all of Germany goes communist, and that means there will be no free election. Surely that has now become clear, and I suggest we should keep it clear, so there will be no difficulty in understanding what the position is.

Now this policy of the Soviet Union in regard to Germany involves difficulties for the government and people of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is for that reason we all welcomed the searching examination which was given to that problem at the recent NATO Council meeting. So we welcomed the assurance that was given last December by the foreign minister of the Federal Republic that the present policy of that government had the overwhelming support of the German people; that notwithstanding—indeed, in a sense because of—the failure of the Geneva conference; that German opinion was steady and undecieved, that they now knew the Russian price for unification, and they would not have it on those terms.

It seems to me there is an awareness of this development even in the East itself—that is, Eastern Germany itself that may be one reason why last year 271,000 refugees from what is called by the communists the workers' paradise fled to Western Germany. It is true, of course, that the Soviet Government does try to misrepresent the situation.

Misrepresentations

It was misrepresented in our visit to Moscow, too, in the sense that we were told that the policy of the West was to insist that Germany shall remain in NATO as a price for unification. That, of course, is not the case. All we ask is that the Germans be allowed to make their own choice as a result of free elections. That choice might be membership in NATO or withdrawal from NATO, or any other course they may desire to follow; and it should be made perfectly clear that that is the position of the West. We should do our best to correct misrepresentations of that position from communist sources.

I have mentioned the NATO conference meeting. I do not have time today to give any detailed report of it, but I can say this. We agreed at that meeting, as you would have expected us to agree, that nothing happened to justify any relaxation in our defence or in our diplomacy. We felt that those who were opposed to NATO were counting on relaxation of the tension bringing about a relaxation of effort and a weakening in our unity. We agreed that we must do our best to remain strong and united and keep our diplomacy flexible and active. I hope there will be another opportunity when I can report in greater detail about the NATO developments, and especially the Council meeting last December.

The International Situation

In conclusion, may I just say a word on the general situation. The great combined effort to maintain peace and freedom goes on. The leadership in

that effort continues to rest with the United States of America, and that is why every other free nation, especially a neighbour and friend like Canada, must be intensely preoccupied with every aspect of American policy. That is why we must make our views clearly known to the people of that country on the issues which affect us both but in which their position is vital.

The two greatest factors today bearing on the danger of aggression in all parts of the world are, I think, first the nature and conduct of United States policy because of its position of power and leadership, and second the strength of United States arms. As the predominant element of power in the NATO alliance—where would we be today without it? United States strength, military and economic, has been of decisive importance during the past decade in maintaining peace in Europe, and hence in the world. It will be so, I believe, in the years ahead.

Similarly, the determination of the United States to give leadership in resisting aggression in Korea in 1950 saved collective security and probably the United Nations itself. We would be wise not to forget this when we dwell on present differences of viewpoint within the coalition—and we have them—particularly in connection with Far Eastern policy.

Indisputable Obligation

While our policy should, of course, be designed and carried out to make the use of force unnecessary; while tactics should be followed that are neither provocative nor rash, nevertheless, the maintenance of force in this unhappy world of today and the clear resolve to use it as a final necessity against aggression is an indisputable obligation on us all at the present time. The deterrent value of such force, as I see it, should neither be squandered by bluff nor made impotent by loss of nerve in a genuine crisis.

Our purpose and our policy must be to avoid crises and to solve international problems. But crises, in spite of all our efforts, may occur, and dangerous and unresolved problems may persist. It is important, therefore, that the communist bloc, which we fear and which we still have cause to fear, should not get the impression that free peoples in their passion for peace and their desire to secure it by negotiation and the resolving of differences would, under no circumstances, make use of the deterrent strength they have built up for security and defence in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

This strength, though centred in the United States, is the sum total of that of many free countries, all of whom are devoted and will continue to be devoted to the ideal of peace and will strive with all their power to find means of securing that peace. That strength, then, being collective, should be used collectively if it is to be effective. This requires that every member of the coalition should know about and, if possible, should agree with the policies of the leaders as to when and how the threat of aggression, as well as its actuality, must be faced and countered. On no other basis can there be solid unity, and unity is as much a part of our strength as bombs.

We are moving, I think, into a much more fluid period of relations with the communist world than those which characterized the hard and brutal rigidity and the tense isolation of the late Stalinist period. It must be quite clear now that the new tactic of Russia is one of manoeuvre and contact, of

trying everything that may help their cause; of smiles and scowls, of kicks and carrots. These tactics may be more dangerous and difficult to deal with than any ever employed by Stalin. They are certainly more complex. But at any rate, in the long run, they may offer some possibilities for negotiation and settlement. To meet them and to bring about that negotiation and settlement to which we would all give first place in our efforts, requires flexibility and imagination on our part. As "our" refers to a coalition of free states, with a cherished freedom even to differ, this is going to be difficult to combine with unity of purpose and co-ordination of methods.

We must, then, develop an imaginative yet realistic diplomacy, one based on a clear and unclouded understanding of the intentions and methods of the Soviet Union and its satellites and of their strengths and weaknesses; one based also on a staunch adherence to our own policies and principles.

There is now less reason for complacency on our part than ever, for the threat to the institutions and the society of the free world remains as strong as ever. There is, however, no reason for despair merely because Mr. Molotov said "Nyet" at Geneva and because Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev continue to level harsh and unfounded accusations at the Western powers, mixed with honeyed words and offers of peace pacts. The latest of these offers was made the other day to the Government of the United States through a message from Mr. Bulganin to President Eisenhower. I feel that I am voicing the impressions of most members of this House, though I know I should speak only for myself, when I say that I have read with admiration and respect the reply of the President of the United States to that offer. It was constructive not negative, and it was the sort of attitude that in a matter of this kind I am sure this government would be happy to support.

I have already mentioned the feeling of confidence and self-assurance of the Soviet leaders. If on our part we can show strength, steadiness and unity—a strength which is more than military, a steadiness which is not indifference and a unity which is based on common ideals and which requires careful and continuous fostering—we shall prove the communists wrong in their assurance that the future belongs to them.

If we do not, we shall have only ourselves to blame.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. E. L. Cannon posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires to Ottawa, effective January 3, 1956.
- Mr. J. E. G. Lalonde posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective January 5, 1956.
- Mr. J. W. L. H. LaVigne posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective January 9, 1956.
- Mr. J. C. Y. L. Beaulne posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective January 10, 1956.
- Mr. J. J. M. Côté posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective January 16, 1956.
- Mr. N. E. Currie, DFC., posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective January 20, 1956.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective January 21, 1956.
- Mr. R. E. Collins posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective January 25, 1956.
- Mr. J. D. Foote posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective January 27, 1956.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective January 27, 1956.
- Mr. P. L. Trottier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective January 28, 1956.
- Mr. P. M. Towe posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective January 20, 1956.

The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers Grade 1:

Mr. D. S. McPhail (January 3, 1956); Mr. R. L. Elliot (January 3, 1956); Mr. G. G. J. Grondin (January 31, 1956).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

Printed documents of the United Nations may be obtained in Canada at the following addresses: Agents: the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. W., Toronto; Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal; University of Toronto Press and Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver; Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

Complete sets of United Nations documents may also be consulted at the following centres in Canada:

- University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).
- McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Laval University (French printed documents).
- Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Montreal (French printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

The United Nations Association in Canada, 340 McLeod Street, Ottawa, operates an unofficial United Nations information service. Introductory material on the United Nations is sent, free of charge, on request; questions about the United Nations are answered; and pamphlets of general interest are sold. Price lists enumerating the publications available can be obtained on request.

(a) Printed Documents:

Commission on International Commodity Trade. Report of the First Session. 17 January - 2 February 1955, and 25 April - 9 May 1955. E/2745, E/CN.13/10. N.Y., June 1955. 15 p. ECOSOC Official records: Twentieth Session, Supplement No. 7.

Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1954. Summary Report. (Rome, 31 August - 10 September 1954). E/CONF.13/412. N.Y., July 1955. 207 p. \$1.00. Sale No.: 1955.XIII.8.

International Review of Criminal Policy. ST/SOA/Ser.M/7-8: January-July 1955. 256 p. (English-French-Spanish).

Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1954. ST/STAT/SER.G/5. N.Y., September 1955. 556 p. \$5.00. Sales No.: 1955.XVII:9.

First Expert Working Group on Technological Centres, Copenhagen, 10 May to 4 June 1954. ST/TAA/Ser.C/20. N.Y., January 1955. 119 p. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1955.II.H.2.

Third Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the South Africa. A/2953. N.Y., 1955. 105 p. \$1.25. G.A.O.R.: Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14.

Social Progress through Community Development—United Nations. E/CN.5/303/Rev.1, ST/SOA/26. N.Y., November 1955. 117 p. Sales No.: 1955.IV.18.

Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs. Volume V: Articles 92-111 of the Charter. N.Y., 1955. 417 p. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1955.V.2 (Vol. V).

Tenth Anniversary of the Signing of the United Nations Charter, San Francisco 1955. Proceedings of the Commemorative Meetings. ST/SG/6. N.Y., October 10, 1955. 299 p. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1955.I.26.

Yearbook of the United Nations 1954. DPI Publication. Sales No.: 1955.I.25. 656 p. \$10.50.

United Nations Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Far East, 15-25 February 1955, Mussoorie, India. Vol. 1—

Report of the Conference. E/CONF.18/6. N.Y., 14 September 1955. 20 p. Sales No.: 1955.I.29.

Drug Supervisory Body. Estimated World Requirements of Narcotic Drugs in 1956. E/DSB/13. U.N., Geneva, 15 December 1955. 64 p. Sales No.: 1955.XI.3.

Permanent Central Opium Board. Report to the Economic and Social Council on the work of the Board in 1955. E/OB/11. Geneva, November 1955. 76 p. Sales No.: 1955.XI.4.

ILO

(ILO publications may be secured from Canada Branch, ILO, 95 Rideau St., Ottawa 2, Canada.)

Year Book of Labour Statistics 1955 (Fifteenth Issue). Geneva, 1955. 455 p. \$5.00 (English-French-Spanish).

The Protection of Workers against Ionising Radiations. Report submitted to the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (Geneva, August 1955). Geneva, 1955. 66 p.

National Employment Services. United States. Geneva, 1955. 165 p.

UNESCO

Records of the General Conference, Eighth Session, Montevideo 1954. Proceedings. Paris 1955. 977 p. \$7.50. 8C/Proceedings.

Education and Mental Health. A report based upon the work of a European Conference called by UNESCO at the Musée Pédagogique in Paris, November - December 1952, by W. D. Wall. (Problems in Education—XI). Paris, 1955. 347 p. \$2.50.

XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education 1955. 134 p. \$1.25. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva, Publication No. 167.

World Survey of Education. Handbook of education Organization and Statistics. Paris, 1955. 943 p. \$14.00.

International Bibliography of Economics. (Documents in the Social Sciences, Volume II). Paris, 1955. 384 p. \$7.50. (Bilingual).

International Bibliography of Sociology. (Currently Sociology, Volume IV, 1955, No. 2-3). Paris 1955. 240 p. (Quarterly) (Bilingual).

Catalogue of Colour Reproductions of Paintings Prior to 1860. Paris, 1955. 254 p. (English-French-Spanish) \$3.50.

The Positive Contribution by Immigrants.
A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture). Paris, 1955. 202 p. \$2.25.

World Theatre, Volume IV, 4. Autumn 1955. The Dramatist's Problems. (Ti, Published under the Auspices of UNESCO. 88 p. (bilingual).

WHO—*Eighth World Health Assembly, Mexico, D.F., 10-27 May 1955.* Resolutions and Decisions. Plenary Meetings. Verbatim Records. Committees. Minutes and Reports. Annexes. Geneva, November 1955. 471 p. \$3.25. Official Records of the WHO, no. 63.

Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the financial year 1 January - 31 December 1957. Geneva, December 1955. 411 p. \$3.25. Official Records of the World Health Organization No. 66.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 55/33—*The Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects*, an address by the Chairman, The Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, Mr. Walter L. Gordon, to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, at Edmonton, August 29, 1955.
- No. 55/37—*Canadian Television in Perspective*, an address by the chairman of the CBC Board of Governors, Mr. A. Davidson Dunton, at the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, on September 9, 1955.
- No. 55/40—*The Past Twenty Years in Canada*, speech by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, to the Canadian Society of New York, November 7, 1955.
- No. 55/42—*Canada's Economy in 1955*, statement by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe.
- No. 56/4—*Canada's Economic Outlook*, address by John H. Dickey, Parliamentary Assistant to Minister of Defence Production to Canadian Retail Hardware Association in Toronto, Ontario on February 6, 1956.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 55/34—*The Peaceful uses of Atomic Energy*, a statement by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered in the First Committee, October 10, 1955.
- No. 55/35—*Your Country and Mine—The Economics of Our Partnership*, an address by the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, to the New England Council, the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, and the New England Export Club, Boston, Mass., October 17, 1955.
- No. 55/36—*Economic and Technical Assistance*, a statement by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Second Committee, October 14, 1955.
- No. 55/38—*The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa*, statement by Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Canadian Delegate to U.N., made in the Ad Hoc Political Committee November 9, 1955.
- No. 55/39—*Self Determination of Peoples*, statement by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Third Committee, October 27, 1955.
- No. 55/41—*The Visit to the Soviet Union*, text of the talk by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, for the "Special Speakers Series" of the CBC on November 27, 1955.
- No. 55/43—*Some Aspects of International Affairs*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, before the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, November 1955.
- No. 55/44—*Impressions of the Russians and their Leaders*, address given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson at Women's Canadian Club, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, December 8, 1955.
- No. 55/45—*Admission of New Members*, statement by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, and the Minister of National Health and

Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Ad Hoc Committee, December 1, 1955.

No. 56/1—*The Middle East*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in the House of Commons on January 24, 1956.

No. 56/2—*Foreign Policy Statement*, statement made in the House of Commons on

January 31, 1956, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

No. 56/3—*The Economics of Peace*, address by Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, to a meeting sponsored by The English-Speaking Union at Edinburgh.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Norway

Exchange of Notes respecting loan by Canada to Norway of three Prestonian class frigates.
Signed at Ottawa December 20, 1955.
Entered into force December 20, 1955.

Finland

Exchange of Notes respecting the waiving on a reciprocal basis of non-immigrant visas fees.
Signed at Ottawa, December 19, 1955 and January 9, 1956.
Entered into force, February 1, 1956.

France

On January 3, 1956 France extended the terms of the Canada-France Visa Agreement of April 17, 1950 to include the French Departments in Tropical America of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guyane.

Ireland

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ireland for the avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Taxes on Income.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Dublin, December 20, 1955.
In force for Canada with effect from January 1, 1955.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ireland for the avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Duties on the Estates of Deceased Persons.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Dublin, December 20, 1955.
In force December 20, 1955.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Trade Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Signed at Ottawa February 29, 1956.
Entered into force provisionally, February 29, 1956.

Two exchanges of Letters relating to the Trade Agreement signed at Ottawa February 29, 1956.

Signed at Ottawa February 29, 1956.
Entered into force February 29, 1956.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

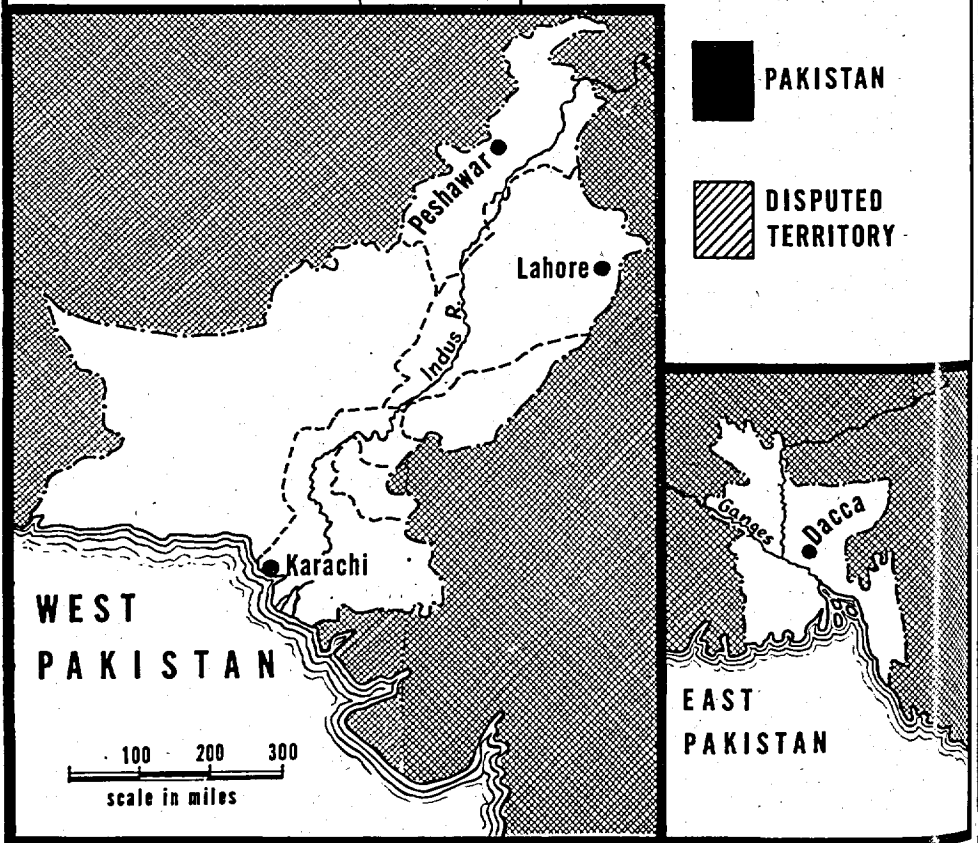
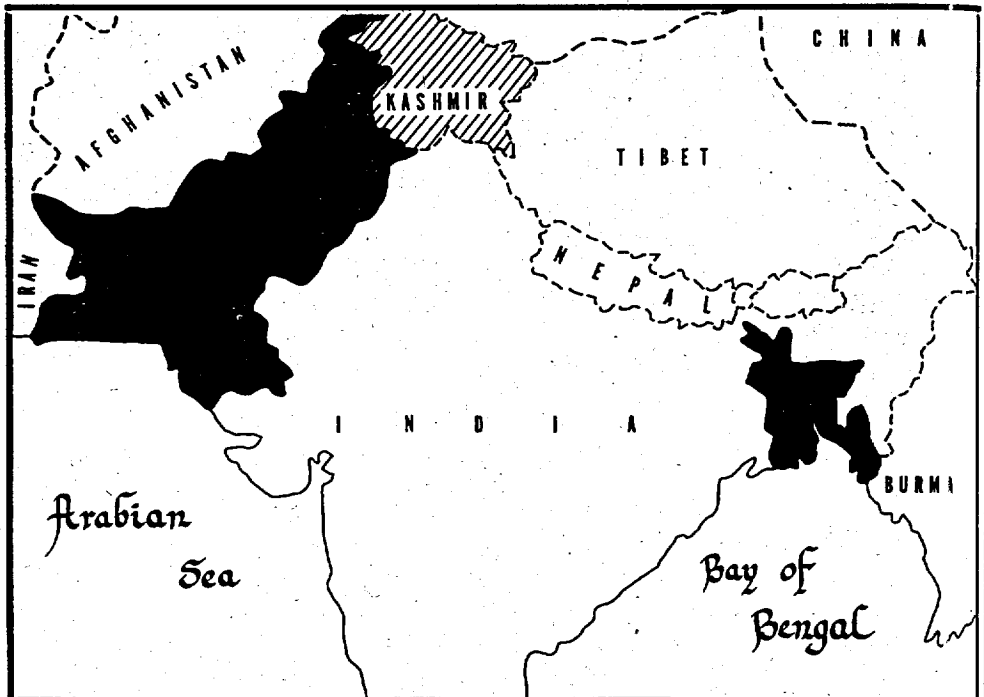


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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



Pakistan : New Republic in the Commonwealth

ON March 23, 1956, in its federal capital of Karachi, Pakistan was formally proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and special envoys for the occasion from Commonwealth and foreign countries presented their Letters to the new President, Major-General Iskander Mirza. The representative of Canada was the Hon. Mr. Justice T. C. Davis, Q.C. Canadian Ambassador to Japan.

Pakistan became an independent nation, retaining its membership in the Commonwealth, on August 15, 1947. The recent ceremony in Karachi and the promulgation of the Constitution which made it possible, thus represented the successful culmination of eight and a half years of unremitting effort to create for the new nation of Pakistan a constitutional form of government. It is notable that while the Commonwealth is not mentioned in the constitution, the Constituent Assembly has passed, by a large majority, a resolution stating that it is the intention of Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth and to accept the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. In this respect the action of Pakistan parallels that taken by India in 1950.

Difficulties Overcome

The obstacles to the formulation of a constitution and the achievement of parliamentary government for Pakistan have been formidable but have been successfully overcome. Not the least of these obstacles have been the deaths of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the Qaid-i-Azam or founder of the new state and its first Governor General, in 1948, and of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, its first Prime Minister, in 1951. These difficulties are reflected in the emergency powers which the new constitution accords to the President. He is empowered, when faced by external aggression or by internal disturbances which he deems threatening to the security of Pakistan, to issue a proclamation of emergency under which he can take over the executive authority of the provincial governments and suspend fundamental rights. Such a proclamation is valid for two months, and may be extended for another four months by the National Assembly.

Perhaps the most easily discernible difficulty in framing a constitution for Pakistan was to find a set of principles which would be acceptable to both East Pakistan and West Pakistan and which would do equal justice to both areas. East and West Pakistan are physically separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, as well as by race, language and culture. They are united principally by their common allegiance to Islam. East Pakistan is populated by 42 million Bengalis, who have dwelt for centuries in the lower Ganges valley. In West Pakistan live some 37 million Punjabis, Sindis and representatives of tribal areas whose principal language is Urdu. The seven component parts of West Pakistan (the Punjab, Northwest Frontier Province, Sind, Karachi, Baluchistan, Bahawalpur and Khairpur) were united during the past year to form one administrative unit. In order to meet the sectional claims of both provinces (i.e. East and West Pakistan) each is now accorded equal representation in the

new unicameral, 300-member National Assembly. It is further provided that the National Assembly shall hold at least one session each year in Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan.

Besides the sectional divergencies within the country, there has been, since independence, a massive refugee problem caused by the passing of hundreds of thousands of refugees back and forth between India and Pakistan after Partition. This problem, among others, was considerably aggravated in its initial stages by a severe shortage of trained administrators.

The choice of an official language was one of the most difficult problems facing the framers of the constitution. Bengali is the predominant language in East Pakistan and Urdu in West Pakistan, with English still being used for the transaction of much official business. The problem has been temporarily shelved by the constitution, which provides that both Bengali and Urdu will be considered official languages for the next twenty years but that English will be used for the transaction of most official business for the next ten years.

Basis of Constitution

The constitution is based upon a draft which was placed before the Constituent Assembly on January 9, 1956, by the Minister of Law, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar. The Awami League, which has its political strength in East Pakistan, led the opposition to the adoption of the constitution. Its criticism of the draft charged that its Islamic nature was discriminatory and that it would put the East Pakistanis perpetually at a disadvantage. The opposition contended that the clauses which decreed that the President and Vice-President must be Muslims would discriminate against all minorities in the country, and especially against the Hindus, who make up 14 per cent (some eleven millions) of the population. This criticism has been largely met by that section of the constitution dealing with fundamental rights. This section provides that all citizens are equal before the law and shall have the right of freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, association, and the right to practice and propagate their own religion. The likelihood of communal controversies over the constitution has been further reduced by avoiding the question of whether there should be joint or separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims. It is merely provided that the National Assembly will legislate on the subject after the provinces have been consulted. Untouchability has been abolished outright. Another opposition criticism was that the draft put East Pakistan perpetually at an economic disadvantage in relation to West Pakistan. However, this objection was met by the provision of a Standing Economic Commission, which is to ensure equal treatment for East and West Pakistan.

The constitution provides for a President, who will be elected for a five-year term by an electoral college, consisting of all members of the National Assembly and the two provincial assemblies, making a total of some 900 persons. The President will then appoint as Prime Minister the man whom he considers most likely to command a majority in the National Assembly. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet he chooses are collectively responsible to the National Assembly. The President may refuse to assent to any bill, except a money bill, but if the bill is again passed by the Assembly by a simple majority, with or without amendment, he may no longer withhold his assent.



—Gov. of Pakistan

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, centre, and other members of his Cabinet being sworn in to office by the new President, Major General Mirza.

The constitution sets out the division of powers so as to give the federal government control over foreign affairs, defence (including all industries relating to it), citizenship, taxation, export and import duties, communications (excluding railways), foreign trade and currency exchange, petroleum and natural gas. The residual powers are left to the provinces, but the federal government is given the power of taking over executive authority from a provincial government by a proclamation. The provincial governments are charged with the maintenance of public order, administration of justice, police, land tenure, agriculture, local government, irrigation and flood control, education, railways, vital statistics, the disabled and unemployed, forests and fisheries, lotteries, gambling and electricity.

The Islamic nature of the constitution is evident in the sections dealing with the Directive Principles of State Policy, such as the promotion of Islamic principles and the principles of social uplift. A commission is to be charged with the responsibility of ensuring that all legislation passed is in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. An Institute of Islamic Research has been established for advanced religious and social study and to assist in the reconstruction of the Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis.

The influence of the British tradition is also evident in certain aspects of the constitution, such as equality before the law, protection against retrospective offences and punishment, a separation of the judiciary from the executive, provision for collective responsibility in the Cabinet and the provision that the President may not withhold assent from money bills. The judicial

system, in particular, shows the influence of the British precedent. The Judiciary is completely separated from the Executive and the courts are given the power to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus* and *certiorari*.

Thus Pakistan, with its population of 80 millions has become the world's newest republic, and has decided to retain its close association with the Commonwealth. In embarking on its new course, Pakistan carries with it the good wishes of the Canadian Government and people as expressed by the Governor General to President Mirza, and by the Prime Minister of Canada to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Chaudhri Mohammed Ali, in congratulatory messages for Inauguration Day.



—Gov. of Pakistan

The Hon. Mr. Justice T. C. Davis, right, presents his Letters to President Mirza accrediting him as Special Ambassador to Pakistan on the occasion of the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Italy's President Visits Canada

THE President of Italy, Giovanni Gronchi, arrived in Ottawa on March 3 for a three-day state visit. President Gronchi was accompanied by Signora Gronchi and by the Italian Foreign Minister, Gaetano Martino and Signora Martino.

The Presidential party was welcomed with full ceremonial honours by His Excellency the Governor General, the Prime Minister and Mrs. St. Laurent, members of the Cabinet and of the Diplomatic Corps. Following a luncheon at Government House, President Gronchi laid a wreath at the National War Memorial. The President and members of his party attended an afternoon reception given by the Speakers of the Senate and of the House of Commons and an evening reception at Government House.

On March 4, the visitors attended mass at St. Anthony's Church where they met members of the local Italian community; later in the day the President also received delegations from the Italian communities of Montreal and Toronto. In the evening Signor Gronchi was host at a dinner to the Governor General and held a reception at the Country Club.

On March 5, President Gronchi and Signor Martino held conversations with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. Following a luncheon given by the Prime Minister and Mrs. St. Laurent, President Gronchi addressed the Members of the Senate and the House of Commons. The Presidential party then left Ottawa by train for Detroit.

Following are the texts of Prime Minister St. Laurent's introductory remarks and President Gronchi's statement at a joint meeting on March 5 of Members of the Senate and the House of Commons.

Right Hon. L. S. St. Laurent (Prime Minister of Canada) Mr. President, on behalf of the members of our parliament and of the whole Canadian nation, I have the honour to welcome you most cordially in this House and to express to you personally and to the country which you represent our regards and our feelings of respectful and confident friendship.

We are glad to extend also our most cordial welcome to Mrs. Gronchi whose presence adds to the charm of your visit. May this visit, short as it is, be as pleasant to you as useful to the good relations between our two countries.

In presenting you to this joint meeting of the members of the Canadian parliament, I am introducing to my colleagues and friends a staunch Italian patriot and a European statesman who for close to

50 years has worked consistently and courageously for three great objectives—freedom, parliamentary democracy and a society based on Christian principles. As a very young man, when he took an important part in the activities of the new Christian democratic movement, and in the First World War and afterwards, he served those objectives and his nation with outstanding devotion.

During the difficult years of the Second World War, President Gronchi, working with the resistance, became one of the leaders for the strengthening of freedom in Italy, and later, in company with the late Alcide de Gasperi, he served on the central committee of the national liberation front. No newcomer to parliamentary life, he was minister for industry, commerce and labour in postwar Italian gov-

ernments, and he was speaker of the Chamber of Deputies for almost seven years before his election as president of the republic in April of last year.

In greeting Mr. Gronchi we pay tribute to the representative of a country from which has come to us so much of what makes up the richness of our Western civilization. We greet also in his person an able and ardent defender of the unity of the Western nations. We admire the part he has played in bringing about Italy's decision to participate in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Western European Union.

We derive a great deal of satisfaction from our association with Italy in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and, within the last few weeks, in the United Nations, this vast organization which remains the basis of the hopes and peaceful aspirations of so many millions of men and women throughout the world.

We Canadians are convinced that the accession of Italy to the rank of member of the United Nations marks a step towards better understanding between nations, more encouraging prospects of a peaceful solution of differences and consequently towards a reduction of the hazards confronting the peoples of the earth.

It is therefore with great pleasure, Mr. President, that we welcome you on behalf of the Parliament of Canada and that we acknowledge on this occasion the return of your country to the place which is rightly hers in the councils of the nations.

Mr. Giovanni Gronchi (President of Republic of Italy): Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, members of the Senate and the House of Commons, Mr. Prime Minister:

I must, first of all, thank you for your invitation, which, beyond the scope of mere formality, has brought me to this honoured parliamentary rostrum. I am particularly sensitive to this honour because, as many of you certainly know, I was for eight years President of the Chamber of Deputies. I need not add that when I can speak directly to freely elected representatives of popular will, I find myself on familiar ground in spon-

taneous and common agreement on the method of approach to various problems: all the more so in your Parliament which, by tradition and habit, can really be said to be one of the most noble expressions and at the same time one of the strongest bulwarks of democratic freedom.

I also consider it a fortunate privilege for me to speak on this occasion as first magistrate of my country: in this way, for the first time in history the voice of Italy, through this Assembly, can make itself heard by the people of Canada. I would like to take advantage of this singular privilege to bring you a warm greeting from the Italian nation, whom I have the honour to represent in its national unity.

It is the greeting of a friendly and allied people for whom all physical distances that separate them from you seem to disappear in the atmosphere of common ideals and harmony of interests between our two countries.

These ideals and interests, which have their deep roots in the same heritage of civilization and tradition and democratic way of life, find their ultimate expression in the manifestations of present-day relations between Italy and Canada.

The Atlantic Community

The most important of these manifestations is represented by a continuing solidarity of effort which the two countries carry on, ideologically and materially, within the framework of the Atlantic community.

This solidarity is perhaps the closest existing among members of the pact which unites so many countries of the West, from Europe to this continent, because the interpretation which Italy and Canada give to the general principles of NATO does not reduce its significance to a mere diplomatic instrument or to an exclusively military alliance, but extends it, in full agreement, to all other requirements suggested by the new course of international events.

Such an interpretation does not require statutory or other innovations, since already in the original context of the Treaty it was not by chance that Article 2—which today is so often referred to—was inserted



—Capital Press

PRESIDENT OF ITALY VISITS CANADA

The President of Italy, Giovanni Gronchi, accompanied by Signora Gronchi and the Italian Foreign Minister, Gaetano Martino arrived in Ottawa on March 3 for a three-day state visit.

Above, left to right: President Gronchi, Signora Gronchi, Foreign Minister Gaetano Martino, His Excellency the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

(largely through Canadian prompting) wherein it is said that:

The parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

As a logical consequence the treaty between free peoples must be rendered always more capable of expressing not only the language of force, but also that of truth and of right. As your Secretary of State for External Affairs said, in a speech that should not be forgotten, a

military alliance, by achieving balance of power, is not sufficient to establish permanent peace, but can only create the conditions under which this peace can be maintained and protected by an accepted equality of rights.

In fact, the solidarity between our two countries does not end in military and in material assistance: it is manifested and strengthened daily in numerous other fields such as politics, diplomacy, economy, cultural and social life. I would like to recall that in this city, in September of 1951, in one of the rooms of this very building, Italian and Canadian representatives found themselves in firm agreement on the desirability that relations between Atlantic Pact countries should depend not only on their alliance, but rather on their membership in a real community and that all Member countries

should be expected to give this reality the utmost consideration.

Since that time the Italian and Canadian governments, striving side by side in a common endeavour, have been in the forefront in upholding this necessity. The traditional universalism of Italian history and thought, and the ideological and political forces which have created from two different peoples and two histories the powerful unity of your country, have found common expression and a happy communion.

It is our conviction that the era in which we live demands solidarity among peoples, because one nation cannot live and cannot develop independently of other nations or without continuous and reciprocal exchange in which each gives and receives according to its capacities and its needs. The evils from which our era suffers derive from the fact that not all men have completely understood the essence of this truth. Human solidarity, that has achieved such extraordinary progress in the field of individual society, has not succeeded as yet in achieving universal and international solidarity.

On their part the democratic countries of the West have long since recognized that the way of international solidarity is the only path to follow in order to safeguard liberty and, with liberty, the possibility of civil and social progress for all peoples. The Atlantic Treaty has, from this point of view, something that is unique: never before has such an imposing array of Nations, so diversified in their resources yet so uniform in their ideals, merged their energies not to fight and win a war but to ensure the victory of peace over war.

More Needs To Be Done

And it is by virtue and in the implementation of this agreement that Western democracies have now trodden paths which our fathers not long ago would have considered hopeless illusions. But what has been done up to now is not sufficient. It is necessary that all nations—our own above all others—understand this reality: that with solidarity there can be universal progress and welfare—without

it there can be nothing but the prospect of destruction and misery.

My country is firmly resolved to continue to give its utmost to the efforts being made toward the strengthening of solidarity between democratic countries. We are convinced that they constitute the best contribution which can be made in the present circumstances for the maintenance of peace in the world, and that they represent the indispensable premise toward the establishment of a greater feeling of trust among all people.

Necessary Qualifications

In this spirit we were gratified at the recent decision which solved the deadlock on the question of new admissions to the United Nations, and which has, among other things, corrected the absurd exclusion of Italy from an organization for which she had all the necessary moral, juridical and political qualifications. That these qualifications are well founded, no evidence could be more eloquent than the proof of democratic maturity furnished a few days ago—thanks to the patient and broadminded exertions of Italian trusteeship authorities—by Somali populations who, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, have been able to establish in free and orderly manner their first representative institutions to which the basic responsibility of that country's future is now entrusted.

The Italian people, besides recognizing in the decision to admit new members to the United Nations organization a valuable step forward on the road to greater international solidarity, find an open door through which their voice can be heard in an important forum, along with those of friendly and allied countries, to serve in the interests of security, peace, international justice and progress, interests upon which the political action of my country and government is founded.

In this regard I cannot forget how much this favourable development, to which we owe the removal of the unfair discrimination to which Italy was subjected is also due to the consistent action of the Canadian government, who took the initiative and to whom I wish to express our most heartfelt thanks.

In this brief visit, I have been deeply, even physically impressed by the extraordinary vitality and potential energy with which your country is endowed. Canada has rapidly succeeded, through her will and effort, in achieving an international position of pre-eminence and responsibility, especially in that great and prosperous community of nations of which she is an integral and essential part.

Deeply Impressed

But what has impressed me most deeply and strengthened my trust in the possibility of an ever-growing co-operation between Canada and Italy, is the further evidence I have gathered from contacts with responsible Canadians in regard to their accuracy of judgment, their foresight and their firm attitudes. Furthermore I was not surprised to find such a keen interest in European affairs in a country whose history, position and characteristics make it the natural bridge between the Old and the New World.

I have taken advantage of these contacts to illustrate to leading Canadians some aspects of the Italian situation, in the same spirit with which two old friends, meeting after a long absence, compare their ideas and inform each other of their problems. In particular, I have told them—and I wish to repeat it again here—that my country, after the extraordinary effort of reconstruction, is now engaged in a work of renewal and development without precedent in its recent history. To accomplish this work, which is being carried out in a regime of true liberty and democracy, Italians must be able to rely upon two indispensable conditions: maintenance of peace in the world and the solidarity of friendly and allied countries.

It is my opinion and also that of my government that the new course of international events make it advisable that the next session of the Atlantic Council, already planned for May 4, should have the extent and implication of a Conference where an objective and therefore realistic examination should be made of all those political, economic, social and psychological requirements to which I have already referred.

Another opinion of my Government and of myself, is that the unification of the Western viewpoint is the indispensable premise for any action (in our opinion necessary) in order to confer upon joint policies a dynamic and flexible character to counteract the forces which have lately given proof of possessing such flexibility.

On the other hand, without a united directive, every bilateral contact of single Western countries with the Soviet bloc would not be conducive to useful and above all conclusive results, and would risk repeating the unwise tactics of ancient history, when Rome lost the Curiabi in the struggle against the opposing faction of the Oriazi.

But it is evidently in the general interest of Western solidarity that preventive consultations, which up to now have had an extraordinary character, should become the ordinary and permanent method of approaching problems of defence and peace. These problems are indivisible and it would be artificial and prejudicial not to recognize their interdependence and to believe that stable and conclusive solutions are possible for them without having been rationally co-ordinated. I have noted with pleasure that on this side of the Atlantic there is now general agreement on the need to associate all members of the Atlantic community in the responsibility of proposing and elaborating solutions for the major problems of our time, and in the effort to achieve in harmony the realization of such solutions.

Unified Efforts

I may therefore conclude without dangerous and undue optimism that at the end of this journey, after my visit to these two great countries of North America, I will be justified in bringing with me to Italy the reconfirmed and increased certitude that Italians are not alone in their efforts for a better future, for liberty and peace in the world and prosperity for our peoples.

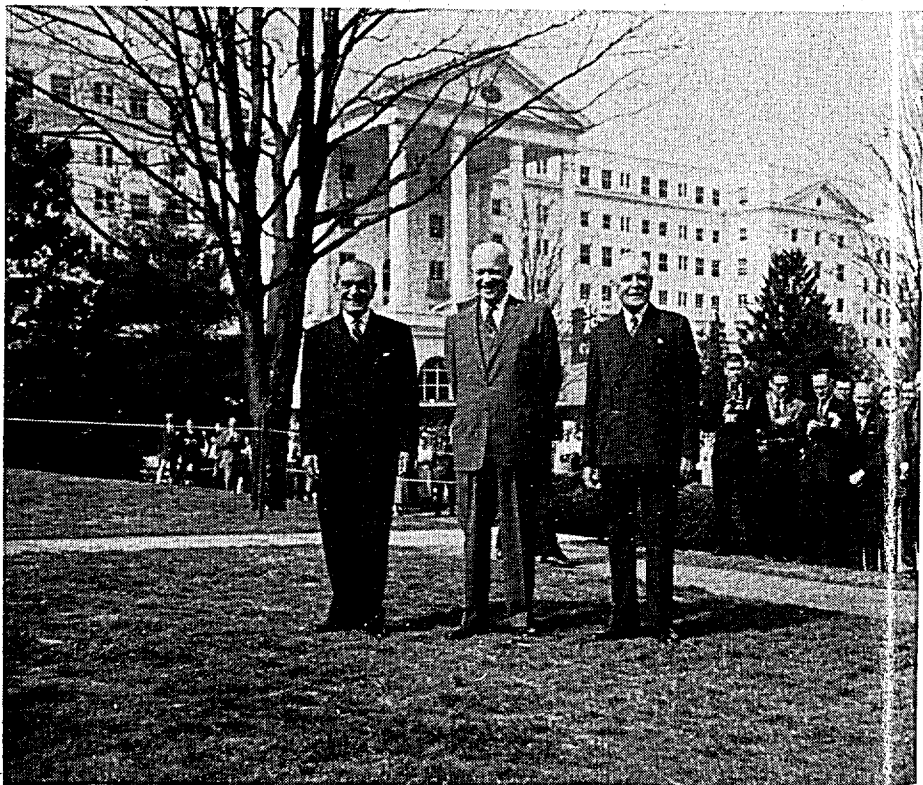
The kindness shown me during my stay here and the reception that you, honourable sirs, have extended to me today, enable me to bring back to the Italian people your message of friendship and encouragement.

(Continued on page 101)

Canada - United States - Mexico Conference at White Sulphur Springs

At the invitation of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines of Mexico paid an official visit to the United States on March 26 and 27. Mr. St. Laurent and Senor Cortines met with President Eisenhower at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, where the three government leaders held talks about recent developments in the international field and about questions of hemispheric concern. Among the officials who were present were the United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, L. B. Pearson, Mexico's Foreign Minister, Luis Padilla Nervo, the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, A. D. P. Heeney, and the Mexican Ambassador to the United States, Manuel Tello.

There was no pre-determined agenda. Formal discussions were restricted to one tripartite meeting on the morning of March 27, and to short bilateral



—EJIS
President Cortines of Mexico, left, President Eisenhower and Prime Minister St. Laurent, at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

meetings between the United States representatives and those of Canada and Mexico in the afternoon. There were, in addition, a number of informal discussions. At the tripartite meeting, Secretary of State Dulles reported on his recent trip to Asia and President Eisenhower, Prime Minister St. Laurent and President Cortines reviewed recent developments in international affairs, with particular reference to problems of the Far East and the Middle East, current policies of the Soviet Union, problems arising out of the emergence of new States in Asia and Africa, and economic assistance to materially under-developed countries. Following these general discussions President Eisenhower conferred separately with Prime Minister St. Laurent about bilateral questions such as those relating to the use of water power on rivers crossing the international boundary, Canadian-American trade relations, the proposed 20 per cent advertising tax on Canadian editions of United States magazines, and other questions of mutual concern.

As suggested above, the meetings at White Sulphur Springs were largely of an informal and friendly character. As a United Press correspondent put it, "the conference accomplished its objective of creating a bond of friendship between the leaders of the three nations" and that the "friendship would aid in solving any future differences".



Ottawa Resident Awarded NATO Fellowship

THE North Atlantic Treaty Information Service announced on April 4 that Dr. Stephen Alexander Czako of Ottawa has been awarded a NATO fellowship for research and study during 1956 and 1957. Dr. Czako, who was born in Budapest, Hungary, in 1899, received a doctorate in political science in Budapest in 1921 and a diploma in international law from Harvard University in 1929. An employee of the Department of Justice in Ottawa since 1949, he is part-time professor in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ottawa.

The NATO scholarship programme, initiated under Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, is designed to promote the study of historical, political, constitutional, legal, social, cultural, linguistic, economic and strategic problems which will reveal the common heritage and historical experience of the Atlantic countries, as well as the present needs and future development of the North Atlantic area considered as a community. This is the first year in which the programme has been in operation.

Indonesia's First General Elections

ALTHOUGH Indonesia's independence was formally recognized by the Netherlands more than six years ago, it was not until this month that the first elected Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia was convened. Since December 1949, when the Round Table Agreements between the Netherlands and Indonesia were signed,* the country had been governed by a Provisional Parliament composed of nominated representatives of the main political parties. One of the more important responsibilities of this Provisional Parliament was to arrange for Indonesia's first general elections, a task which took years of preparation during which great difficulties had to be overcome. That the election was held at all reflects great credit on the Indonesian people and demonstrates their firm determination to conduct their national affairs on a free and democratic basis.

As suggested above, organizational difficulties connected with the holding of these elections were formidable. In the first place, Indonesia consists of about 3000 equatorial islands. There were over 43 million eligible voters in 257 constituencies who had to choose from the representatives of some 150 parties, and a large number of independent candidates. Some of the electors lived in remote and almost inaccessible regions, isolated by thick jungle, swamplands and volcanic mountains. To compile the electoral rolls, officials had to travel through the islands on bicycles, in jeeps, sailing vessels, motor launches, canoes and aeroplanes. Those eligible to vote included all men and women over 18 and all married persons even if below that age.

The problem of geography was not the only one which confronted the election organizers. Some parts of the country are still harassed by armed rebels, supporters of local separatist movements and religious fanatics, who make periodic raids from the jungle on the villages, estates and plantations, and who it was feared might seriously hamper the holding of elections; extra security forces had, therefore, to be provided by the Government while the people went to the polls in areas where terrorists were known to be active. These were some of the reasons why the voting, particularly in the outlying areas, was extended over a two month period—from September 29 until the end of November 1955.

Political Parties:

The offices of the President and Vice-President were not in contest and the voting was for members of Parliament only. Since there are probably more political parties in Indonesia than in any other country in the world, the choice for most voters was by no means easy. Among the estimated 150 parties were a number of Nationalist and Socialist parties, several distinct Moslem parties, a Communist party and others pledged to protect the interests of special groups such as women, labour and landowners, or of minorities such as Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Arabs and Chinese. Furthermore, there was a large number of candidates who had no party affiliation.

Another difficulty was that many of the voters were still illiterate, despite the great progress made by the Government's anti-illiteracy campaign. In

* See "External Affairs", February 1950.



INDONESIAN ELECTIONS

Election posters of the various political parties decorate cities and villages throughout Indonesia.

studying this problem, the Indonesian Government drew on the experience of other countries to see whether their techniques could be adapted to the peculiar needs of Indonesia. While the voting procedures of Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States were considered, it was found that those followed in the general election in India three years ago were perhaps most suitable.* It will be recalled that in the Indian elections the parties had chosen distinctive symbols such as a bullock, a sheaf of grain, a tree, etc., which the voters could readily identify. This system was adopted in Indonesia. The ballots for each seat had printed on them the symbols of the parties contesting the seat and the voter indicated his choice by punching a hole with a nail or a bamboo stick through the symbol of the party he supported. Because of the large number of parties, it is not surprising that the ballots in some districts contained as many as 60 to 80 symbols and were over two feet square. Nor is it surprising that some voters had difficulty in choosing between the many symbols, among which were the bull of the Nationalist party, the star of the Socialists, the rosary of the Catholic party and the hammer and sickle of the Communists.

The Campaigns:

In the circumstances it might be doubted whether, in spite of the labour devoted to preparing the mechanics of the election, the Indonesian people had any real chance of making a meaningful choice. However, the basic principles and practices of democracy are not completely unfamiliar to Indonesians. Dutch colonial policy for some three centuries had preserved the indigenous

* See "External Affairs", January 1952.

local institutions of the islands and the people of the villages have always elected their own headman and local councils. A strong tradition of mutual assistance and co-ordinated community effort during the planting and harvest seasons and in periods of trouble exists in the Indonesian villages. The villagers are accustomed to discussing their common problems in order to find solutions which all can accept, a practice known in Indonesian as *mupakat*.

On this foundation the beginning of a more sophisticated political superstructure had been erected during the years since independence. The Provisional Parliament which sat during that time was dominated by the few parties which were national influential and at the same time well organized. These had become well known to the people, and their parliamentary record was a basis for judgment. In addition there was intensive campaigning of the kind familiar in democracies all over the world. Candidates travelled about the country for several months before the polling date, holding rallies, spreading slogans and jingles, broadcasting and distributing posters. There was thus ample opportunity for the electorate to form views on the issues presented, and the fact that some 80 per cent of the electorate voted indicates the active interest of the people.

The Voting:

In spite of all the difficulties, the election went off smoothly. On election day the voters stood waiting in two lines, while the electoral officers read speeches explaining the importance of the choice they were about to make. Then the ballot boxes were displayed to show that they were empty, shut and locked again and the voting began. The lines moved slowly through the booths as many of the voters puzzled out the complicated ballots; however, despite the delays, they remained patient and good-humoured. If there was little of the mechanical elaboration of many Western democratic elections, neither was there any disorder or rioting. Only occasionally would a confused voter try to mark the practice ballot on the wall of the booth instead of the real one, or stuff an unmarked ballot into the box in the belief that this was all he had to do to register his vote. By early afternoon the people in most districts had finished voting and returned to their homes.

Although the voting ended officially on November 29, it was some time before the actual allotment of seats to the various parties became fully known. The task was complicated by the fact that representation in the new Parliament is proportional. Indonesia was divided into sixteen districts for electoral purposes, and the quota of votes needed to elect a member was obtained by dividing the total number of votes cast in each district by the number of seats which were allocated for that district according to the density of the population. To further complicate matters, votes were transferable and provision had to be made to include appointed representatives of the Chinese and Arab minorities.

As recently announced, the results place the four major parties very close together. The Nationalist and Masjumi parties each won 57 seats out of the 257 seats in contest. The Nahdatul Ulama (Moslem Teachers') Party obtained 45 seats, and the Communists 39 seats. The remaining 59 seats are divided among 24 minor parties.

The new Government is a coalition of the Nationalist, Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama parties, with Dr. Ali Sastroamidjoyo as Prime Minister.

Constituent Assembly:

Another election was held on December 15 to elect a Constituent Assembly, which will function independently of Parliament and which will have the task of drawing up a constitution for Indonesia. At present the Indonesian Parliament operates under a cabinet system with, however, a President and Vice-President as well as a Prime Minister. There has never been any rigid definition of the respective responsibilities of these offices and this is one of the matters which will probably occupy the attention of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly might also study possible advantages of a greater or lesser degree of regional autonomy for units in the Republic.

The Assembly elections also passed off well, although interest seems to have been less than in the parliamentary election, probably because of the short time which had elapsed since the latter was held. Full figures of the popular vote are not yet available.

There is no doubt that both the Constituent Assembly and the new Parliament will be faced with formidable difficulties. Indonesia, although rich in natural resources, is still technically under-developed and confronted with many pressing economic problems. It also has a difficult internal security problem. It will not, therefore, be easy to work out a stable and practical system of government for Indonesia or to realize the vast potential of her rich and fertile islands. Nevertheless, an important step toward these goals has been taken with the completion of the first national elections and the quiet and orderly fashion in which they were conducted. The whole process was a good augury for the future of the Republic.



—*Indonesian Elections*

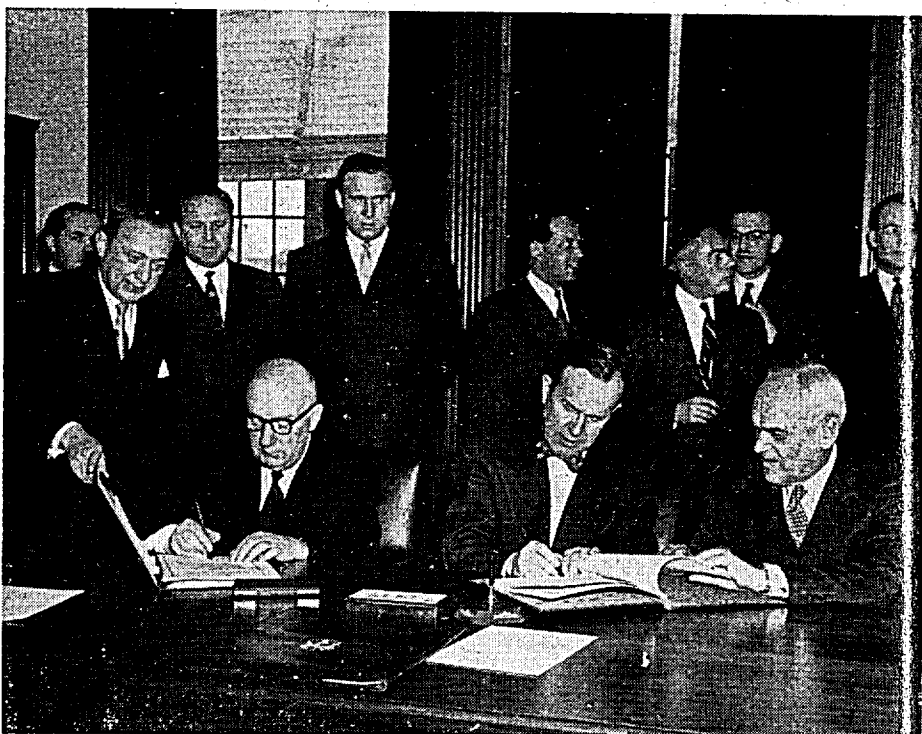
INDONESIAN ELECTIONS

President Sukarno of Indonesia casting his ballot.

Trade Agreement Between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

A trade agreement was signed in Ottawa on February 29, by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, for Canada and Sergei A. Borisov, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade, for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This agreement was the result of discussions which took place during Mr. Pearson's visit to Moscow in October 1955, and subsequent negotiations throughout February of this year in Ottawa. When he was in Moscow, Mr. Pearson had trade talks with Mr. Kabanov, Minister for Foreign Trade, and it was found that there was a sufficient basis of agreement to justify entering into detailed negotiations in Ottawa. Accordingly after draft proposals had been exchanged and studied, a Soviet delegation of seven officials, headed by Mr. Borisov, came to Ottawa at the beginning of February.



—Capital Press

SOVIET TRADE DELEGATION VISITS OTTAWA

Mr. Sergey Alexeevich Borisov, First Deputy Foreign Trade Minister of the Soviet Union affixes his signature to a copy of the recently concluded Soviet-Canadian trade agreement. To his left, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson signs another copy. Holding the document open for Mr. Pearson is the Trade and Commerce Minister, Mr. C. D. Howe.

The Agreement provides for the exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of imports and exports (Articles 1 and 2), ships in port (Article 4), and the legal position of citizens of each country engaged in business activity in the other country (Article 5). Each country remains free, however, to apply prohibitions or restrictions of any kind directed to the protection of its essential security interests (Article 3). The provisions relating to most-favoured-nation treatment do not apply to exclusive advantages accorded by Canada to other Commonwealth countries and the Republic of Ireland (Article 7). The Agreement is subject to ratification within 90 days but came into force provisionally on February 29, the date of signature. It will remain in force for three years, and may be extended for a further period if both Governments agree. An accompanying exchange of letters records agreement that the U.S.S.R. will buy from Canada during the three-year life of the Agreement from 400,000 to 500,000 tons of wheat each year. Another exchange of letters reserves the right for Canada to fix under the Canadian Customs Act values of goods for duty in the event of serious injury (actual or threatened) to domestic producers.

Canada also has most-favoured-nation trade agreements with two Eastern European Communist countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the former dating from 1935, and the latter being the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1947.

The full text of the Trade Agreement with the U.S.S.R. was tabled in the House of Commons on February 29 by Mr. Howe, who made the following comments:*

My colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson), opened the way for this agreement during his visit to the U.S.S.R. last October. At that time it was agreed in exploratory talks that negotiations should take place in Ottawa. A delegation from the U.S.S.R. arrived here four weeks ago, and the negotiations have been in progress since then.

The agreement which has been reached is set forth in five documents.

The first of these documents makes provision for the exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment along lines similar to existing agreements with various other countries. It includes other provisions having to do with the conduct of trade between the two countries. It recognizes that either government may apply prohibitions or restrictions of any kind for the protection of its essential security interests. Our strategic export controls are therefore not affected. This agreement provides in addition on a reciprocal basis for the non-discriminatory treatment of merchant ships while in port. On the Canadian side, the effect of this latter provision is simply to confirm the treatment which in fact has been available all along to ships of U.S.S.R. registry.

This agreement is to continue in force for a period of three years; agreement of both countries is required for any extension. It was signed on February 29 by accredited representatives of both governments and is now in force provisionally. By its terms, it is subject to ratification within 90 days from the date of signature and within this time opportunity will be provided for a debate in parliament. A resolution of approval will be introduced for this purpose.

The second document is a letter from the Canadian government reserving the right to establish values for ordinary and special import duty on any Russian product that might enter Canada in such increased quantities as to cause serious injury to domestic producers. In determining such values, the prices of similar

* The text of the Agreement will also be printed in the Canada Treaty Series.

goods imported from Canada from third countries are to be taken into account. This procedure is intended to deal with situations which might be created if Russian goods were to be sold in Canada at very low prices, even if they are not proven to be lower than their domestic values in the U.S.S.R.

The third document is a letter from the government of the U.S.S.R. acknowledging the Canadian letter on customs valuation.

The fourth of the five documents forming the agreement is a letter by which the government of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to purchase and take delivery from Canada, during the three years of the agreement a total between 1,200,000 and 1,500,000 tons of wheat, in annual lots of between 400,000 and 500,000 tons. The exact amounts to be purchased in the second and third years, within these annual amounts, will be determined by the government of the U.S.S.R., taking into account the volume of Soviet goods sold to Canada. The total over the three years, however, will amount to not less than 1,200,000 tons and the amount in any individual year to not less than 400,000 tons. The Russian purchases of wheat are to be made at the prices and on the terms at which the Canadian wheat board is making sales to its major customers at such times as the Soviet purchases take place.

The fifth document is a letter from the Canadian government, acknowledging the letter from the government of the U.S.S.R. on wheat.



—Capital Press

NIGERIAN LEADERS VISIT OTTAWA

The Right Honourable Chief Obafemi Awolowo (right), Prime Minister of West Nigeria, and the Honourable Chief C. D. Akran, West Nigerian Minister of Development, are shown here with the Right Honourable C. D. Howe, Canada's Minister of Trade and Commerce, during an economic and trade survey of Eastern Canada by the two Nigerian leaders on March 26.

Elections in South Vietnam

ON March 4 the people of South Vietnam went to the polls to elect their first Constituent National Assembly. The results gave a popular mandate to the existing government of President Diem which obtained a good majority in the 123-seat Assembly. Diem's own party, the Movement of National Revolution, obtained 66 seats; combined with the Can Lao Nhan Vi, which won 10 seats, the staunchly pro-Diem forces thus control a total of 76 seats, with the remaining seats divided among five other parties. Party lines will probably not be too well defined in the new Assembly, for the emphasis during the election campaign was on anti-colonialism and anti-Communism rather than on specific party platforms.

While the election campaign was a fairly quiet one, the government carried on a "get out and vote" campaign and this and the campaigning on the radio and at public meetings evidently was effective, for the voting was heavy. According to official reports half of the eligible voters had cast their ballots by 9:00 a.m. People came on foot, by bus, truck and taxi to vote, and small groups gathered to talk at the doors of polling stations afterwards.

An Orderly Election

Although the elections had the whole-hearted support of the people and the press of South Vietnam, both the authorities and the press in communist North Vietnam were strongly opposed, and the flood of propaganda during the weeks preceding the elections in the South raised some fears that Communist agents in the South might go to some lengths in their attempts to block or disrupt the elections. However, there were few incidents and the polling was quiet and orderly, although the Communists did distribute some anti-election handbills in parts of Saigon.

The Assembly elections in South Vietnam were not connected with those forecast in the 1954 Geneva Cease-Fire Agreement which provisionally divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel into two sections. It was also provided at Geneva that free, nation-wide elections should be held in July 1956 as part of the political settlement for Vietnam leading up to the reuniting of the North and South. Pending the holding of these nation-wide elections, the two sections of the country were governed on an autonomous basis.

The Assembly elections were a part of the process begun last fall to establish South Vietnam as a self-governing republic. Last October 23 the majority of the people of South Vietnam voted for the first time in their lives in a referendum to decide between ex-emperor Bao Dai and the then Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, as head of state. Diem won an overwhelming victory and immediately proclaimed the country a republic, with himself as President responsible for establishing a democracy. Of equal importance, Diem announced in his official proclamation that a Commission would be formed to prepare a draft republican constitution which would be submitted for the approval of a National Assembly. The recent elections have provided this Assembly and the way is now open for the approval, by elected representatives, of a constitution for the republic.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs, by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Disarmament

On March 20, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson made the following statement on the Anglo-French disarmament proposal:

The discussions of the United Nations disarmament subcommittee, of which Canada is a member together with France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, were resumed yesterday in London. As the House knows, the subcommittee meets in private in accordance with the recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly. In view of this, I do not feel that it would be appropriate for me to comment on these highly important and delicate negotiations at this very early stage in the negotiations.

I can say that Western delegations have given earnest consideration to the various aspects of this problem during preliminary discussions which took place during last week, and that there seemed to be substantial agreement on the measures which should be taken as a first step in a disarmament program. I do not think it would be appropriate for me to add to this for the time being.

Together with the other Western members, Canada will do its utmost to widen the area of agreement which may already exist between the East and the West on this vital issue in order to bring about some measure, at least, of effective disarmament which would contribute to diminishing international tension and by the same token facilitate the settlement of other outstanding issues. Having said that, Mr. Speaker, I think I should add that a disarmament scheme on paper which did not include effective methods of control and supervision would not, I think, contribute to these desirable ends.

During the last twelve months a number of significant and constructive proposals have been made in this field, and the subcommittee will now be offered the challenging task of finding whether it will be possible to develop proposals which will be generally acceptable. The Canadian delegation at the London meeting will do its best as a member of the subcommittee to help bring about such agreement.



—Capital Press

NATO'S COMMANDER IN OTTAWA

General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander Allied Powers Europe, visited Canada on March 13 and 14 as guest of the Government. General Gruenther arrived from Paris at the RCAF Station, Uplands, where he was met by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ralph Campney, General Charles Foulkes, Chairman Chiefs of Staff, the Chiefs of Staff and Ambassadors of NATO countries resident in Ottawa.

While in Ottawa, General Gruenther discussed NATO matters with the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, and the Minister of National Defence. He also addressed a luncheon meeting of the Canadian Club of Ottawa and held a press conference at the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

On March 14, General Gruenther addressed a closed meeting of Members of the Senate and Parliament, before flying to Montreal, where he spoke to a Canadian Club luncheon.

"Canada and the United Nations 1954-55"*

Canada and the United Nations 1954-55, the ninth in the regular series of reports prepared by the Department of External Affairs on the work of the United Nations is now available. The developments review in this volume occurred for the most part in the period July 1, 1954 to December 31, 1955, during which the General Assembly held its ninth and tenth sessions and the Economic and Social Council its eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth sessions.

Canada and the United Nations is a work of reference for those interested in United Nations affairs who may not have access to official reports and other more exhaustive sources of information. It is intended to present concise explanations of the problems with which the United Nations is dealing and of the work of the Specialized Agencies and other United Nations organs. Special attention is given to explanations of Canadian policy on specific issues. While the publication is concerned primarily with the period between July 1954 to December 1955, some background material is included when necessary for an understanding of problems and procedures.

Minister's Foreword

In a Foreword, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Lester B. Pearson, had the following to say about the first decade of the United Nations and about the problems which confront the organization in the future:

No one, I think, would now maintain that the United Nations has been able to achieve all that was hoped for it at the time of its creation in 1945. In fact, a rather dismaying number of the problems considered at the first session of the General Assembly are still unresolved. Some of them, such as disarmament or human rights, have acquired over the years a great difficulty and a greater urgency than ever. There have been disappointments, setbacks and delays. Although at the 1955 General Assembly we and the other 59 members of the United Nations were happy to welcome 16 new members, two great countries, Japan and Germany, are still not represented. To this degree the United Nations is still not yet a universal body, and is consequently handicapped in its activities.

The effectiveness and the unity of the United Nations has on occasion been seriously tried. There has also been undoubtedly some short-circuiting of the world organization through the establishment of *ad hoc* councils to deal with certain immediate problems for which it was considered that the procedures of the United Nations were too deliberate or its authority too weak. There has, of course, been no lessening of the vast sums spent on defence preparations, and recent sessions of the Assembly have been

* *Canada and the United Nations* is available from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, at 50 cents per copy.

held in the shadow of grim and fearful weapons unknown in 1945. The problems and the duties facing the United Nations in maintaining peace and, for that matter, in preserving the very existence of the civilized world, remain complex and difficult. These difficulties and the dangers inherent in them we now recognize pretty fully. We are now aware also that there are no easy ways to resolve the problems which confront us.

We should not forget however, that the United Nations has to its credit some very considerable achievements which should reassure us. First of all, throughout these turbulent ten years, many of the urgent economic and political problems of the world have been discussed fully and publicly and often constructively. Even in those problems for which adequate solutions have not yet been found, the earnest debates in the Assembly have undoubtedly clarified the principal issues, and the areas of disagreement have been narrowed. There has also been a vast increase in the scope of United Nations responsibilities. The Specialized Agencies and the many United Nations bodies for financial and technical assistance have been continued and developed their unspectacular work, and have made important contributions to the well-being of citizens everywhere,—in their health, their food, their education and indeed in most aspects of their lives. There is now, it seems to me, a much greater comprehension of how closely the nations of the world are bound together, and the more fortunate peoples of the earth have assumed increasing responsibility for the progress of less technically advanced countries. All this, and much more, constitutes a considerable body of achievement. If we have the wisdom and the courage to avoid the ultimate catastrophe of war, the United Nations can grow and develop as an effective and well-equipped organization for man's progress toward an incomparably better life.

The United Nations is now at the beginning of a new decade; one that is certain to bring new problems and perhaps great changes in our world. We enter this new period with no illusions that our tasks will be light or easy, but we can take confidence from what already has been accomplished and from what we now know can be accomplished by nations working peacefully together for their common welfare. Man has created a great instrument for his political and economic well-being, and it now remains for him to use it with all the wisdom and with all the sense of responsibility he can command.

ITALY'S PRESIDENT VISITS CANADA

(Continued from page 87)

I would like to consider as evidence of this friendship those Italians to whom you open your doors and who give to your cities and land their contribution of loyal and industrious activity.

May God guide and maintain our two peoples united on the road to progress and peace.

NEW ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Excerpts from an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Red Cross Society, Toronto Branch, Sunnybrook Hospital, March 12, 1956.

... the Canadian Red Cross Society and its international associates are performing a humanitarian service which could not possibly be supplied by purely governmental action. In their work, whether on a national or an international scale, the Red Cross Societies illustrate strikingly what we are convinced is one of the greatest sources of strength of the democratic system—the voluntary co-operation of public-minded citizens. There is—and there can be—no substitute for this. It is an essential basis of our democracies. It deserves our full and whole-hearted support, in every way.

The Soviet Challenge

This brief but grateful reference to the work of the Canadian Red Cross Society and to the International Red Cross, which is concerned with aid and assistance in so many parts of the world, brings me to a matter of great international importance which I should like to talk to you for a few moments. This is the entry, with vigour and verbosity, of the Soviet leaders into the field of economic competitive co-existence, one aspect of which—and this is the particular phase of this subject I want to deal with—consists of alluring offers of help to materially under-developed countries, especially in Asia. This reflects a change of Soviet tactics, if not of policy, which is seen also in other fields. There is more emphasis now on “pulling” rather than “pushing” other peoples into the Communist orbit. This should cause us to reappraise our own policies and attitudes especially to those countries of Asia to which the Soviet Union is now directing its attention.

Active Soviet interest in the field of foreign aid and technical assistance is comparatively new. Before 1953, Russia's foreign aid was confined to communist countries, especially China, which had received considerable help in loans and technical assistance. Until 1953, the Soviet Union was too preoccupied with its own domestic development and its militant designs against Western Europe to use technical and economic assistance to Asia as an important instrument of policy. However, toward the end of that year there was a change, and since then Soviet Union offers of help to non-communist under-developed areas in Asia and elsewhere have increased very rapidly. This Soviet economic-political intervention in international affairs has important implications for us in the Western world.

We will not understand this development unless we realize the significance of the emergence since the end of the last war to complete political independence of a group of densely populated former colonies in Asia and Southeast Asia. As a consequence of their new political and international status, these countries have come to realize as never before the great gulf which separates their economies and their standard of living from those of the more technically advanced nations in the Western world. Their leaders, in a new spirit of national pride and confidence, have turned with dedication and determination to the vast problems of eradicating starvation, disease and ignorance which for so long had been the accepted lot of their fellow-countrymen. It is accepted no longer.

Help Provided

To solve these problems, they needed guidance and help in a wide variety of technical and scientific matters; as well as capital assistance. They could not secure these completely from their own resources. The normal methods of acquiring sufficient capital were not open to them, since the savings from one year to another were either slight or negligible; and, in view of the rapidly rising populations, to withdraw resources from consumption would have imposed severe hardship on standards of living already extremely depressed. So, Canada, together with other member states of the United Nations, have tried to help by providing capital and technical assistance and in other ways. This effort has been strongly supported by most of the nations of the world, with the noteworthy exceptions, until just a little while ago, of the countries of the Soviet bloc. These latter took little interest in the activities of United Nations Social economics and humanitarian agencies in this field, contributed little or nothing to their support, and criticized and depreciated their work. Support for them was left to the free nations of the world. In addition, of course, Canada, together with other members of the Commonwealth, financed the Colombo Plan in which many important countries outside the Commonwealth, notably the United States, now also participate. There were also other arrangements for economic assistance.

It has been upon this stage of international co-operative effort that the Soviet Union and its satellites have somewhat unexpectedly appeared, and have begun to play a role

which, while more effective as yet in the field of political propaganda than actual aid, has, nevertheless, important potentialities for good or evil. These communist newcomers possess very great resources and their achievements and capabilities in technical matters and in the sciences are far greater than many of us realize, or wish to realize. I wish that we could whole-heartedly welcome this new source of contribution to the world Community Chest. The task that remains to be done is enormous and it needs the mobilization of the world's entire resources. We would, however, be happier about accepting the Soviet Union as a new convert to the practice of co-operating with the rest of the international community in foreign aid and technical assistance, if we could be assured that the communist empire would be willing to abide by the rules which are generally accepted by those countries which have been trying to do their share in this field for some time.

Although a late starter in the field, and whatever its motives may be, the Soviet Union seems to be trying to make up for lost time. Already they have made important economic deals with Egypt, India, Syria, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Burma, the Sudan and Yemen. These various offers and proposals have been made with such shrewdness, and have often been so tied up with political appeal, that they have received publicity in the under-developed countries out of all proportion to their importance in economic or assistance terms. The Soviet Union has been trying with skill, determination and irresponsibility—and with too much success—to get the maximum of political advantage from its operations; in certain areas it seems to have gained more popular approval from its more offers than the West has gained from its much more generous plans and its far greater accomplishments over a much longer time.

Factors Favouring the Soviet Union

The fact is that in entering into this phase of competitive co-existence, the Soviet Union has some important immediate advantages in its favour.

Its leaders control vast resources, both human and material, which they can use for political or other purposes without any Parliamentary or popular restraint whatsoever. Their worries about public opinion are minimal. If political advantage so indicated, they could export, and in the past they have exported, food and other materials even if their own people were in short supply. They can, and do, in negotiating trade or commercial arrangements, make loans on easy terms without regard to economic considerations, and

they have provided capital goods at less than cost price. They are also prepared to accept commodities from their customers abroad, even though these commodities are of no great importance to them. Whatever commercial losses the Soviet bloc countries may incur in such deals are considered to be more than counter-balanced by any immediate or long-range political advantage. The Soviet Union can also accept and use many of the surplus raw materials which the under-developed countries are anxious to sell—for example rice, cotton, sugar and beef—while in the West, we have our own serious surplus problems. The Soviet bloc is, in fact, entering into the field of competitive co-existence in economic matters with many points in their favour and at a time very favourable to them.

Scarcity of Technical Experts

The Soviet leaders also have no difficulty in organizing and conducting programmes of technical assistance. Although the Western countries, including Canada, have sent to many countries of the world experts in a wide variety of technical matters, this part of our technical assistance programme has not been easy. It has been hard to secure qualified men. Much has been heard lately in the United States and Canada about our increasing lack of technical experts, and for the need to increase very considerably the number of technical and scientific graduates from our universities. In general, both for the Colombo Plan and for the various schemes of technical assistance directed by the United Nations, we have probably not been able to supply more than half the requests sent in for expert advice, or for students to receive technical training in the West. We operate in this as in other fields on a voluntary basis. This involves certain difficulties which the Soviet leaders do not have. Their technical or engineering experts are simply directed to go where ordered, and to stay there until told to come home.

In this way the Soviet leaders enjoy an advantage in what might be termed their communist missionary work abroad. They have only to decide what it is in their interest to do, and they can then give effect in their decisions.

It is, therefore, much easier for them than it is for us to make offers which sound very generous, not only to send their technicians abroad, but also to train technicians from those countries in Russia. The technical training of these trainees will be thorough. So will the communist indoctrination to which they will be exposed and which may be the main reason for inviting them. There will never be

any difficulty in finding room for them in Soviet institutions.

Another important advantage which the Soviet leaders enjoy is the undoubted anti-colonial feeling which still prevails and will prevail for a long time in many of the important countries of Asia. The Russians, ignoring that they are at the present time themselves the world's greatest colonial power, claim constantly and insistently that all of the ills of the former colonial possessions, whether in low health standards, inadequate food, and lack of technical progress; or floods or droughts or failure in football, all these are to be attributed to the earlier administrations of the capitalist colonial powers. They contrast this with the boasted achievements of the Soviet Union, whether in science, technical progress, or the arts; all of which they falsely claim stem entirely from the revolution of 1917. The implication is that what Russia has done in less than forty years of communism, other countries can also do. For this purpose, they should be sensible enough to negotiate special trade assistance pacts and accept technical advice from the Soviet Union; aid given, so they claim, without any political strings attached whatsoever; no pressures to join regional security organizations or to lease bases, or to restrict their trade with other countries in certain commodities. All these pressures, so they try to point out, are left to the capitalist and "colonial" powers which had oppressed them in the past. Nor should we dismiss this appeal as absurd because we know it to be distorted and dishonest.

Competitive Co-existence in Economic Field

From all this you will, I think, realize that the entry of the Soviet bloc into the arena of competitive co-existence in the economic field is certain to provide us with many difficult problems.

We will also make a grave mistake if we assume with excessive self-confidence that these Soviet promises and pretensions will soon be exposed because they will not be able to make good their offers of trade and economic aid to the under-developed countries. They may be more successful in this regard than we expect.

We can, in any event, be quite sure that the Russians are sufficiently astute to gain the greatest possible political advantage from their various operations abroad, while insisting that what they offer and what they are prepared to do comes in a spirit of pure and unconditional benevolence. In short, we in the West are facing a long and difficult period of competitive co-existence in this as in other

fields. The competition will be formidable in extent, and astute in its planning on the other side and is not likely to be conducted under Marquis of Queensbury rules. And the Communists think that they are going to win it.

One of the leaders in Russia told me when I was there last autumn that it was his conviction that we in the West were a pretty soft lot, and that we could not endure nearly so well as the Soviet people the rigors and the sacrifices which this competitive co-existence would involve. Indeed, this seems to be one of the strong convictions of the directors of Soviet policies. We should have no doubt that they will do everything within their power, short of atomic war, to prove that their convictions are valid, and their confidence justified.

What Can the West Do?

What then, can we in the West do, and what must we *not* do, in meeting this new and serious challenge:

- (a) We must continue to supply, and even increase, economic and technical aid for the under-developed areas. We should not attach political strings to that aid of a kind which would neutralize its value and prevent its good reception. We cannot purchase reliable allies or real friends among the peoples we are co-operating with and helping, and we should not try to do so.
- (b) We should not in our wisdom urge our friends in the technically under-developed areas of the world to reject out of hand offers of aid from the Soviet bloc. They will themselves have to assess and avoid the political or economic perils which may be involved. We must count on the good sense of the leaders of these peoples to make the necessary distinction between the type of aid being given by the Western world and that offered by the Soviet bloc. We must by our own policies ensure that this distinction is not only clear, but in our favour.
- (c) We must not enter into any kind of auctioning competition with the Soviet bloc, attempting to match or to out-bid their offers, and so be drawn into enterprises which may not be in themselves desirable. We can never hope to beat the communists in promises.
- (d) It is also very important, I think, that the United Nations should be brought more closely into the international economic assistance picture; as has recently been suggested by the U.N. Secretary-General and others. This will be the

best way of establishing the *bona fides* of those who wish to participate in this work.

I do not mean by this that all mutual assistance programmes should be administered by the United Nations. True, the present U.N. programmes are being effectively handled, without political or strategic considerations getting in the way, and they deserve more support than they are receiving. There are, however, things like the Colombo Plan, operated outside of, but within the spirit of the United Nations, which should be continued as they are.

What I would like to see is an agreement between all nations contributing to any form of international assistance that they would submit all their plans and policies in this field to the United Nations, where they could be examined, made public, and co-ordinated; where any suspicion that they were being used for political purposes could be challenged; and exposed as true or false.

This procedure would have the advantages of letting the world know what was being done, and by whom. It would separate the propaganda chaff from the wheat. It would also expose the motives of any nation which refused to co-operate with the United Nations in this way.

Careful consideration should also be given, as I have indicated, to further concrete support for United Nations schemes now actually in operation, and to any new proposals which have been or may be put forward. If the Soviet Union is sincere in its insistence on the peaceful character of its challenge to competitive co-existence, it might begin by doing something really worth while to help these United Nations assistance programmes.

- (e) In addition to capital assistance, the West also enlarge, improve, and make more international, the present arrangements for the provision of necessary technical and scientific experts for service in materially under-developed areas.

With our present procedures it is clear that we shall never have enough of them to meet in time the pressing need.

Why should we not consider establishing an International Professional and Technical Civil Service under the United Nations, with experts specially trained for work in these under-developed areas?

- (f) Furthermore, in our preoccupation with *what* should be done, we must not lose sight, of course, of *why* it should be done. "Know why" is as important as

"know how". Western motives in these aid activities may include considerations of enlightened self-interest which need not be at all unworthy. But it is true that in the Western world we are sincere and genuinely altruistic in our wish to help those who are less fortunate than ourselves; and that we have a deep sympathy with these people who are themselves making such great efforts to improve, with their own resources, their conditions of life. We must keep it that way, for without proper motives we could make serious and unnecessary blunders which would undo the effect of all we are trying to do.

The provision of large sums of money and of a host of technicians will never automatically or satisfactorily solve the world's distressing under-development problems. So, in providing the benefits of our more advanced techniques to the less developed areas of the world, we must do so with respect for ancient cultures, from which, incidentally, we have ourselves a very great deal to learn.

Our assistance should be given in a spirit of understanding and goodwill; and not determined by short-sighted considerations of our own political or strategic interests. On that plane, as well as on that of material support, we must meet and defeat this new Soviet challenge.

This spirit should not merely underlie our practical assistance to these other new nations in Asia and Africa, it should govern our whole political relationship with them.

A distinguished American journalist, Roscoe Drummond, writing to his own people, but in words which apply to others as well, has put the question this way:

"Shouldn't our relationship with these freedom-cherishing, poverty-plagued nations be that of the most friendly understanding senior democracy intent upon helping these new democracies to help themselves deepen their roots, guard their freedom, improve their economic lot and fashion their own free nations in their own image in their own way—as we did?"

The answer we give to this question will, in large part, determine whether there will be stability, progress and peace on our planet in the years ahead.

If governments can match the Red Cross in dedication, purpose, and zeal in the pursuit and achievement of noble objectives, then I think that the answer will be in the affirmative, and our hopes for a better world may one day be realized.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. S. D. Pierce, Ambassador, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa, effective February 15, 1956.
- Lt. Gen. M. A. Pope, C.B., M.C., Ambassador, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, to Ottawa, effective March 13, 1956.
- Mr. J. D. Foote posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective February 1, 1956.
- Miss E. M. Stock posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective February 6, 1956.
- Mr. G. C. Langille posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective February 11, 1956.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective February 13, 1956.
- Mr. N. E. Currie posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective February 13, 1956.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective February 15, 1956.
- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective February 19, 1956.
- Mr. B. M. Williams posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective February 21, 1956.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective February 22, 1956.
- Mr. W. P. McLeod posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective February 25, 1956.
- Mr. G. Bertrand posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective February 29, 1956.
- Mr. R. P. Bower, transferred from the Department of Trade and Commerce to the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer, Grade 7 effective January 27, 1956.
- Mr. G. C. Cook posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to Ottawa, effective January 31, 1956.
- Mr. J. M. Cook posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective March 1, 1956.
- Mr. R. Campbell, DSC., posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to Ottawa, effective March 9, 1956.
- Mr. W. F. Stone posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective March 10, 1956.
- Mr. J. K. Starnes posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to NATO Secretariat, effective March 15, 1956.
- Mr. C. G. D. Roquet posted from the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, Egypt, effective March 22, 1956.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective March 24, 1956.
- Mr. A. J. Pick posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective March 27, 1956.
- Mr. A. J. Matheson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, effective March 29, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolutions of the Resumed Twentieth Session (5-15 December 1955) of the Economic and Social Council. E/2795/Add.1. 3 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Resumed Twentieth Session, Supplement No. 1A.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1955. Bangkok, February 1956. 235 p. \$2.50. U.N. Publication. Sales No.: 1956.II.F.1 (Also Vol. VI, No. 4, of the Economic Bulletin for ECAFE).

Economic Development and Planning in Asia and the Far East. Problems and Techniques. E/CN.11/412. Bangkok, November 1955. 70 p. 50 cents. (Also Economic Bulletin for ECAFE, Vol. VI, No. 3).

Agreement on signs for road works amending the European Agreement of 16 September 1950 supplementing the 1949 Convention on Road Traffic and the 1949 Protocol on Road Signs and Signals, signed at Geneva on 16 December 1955. E/ECE/223, E/ECE/TRANS/481. Geneva, 1956. 5 p. (bilingual).

United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954. Report on Tanganyika together with related documents. T/1169. N.Y., April 1955. 136 p. 1.50. TCOR: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

International Court of Justice

Case of the Monetary Gold removed from Rome in 1943. (Italy v. France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America). *Pleadings.* Judgment of June 15th, 1954. (Preliminary Question). 236 p. Sales No.: 137.

Judgments of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organization upon complaints made against the United

Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (Request for Advisory Opinion). Order of December 5th, 1955. Pp. 127-129. Sales No.: 139.

Admissibility of Hearings by the Committee on South West Africa. (Request for Advisory Opinion). Order of December 22nd, 1955. Pp. 131-132. Sales No.: 140.

International Labour Organization

Resolutions adopted by the International Labour Conference at its thirty-eighth session (Geneva, June 1955). Geneva, 1955. 15 p.

Records of Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, thirty-eighth session (Geneva, June 1955). Geneva, 1955. 758 p. \$8.50.

UNESCO

Trade barriers to knowledge. A manual of regulations affecting educational, scientific and cultural materials. (New and revised edition). Paris 1955. 364 p. \$5.00.

World Health Organization

Handbook of Resolutions and Decisions of the World Health Assembly and the Executive Board. (Third Edition covering the period 1948-1955). Geneva, January 1956. 309 p. \$3.25.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

List of Non-Governmental Organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (Category A, Category B, Register). E/C.2/INF.5. 6 January 1956. 57 p. and Annexes I to XI. (bilingual).

Report of the Eighth Session of the Sub-Committee on Prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities to the Commission on Human Rights (N.Y., 3 to 20 January 1956). E/CN.4/721, E/CN.4/Sub.2/177. 31 January 1956. 67 p. and Annexes I and II.

* Printed documents may be produced from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, or from the sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1956, p. 73.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

Multilateral

Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty for Co-operation Regarding Atomic Information, done at Paris June 22, 1955.

Signed by Canada June 22, 1955.

Entered into force March 29, 1956.

Bilateral

Hungary

Exchange of Notes concerning the sale of wheat.

Signed at London, March 8, 1956.

In force March 8, 1956.

PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, at the price indicated).

Treaty Series 1955, No. 9: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America amending the exchanges of Notes of November 4 and 8, 1952 and May 1 and July 31, 1953 for the establishment of United States global communications facilities in Newfoundland. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)
The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 56/8—*Canada's Health Programme*, a statement by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, before the Committee on Estimates, House of Commons, Ottawa, March 16, 1956.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 56/5—*A Review of Canadian-U.S. Relations*, address by Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Banquet of the Young Men's Section, The Montreal Board of Trade, February 27, 1956.
- No. 56/6—*New Aspects of International Competition*, address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Red Cross Society, Toronto Branch, Sunnybrook Hospital, March 12, 1956.
- No. 56/7—*Canada's Role in the United Nations*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin to the Women's Canadian Club, Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec, on March 19, 1956.
- No. 56/9—*Recent Developments in Foreign Affairs*, transcript of a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Television programme "Press Conference" held in Ottawa on March 21, 1956, with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and members of the press participating.
- No. 56/10—*A Canadian View of Political Problems in the Near and Middle East*, an address by the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Lucien Cardin, M.P. at the Kiwanis Club, Belleville, Ontario, March 27, 1956.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1956.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



May 1956

Vol. 8 No. 5

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North Atlantic Ministerial Session — Paris, May 1956

THE North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Paris on May 4 and 5. The agenda was confined to a review of the non-military aspects of the work of the Alliance and the delegates were the Foreign Ministers of each NATO country together with their Permanent Representatives on the Council. Canada was represented by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs and Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Canadian Permanent Representative to NATO.

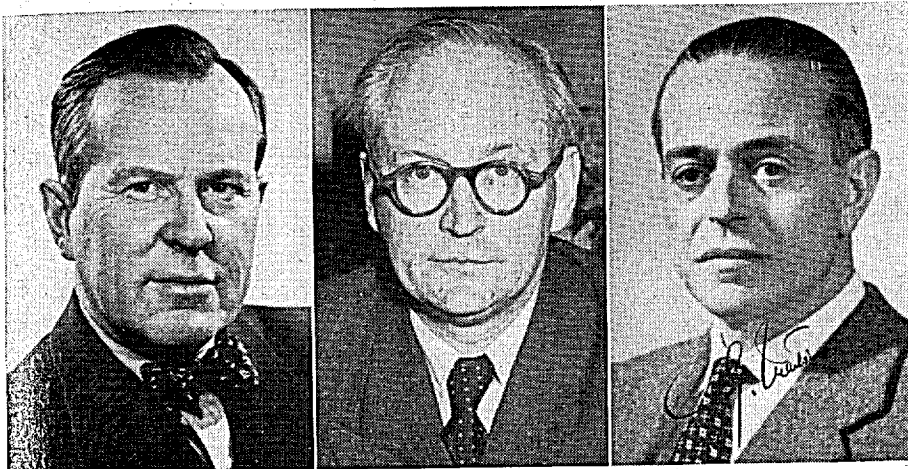
Discussion at the meeting reflected a general realization among all the members of NATO of the threat posed to the solidarity of the Alliance by the new Soviet tactics of "peaceful co-existence". The Ministers recognized that the collective defence efforts of the Alliance, which had successfully deterred Soviet aggression, still had to be maintained in the light of what is known of Soviet military capabilities, and in the absence of progress in the settlement of outstanding problems, including the reunification of Germany in freedom and progress towards disarmament under an effective control system. However, it was also agreed that the Atlantic powers needed to examine what new measures they could take to strengthen their unity and render more effective the co-operation of the Alliance in the non-military field.

Special Committee Appointed

After reviewing the international situation and in particular the recent changes in Soviet tactics and their implications for the Alliance, the Council decided to appoint a special Committee "to advise the Council on ways and means to improve and extend NATO co-operation in non-military fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic community". Mr. Pearson, Mr. H. Lange, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway, and Mr. G. Martino, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy were asked to serve on the Committee.

In commenting on the meeting in reply to questions put to him by *Le Monde* of Paris, Mr. Pearson said:

The Ministerial meeting just concluded could result in the strengthening of the solidarity of the Atlantic community, provided all the member governments are really prepared to make the necessary effort. As you know, a committee of three Ministers has been entrusted with the heavy responsibility of examining how the Atlantic community could best organize itself to advance the non-military objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty. Some proposals have already been made in this direction and I would hope that every government will now set about giving urgent attention to the various ways in which the solidarity of our Alliance could be strengthened, especially through improved methods of consultation. In so far as this task is approached by all the members with imagination and sincerity and in no spirit of complacency, I believe that this meeting could mark the beginning of a new advance towards the building up of the Atlantic community.



L. B. PEARSON

H. LANGE

G. MARTINO

The special committee appointed by the North Atlantic Council "to improve and extend NATO cooperation in non-military fields and develop greater unity within the Atlantic community" is made up of, left to right above, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway, Mr. H. Lange; and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. G. Martino.

Following is the text of the communique issued at the conclusion of the Ministerial meeting:

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING MAY 4-5 1956

Final Communique

The North Atlantic Council met in Paris on May 4 and 5 under the chairmanship of Dr. Gurmundsson, Foreign Minister of Iceland, and issued the following communique:

The Atlantic Powers, seven years ago, entered into the North Atlantic Treaty in face of the communist threat to their common ideals and civilization. For they had seen imperilled all the human rights which their peoples regard as essential for their life and freedom, particularly representative government, freedom of the individual, the rule of law and liberty of the press.

With the disappearance of the last free regime in Eastern Europe, that of Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade in 1948, and two years later, the invasion of Korea, the concern of the Free World reached its climax. The need for collective military defence was all the more obvious because at the end of the Second World War the free world had disarmed.

These were the circumstances which led to the creation of NATO and its military strength, and this is why the sacrifices necessary for the defence of the Atlantic community have since then been borne in common.

II. The collective defence efforts of the Atlantic Powers have not been in vain. They have successfully deterred Soviet aggression in Europe and have contributed to the adoption by the Soviet Government of the so-called policy of co-existence.

To the extent that this policy involves a certain easing of tension and the admission by the Government of the U.S.S.R. that war is not inevitable, it is welcomed by the Atlantic Powers, who have always supported this idea. It is now possible to hope that those principles of the United Nations Charter which have regulated the relations between the peoples of the Atlantic community may eventually also regulate between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers.

III. The reasons which gave rise to the Atlantic Alliance have not, however, disappeared. No progress has been made toward solving certain vital European problems, including the reunification of Germany in freedom, which have to be solved on a basis which would satisfy the legitimate security needs of all. The Western Powers cannot relax their vigilance until these problems have been solved and until a disarmament plan providing the necessary guarantees to all and an effective control system has been put into effect. Soviet military power continues to increase. Security remains therefore a basic problem, and the Atlantic Powers must continue to give priority to the maintenance of their unity and strength initiatives on the part of the Atlantic Powers. They are determined to pursue these initiatives with the same energy that they displayed in building up their defence organization and with which this will be maintained.

They solemnly affirm that this policy will be pursued in common, and based on the unity, solidarity and co-operation of peoples sharing common ideal and standing together in the cause of freedom.

IV. The Atlantic Council consider it timely and useful for the members of the Atlantic community to examine actively further measures which might be taken at this time to advance fore effectively their common interest. The Atlantic Powers already possess in the North Atlantic Council an instrument of unity and a forum for consultation regarding policies of general interest. In order to enable the Council better to perform these tasks, the Ministers agreed to appoint a committee of three ministers to advise the Council on ways and means to improve and extend NATO co-operation in non-military fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic community. The committee of three was requested to submit its report as soon as possible.

V. In the meantime, the Council agreed:

- (a) To undertake periodical examinations of the political aspects of economic problems;
- (b) To strengthen economic co-operation between member countries, to seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies, and to promote conditions of stability and well-being;
- (c) To instruct the permanent representatives of the Council to examine economic problems in the light of the ideas set out above and of the plan put forward by M. Pineau, Foreign Minister of France, calling upon the services of a committee of technical advisers working under their authority.

(Continued on page 134)

Canada-India Atomic Reactor Project

ON April 28 Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Escott Reid, the High Commissioner for Canada in India, signed in New Delhi an inter-governmental agreement on the Canada-India Atomic Reactor project. This agreement was forecast on September 16, 1955, in the joint announcement by the Governments of India and Canada that in April 1955 Canada had offered to India under the Colombo Plan a high powered atomic research and experimental reactor similar to the well known NRX reactor at the Canadian atomic energy establishment at Chalk River, Canada, and that India had accepted this offer shortly thereafter. Since the time of this announcement preliminary work has been going ahead at the site at the same time as further consultation between the two Governments.

The Canada-India Atomic Reactor will be erected at the atomic energy establishment of the Government of India at Trombay near Bombay. The building to house it will be a rotunda in the shape of a hermetically sealed steel shell some 135' high and 120' in diameter, which will be surrounded by buildings for auxiliary equipment and attached laboratories. Representatives of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited who have visited the site have been most favourably impressed by the location and the general facilities available in the area to carry out the work.

A Joint Enterprise

The reactor project is a joint Indo-Canadian enterprise and costs and responsibilities are being shared between the two countries. When it is completed full title and complete control will pass to the Government of India. The total cost of the project will be about 7 crores of rupees or a little over 14 million dollars; the value of the Canadian contribution is about seven and a half million dollars, and the value of the Indian contribution over six and a half million dollars. The general principle is that Canada pays for the external costs, India for the internal costs.

Thus Canada is providing the reactor itself and the steel for the rotunda which will surround it. Canada is also designing the reactor, the steel rotunda, and the foundations of the reactor. Indian contractors and Indian labour will carry out the major part of the construction work at the site while Canada, represented by the publicly owned company, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, will be responsible for the supervision of the engineering and erection.

The Department of Atomic Energy of the Government of India will be responsible for building the reactor's foundations and basement, work on which has already started. The Department of Atomic Energy expects to have the work on the foundations and basement of the reactor completed before the end of June. Erection of the steel rotunda to house the reactor will start soon after the monsoon this year and is expected to near completion by the end of 1956. It is hoped that the reactor will be completed early in 1958 and that it will be in full operation by the middle of that year.



ATOMIC REACTOR AGREEMENT SIGNED

The High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott Reid, left, and the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, sign the intergovernmental agreement on the Canada-India atomic reactor project.

Arrangements have been made to send an adequate number of selected Indian technical personnel to Canada to obtain first hand experience and training in the operation of the NRX reactor at Chalk River, the Canadian Government's atomic energy establishment. Indian technical personnel will also be seconded to the engineering staff in Canada which is designing the reactor, the steel rotunda and the reactor foundations.

Thus, Canada, through the agency of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, will provide Indian scientists and engineers with every opportunity to become fully familiar with all aspects of the work. The visit of Indian scientists and engineers to Canada will be paid for by Canada under its normal technical assistance programme.

The Canada-India Atomic Reactor will add an advanced and versatile research facility to India's atomic energy programme. It is specifically designed to provide excellent facilities for fundamental research in physical, chemical, biological, and metallurgical problems relating to atomic energy. It is an efficient producer of radio-active isotopes for use in medical therapy, agriculture, and industry and for tracer element studies in chemical, biological, and medical research.

Above all, the reactor is specially suited for making engineering studies and research on reactor materials which can be tested under the conditions

of high neutron intensity met inside reactors. The research and development facilities of the reactor will enable advanced engineering experiments to be performed in connection with the design of future power reactors.

India has offered to make the experimental facilities of the reactor available to scientists approved by the Government of India from other countries, including those belonging to the Colombo Plan in South and South-East Asia. Thus the installation of this reactor in India will advance the development of atomic energy not only in India but in the entire region.

Following are the texts of messages exchanged between the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. St. Laurent and the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru:

Mr. St. Laurent's Message

"I would like you to know how much I welcome the signing in New Delhi today of the Intergovernmental Agreement covering our atomic energy project.

"I am gratified to learn that Canadian scientists will be associated with Indian scientists in the good work now under way at Trombay. Through this friendly co-operation a reactor will be constructed which will serve the cause of human welfare far beyond the boundaries of our two countries. The research undertaken at Trombay in collaboration with work being carried on in other parts of the world should provide lasting benefits for agriculture, industry and medicine.

"Our joint endeavour in this matter is another reminder that the origins of atomic science have been international and its development for peaceful purposes requires the kind of friendly co-operation between nations which so happily exists between India and Canada."

Mr. Nehru's Message

"I am happy to receive your message on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement between our two Governments covering the atomic reactor project.

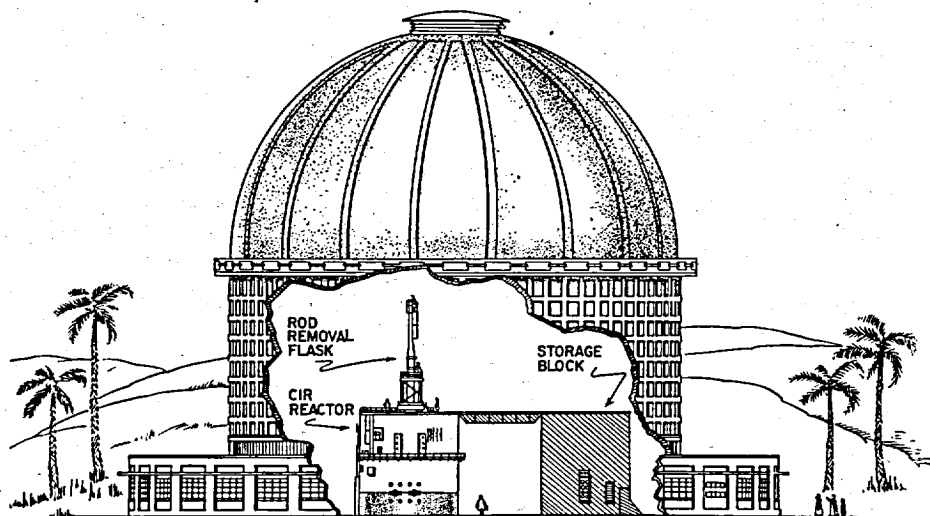
"Under this Agreement, Canada makes available to India a high powered atomic research and experimental reactor, and I should like to express to you the warm and sincere appreciation of the Government and the people of India of this generous gift. The provision of this new and important research facility in India has been made possible by the friendship and good will existing between our two countries, which will now be further strengthened by the close association of Canadian and Indian scientists and engineers in the construction of the reactor and in its uses for the progress of civilization and for the benefit of mankind.

"It is our hope that the research centre at Bombay will prove useful to scientists from other countries in this region and beyond. To the fellowship of our own scientists will always be welcomed men and women from other lands moved by the same vision and dedicated to the pursuit of similar ends.

"The research and technical facilities afforded by this reactor will promote advances of knowledge in agriculture, biology, and medicine, which, but for

the use of radio-isotopes, would have taken decades to achieve. The reactor will also enable Canadian and Indian scientists and their colleagues from other countries to do advanced experiments in the technology of atomic power generation, which, we hope, will accelerate the practical use of atomic energy for the generation of electric power.

"This close collaboration in a highly complicated field between the scientists and engineers of two countries, geographically as far removed as Canada and India, is a symbol of the manner in which the world has shrunk through modern technology, and a token, I hope, of the peace, understanding and co-operation, which will one day spread throughout the world."



CANADA-INDIA ATOMIC REACTOR

Preliminary work has been started on the site at Trombay (near Bombay), India on which will be erected a hermetically sealed steel building, 135 feet high and 120 feet in diameter to house a high powered atomic research and experimental reactor being built as a joint Indo-Canadian enterprise under the Colombo Plan.

Above is an artist's cutaway drawing showing how the reactor will be installed in the completed building.

General Election in Ceylon

THE General Election in Ceylon which was held in April 1956 resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the United National Party (U.N.P.), under the leadership of Sir John Kotelawala, by the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (Popular United Front—M.E.P.) under the leadership of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. The victorious M.E.P. is a coalition composed of four groups: (1) The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (S.L.F.P.), Mr. Bandaranaike's own party; (2) the Sinhala Basha Peramuna (Sinhalese Language Front—S.B.P.), conservative Buddhist nationalists; (3) the Viplavakari Lanka Sama Samajists Party (V.L.S.S.P.), Sinhalese extreme Trotskyites; and (4) Independents, a group of very conservative Sinhalese Buddhists. The new M.E.P. Cabinet contains eleven members of the S.L.F.P., two V.L.S.S.P. and one Independent.

Second to the M.E.P. coalition in the number of seats won was the Nava Lanka Sama Samajist Party (N.L.S.S.P.) a group of moderate Trotskyites under the leadership of Dr. N. M. Perera, who has now become Leader of the Opposition.

Voting

The following table shows the extent of the landslide and indicates the probable composition of the new House of Representatives (the figures are unofficial).

Party	Votes	Seats Gained	Seats Lost	Seats Retained	Total Seats
M.E.P. coalition	1,046,362	40	—	11	51
(Bandaranaike)					
N.L.S.S.P.	247,204	9	—	5	14
Federalists	142,036	6	—	4	10
U.N.P.	738,551	—	52	8	8
(Kotelawala)					
Communists	119,715	1	—	2	3
T.R.F.	6,853	1	—	—	1
Tamil Congress	8,914	—	—	1	1
Others	304,189	4	5	4	8

The Federalists, the T.R.F. (Tamil Resistance Front) and Tamil Congress are all Tamil speaking groups, advocating equal official standing for their language along with Sinhalese. The M.E.P. and the U.N.P., on the other hand, want Sinhalese to be the sole official language. The N.L.S.S.P. sides with the Tamil parties on this important issue.

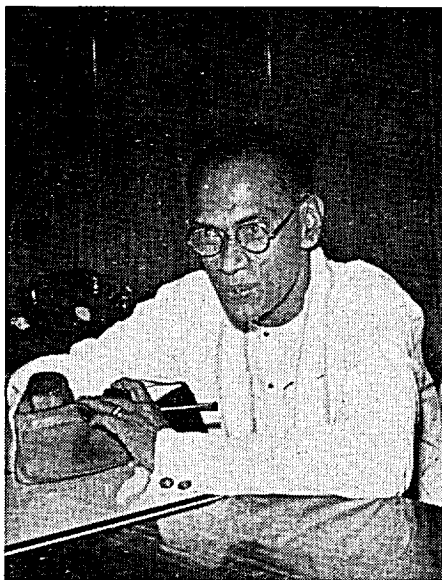
The pre-election manifesto of the victorious M.E.P. coalition called for:

- (1) Establishment of a republic;
- (2) Definition of "democratic and economic rights";

- (3) Sinhalese as the only official language;
- (4) Reconsideration of the role of the Senate;
- (5) Abolition of Appointed Members in the House of Representatives;
- (6) Recognition of the special position of Buddhism "as the faith of the large majority of the people", while guaranteeing "freedom of worship and conscience";
- (7) Encouragement of all non-citizen residents of Indian origin to return to India;
- (8) Nationalization of "all essential industries, including foreign-owned plantations, transport, banking and insurance";
- (9) Full employment;
- (10) Repeal of restrictions on trades unions, security legislation, etc.

After the election Mr. Bandaranaike stated that he was opposed to the expropriation of either foreign or locally-owned assets, and that any scheme of nationalization would involve just and fair compensation. The new Prime Minister said that the position of the Royal Navy base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katunayake would have to be reviewed. He also indicated that the questions of whether Ceylon became a republic and whether it seceded from the Commonwealth might lie dormant because they would involve a change in the Constitution, which would necessitate a two thirds majority vote in Parliament. Regarding the language issue, Mr. Bandaranaike stated that his party was committed to introducing Sinhalese as the State language without delay, and would consider effective means of doing so.

(Continued on page 144)



The Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Ceylon.

Canada and the International Labour Organization

THE International Labour Organization is one of ten intergovernmental organizations which are linked with the United Nations through special agreements arranged by the Economic and Social Council and approved by the General Assembly and by the organization concerned. The "Specialized Agencies" of the United Nations are expert in their respective fields: labour, health, education, food and agriculture, finance and banking, civil aviation, postal matters, telecommunications and meteorology.

History

By 1815, the Industrial Revolution had produced many problems in such fields as control of child labour, industrial health and safety, working conditions in mines and factories, and limitation of hours of work. A number of European countries, including Britain, tried individually to reform some of the worst abuses in factories and mines; but the belief spread that international action was needed since the problems were the same in all industrialized countries. Robert Owen, British cotton manufacturer and social reformer, urged the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference of European powers in 1818 to draw up international standards for conditions of work in all their countries, and in the next eighty years various workers' international congresses passed resolutions demanding action. Several industrial conferences were held between 1890 and 1913 attended by representatives from European countries, to discuss international labour conventions designed to prevent night work and to establish a maximum ten-hour workday for women and young people. These conferences, however, were not very effective.

The World War of 1914-1918 required all-out production, and the working people loyally helped to achieve victory for the Allied countries. By 1919, inflation, unemployment and starvation had made the life of the workers miserable in the war-ravaged countries of Europe. Faced with this situation, the Allied Governments realized the need for a Labour Charter in the Peace Treaty of Versailles, not only to help in improving living and working conditions, but also to help in maintaining peace and prosperity throughout the world. The British Empire delegation at the Peace Conference (including Canadian government and labour leaders) took the initiative in drawing up the Constitution of the International Labour Organization. Although an autonomous organization, the ILO was associated with the League of Nations. In 1946, the ILO became one of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations through an agreement with the United Nations.

Objectives

The ILO's aim, as reflected in the preamble of its constitution, is to contribute to universal and lasting peace through the promotion of social justice. In order to achieve this objective, ILO is "tripartite" in character bringing

together the representatives of government, labour and management from the 71 member-nations, a feature unique in the United Nations Specialized Agencies. It has gradually built up an International Labour Code dealing with such matters as: employment and unemployment, conditions of employment, industrial relations and labour inspection, freedom of association, employment of children and young persons, industrial safety and health, maternity protection and employment of women, social insurance and security, and maritime labour.

This Labour Code consists of (a) 104 Conventions, and the ratification of any one of these by a member government obliges that country to bring its legislation in the particular field up to the Convention standards, and to report annually to the ILO on its implementation; and (b) 100 Recommendations which set forth general principles to guide governments and organizations in drafting legislation or administrative orders if they desire to do so.

The ILO has also aided migration for employment and has studied problems of special importance referred to it by the United Nations, such as forced labour and freedom of association. However, the most significant extension of ILO activities since 1950 has been its operational programme designed to increase regional productivity and to raise economic levels in the less-developed member countries. The ILO has spent over \$5,000,000 under the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme for this work, and has also financed additional manpower training projects from its own budget. There has been close co-operation with the other Specialized Agencies in all aspects of the ILO programme.

Structure and Activities

The ILO has three main organs:

(1) The Governing Body consists of 40 members (20 government, 10 employer and 10 worker members). The ten nations of chief industrial importance (including Canada) have permanent government members, while the other ten government members, the ten worker members and the ten employer members are elected every three years. There are also 10 deputy members for each of the three groups. This executive council meets three or four times a year to formulate policies and programmes, to supervise the activities of the various conferences and committees, and to review the work of the International Labour Office.

(2) The International Labour Conference is a world assembly of about 700 delegates, advisers and observers, meeting each year to discuss urgent world labour problems, to survey the general activities of the Organization, and to approve the annual budget. Each member nation may send four delegates (two government, one worker, and one employer) plus technical advisers. The Conference draws up and adopts International Labour Conventions and Recommendations for the voluntary guidance of legislatures and employers' and workers' organizations.

(3) The International Labour Office at Geneva, Switzerland, acts under the Director-General as the permanent secretariat, the research and information center, and the publishing house for the Organization. Branch Offices represent the ILO in various parts of the world (including a Canada Branch at 95 Rideau

Street, Ottawa), and Field Offices have been set up in certain under-developed areas to carry out the technical assistance programme.

In addition to these three principal organs, there are numerous conferences, commissions and committees to meet specific needs. Regional Conferences of American, European Asian, and Near Eastern countries are held every three years. Eight Industrial Committees, established after 1945, also meet every two or three years to discuss special problems affecting particular industries. There are Advisory Committees in many fields such as forced labour, freedom of association, migration, social security, women's work, juvenile employment, occupational safety and health, labour statistics, co-operation, etc.; every year groups of experts meet to study urgent problems in some of these fields. The most important conclusions of these bodies are eventually referred to the annual Conference for more thorough discussion, with a view to the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations.

Canadian Participation

Canada's participation in international labour affairs dates from 1910, when Mr. Mackenzie King attended a labour conference at Lugano, Switzerland. The next year, as Minister of Labour, Mr. King acted on one of the conference Recommendations by introducing a bill in the House of Commons to prohibit the use of white phosphorus in making matches. As already mentioned, Canada took an active part in the discussions which led to the establishment of the International Labour Organization in 1919 and has supported it fully ever since. Canada has been represented by government, employer and worker delegates at every annual Conference and has participated in many other ILO activities.

As early as 1926 Canada ratified four ILO Maritime Conventions, and by 1955 had ratified a total of eighteen Conventions dealing with conditions of employment of seafarers and dockers, hours of work and weekly rest in industry, minimum wage-fixing machinery, and employment service organization. Canada reports annually to the ILO on the measures that have been taken to implement these Conventions. Our legislation on these subjects is considered to equal or exceed the requirements of the various Conventions. Canada is a federal country and the fact that most labour matters are wholly or partly under provincial jurisdiction places obstacles in the way of the federal government ratifying many of the ILO Conventions.

In the past Canada obtained helpful advice from the International Labour Office when such matters as conciliation in labour disputes, unemployment insurance, and establishment of employment services were being considered. More recently, Canada has been able to repay this assistance by contributing to the development of the less-industrialized nations. The ILO has used Canadian experts in its technical assistance programme in under-developed countries, and has sent trainees from such countries to Canada for study and on-the-job training. A manual on "National Employment Services—Canada" is used by the ILO in setting up employment services and training employment office staff in less-industrialized countries.

From 1940 to 1948 the ILO maintained temporary headquarters in Montreal, and a bronze plaque at McGill University commemorates this phase of the Organization's history. In 1946 the Minister of Labour for Canada was elected President of the Annual Conference, and in 1955 the Deputy Minister

of Labour for Canada was elected to the chairmanship of the Governing Body for the ensuing year.

While the Department of External Affairs has the general responsibility for handling Canada's international relations, including our United Nations commitments, the Department of Labour is the official liaison agency between the Canadian Government and the ILO. With the expansion in ILO activities after the Second World War, a special branch of the Department of Labour was established to work in close co-operation with the Department of External Affairs, with other federal departments, with the provincial Departments of Labour, and with the employers' and workers' organizations, all of which have an interest in the ILO. In this way, the ILO is kept informed on the progress of industrial and economic conditions in Canada, and the Canadian governments and organizations concerned are kept in touch with developments in the international field. Each year some progress is made towards uniform and higher labour standards in Canada, in line with the International Labour Code, and thus Canada plays its part in furthering the purposes of the ILO.



—P. van Breukeken
The Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. T. A. Stone, discussing Canadian Eskimo Art with Queen Juliana.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs, by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

White Sulphur Springs Conference

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made the following statement in the House of Commons on April 9 regarding his visit to White Sulphur Springs:

... This visit took place at White Sulphur Springs on March 26 and 27 between the heads of governments of the United States, Mexico and Canada. The host at this meeting was the President of the United States who in his invitation and subsequently emphasized that it would be of an informal character without agenda for the purpose of exchanging views on matters of mutual interest and of getting to know each other better.

In view of the character of the meeting, no decisions were reached and none was expected. It was, however, from my point of view, both helpful and agreeable to be in a position to discuss current international affairs with the presidents of the United States and Mexico in this informal way. There was also an opportunity to bring up one or two subjects of specific Canadian-United States concern with President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles.

No Basic Differences

The general discussion centered largely upon the comprehensive report which Mr. Dulles made on his recent visit to Asia. It has been stated in the press that in the subsequent exchange of views there was an emphatic expression of policy difference between the United States and Canada in respect of communist China. The reports in that form are without foundation. It is quite true that both President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles explained very frankly the reasons why recognition of the communist government at Peking could not be contemplated under present circumstances and why they felt their support should be continued to the government of Chiang Kai-shek. However, there was nothing said about the Canadian position which would suggest any change whatsoever from that stated in the house by the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson) on January 31 either in respect of recognition or of our attitude toward the islands of Quemoy and Matsu off the coast of China.

Each government is fully aware of the position of the other in these matters as indeed they were before the meeting at White Sulphur Springs. It is true, however, and this was recognized at our recent meeting, that there are many countries which have recognized the Peking regime, and that this has created a problem as to which regime should represent China at the United Nations, a problem which may be expected to grow more acute as time goes on.

There was considerable discussion over the position in the Middle East, the seriousness of which, of course, everyone recognized. It was agreed that, while all possible steps to reduce immediate tension should be taken, peace could only be secured there by an agreed political settlement between Israel and its neighbours. In this connection, the three governments welcomed the

expected intervention of the United Nations at this time, since formalized through the resolution which has just been passed unanimously by the Security Council. I am sure that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has our best wishes for success in the very important mission on which he is now engaged in consequence of this resolution.

There was also general discussion of the possible consequences of recent communist party developments in Russia. I got the impression that it was felt that any firm conclusion in regard to the long-range importance of these changes would be premature but that, in any event, they would not warrant any relaxation of effort on our part, either in defence or diplomacy or negotiation.

Consideration was also given to the problems arising out of the emergence of new states in Asia and Africa, States which are as sensitive about their national independence as they are insistent on greater human welfare for their people. In this connection there was an exchange of view as to the desirability of continuing international economic assistance to materially under-developed countries, and especially as to the importance of removing any feeling that such assistance on the part of Western countries had any ulterior motive or was inspired by any other spirit than good will and understanding. On the Canadian side, we expressed the view that it might help to remove any suspicions of ulterior motives if the United Nations were brought more into the picture than it had been, at least from the point of view of using the organization as a clearing house for plans and policies and information in regard to international assistance schemes. We felt that this had been done with good results in the annual meetings of the ministerial committee of the Colombo Plan, and that possibly this practice could be usefully extended to the wider field of the United Nations, so that it would become clear to the whole world community what various countries were doing in this matter and why they were doing it.

Importance of Trade Balance

In our bilateral talks, I emphasized once again to the President the importance of better-balanced trade between our two countries. I referred to the existing unfavourable balance in our visible trade, and I mentioned that the compensation or correction of this imbalance by capital movements occasionally was the cause of some concern in this country lest the control of our economic development, which should remain in Canadian hands, might be prejudiced thereby.

I also suggested to the President that the time seemed to have come when problems regarding the use of water power on rivers crossing the international boundary might well be studied at a conference between representatives of the two governments. Here I might perhaps extend this a little to answer a question of which notice was telephoned to my office by the hon. member for Kamloops (Mr. Fulton). There was no discussion of the problem, but merely the suggestion that it would probably be desirable at this time to have it studied by a joint conference representing the two governments, to try to get at something which would make for the possibility of expeditious use of these water powers to the best possible advantage of the people who might derive advantage from their use. It was left at that, with the understanding that the subject would be further pursued in discussions between our Department of External Affairs and the Secretary of State of the United States.

Needless to say, the President expressed a very warm feeling for this country and gratification at the way in which relations between our two peoples were based on mutual respect and friendship and frank statement of diverging views, when there were diverging views. He took advantage of the opportunity to

mention some concern over the proposed 20 per cent advertising tax on Canadian editions of United States magazines. My explanation to him of the nature and purpose of this proposal will serve, I hope, to lessen his concern about it.

Having to make this statement, I would not want to end it without expressing once again my grateful thanks to the President and the government of the United States for the kindness and friendly hospitality which they showed us during our visit. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation of the opportunity thus afforded to me to become acquainted with the President of Mexico and to renew my acquaintance with the foreign minister of Mexico. It should be a source of real gratification to all Canadians that the relations between Canada and Mexico are developing in such an important and satisfactory way.

Distant Early Warning Line

The following statement was made in the House of Commons on April 11 by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, regarding the manner and operation of the Distant Early Warning Line:

On March 20 the Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Defence made a statement respecting the manning and operation of the Distant Early Warning Line and a number of questions were asked afterwards which I should like to deal with at this time. I wish to emphasize at the outset that this Distant Early Warning Line and other radar stations which have been discussed from time to time are for continental and not exclusively Canadian defence, just as certain joint defence projects in Western Europe are for collective rather than merely national defence. That being the case, it seems to be appropriate that the United States, as the larger country with the most at stake, should have a major share of responsibility for these joint defence projects, even though they may be situated in Canadian territory.

As hon. members will recall, on February 22, 1955, I explained Canada's role in providing our share of these continental early warning arrangements. I pointed out then that as part of the over-all effort Canada had undertaken to finance, construct and operate the Mid-Canada line. I also indicated that following joint Canada-United States announcements, which were made some months previously, and copies of which I tabled at that time, the United States had undertaken responsibility for the construction of a distant early warning line. Subsequently, an agreement, in the form of an exchange of notes, was made with the United States covering the construction of this line in Canadian territory. That agreement was tabled by the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson) on May 20 last. It outlines in detail the conditions under which the United States was authorized to build the line in the interest of defence of our two countries. It also preserves, as the minister said, the principle enunciated in the joint declaration of February 12, 1947, on defence co-operation that all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its own territory.

If hon. members will recall, it was indicated in the exchange of notes that the United States would carry out construction of the distant early warning system through a management contractor appointed by the United States, and that in fact is what happened. They will also note amongst other things that Canadian contractors would be extended equal consideration with United States contractors in the awarding of construction contracts; that, as far as practicable, electronics equipment would be manufactured in Canada; that preference would be given to Canadian labour; that nothing shall derogate from the application of Canadian law in Canada

Experience with respect to the construction phase of that line has been very satisfactory. Contracts have been awarded to two Canadian construction firms, Foundation Company of Canada Limited and another, the Northern Construction and J. W. Stewart Limited, who are employing Canadian labour. A large number of sub-contracts for goods, materials and services connected with construction have gone to Canadian firms. Very substantial contracts for air transportation have been placed with Canadian carriers, and a number of contracts for electronic material have been awarded to Canadian firms. The closest liaison between the appropriate United States and Canadian authorities has been maintained from the outset of the programme, and is still being carried on to ensure that the progress of the work is facilitated and the terms and the spirit of the agreement are observed.

This agreement for the construction of the line also stated, in paragraph 7, that the extent of Canadian participation in the initial operation and manning of the DEW system would be a matter for later decision by Canada after consultation with the United States. That consultation took place and a decision covering the first three years was announced, the announcement that was made on March 20 by the Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Hellyer).

The same general terms and conditions laid down in the agreement for the construction of the line are to apply in its manning and operation, and these, as has been pointed out, fully safeguard Canadian rights and laws.

Now, I come first to the question the hon. member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Green) asked about contractors. The answer is that, while the civilian prime contractor for the DEW line, for the construction phase was a United States firm, there was, as I have pointed out, a very large participation by Canadian firms in the execution of the contract

Operation and Manning Phase

With respect to the operation and manning phase, proposals were invited from Canadian and United States firms and the best bid was that of the United States firm, and we were satisfied that this firm was properly selected to manage that part of the operation. In awarding this contract to the firm it has been understood that as far as possible Canadian personnel and facilities will be used in the execution of the contract. Perhaps hon. members will remember reading that within the last few days there have been applications to our employment agencies specifying the kind of qualifications that would be required and endeavouring to get as many Canadians as possible with such qualifications to take on work in that connection.

There has been close co-operation between the two Governments in arriving at all decisions and this co-operation is expected to continue throughout the implementation of these decisions. I think the visit of inspection that has been made over the weekend by the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Campney) and the Minister of Defence Production (Mr. Howe) with the Secretary of Defence of the United States and his deputy is just an example of the close co-operation that is maintained in that regard.

The hon. member for Rosetown-Biggan (Mr. Coldwell) asked if there were any other agreements of the same nature as the one dealing with the DEW line allowing, as he put it, United States contractors appointed by the United States Government to take over. The hon. member also wanted to know if these contractors and their employees were subject to Canadian laws or if there was some agreement with regard to the legal standing of those people. I have perhaps

gone beyond the express terms of the question because I wanted to be sure that I was not leaving out any information that hon. members might wish to have.

Defence Agreements

In addition to the DEW line agreement and the leased bases agreement which I shall deal with separately there are, apart from projects for which Canada is responsible itself, eight Canada-United States defence agreements under which contracts might be let by United States authorities; but there is a stipulation in all the agreements that Canadian contractors are to be treated on the same basis as the United States contractors. Those agreements, which in every case have been tabled in the House, are as follows:

The first is the Pine Tree radar agreement made by an exchange of notes of August 1, 1951. These notes were tabled on February 25, 1953.

The next is the global communications agreement made by an exchange of notes of November 4 and November 8, 1952, and tabled on February 25, 1953.

The third is the Goose Bay lease made by an exchange of notes of December 5, 1952, tabled on December 16, 1952, for a certain area within the RCAF station at Goose Bay.

The next is the Haines-Fairbanks pipe-line agreement made by an exchange of notes of June 30, 1953, tabled on November 19, 1953.

Another exchange of notes of May 1 and May 3, 1954, deals with the Loran station at Cape Christian, Baffin Island, tabled on February 22, 1955.

Another exchange of notes of June 13, 1955, provided for an extension of radar stations from the Pine Tree radar line, tabled on February 10, 1956.

Another exchange of notes of June 15, 1955, provided for gap filler radar stations in the Pine Tree line, tabled February 10, 1956.

Finally, an exchange of notes on September 22, 1955, in connection with a Pepperell pipe-line from the harbour of Saint John to the base which is just outside Saint John to avoid the inconvenience and the possible danger created by trucks carrying oil moving through the city of Saint John.

It will be appreciated that Canadian contractors have been employed on the construction of a number of these installations authorized by the above agreements.

For the sake of completeness I will mention one further installation even though it does not actually appear to come within the purview of the hon. gentleman's question. On July 9, 1954 the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Campney) announced the establishment of an oceanographic research station at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, which is now being operated jointly by the Royal Canadian Navy and the United States Navy under Canadian command.

As hon. members will note when referring to the documents which were tabled, the terms of these agreements vary somewhat, but latterly we have been trying to cast them in a more or less standard form, similar to the terms of the Distant Early Warning Line agreements. In each case, except in the case of the leased bases agreement which was originally made between the United Kingdom and the United States as a wartime necessity in 1941, Canadian law is fully applicable, and it is expressly stated that Canadian law shall apply.

With respect to the leased bases agreements, it will be recalled that on May 1, 1951, I announced in this House that agreement had been reached through the Permanent Joint Board on Defence for the voluntary relinquish-

ment by the United States of certain rights conferred by the Leased Bases Agreement relating to income tax, customs and excise duties, postal privileges and, most important, the jurisdiction of the courts. A formal agreement to this effect was concluded by a subsequent exchange of notes which were tabled on May 2, 1952.

In all these arrangements for the providing of facilities on our territory Canadian sovereignty is fully recognized by the United States.

Canada-Soviet Trade Agreement

On April 18, in the House of Commons, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe moved "that it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament approve the ratification by Canada of the agreement on Trade between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Ottawa on February 29, 1956, and that this House do approve the same". Mr. Howe continued as follows:

On February 29 I took pleasure in announcing the conclusion of a trade agreement between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I stated at that time that an opportunity would be provided for a debate on this trade agreement in advance of its ratification. Now that the time has come for this debate, it is appropriate for me to make a few remarks.

One of the principal features of this agreement is the exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment between the two Governments. The effect of this is to put Canadian commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. on a basis comparable to our relations with most other countries. Hon. members no doubt understand what is meant by "most-favoured-nation treatment". In the time-honoured terminology of the tariff, this means that imports from a particular country will be treated no less favourably than those from any other country. Most-favoured-nation treatment has reference to tariffs and related matters in the field of commercial policy. Most-favoured-nation treatment does not entitle another country to any unique advantages but merely guarantees that the country will not be discriminated against in trade matters.

Imports into Canada from the U.S.S.R. are now admitted, under the provincial application of this agreement, at the rates of the most-favoured-nation tariff schedule. Most-favoured-nation treatment does not involve, of course, the application of the British preferential rates of duty to imports from the U.S.S.R.

In our country, most trade is conducted under private auspices. Most decisions regarding purchases and sales abroad are made by private people. The Government, of course, plays a most important part. In promoting trade relations with other countries, by tariff policy and by other means the Government establishes a framework of arrangements to expedite trade and sometimes to regulate trade. It is an inherent feature, however, of our business system and of the Government's policy that the Canadian people shall be as free as possible to decide what they will buy

It follows that in negotiating a most-favoured-nation agreement with the U.S.S.R., or any other country, the Government does not attempt to stipulate that certain things shall be imported into Canada and that other things shall not be imported. Aside from the effects of the tariff, such matters are not in general subject to governmental regulation. Canada does not undertake in this agreement, therefore, to purchase any specific goods from the U.S.S.R. The major undertaking given by Canada is that imports from the U.S.S.R. may con-

pete on equal terms with imports from other countries in the most-favoured-nation category.

Under the agreement, Canada also receives most-favoured-nation treatment from the U.S.S.R. The meaning of this undertaking is quite different in a state trading country than it is in a private enterprise country such as ours. Soviet purchases and sales abroad are made within a framework of governmental policy by officials of state trading organizations. Accordingly, the agreement includes a general undertaking whereby each government accords most-favoured-nation treatment with respect to sales or purchases involving exports or imports. This clause offers to Canadian exporters a prospect of competing on commercial terms for sales to Soviet state trading organizations.

Escape Clauses

Certain escape clauses are included in the agreement, to be used if unanticipated difficulties should arise. These escape clauses are comparable in their effect with those contained in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. For example, provision is made for the imposition of import restrictions, even on a discriminatory basis if necessary, in the event of balance of payment difficulties. In this connection, I should also mention the letter from the Canadian government which forms a part of the agreement, reserving the right to establish values for import duty if any Russian products should enter Canada in such increased quantities as to cause serious injury to domestic producers. This letter is similar in purpose to the multilateral escape clause which is included in the GATT and it is similar in its terms to a letter which forms part of our separate trade agreement with Japan.

When I first announced this new agreement, I made clear that it will not affect our strategic export controls. A provision is included which recognizes that either government may apply prohibitions or restrictions of any kind for the protection of its essential security interests. This provision would take precedence, if necessary, over any other provision of the agreement.

One of the clauses in the agreement refers to the treatment of merchant ships. This clause was studied very carefully before we agreed to include it. The practical effect is to give a continuing assurance to the Russians, for a period of three years, that their ships will continue to enjoy in our seaports such as Vancouver as favourable treatment as the ships of other countries. In other words, the provision simply confirms the kind of treatment which has been available all along to ships of U.S.S.R. registry.

I should also say something about the provisions which refer to the legal status of persons, access to courts and arbitration. These do not establish any new procedures for settling disputes that might arise in the conduct of trade between Canada and the U.S.S.R. They merely indicate the facilities that are available if any such disputes should arise. These provisions will, no doubt, be recognized as useful to traders and trading organizations in both countries. There is nothing in this agreement that might force Canadians to go before Russian courts, rather than to Canadian courts, nor force them to choose arbitration for the settlement of disputes. I mention this because there might otherwise be some misunderstanding about these particular provisions on the part of people who may not have had an opportunity to examine the legal problems which are involved.

From the Canadian point of view, by far the most important part of this agreement is the letter by which the Government of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to purchase and take delivery from Canada, during the three years of the agreement, a total between 1,200,000 and 1,500,000 metric tons, i.e. between 44.1

million bushels and 55.1 million bushels of wheat, in annual lots of between 400,000 and 500,000 tons, i.e., between 14.7 million bushels and 18.4 million bushels. The exact amounts to be purchased in the second and third years, within these annual amounts, will be determined by the Government of the U.S.S.R., taking into account the volume of Soviet goods sold to Canada. The total over the three years, however, will amount to not less than 1,200,000 tons and the amount in any individual year will not be less than 400,000 tons. The Russian purchases of wheat are to be made at the prices and on the terms at which the Canadian wheat board is making sales to its major customers at such times as the Soviet purchases take place. The U.S.S.R. has already purchased more than 400,000 tons for delivery during the present year.

The agreement is written to terminate at the end of three years. At that time the two Governments could agree to extend it. The conditions governing an extension would have to be worked out in the light of our experience in the three-year period.

I shall not attempt to predict to what extent there may be a long term demand for Canadian wheat in the U.S.S.R. This agreement provides a demonstration that the Government is prepared to move vigorously, on commercial terms, into any market that develops. If there should prove to be a continuing market in the U.S.S.R. that we can satisfy, then we shall be all the more pleased. To the extent that it is possible to do so, we are establishing ourselves in a good position at present. It is reasonable to expect that there will be at least some continuing basis for Russian purchases of wheat from this continent, even if that country should not be short of grain. From the point of view of transport, it is cheaper to ship wheat across the Pacific to far eastern ports of the U.S.S.R. than to transport it overland from the major wheat growing areas in western Russia.

As for other Canadian commodities, it may well be possible to develop trade in non-strategic goods that the U.S.S.R. needs and that are competitive. The very fact that a trade agreement has been concluded indicates perhaps a willingness on the part of the U.S.S.R. to trade more with this country. To a very large extent, Canada and the U.S.S.R. export similar things. The potentialities of trade, while valuable we hope to both countries, would thus seem to be fairly limited. I do not wish to create the impression, therefore, that there will be a large market in Russia for very many Canadian products. At the same time, it is realistic for exporters to be alert to such opportunities as may develop and to take advantage of them.

My colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson) will no doubt wish to take part in this debate. I would like to refer particularly to the part he played in making this agreement possible. During his trip to the U.S.S.R. late in 1955, the Secretary of State for External Affairs initiated the discussions on trade which led later to the negotiations which took place in Ottawa.

I am informed that the U.S.S.R. was represented by able experienced officials who conducted themselves throughout the negotiations in a straightforward, businesslike manner.

Mr. Pearson's Statement

Later on the same day, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, spoke as follows:

Before the motion carries I might say a few words in connection with it, and deal with one or two points that have been raised. This discussion, which

has shown, I think, that there is unanimity in all quarters of the House that the motion should be carried and that the treaty should be ratified, as one which will be to the advantage of our country; may even carry with it some political, as well as economic, advantages.

The question of the background of the negotiation of this treaty has been raised. The negotiation of the treaty goes back to last autumn, when an invitation was extended to me to visit the Soviet union. I was asked at that time what I would like to see and what subjects I would like to discuss with representatives of the Government in Moscow. After consultation with my colleagues, it was suggested to the authorities in Moscow that one of the subjects would be the development of trade between our two countries. For that purpose an official of the Department of Trade and Commerce accompanied me to Moscow. Possibly I can add at this time my tribute to that which has been paid by others to the excellent work done by that official, the Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, and other officials of that Department and other Departments of Government, including External Affairs, who were concerned with this matter.

No Strategic Materials

These preliminary discussions in Moscow made it clear that there was a reasonable possibility of negotiating a mutually advantageous treaty between the two countries. We made it clear in Moscow, before the negotiations were referred back to Ottawa, that there could be no inclusion of materials on our strategic list in any trade negotiations and, on the other hand, that we would expect a commitment from the Soviet Government for the purchase of wheat. It was also made clear in Moscow that the negotiations should be resumed in Ottawa and brought to a conclusion, if possible, here. As the House knows, that was done.

The Soviet Government sent a team of trade experts to Ottawa where there was quite a serious and indeed at times difficult negotiation of details of an agreement, with eventual success. It was found by those on our side that those who were representing the Soviet union were competent, straightforward and frank negotiators and, as has been mentioned already this afternoon, personally very agreeable people to deal with. I think we can take satisfaction that the negotiations have resulted in the treaty which is now before the House.

There were difficulties, of course, as would be natural and, indeed, inevitable when negotiations are taking place between representatives of countries which are so different economically, politically and in every other way as those of the Soviet Union and Canada. Some of these difficulties were honest ones arising out of misunderstandings of constitutional procedures. For instance, we are today asking the House of Commons to approve ratification of this treaty. In Soviet practice no such approval is, of course, required and, indeed, legally and constitutionally under our own system no such approval is required because ratification is an Executive act. It was hard to make the Soviet representatives understand that while legally the executive could ratify and the agreement could go into effect at once, it was our constitutional practice—and a very good practice it is—that no international treaty or agreement of any significance at all, whether political or economic, should be ratified by the Executive without the approval of the Legislature.

This particular agreement is substantially the same as those which we have in the field of trade and commerce with most other countries. For instance, for some years we have had most favoured nation treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is true that these arrangements were made before the communist

party took over the governments of those two countries, but the treaties remained after the governments became communist. No special difficulties have been found in the application of the treaties since that time and they have, I think, been of value to our country. There are a good many trade agreements of this type between the Soviet Union and Western countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Austria and the Scandinavian countries. It is true there is no such agreement between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. but hon. members will know, of course, that the administration in Washington is now seeking congressional authority to dispose of surplus agricultural products to the Soviet Union.

Agreement Advantageous to Canada

I think it will be agreed that this agreement is advantageous to our country in the field of trade and commerce. I think it will also be agreed that no wider Canadian interests, political or economic, are likely to be jeopardized in any way by it. It certainly does not make us unduly dependent, for instance, on the Soviet Union as a market for our wheat. Desirable as it is to find markets wherever we can it would, I think, create some uneasiness if this particular market were too large in relation to our total sales, but there is certainly no danger of that happening under this agreement. As hon. members know, the commitment in any one year will amount to between 15 million and 18 million bushels of wheat, which is comparable to our exports to Belgium or to the Federal Republic of Germany, and compares with a figure for last year of 31 million bushels to Japan.

During the course of the discussion the question has been asked, what commodities are we likely to receive from Russia as a result of the trade which we hope will develop between the two countries? That, of course, is a very difficult, indeed an impossible question to answer, especially in the case of trade between two countries in one of which trade is conducted under our system of individual enterprise and free initiative and in the other by a state trading organization. But, as has already been pointed out, production is developing, production is growing in the Soviet Union, and it may well be that during the course of the agreement it will be possible for the initiative of Canadian traders to express itself in the development of trade, including imports from Russia, which will be of benefit to this country. I myself have no idea in what direction that trade will move but it is, I think, certainly safe to say that we are beginning a new era of trade development with a country which is already showing increasing strength both in the field of industry and in the field of agriculture.

Productive Capacity Greater

While it is perfectly true, as my colleague the Minister of Fisheries has pointed out, that under our system of free enterprise and initiative our per capita production capacity is much greater than that of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union or, indeed, of other communist states because of the nature of our social and economic organization, nevertheless while that may be true per capita the figures for production in the Soviet Union in recent years and the planned figures for the next five years are very impressive indeed. In this connection may I quote some remarks made by the president of the Massey-Harris Company who visited the Soviet Union last year, as members know, and who has made some very interesting reports on his visit since his return. In a speech in Ottawa not many weeks ago he said:

"Agriculture is one of the weakest spots of the Russian economy. The process of regimenting the peasant, dispersed as he is over large areas,

with his natural yearning for the ownership of a piece of land, and his greater independence and individuality than the city worker, has proven to be a difficult nut to crack.

"But I do not wish to weary you with details. I will go no further than to state that, to our eyes, the Russian system of agriculture is under-mechanized, bedevilled by bureaucracy, cumbersome and wasteful of manpower."

But he went on to say this:

"The vitality and drive of the Russian dictatorship and of its people is, however, clearly illustrated in this field also—

That is the field of agriculture.

—by the fact that during the years 1954 and 1955, they brought under the plow 70 million acres of virgin land; an area so vast that it exceeds by 10 million acres the size of the United Kingdom."

Then as to what had been done in the field of industrial production he had this to say:

"Thus it is that having largely recovered from the damages of war, Russia's economic strength has taken a great step forward during the past five years, and you may have seen in the press only a few days ago that her new five-year plan includes an all-out drive to increase her industrial production by 1960 to two-thirds of the U.S. figure for 1955. In this plan, Russia now declares that she has it within her means to become the world's mightiest industrial nation. Having observed the manner in which Russia in the past has met and frequently exceeded her five-year objectives, I am not prepared to shrug off these recent assertions as being mere boastfulness."

That is what Mr. Duncan says. He continues:

"Do not let us forget, when one considers the amazing increase of Russian industrialization in recent years, that it is based in no small measure upon the good old premise of hard work, to which we also used to be dedicated. Much can be accomplished by a nation where all men and all women work 48 hours a week."

So when we are approving a trade arrangement with the Soviet Union we are approving an arrangement with a country which is making great strides forward in industry and in agriculture. There are political as well as economic implications in that fact

It may be asked—indeed it has been asked, though not in this debate—whether the Soviet Union will carry out the obligation which it has undertaken to Canada with respect to wheat purchases. I think we may have confidence that it will do so. Self-interest, if no other reason, would dictate that it should do so. Apart from its need for wheat, a failure to do so would damage its international reputation in trade matters, and it would appear to be a little bit more sensitive about that reputation now than it was some few years back. Certainly we would regard any failure to fulfil its wheat obligations as a violation of the trade agreement itself. The exchange of letters re purchase of wheat is as binding—and it is understood to be so—as are the articles of the agreement itself.

It should also be emphasized—and this has been pointed out also this afternoon, more particularly by the hon. member for Eglinton—that in this

agreement there is nothing which would prejudice in any way our security interests because of the safeguards that have been written into the agreement. It may well be that because of this agreement the Soviet Union may wish to set up in this country certain trade facilities for the carrying out of the agreement, more particularly the obligation to purchase wheat. For that purpose it may wish to open a trade office in this country.

Indeed the Government has already received from the Soviet Government a request to that effect, namely for the opening of a small trade office more particularly for the purpose of purchasing wheat. That request is now under consideration and a decision with regard to it will be taken very shortly. No request has been made for the opening of any office with diplomatic privileges or immunities, and the Government would not be disposed to agree to the establishment in this country of any diplomatic office outside of the embassy in Ottawa.

Trade is one field in which it is possible for us to bring about at this time a more normal relationship with the Soviet Union without prejudice to our own security or our own ideals, and without diminishing in any way our close association with our friends in other parts of the world. In this treaty we are not, of course, giving the Soviet Union anything that we have not at least in equal measure given to all friendly countries long ago. It would have been unreasonable, in my opinion—and I think this opinion is shared in all quarters of the House—for the Canadian Government to have failed to take advantage of this opportunity to enter into a sensible and useful agreement. I think we would have been open to justifiable criticism from responsible and moderate people, both here in Canada and abroad, if we had turned our backs on the possibility of a reasonable working relationship with the Soviet Union in this field.

We all long for the day when there may be sufficient mutual trust that reasonable arrangements of this kind, even with communist countries, not only in trade but in many other fields, will become the rule rather than the exception. If this trade agreement and the experience of both countries with its operation over the next three years help toward that end by reducing suspicion, we shall have good cause to be satisfied with it on political as well as economic grounds.

NORTH ATLANTIC MINISTERIAL SESSION

(Continued from page 112)

VI. The members of NATO are by their treaty dedicated to "safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law".

Their first seven years of working together have resulted in marked success and have strengthened the bonds between them.

The members of NATO are determined to remain united and steadfast to their ideals. They face the future with confidence.

Thermal Power Plant for East Pakistan

It was announced recently that agreement had been reached between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of Canada for co-operation under the Colombo Plan in the provision of a thermal station for generating electric power at Khulna in East Pakistan. The Canadian Government has agreed to participate in financing the external costs for the erection and construction of the steam generating station.

As its contribution Canada will provide generating units and other related equipment as well as the services of Canadian engineering personnel to carry out the design and supervision of installation of the power station. The estimated total of the external costs for which Canada will assume responsibility is \$2,000,000. Pakistan will take care of all local costs involved in the project, including all preliminary construction work and the provision of local labour and materials.

When the Khulna power plant is completed, it will have a capacity of 20-thousand kilowatts of power. The power will be employed for important industrial and agricultural uses in East Pakistan.



NEW TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION DIRECTOR

Dr. Nathan Keyfitz, new Director of the Colombo Plan Bureau for Technical Co-operation, on arrival at Colombo Airport, shakes hands with Dr. J. de Fretes, Charge d'Affaires for Indonesia in Ceylon, and President of the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and Southeast Asia, with the High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon, Mr. J. J. Hurley, in the centre.

United Nations Scientific Committee on Atomic Radiation

THE first session of the United Nations Scientific Committee on Atomic Radiation was held in New York between March 14 and 23. The Committee, which was established in December 1955, by a unanimous resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, consists of 15 scientists representing the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States and the Soviet Union. The Canadian representative to the Committee's first session was Dr. E. A. Watkinson, Chief, Occupational Health Division, Department of National Health and Welfare. Dr. R. Appleyard of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, acted as consultant.

Problems Examined

During its first session the Committee surveyed the scientific problems involved in carrying out the mandate of the General Assembly for it to examine "The Effects of Radiation on Man and His Environment". In accordance with the Assembly's directive to receive and assemble radiological information, the Committee requested the Secretariat to collect, by August 1, 1956, from Member States of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies, preliminary measurements of natural radiation and of environmental contamination caused by man-made radioactivity; it also requested Governments to assemble information in other scientific fields for evaluation by the Committee at its next meeting. The Committee, in addition, considered statements by representatives of the World Health Organization, the United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization on ways in which these Specialized Agencies might co-operate with the Committee in its work. Working Groups of the Committee discussed the following topics: genetics, the effects of irradiation by internally absorbed isotopes, the effects of external radiation, natural radiation background, exposures during medical procedures, occupational exposure, and environmental contamination.

The importance of the task confronting the Committee was emphasized by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold at its opening meeting. He was convinced that the introduction of concrete scientific material would help to move the subject of atomic radiation out of the area of emotional sensationalism and place it squarely on the solid footing of scientific knowledge, which will, in turn, change unconsidered fear into sober precaution. The Secretary-General pointed out that public interest in a new scientific subject is a basically desirable and encouraging feature of modern civilization. "However," he declared, "in this case, as in many others where the scientific basis has not yet been properly worked out, there is a lack of knowledge which has caused in many instances an unwarranted reaction to the whole subject. For this reason", he continued, "it has been found wise to make an international effort to give the widest possible distribution to all available scientific data concerning ionizing radiation and its effects upon man".

The next meeting of the Committee has been scheduled for October 1956.

SOME ASPECTS OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Club, Montreal, April 27, 1956.

You will not be surprised, I am sure, especially in view of the current attention being given to the matter, if I talk to you today about some aspects of our relations with the United States.

It is a subject with which Canadians have always been intensely preoccupied; and, I expect, always will be, as long as the facts of history and geography, economics and politics, remain as they are.

This preoccupation, while natural and, indeed, inevitable, at times seems to occupy a disproportionate share of popular interest. If we are not careful, we will soon be spending more time in thinking negatively about what the Americans have done or may do to or for us, than in thinking positively about our own plans and policies.

Close Relationship

Canadian-American relations are today the most important single item in the foreign policy of our country; apart, of course, from the transcendental issue of peace and war. Moreover, these relations will probably grow in difficulty and complexity as the importance of each country to the other increases, as is happening. After all, we share most of a continent, and one which is today not on the periphery, but in the very centre of the world. Its northern half—the Canadian half—is growing steadily in strength and influence.

Today there are no two countries in the world whose contacts are so varied, so close and so compelling, as those between Canada and its neighbour.

When Professor Leacock retired from McGill, he was invited to return to England, and pass the rest of his life there. His reply, courteously and humourously declining the invitation, included the following sentences:

"There's another reason for not wanting to leave Canada for England. I'd hate to be so far away from the United States. You see, with us it's second nature, part of our lives, to be near them. Every Sunday morning we read the New York funny papers, and all week we read about politics in Alabama and Louisiana, and whether they caught the bandits that stole the vault of the national bank, and—well, you know

American news—there is no other like it. And the Americans come-and-go up here, and we go-and-come down there, and they're educated just as we are and know all about Kilowatts but quit Latin at the fourth declension

"Our students go and play hockey with their stoddents and our tourists going out meet their towrists coming in. The Americans come up here and admire us for the way we hang criminals. They sit in our club and say, 'You certainly do hang them, don't you!' My, they'd like to hang a few! The day may be coming when they will. Meantime we like to hang people to make the Americans sit up.

"And in the same way we admire the Americans for the way they shovel up mountains and shift river-courses and throw the map all round the place. We sit in the club, fascinated, and listen to an American saying, 'The proposal is to dam up the Arkansas River and make it run backwards over the Rockies.' That's the stuff! That's conversation.

" . . . We are 'sitting pretty' here in Canada. East and West are the two oceans far away; we are backed up against the ice cap of the pole; our feet rest on the fender of the American border, warm with a hundred years of friendship. . . .

" . . . Thank you, Mother, England, I don't think I'll 'come home'. I'm 'home' now. Fetch me my carpet slippers from the farm. I'll rock it out to sleep right here."

I do not wish you to infer from all this that the ties that draw us across the Atlantic, that link us with our mother countries, Great Britain and France, and with the nations of the Commonwealth, are weakening. On the contrary, they are stronger than ever. The old problems arising out of our development from colony to nation, and from the impact of imperial policy on that development, have been solved. There is now little to worry us and very much to satisfy us in the Commonwealth relationship. It is a relationship which we must maintain and strengthen.

On the other hand, our problems with the United States are, if not new, at least expressing themselves in new and, at times, per-

plexing forms. They constitute a challenge to both countries. It will be easier on our part to meet that challenge successfully — as we must—if we keep a sense of proportion; avoiding excessive touchiness or assertiveness; if we show ourselves to be not only alert but also nationally mature.

We are not, of course, a mere economic or political extension of any other state. We stand firmly on our national feet and we must stand up for our own national interests. When these interests are endangered by the policies and practices of any other country, however friendly, we must speak out and, if necessary, act. The record shows that we are not afraid to do this. Other countries—especially the United States—would not have much respect for us otherwise.

There is a tradition of forthright but friendly exchange of views across our border, which is uniquely valuable. We do not want to lose it. That loss, however, could be brought about from abuse by exaggeration or over-indulgence, on the one hand, or by super-sensitiveness or morbid suspicion on the other. We should guard against both.

Increasing Importance

This increasing importance of Canada and the United States to each other is two-fold. Not only is our relationship in a bilateral sense of great and growing significance, there is also the fact that the United States through its power and resources is the country best equipped to give political leadership to the Western world, which includes Canada, in the search for peace and security against aggressive communism. Canada, therefore, and the other members of the coalition, have an obligation in their own interest not to act without considering the major responsibilities for collective security now being borne by the United States.

This realization that we must stand together or fall separately explains why today in our defence policies we do not, indeed cannot, rely on national action alone, which would be totally inadequate, but on collective arrangements, especially through NATO.

Among other things, this means that our continent, which is one great sector of the NATO area, must be treated as a single zone for defence, and that Canada and the United States must co-operate closely in that zone for their common protection. It means also that Canadians have no more right to be cool and suspicious when that co-operation brings American soldiers or American instal-

lations to Canada, than would be the case when it brings Canadians to France or Germany.

In other days, and under other conditions, we would have assumed complete responsibility for the building, manning, operating and maintenance of every defence facility in Canada. But now that defence installations on our territory protect both countries, the cost and the responsibility is shared by both governments. This is the right and proper course, especially in view of the magnitude of the requirements for continental defence. In the circumstances, the policy we have adopted is, I think the right one. There is full consultation with the United States on all aspects of collective defence, especially continental defence. It is accepted without question that no non-Canadian activity on Canadian soil in connection with such defence shall take place without the agreement of the Canadian Government. Before giving such agreement, we must be convinced that the activity in question is necessary.

Canada accepts responsibility for as much of this continental defence work on Canadian soil as it can undertake, having regard to our other defence commitments. That which we cannot do ourselves—and which we agree should be done in the common interest — is either a joint effort or is done by the United States alone. Furthermore, in every defence arrangement that we have made with our neighbour, and which involves American activity on Canadian soil—this is very important—Canadian rights and Canadian sovereignty are fully preserved.

Defence Co-operation

Surely we should welcome whole-heartedly, as something in our own as well as the general interest, United States defence co-operation on such a basis. This being the case, it is no service to good relations and friendship between our countries, or to peace and security generally, to whisper or insinuate that every time the Stars and Stripes flies with the Canadian flag at some Arctic base, this is a further step in the United States conquest of our country. "Canada, we stand on guard for thee", is something to act on—as well as to sing about. But it doesn't mean that we have to declare war when an American soldier stands guard over his crashed plane on Canadian soil.

The sudden flare-up of this ancient fear that we are about to become "the 50th state of the Union" may have been encouraged by

the feeling that defence co-operation with our neighbour and within NATO is no longer so necessary, now that there is a new and better look in Moscow. Joseph Stalin has been degraded by those men who bowed so low before him when he was alive. Therefore, it is suggested we can take it easier now and even indulge in the luxury of suspecting each other. This feeling that is now safe to relax is a dangerous delusion and, if persisted in, would weaken the unity and strength of the free nations which has itself been a main reason for the improvement which has taken place.

Cult Remains

The cult of personality may for the time being have become a communist heresy; but the cult of communist domination remains. So the non-communist world cannot yet afford to indulge in weakness or division or complacency.

There are conclusions to be drawn from this in respect of Canadian-American defence relations, as well as in wider fields.

If worries over United States participation in certain joint defence arrangements in Canada seem recently to have increased, that is at least partly due to the feeling that the menace of communist imperialism has decreased. As Mr. Dulles said in his speech in New York on Tuesday, "Allies no longer feel the same compulsion to submerge differences as when they faced together a clear and present danger". The danger, however, has *not* disappeared. It may be taking new forms, but it still faces us.

Similarly, if anxiety over certain economic aspects—particularly the foreign investment aspect of Canadian-United States relations—seems also to have increased—or at least to become more vocal—in certain Canadian quarters, that may be due, paradoxically, to the very abundance of the evidence of the economic progress that Canada has been making in recent years. We have been going through our greatest period of development. We can as a people take our full share of credit for this. But we should also remember that it could not have taken place in the way and in the time that it has, without outside participation, especially by investors from the United States, but also from Great Britain and other countries.

We have recently been reminded in Ottawa—and elsewhere—that participation of this kind brings its own problems and poses a

threat to that national control, indeed to that independence, which we rightly cherish and intend to maintain.

These reminders can be salutary because the problems are real. But there is no excuse for the assertion—either careless or calculated—that the economic and political domination of our country by the United States is imminent; or for dragging up old anti-American prejudices. The War of 1812 was fought a long time ago, and "54-40" is now more impressive as a football signal than as a call to conflict across the border, or even as a peroration in a House of Commons speech. The times are too serious and the problems too real for irresponsible exaggeration.

Canada has been urged recently to declare its economic independence of the United States. I wonder what that means. Surely not that our tariffs, our budgets and our laws are now made across the border and that we are a mere satellite or dependency of our great neighbour. Ask them in Washington about that!

Certainly we are not independent of the United States in the sense that we can isolate our economy from hers, at least without tragic consequences.

But what country in the free world can be or would wish to be economically independent of the United States in that sense? Canada least of all. The trade figures with our neighbour are themselves enough to refute any such idea.

Neither Country Independent

Furthermore—and this should comfort the Jeremiahs who predict our new colonialism—the United States in its turn is today by no means economically independent of Canada, and will become less so in the future. The fact is that the economic interdependence of our two countries, and indeed of most important trading countries, is both inevitable and beneficial. It is usually forgotten, for instance, as an illustration of this interdependence, that Canadian *per capita* investment in the United States is almost twice as great as American in Canada.

I know that anxiety is also felt—and it may be very real—because, as it is put, we have too many of our economic eggs in the American basket. It is worth reminding ourselves, however, that it is the strongest basket in the foreign market. I do not like to think what we would have done without it in recent

years; which does not mean that we have sought—or must not continue to seek—to fill other baskets.

Perhaps, however, by economic independence is meant protection against excessive United States investment in our capital development.

Last year, 1955, capital expenditure in Canada reached the figure of \$6.2 billions. The estimate for 1956 is the unprecedented figure of \$7.5 billions, or 23½ per cent of our gross national production. The rate of increase of new investment in industry is higher in Canada than in most other countries, including the United States.

For several years now, our savings have not equalled our investment, even though the proportion of such savings in relation to our Gross National Product has been also greater than in the United States.

Capital Inflow

The deficiency has been made up by an inflow of capital from abroad, largely from across the border. In 1955 this amounted to over \$600 millions, but our total capital investment, it should not be forgotten, was over six billions. Unless we wish to slow down or alter the pattern of our development; or unless we save and invest more ourselves, especially in speculative developments—as I hope we will do—this capital investment by our neighbour—far from being unnecessary and dangerous—is of essential importance.

Do these American investments mean that we are going to lose our national identity; to become—as it has been said—a “banana republic”?

I have too high an opinion of the sturdy patriotism and the national pride of my fellow-Canadians to admit that any attempt by the United States to secure control of or unduly influence our economic or political destiny by its investments in Canada could possibly be successful. We are not the kind of people to accept pressure of that kind.

But I have also far too high an opinion of the common sense and the genuine goodwill of our neighbour to the south to believe that they would ever make such an attempt.

Let us be neither defeatist nor demagogic in these matters. When the growing need in the free world is for close co-operation, for mutual trust, for standing together, this is no time for political or economic jingoism.

Perhaps pleas to preserve our independence are based on fears, genuine or self-induced, that we are losing control of our natural resources to American interests; that we are becoming, as the current phrase puts it, “hewers of wood and drawers of water”, as well as—and this is a more original expression—“diggers of holes” for Americans. Incidentally, a hewer of wood is today no underpaid, unskilled labourer. He is a highly skilled, respected workman who can make fifteen to twenty dollars a day; more than many of his fellow-Canadians working in factories or offices or schools.

This humiliating suggestion that we are in danger of being exploited by and of doing the rough work for the benefit of economic overlords from across the border is one which few Canadians will accept.

It is well to remember that \$1.00 out of every \$3.00 of our national income comes from manufacturing, and that our country of 16 million people now ranks sixth in the world in terms of the total value of manufactured commodities produced. These figures will help us to keep things in perspective.

We are often reminded, however, and again the reminder can be salutary, that our natural resources, though great, are not unlimited; that they should be prudently used and wisely conserved for future generations. Hence the questions: Are the Americans not dissipating too much of them for their own gain? Should we not export less and process more in our own country?

These are very important questions and have to be taken seriously. Where there are trends or tendencies which suggest answers to them that might prejudice our national development, governments should try to correct them.

Control of Natural Resources

I do not, however, have to remind a Quebec audience that control over the development of our natural resources rests largely with provincial governments who bear, and rightly, a major share of responsibility for the manner and extent of their exploitation. Moreover, in a free country like ours, and in the present circumstances of our development, would it be wise, as has been suggested, for the Federal Government to impose restrictive controls designed to ensure that we should export from Canada a greater proportion of finished products and less of our

raw materials? Such controls could easily do us more harm than good. Surely at this stage of our economic development we should continue to export large quantities of raw materials as essential to our prosperity and employment, and also to our steadily increasing industrial strength itself.

We are steadily increasing, as we should, the manufacture of raw materials in Canada, and this will grow as we develop new markets at home and abroad, new skills and new manufacturing facilities. This process should be assisted by carefully designed governmental policies, but should not be stimulated by artificial expedients. We have had enough unhappy experience over the last thirty years to recognize the fallacies and the perils of trying to force economic industrial and agricultural growth in the name of economic nationalism.

Economic and trade policies based on short-sighted considerations could do more harm to Canada than to most countries. It is because we have taken the long view of our national interest that the foundations of our economic structure are strong; until today Canada has achieved an important position among the nations of the world; a position which has been buttressed by the development since the war of basic industries. This development, which has been unprecedented, would not, I think, have been possible without the participation of United States venture capital and technical knowledge. We should be very careful, therefore, not to discourage such participation by ill-considered and unfriendly talk. We can't kill the goose, but she may decide to lay her dollar eggs somewhere else.

I am not suggesting that the possible impact of outside and, above all, American investments in Canada may not have important results for our future; or that great care must be taken by governments on all levels to ensure that those results are good. Corporations and investors from outside who come to Canada should be warmly welcomed, but if they are to share in our national progress, they should become rooted in the national community to the maximum possible extent. The experience of recent years has shown that there is no other sound basis for foreign investment.

But this does not mean adopting on our side a narrowly nationalistic and prejudiced attitude; indulging in intemperate language, or striking suspicious attitudes at the expense of those whose co-operation — political and economic — we need.

It is far better to adopt a positive approach to this problem of national development and by our laws, policies and actions to encourage Canadians to supply more and more venture capital and management for enterprises in Canada.

This will be a more helpful and constructive course than merely to lament over the extent to which Americans contribute what we need, but which we do not or cannot ourselves provide.

With pride in our development, with confidence in our future, with satisfaction in the position we have achieved in the world, pessimism of the kind which sees Canada falling under the grasping domination of any other country is both unrealistic and dangerous. After 1867, the weak and struggling Canadian federation, in many respects still a colony, with its very existence as a state uncertain, did not allow sterling from London to prevent it becoming a united strong and free nation; indeed, used that sterling to help bring it about. Who then would dare to suggest that the Canada of 1956, a strong and self-reliant member of the family of nations, and recognized as such, is going to be submerged by the "Yankee dollar"?

Today, in many important respects, the Western nations, and especially those in the North Atlantic community, are more dependent on one another than they were before the threat of communist aggression led them into closer association, both economic and political. We need not be frightened of that development. In the small atomic world of today this move toward co-operative interdependence is to be welcomed rather than feared; is beneficial rather than harmful. This closer association, however, should not be confused with the loss of our political freedom. The destiny of the Canadian nation will not be blocked because Canada co-operates closely with her neighbour in continental defence, and because United States corporations operating under Canadian law, subject to Canadian policies, and behaving much like Canadian corporations, are playing an important part in our development.

I end, therefore, on a note of optimism, based on the story of Canada's past, nourished by the evidence of its present and to be justified, I am confident, by the achievements of the future.

I make no apology for this optimism and to those who reject it, I would merely point out that if it weren't for the optimist, the pessimist would never know how fortunate he wasn't.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. Mayrand appointed Canadian Ambassador to Spain. Proceeded to Spain April 4, 1956.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins, Ambassador, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, April 15, 1956.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Cape Town, effective April 1, 1956.
- Mr. M. N. Bow posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective April 4, 1956.
- Mr. D. C. V. A. Arnould posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective April 10, 1956.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, effective April 10, 1956.
- Mr. J. H. Cleveland posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Ottawa, effective April 11, 1956.
- Mr. G. L. Hearn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, effective April 16, 1956.
- Mr. C. M. Bedard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective April 18, 1956.
- Mr. F. Clarke posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective April 27, 1956.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth appointed to the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer 5, effective April 3, 1956.
- Mr. C. J. Webster appointed to the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer 3, effective April 3, 1956.
- Mr. H. B. Singleton appointed to the Department of External Affairs as a Junior Administrative Officer, effective April 9, 1956.
- Mr. M. E. Grant appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 7, effective March 29, 1956.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 56/11—*Defence and the North*, an address by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ralph Campney, to the Empire Club of Toronto, April 12, 1956.
- No. 56/12—*Recent Developments in the Soviet Union Affecting East-West Relations*, excerpts from a statement made on April 12, 1956 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Standing Committee of External Affairs.
- No. 56/13—*Brotherhood Between Nations — The Colombo Plan*, excerpts from an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Holy Blossom Temple Brotherhood, Toronto, February 20, 1956.
- No. 56/14—*Some Aspects of Canadian-American Relations*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Club, Montreal, April 27, 1956.
- No. 56/15—*The Atlantic Community*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the English Speaking Union, London, England, April 30, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations Administrative Tribunal. Statute and Rules. AT/11. N.Y., January 1956. 14 p. (booklet). Sales No.: 1956.X.1.

United Nations Conference on Olive Oil, 1955. Summary of Proceedings. E/CONF. 19/5. December 1955. 29 p. Sales No.: 1956.II.D.1.

Economic Survey of Europe in 1955. E/ECE/235. Geneva, February 1956. 247 p. and Appendices A,B,C. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1956.II.E.2.

Demographic Yearbook 1955 (Seventh Issue). New York, 1955. 781 p. (bilingual). \$7.00. Sales No.: 1955.XIII.6.

Regulations of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. JSPB/G.4/Rev. 1. U.N. 1956. 20 p. (booklet).

Age and Sex patterns of Mortality. Model life-tables for under-developed countries. ST/SOA/Series A/22. U.N., December 1955. 38 p. Sales No.: 1955.XIII.9.

Manuals on Methods of Estimating Population. Manual II: Methods of appraisal of quality of basic data for population estimates. ST/SOA/Series A/23. N.Y., October 1955. 67 p. Sales No.: 1956.XIII.2.

International Court of Justice

Aerial Incident of October 7, 1952 (United States of America v. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Order of March 14, 1956. 6 p. Sales No. 145.

Aerial Incident of March 10, 1953 (United States of America v. Czechoslovakia). Order of March 14, 1956. 6 p. Sales No. 144.

Antarctica Case (United Kingdom v. Argentina). Order of March 16, 1956. 6 p. Sales No. 146.

Antarctica Case (United Kingdom v. Chile). Order of March 16, 1956. 6 p. Sales No. 147.

Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Portugal v. India) Order of March 13, 1956. 5 p. Sales No. 143.

International Labour Organization

(ILO publications may be secured from Canada Branch, ILO, 95 Rideau St., Ottawa 2, Canada.)

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries:

(a) *Survey of Current Work on Industrialization and Productivity.* E/2816. 2 March 1956. 106 p. Appendix, 45 p.

(b) *Proposals for a Programme of Work on Industrialization and Productivity.* E/2832. 17 March 1956. 47 p. Annex, 20 p.

Teaching of the purposes and principles, the structure and activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in schools and educational institutions of Member States (Report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of UNESCO). E/2837. 16 March 1956. 76 p.

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* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, or from the sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1956, p. 73.

GENERAL ELECTION IN CEYLON

(Continued from page 118)

The new Parliament was opened by the Governor General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, on April 20. The Speech from the Throne indicated that Ceylon would not join in alliances with any power blocs and confirmed that the position of the British naval and air bases on the island would be reviewed. Proposed internal measures were to include nationalization of transport, extension of social services, and encouragement of agriculture. Legislation would, as forecast, be introduced to declare Ceylon a republic and to make Sinhalese the official language of the state. Later, Cabinet decided that the Colombo Plan Exhibition, originally scheduled to take place early in 1957, has been indefinitely postponed.



INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL

The Minister of Public Works, Mr. Robert H. Winters, left, and the former Canadian Ambassador to Brazil, Mr. Sydney D. Pierce at the inauguration of the new President of Brazil, His Excellency Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira. Mr. Winters was designated as Special Ambassador for the inauguration ceremonies.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1956.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



June 1956

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Visit of Indonesia's President to Ottawa

His Excellency Dr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, arrived in Ottawa on June 4 following a visit to Washington and other centres in the United States. President Sukarno was greeted at Uplands Airport by the Governor General, the Prime Minister, members of the Diplomatic Corps and other dignitaries and officials; included in the Presidential Party were the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ruslan Abdulgani, Members of the Indonesian Parliament and the Chief Justice of Indonesia.

During his two days in Ottawa, President Sukarno was a guest of the Governor General at Government House where he also attended a dinner and reception given in his honour by Mr. Massey. Included in his Ottawa programme were an address to a special joint session of the Senate and House of Commons, visits to the National Research Council, the RCMP Barracks at Rockcliffe and the Indonesian Embassy. Dr. Sukarno also laid a wreath on the National War Memorial and was host at a dinner and reception at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club. On June 6 the Presidential Party left Ottawa for Chalk River, Arvida, Quebec City and Montreal, where on June 8 an honorary degree was conferred on Dr. Sukarno by McGill University. The following day the Presidential Party left Dorval Airport for Rome.

Dr. Sukarno's Address

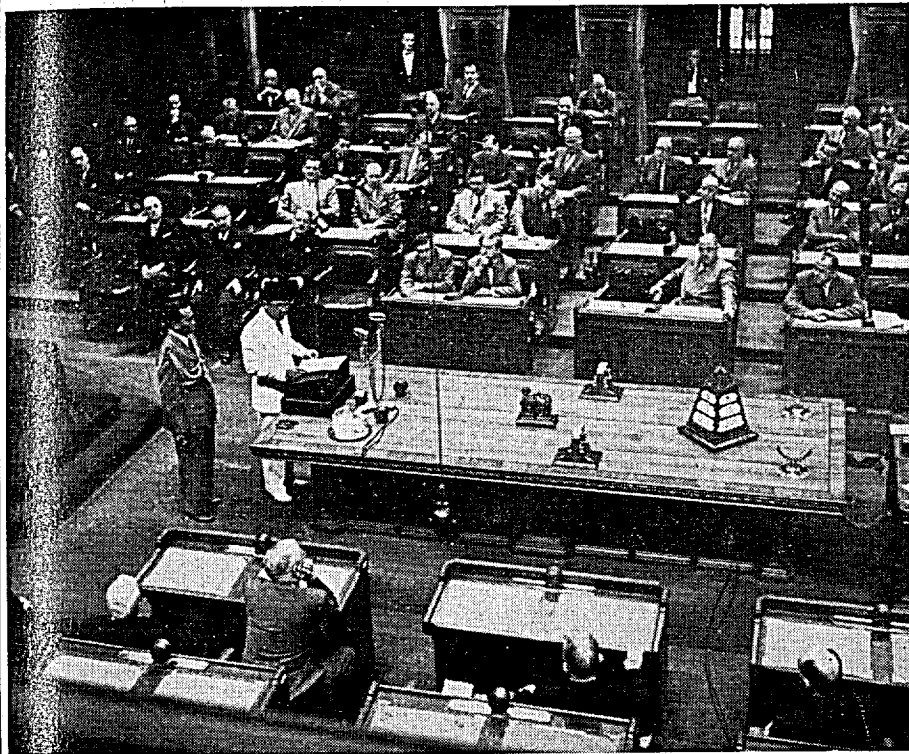
The text of Dr. Sukarno's address to Parliament is reproduced below.

I am deeply grateful for this opportunity of addressing the distinguished Parliament of this great country. I am also deeply grateful for the invitation which has brought myself and your other Indonesian guests to these hospitable shores.

In one very important sense Canada and Indonesia are neighbours. Your country is both an Atlantic Power and a Pacific Power, and travelling west from your shores the Republic of Indonesia is a neighbour of yours. Nothing is more important than knowing one's neighbours; that is one more reason why I was so glad to receive this invitation to visit you.

I feel that there is a close link between Canada and Indonesia. Both of these countries are on the verge of a great new period of development, and I am firmly convinced that the future of both countries will bring increased prosperity and increased happiness for all mankind.

Perhaps there is another link between us. In terms of history it is not so very long since Canada released herself from colonial bonds. If I am not mistaken, the uprisings in both Upper Canada and Lower Canada in 1837 did not immediately bring national independence, but they did bring a new political constellation, which led directly to the granting of responsible government to those colonies we now know as Canada. That new political constellation was a direct ancestor of the British North American Act which even today serves, with its amendments, as your constitution.



—NFB

PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA ADDRESSES CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

A highlight of the busy programme during the first visit to Canada of President Sukarno of Indonesia was his address to both houses of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa. The above photo was taken in the House of Commons during President Sukarno's address.

With us it was different. My nation still had almost one hundred years of colonialism to undergo after the Canadian people had assumed the mantle of nationhood. Our independence did not come smoothly, but it came eventually as a result of war, of enemy occupation, of revolution, and most important, of a national struggle lasting decades. But now that great struggle is partly over. The Republic of Indonesia has joined the family of nations and seeks to play a full part in the joint tasks and joint responsibilities of that family.

Standing before the members of this parliament and before you, my thoughts inevitably fly to the far-flung homes of the Canadian people who have chosen you as their representatives and who have handed to you the responsibilities of government. I would like to convey to those people, spread over this vast country, the most sincere greetings from myself, from members of my party, and from the Indonesian people. Further, I wish to convey to you the most grateful and heartfelt thanks of the Indonesian people for your assistance in the past, and our hope that this visit will lead to even closer relations in the future. It would not be surprising if even closer relations should develop between neighbours, even though they are separated by the thousands of miles' expanse of the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Speaker, allow me to say a few words to the French-Canadian members,—*permettez-moi de m'adresser aux membres canadiens-français. Je me sens vraiment privilégié en tant que premier citoyen de mon pays de vous transmettre avant tout les vœux les plus sincères et cordiaux du peuple indonésien*

que j'ai l'honneur de représenter ici. Ce sont les vœux d'un peuple ami dont les idéaux et les intérêts sont presque identiques aux vôtres. Cette similarité est bien logique étant donné que les racines des civilisations dans tous les pays démocratiques sont en principe les mêmes.

De plus, je profite de l'occasion qui m'est offerte aujourd'hui—unique dans notre histoire—pour vous remercier de l'accueil chaleureux que vous m'avez accordé.

Mr. Speaker, it is obviously true that the land, the climate and the people are the basic elements for the making of any nation. The future of that nation depends greatly upon what is done with the land and its resources. The political future of the nation depends, it is clear, upon the organized strength of the nation, and the social and cultural development of the nation can be measured only by the people's victory over their environment.

Indonesia's Natural Wealth

Like Canada, Indonesia is a vast country. We have more than 3,000 inhabited islands and our archipelago runs from Malaya to the north of Australia. It is a vast country of eighty-two million people and,—I do not say this in any boastful spirit,—it is today the third largest democracy in the world. Our nation is young in this modern world of ours, but it does not enter the family of nations empty-handed. I know that Canada is just beginning to exploit the great wealth bestowed by God upon this country; we of Indonesia are in the same position. The difference between us is that Canada's great natural wealth could not be exploited until science and technology had reached their present level. Indonesia's natural wealth could have been exploited—to the benefit of humanity—long ago. But we laboured under colonialism.

Now we can see no limit to the possibilities of development. It is no exaggeration to say that even we of Indonesia do not know the wealth of our country. It is no exaggeration to say that many of the islands composing our archipelago have hardly been explored, let alone exploited. When modern technology and modern science are devoted to the task of extracting the maximum from those islands, then I say with no fear of contradiction that Indonesia will contribute very, very greatly to the material well-being of this inter-dependent world of ours.

Furthermore, it is my belief that Indonesia and the other newly reborn countries of Asia and Africa have other gifts to bring to the world. I would like to quote to you a passage—a very short passage, but a very important passage—from a booklet distributed by the Canadian Government. This booklet was distributed three years ago throughout the countries of South-East Asia, and, speaking of Asia, it stated that: "Although we may have something to give and to teach, we have also much to receive and to learn. In this vast country of ours, we have found out how we may live and prosper, but from the east, with its ancient cultures, we have much to learn of the abiding things that bring comfort and delight to the mind and heart."

Mr. Speaker, that may well be true. What is equally true is that from the east also can come great material benefit, material benefit for all countries, material benefit both for the west and the east, material benefit for the whole world!

I know that it is a truism to talk of the inter-dependence of nations: I know that almost every speaker today refers to this, but it is sometimes difficult to appreciate just what it means in cold reality. The Government of Canada has obviously a real understanding of the position: this is shown clearly by the fact

that each year Canada contributes more than twenty-five million dollars to the Colombo Plan. As the representative of a country, and as the representative of a nation benefiting from the aid, I know what the Colombo Plan means, and please believe me, I express the gratitude of my people for this example of the brotherhood of nations and the interdependence of mankind.

We are indeed grateful for all assistance which comes to us, from whatever quarter of the globe it may come. We struggled long for our national identity. We love that national identity, we hold that national identity dear as life itself. We aim, therefore, above all things, to maintain and preserve that national identity. I assure you in all seriousness: nothing will ever take that from us. No hope or promise of quick reward will persuade us to barter one scrap of our independence, for to us that independence, that national independence, is more precious than any other thing in this world.

Nationalism in Asia and Africa

When I first set foot in the United States, I expressed my hope of observing America, amongst other things, as a state of mind. It is important that Asia and Africa be seen as a state of mind. And what is that Asian and African state of mind? Essentially it is the determination that the nations of Asia and Africa develop their own national reality. I use the word "reality" advisedly, because a nation is a reality.

Who could doubt that, after observing the post-war world? In particular, perhaps, who could doubt that after observing the Asian and African Conference which was held in Bandung a year ago? That great and historic meeting of twenty-nine States showed clearly the path of history in this post-war and troubled world. Representatives of more than half mankind, pre-representatives of one billion six hundred million people, met together in one of Indonesia's mountain cities, and discussed problems common to them all.

Those national representatives of Asia and Africa discussed the basic problem of where their nations stood in this modern world. I know that it is not necessary for me to tell you of the result of that Conference. You know that a long and all-embracing resolution was unanimously adopted. That result answered the basic question of where those nations stood. It answered the question of what the peoples of Asia and Africa sought and desired. Those assembled representatives of the majority of mankind clearly expressed their opposition to colonialism in all its forms, that is a basic fact in the mid-twentieth century.

Above all things, this is the period of Asian and African nationalism. This is the era when the old conditions, the old and hated pattern of world society is undone. Who can be surprised by the fact that colonialism, whatever form it assumes, whatever mask it may hide behind, however it may disguise itself, is indeed a hateful and disgusting thing? I will tell you this: colonialism left Indonesia with a heritage of illiteracy, a heritage of human sickness, of human ignorance, of human degradation, which was a disgrace and a menace to the twentieth century. We had the highest illiteracy rate in the world. We had the highest mortality rate in the world. We had the lowest living standard in the world: one "goband" a day, two and a half guilder-cents a day—not even one dollar-cent a day. Our country was rich, but its wealth did not serve to alleviate the misery and ignorance of our people. Having achieved independence, we still feel the consequence of three hundred and fifty years of colonialism. And those consequences are not light ones.

Illiteracy, sickness which science has long known how to control, technical backwardness, great social inequality, great economic backwardness, were our

inheritance, but under a national Government, under a Government dedicated to the uplifting and progress of our people, these things are not insupportable or unchangeable.

Proud of Nation's Progress

Just eleven years ago almost all of our people were illiterate; today less than half of our people are illiterate. Perhaps it may seem that I am boasting. I do not intend to boast, but I am immensely proud of the achievement in this field, and I am immensely proud of our national progress in other fields. We a nation previously numbered amongst the voiceless and the unconsidered in the world, a nation previously numbered amongst the unregarded, we have, for example, but recently completed, to our great satisfaction, the very first general elections in our country. This is a considerable achievement, and I am proud of it. I am proud of it because it shows a degree of political progress which could hardly have been expected of a nation which, only eleven years ago, was not even considered by the world.

We elected, under conditions of universal suffrage and secret ballot, a Parliament and a Constituent Assembly. Although I know well that those things alone are not a guarantee of democracy, I know equally well that without those things democracy cannot exist. We have chosen, and chosen after proper consideration, the democratic path to national fulfilment and national emancipation. We have chosen the path of Pantja Sila, the five principles of our State. They are: Belief in God; Nationalism; Humanitarianism; Democracy, and, last of all, Social Justice. It is our belief that this path will lead us most rapidly to the full and useful life which every nation ought to contribute and enjoy in our present-day world.

We all know that there is more than one road to participation in the world's affairs. We have chosen this Pantja Sila road. It is our sincere hope, our most sincere hope, that it will lead to success.

An Independent Foreign Policy

I am told that people are sometimes surprised at our attitude towards certain international problems in the world. We do not automatically accept the views of any group of people. We do not join in any military organization. We intend to be ourselves. It is true, it is very true, that we are enthusiastic members of the United Nations, and we see in the United Nations the faint outlines of a future world organization. We call our foreign policy not a "neutral" foreign policy; we call our foreign policy "independent" and "active". We call it so, because we take an independent line in accordance with what we see as the best interests of the world and our own nation, and we act upon that.

One of the draftsmen of Canada's greatness, Sir Wilfred Laurier, said in the year 1900: "I claim for Canada this: that in future Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act." In those words that great Prime Minister, that architect of the future, summed up the foreign policy which we of Indonesia choose to follow today.

We seek to follow a policy which will give the greatest benefit to all mankind, and if that foreign policy should sometimes run counter to what you believe and act upon, believe me when I say that what we do, and how we vote, is dictated by our ideals, and not by any spirit of opposition.

Yes, we are separated, as I said, by the Pacific Ocean. But we are also joined by the Pacific Ocean! We are neighbours, and nothing is more important than that neighbours should understand each other. I have not come to your vast country to negotiate any treaty. I have come with the hope that this short



—NFB

DR. SUKARNO VISITS OTTAWA

During his stay in Ottawa, on his first visit to Canada, Dr. Sukarno of Indonesia visited the Parliament Building, where he addressed Members of Parliament and Senators in the House of Commons Chamber. Above, he is shown with the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent (centre), during his call on Mr. L. Rene Beaudoin, Speaker of the House of Commons.

visit of mine will lead to a better understanding between our nations. If this should be so I will be content. You have a great future with your neighbour and friend to the south, the United States of America, that vast country which I so recently visited. There is a saying that "an unseen frontier of friendship" exists between Canada and the United States. It is my prayer that between us of Indonesia and this country of Canada a similar frontier of friendship may develop and grow strong.

Again I say: If our foreign policy should sometimes run counter to what you believe in or act upon, it is dictated by our ideals and not by a spirit of opposition. So let our friendship be strong.

Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen: I beg you, do not under-estimate the force of the nationalist torrent which is today pouring over Asia and Africa. It is

a mighty torrent, and one thing is certain: we are in the midst of an historical change which is vital for the whole future of mankind. It is a nationalist torrent, and that torrent is not directed against anyone or any nation. It is a torrent whose object is the greater freedom, the greater liberation, of mankind. I say this in all seriousness: any attempt to stand against that torrent will be vain, just as every attempt ever undertaken to stand against an historical process has been vain. This torrent is directed only against the outworn principle of colonialism. You may call it a destructive torrent, but it is one which is destructive only of colonialism, and one which will lead to a greater and wider horizon of freedom for all men everywhere and in every country. In the framework of history it is constructive and progressive.

Today most of my own country is free, most of my own nation is enjoying the fruit of independence, but to our sorrow and continued dissatisfaction a part of our nation and country still suffers under colonialism, that plague on mankind's fulfilment. West Irian—perhaps you know it better as West New Guinea—is still unfree. Until West Irian is rejoined to the rest of my country, Indonesia will feel herself incomplete and insecure. There can be no question that West Irian is part of Indonesia, and indeed until 1950 no one in the world would have dreamed of denying that fact. Until we are united with our still unfree brethren, we of Indonesia will never be content, because we know just what colonialism means in terms of human unhappiness, in terms of human misery and human degradation.

In this world of ours, troubled and uneasy though it is, there is still much success and many gains for the peace and security of men. Whatever we have gained has been won because man's understanding of other men as brothers has increased.

This is essential. Mankind the world over is basically the same whatever culture or ideological details may appear to divide him. Understanding and sympathy are necessary. Active understanding and active sympathy will help relieve the strains and tensions in the world. This is really my message to you. Give us your understanding and your sympathy. Give us, if you can, your active understanding and your active sympathy. If you do that, and if we of Asia and Africa retain that active sympathy and understanding, then the future of the world can indeed be bright.

Yes, mankind is basically the same, whatever racial or ideological details may appear to divide him. Why should mankind divide himself? Look, Indonesia is a country with many religions and many faiths. We have in Indonesia Moslems, we have Christians, we have Civa-Buddhists, we have peoples with other creeds. We have many ethnic units, such as Javanese, Achenese, Balinese, Madurese, Sundanese etc. But thank God, we have our will to unity.

We try to practice our State motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which means "Unity in Diversity". We are tolerant to each other, we are one nation. One of the most remarkable phenomena in modern history is that we of Indonesia, although living on three thousand islands, are united in one nation, without pressure, without compulsion, without civil war.

What, then is our unifying force? It is the will to unity, it is "le désir d'être ensemble", instead of suspecting each other, dominating each other, threatening each other and colonising each other—living at each other's expense.

We of Indonesia try to practice "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" amongst ourselves. Let us try to practice "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" amongst nations.

Then, only then, can we look up again to the stars, and say: "Thank God, for You have given us this world, and we have lived according to Your Word."

The Baghdad Pact

THE Baghdad Pact is a regional defensive grouping of four Middle Eastern powers—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan—allied for this purpose with the United Kingdom. It came into being on February 24, 1955, with the signing of a "Pact of Mutual Co-operation" between Iraq and Turkey, in Baghdad. The agreement provided that the signatories would co-operate for their security and defence. It was declared to be "open for accession to any member state of the Arab League or any other State actively concerned with the security and peace of this region"; and under this clause, the United Kingdom formally acceded to the alliance in April 1955, followed by Pakistan in July and Iran last November.

Although Canada is not directly involved in the affairs of the Baghdad Pact, we have a natural interest in any defensive grouping of friendly countries. Moreover, with two of the Pact's members—the United Kingdom and Pakistan—we have Commonwealth affiliations, and there are also our North Atlantic Treaty ties with the United Kingdom and Turkey.

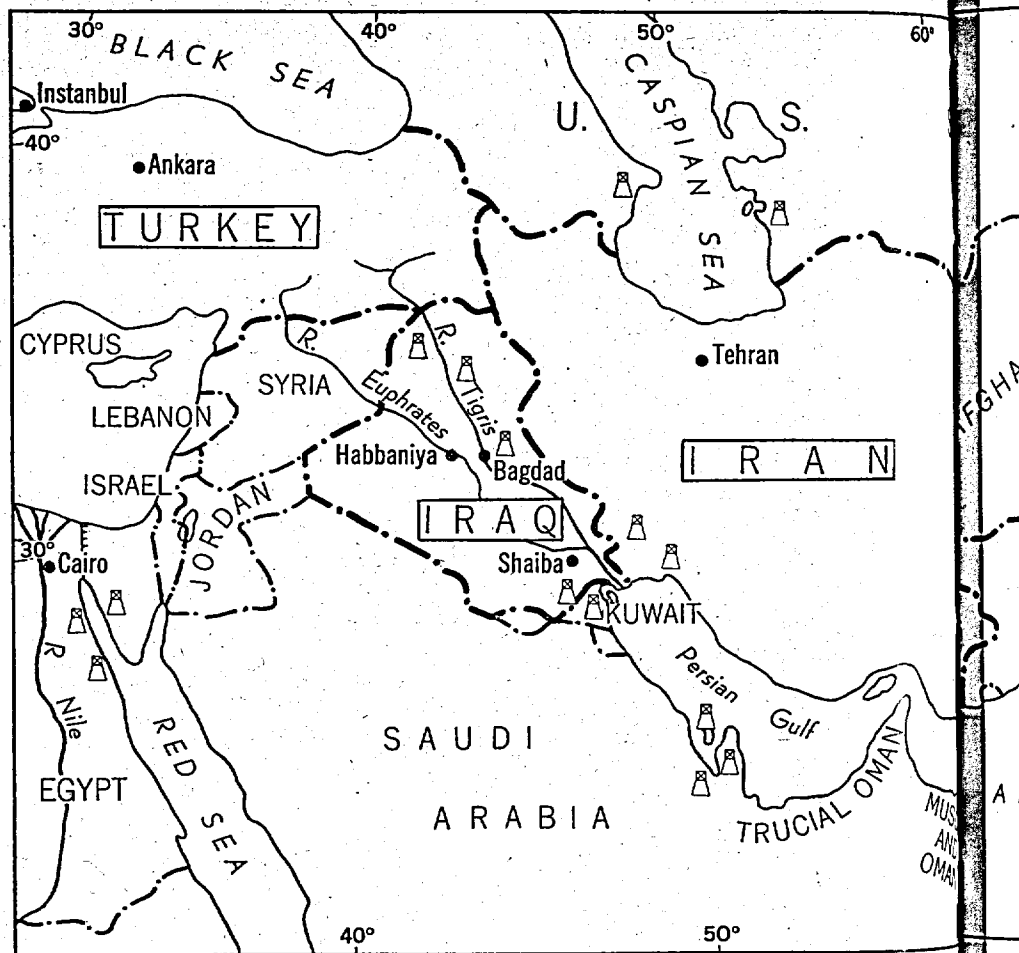
The Baghdad Pact has been criticized on the grounds that it is a sketchy defensive structure and that it exerts a divisive influence in the Middle East, since most of the Arab states, including Egypt, have not joined it. On the other hand, it represents a concrete stand against aggression and subversion; and furthermore, its increasing emphasis on economic assistance is not confined to members of the Pact but is directed towards the general area.

Development of the Pact

The alliance had its origin in the efforts of the veteran Iraqi statesman, Nuri el Said, to "make Iraq's co-operation with foreign countries conform to the provisions of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, under which relations of all sovereign countries are organized for the safeguarding of world peace." During the closing months of 1954, Nuri held discussions with Colonel Nasser in Cairo and with Turkish leaders in Istanbul on the possibility of establishing a collective defence for the Middle East. He also visited the United Kingdom. His theme in these talks was that the Arab countries were not strong enough to remain strictly neutral between the Eastern and Western blocs, that they could not collaborate with Communist countries; but that they could collaborate harmoniously with the West if satisfactory solutions to the problems of Suez and Palestine could be found.

Nuri al Said's approach met with a favourable response from Turkey, which had already displayed interest in a regional defence arrangement by the signature of a mutual co-operation and defence pact with Pakistan in April 1954. Accordingly the Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Iraq and Turkey, subsequently to be re-christened "the Baghdad Pact," was concluded on February 24, 1955.

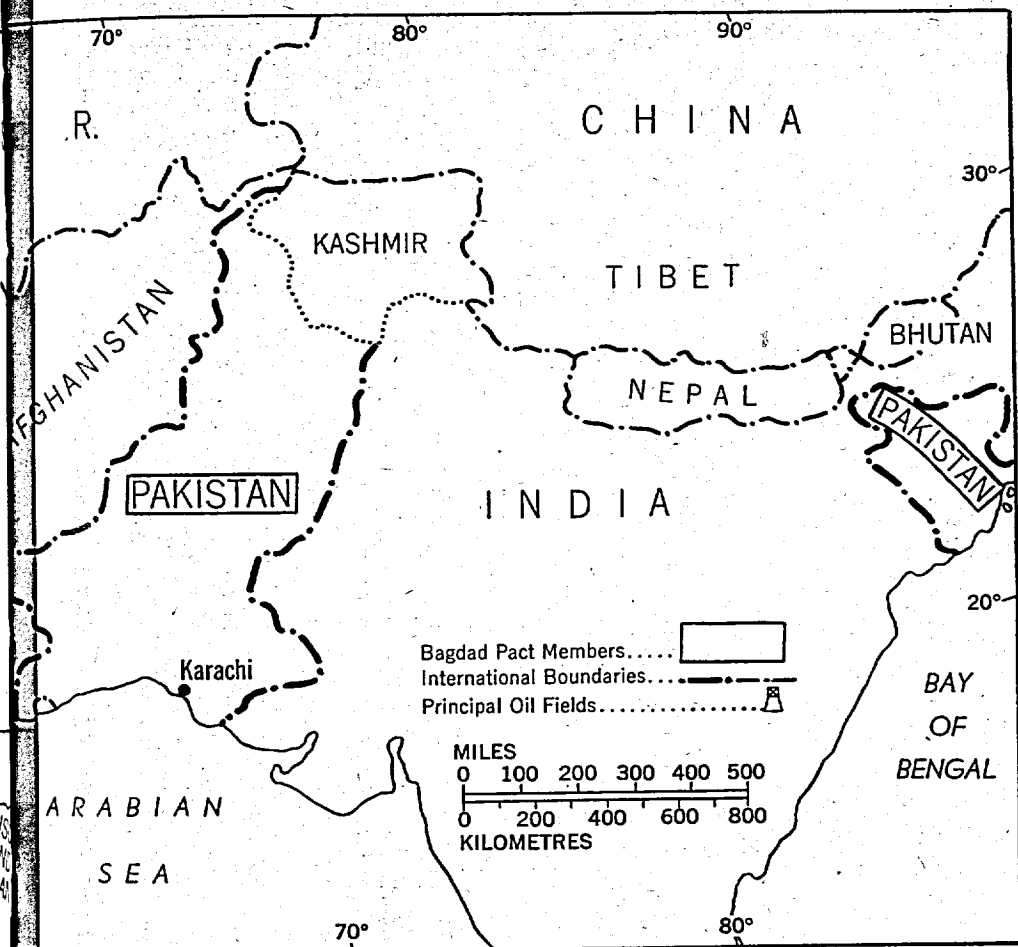
In addition to the terms already mentioned, the agreement specified that a permanent Ministerial Council of the Pact was to be set up as soon as it had at least four members. An exchange of letters between Iraq and Turkey at the time of the signing placed on record their understanding that the treaty meant they would jointly resist aggression directed against either of them; and also



that, "to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East Region," they would seek the carrying out of the United Nations resolutions concerning Palestine.

Soviet Reaction

Following the accession of the United Kingdom and Pakistan, it remained for Iran to complete geographically the "northern tier" concept of Middle Eastern defence, with her accession to the Pact early in November. The United States welcomed Iran's accession as "a normal development which should promote peace, stability and well-being in the area." However, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union greeted the event with a vigorous denunciation of the Baghdad Pact, describing it as "a military alignment which is a tool of certain aggressive circles that are not interested in the strengthening of peace and international security." Mr. Molotov also declared that the Pact had for its objective the retention and restoration of the colonial dependence of the countries of the area. Iran's accession, he said, was incompatible with the interests of strengthening peace and security, and was in contradiction with her "good-neighbourly relations" with the Soviet Union.



The Iranian note in reply to this initial Soviet Union attack on her adherence to the Pact was polite but firm. The Bagdad Pact, it stated, was concluded with due regard for the principles of the United Nations, and Iran's accession to it had no object but self-defence. As for Mr. Molotov's reference to restoration of colonialism in the Middle East, the note pointed out that anti-colonialism was a cardinal feature of Iran's foreign policy. Her adherence to the Pact, it continued, need not mar her "friendly relations and good neighbourliness" with the Soviet Union, and did not conflict in any way with the terms of existing agreements between the two powers.

The Soviet Union since has made several further protests against Iran's adherence to the alliance, and the Iranian replies have continued to emphasize the peaceful aims of the Pact.

The accession of Pakistan had brought into operation the article in the Pact under which a Council at Ministerial level was to be established when at least four powers had joined. The inaugural meeting of the Council was held in Baghdad on November 21 and 22, 1955, under the chairmanship of Nuri el Said. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey were represented by their Prime Ministers, and the United Kingdom by her Foreign Secretary, Mr. Harold Macmillan.

The United States had accepted an invitation to take part in the proceedings as an observer and was represented on the Council by her Ambassador in Baghdad. A United States service representative also sat with the Military Committee. The communique issued at the close of the meeting expressed the appreciation of the Pact members for the steps taken by the United States to establish permanent political and military liaison with the Council, and to keep in touch with its economic activities.

Economic Co-operation

A feature of the first Council meeting was the emphasis laid upon economic co-operation. It was decided that an Economic Committee should be set up, to develop and strengthen the economic and financial resources of the region. In particular it was to consider ways of sharing experience in the field of development, and of discussing common problems on a regional basis with the World Bank, the World Health Organization, UNICEF and other Specialized Agencies. The Council viewed with satisfaction the practical economic progress which had been made already, noting for example that the United Kingdom had decided to assist Iraq by helping her build up a £5 million gold reserve during the next two years, and by other forms of economic co-operation. The United Kingdom also offered, at the Baghdad meeting, to assist Baghdad Pact countries in the application of atomic techniques with special reference to local and regional problems." It was made clear that this assistance would involve only peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Council welcomed the United Kingdom offer, and directed the Economic Committee to consider its practical application.

The formative meeting of the Economic Committee was held on January 10 and 11, 1956, in Baghdad, and was attended by United States observers as well as representatives of member states. It was agreed that special studies should be made on a number of subjects, including trade relations, communications, agriculture, joint development projects, technical education and health. The Committee decided to propose the establishment, with British assistance, of an atomic energy training centre at Baghdad for the benefit of all member countries.

The report of the Economic Committee was adopted "for implementation without delay," at the second meeting of the Ministerial Council, which was held in Tehran last April. The meeting again stressed the economic objectives of the Pact. The Council decided to set up a Working Party to consider means whereby regional economic projects of interest to two or more members could be studied, and implemented through economic and technical assistance. The United States delegate to the Economic Committee reaffirmed his country's intention to continue its bilateral technical and economic assistance to Pact members and indicated that the United States would consider ways to assist joint projects undertaken by member countries.

At the same time it was observed that the basic objectives of international communism had not changed, and that efforts to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Pact powers could not be relaxed.

It was decided that the next meeting of the Ministerial Council should be held in Karachi in January 1957. Actually the Council is deemed to be in continuous session, and each member Government maintains a deputy representa-

tive to it with ambassadorial rank. A permanent secretariat is established in Baghdad.

Future of the Pact

Mr. Harold Macmillan commented on the future of the Baghdad Pact in a statement delivered last December 12 in the United Kingdom House of Commons. The Pact, he said, was not intended to act as a divisive influence in the Arab world, and in the long run can be hoped to unite it, when "countries who now seem doubtful, or even antipathetic, may be willing to associate themselves with us and our friends." The alliance, he continued, refutes the Soviet Union's propaganda-assertion that there was an inherent divergence of interest and motive between Western and Asian peoples; for it constituted "an equal and loyal partnership between Great Britain, with the United States as her associate, and four great Eastern powers—Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq."

Sir Anthony Eden took up the same point. It was unique of the Baghdad Pact, he declared, that it has brought a western nation to the conference table with several eastern nations, trying to work out not only military problems, but "much more important still in this context," economic problems which might alter the whole future of the area. Perhaps it is this final point which suggests the highest hope that may be entertained for the Pact's future—that through its economic provisions, extended in due course to other countries as well as its present members, it may contribute to and enhance the well-being of the whole Middle Eastern region.



CANADIAN RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR LEBANESE EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

Officials of the Lebanese Government, the Lebanese Red Cross, and the Canadian Legation were on hand at Beirut airport recently for the arrival of an RCAF transport plane carrying relief supplies for earthquake victims. The shipment, which was part of the \$25,000 contribution made by the Government of Canada through the Canadian Red Cross Society for earthquake relief in Lebanon, also included some of the \$10,000 worth of medical supplies provided by the Canadian Junior Red Cross. Above, the supplies are unloaded from the aircraft.

Canada and the United Nations

Economic and Social Council: 21st Session

This year, after a three-year absence, Canada re-occupied a seat on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for a third three-year term. At the Council's twenty-first session, held at headquarters in New York from April 17 to May 4, Canada was represented by a delegation headed by Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, and including Dr. O. J. Firestone, Economic Adviser, Department of Trade and Commerce; Mr. Marcel Cadieux, Department of External Affairs; and Mr. W. H. Miller, Director, Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

Mr. Hans Engen, Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations, was unanimously elected President for 1956, with Dr. José Vicente Trujillo, Permanent Representative of Ecuador, and Mr. Said Hasan, Permanent Representative of Pakistan, as Vice-Presidents. (The two Vice-Presidents acted as Chairmen of the Social and Economic Committees of the whole).

The session was businesslike and the atmosphere, for the most part, cordial. Basic differences between Communist and non-Communist states nevertheless came to light in the debate on forced labour and on two occasions when the wording of "members of the United Nations and/or of the Specialized Agencies" in regard to conventions and invitations to conferences was challenged by the U.S.S.R. as being too restrictive. It was noted that all Soviet bloc countries emphasized two themes: the possibilities for fruitful trade with under-developed countries; and the value of regional economic commissions and inter-regional co-operation.

In addition to representation by various specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, observers were present from Australia, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Haiti, the Philippines, Poland, Venezuela and from three new members of the United Nations, Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. The latter three did not fail to find occasion to make statements in plenary session.

Energy Sources and Economic Development

Useful ground work was done on three aspects of power production in relation to economic development, namely water resources, the application to economic development of atomic energy, and other new sources of energy. Although this was the first session in which Canada had participated since 1952, the Canadian Delegation played an active role, particularly on the items dealing with industrial development and the improvement of industrial productivity, international co-operation on cartography, the United Nations Children's Fund, and international co-operation with respect to water resource development.

Both in committee (with Dr. Firestone as Rapporteur of the Working Group) and in plenary, the Delegation contributed substantially to the drafting



—United Nations

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL MEETS

Dr. R. A. Mackay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, left, and Mr. Christain X. Palamas, Permanent Representative of Greece, at the 21st Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

of a resolution on industrialization which was unanimously adopted. It requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Council at its twenty-second session his views on the most suitable organizational arrangement to deal with matters relating to industrialization, and a report on the financial and other implications of the work going forward in this field. It also provided for special attention to be given to the needs of the Middle East and Africa.

Unanimous approval was given to a resolution jointly sponsored by Canada and Ecuador providing for the convening in Tokyo of a second regional cartographic conference for Asia and the Far East in 1958 and the establishing of cartographic committees under the regional economic commissions, as desired by the countries concerned. The resolution was further designed to assist the production of base maps for the location and exploitation of natural resources in less developed areas, to further the establishment of a universal system of writing geographic names, and to produce a universally acceptable set of specifications for the one-millionth map.

The Delegation co-sponsored a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare for the twenty-fourth session of the Council a report on the experience and studies available on atomic energy as a factor in economic development. The resolution also called for consultation with the United Nations Advisory Committee concerned with a second inter-

national conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy with a view to determining whether this conference could devote attention to the practical application of atomic energy to economic development, or whether a special conference should be convened.

A French resolution, also unanimously adopted, requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council at its twenty-fourth session on the prospects for practical utilization of energy developed from the sun, wind, and tides, and of geothermal and thermal energy of the sea, and conditions for convening an international conference.

The Council noted with approval the annual reports of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The Canadian Delegation voted for a French-United States resolution urging the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to continue consultations on water resource development, calling the attention of governments to the importance of de-mineralization of saline waters, and providing for the establishment of a panel of experts for reviewing the implications of river basin development. The Delegation abstained on a Netherlands amendment envisaging an international conference on river basin development. It was however adopted by the Council. Two Canadian suggestions were incorporated in this resolution, one emphasizing the need for co-ordination between the Specialized Agencies and the Secretary-General, and the other facilitating unanimous approval of the resolution by the inclusion of points of substance advanced by the Pakistan Delegation.

Need for Co-ordination

In its statement on the above items, the Canadian Delegation drew special attention to the need for co-ordination among the Specialized Agencies and the United Nations and for an increased use of facilities made available through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

A resolution on the item "Teaching of the purposes and principles, the structure and activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in schools and other educational institutions of member states" was adopted unanimously by the Council. It took note of the Secretary-General's report and requested him, in collaboration with the Director-General of UNESCO, to compile a similar report, based on enquiries to member states, for consideration by the Council at its twenty-ninth session.

The Council, in considering the applications of a number of non-governmental organizations for consultative status with ECOSOC, accepted the recommendation of the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations and rejected an application for re-instatement of the Women's International Democratic Federation, a Communist-dominated organization which had made propaganda against the United Nations in the Korean War.

The Council adopted a resolution recommending that governments ratify promptly the 1949 United Nations Convention on Road Traffic and that they continue for three more years to recognize as valid those driving permits that conform with provisions of the two earlier conventions on international traffic. The Canadian Delegation abstained on this resolution.



—United Nations

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SUNFED MEETS

Members of the General Assembly's sixteen-member Committee on a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) confer prior to recent meetings at United Nations Headquarters in New York. Above, left to right: Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, Canada; Mr. J. G. Hadwen, Department of External Affairs; Mr. Hans Singer, United Nations Bureau of Economic Affairs, Committee Secretary; Dr. M. A. Anis, Egypt; and Mr. Ali Yavar Jung, Chairman of the Committee.

The Canadian Delegation abstained on a resolution approved by the Council which, on the grounds that there was at present not enough support throughout the world to justify adoption of a new world calendar, adjourned *sine die* consideration of the reform of the Gregorian Calendar.

Social and Humanitarian Questions

The Delegation voted for a resolution on advisory services in the field of human rights approving plans for a two-week seminar for news personnel which will be held this summer in Geneva in conjunction with the twenty-second session of the Council and will give "due emphasis to the promotion of freedom of information". The programme of advisory services provides further for assistance in improving the status of women, preventing discrimination and protecting minorities and generally for advice on human rights problems. The Secretary-General is to report on developments under this programme to the Council at its twenty-third session.

The Council approved a resolution calling for a conference of plenipotentiaries in Geneva this summer to complete the drafting of a supplementary

convention on the abolition of slavery, the slave trade, and institutions and practices similar to slavery, and to open it for signature. After making the necessary reservation with respect to Canada's federal constitution, the Canadian Delegation voted for this resolution and joined with the majority in voting down a proposal that the convention be referred in the first instance to the General Assembly.

The Canadian Delegation abstained on a resolution approved by the Council which provided for a conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on the recognition and enforcement of foreign arbitral awards. The Conference was held this month and Canada was represented by an observer.

The Council adopted, with three abstentions (Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, and U.S.S.R.) two resolutions jointly sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada which recommended to the General Assembly that it amend its resolution of 1950 in order to release the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency from the obligation of submitting a report to the Council. The activities of the Agency will continue to be under review by the Advisory Committee and by the General Assembly itself.

Children's Fund

The Council noted favourably the report submitted by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and approved unanimously a resolution jointly sponsored by Canada and France providing for the divorcing of the Executive Board of the Children's Fund from the Social Commission and for the direct election to the Board of all its twenty-six members. Eighteen of these had previously sat on the Board by virtue of their membership on the Social Commission.

In the elections to the functional commissions of the Council, Canada was re-elected to the Population Commission by a unanimous vote. While we were not standing for election to the Commission on the Status of Women until 1957, Canada was given two write-in votes. Canada is at present a member, in addition to the Population Commission, of the Statistical Commission (second year of term) and the Executive Board of UNICEF.

The three new members of the United Nations most interested in election to the functional commissions all obtained one seat—Austria (Narcotic Drugs), Italy (Human Rights), and Spain (Social Commission). Bulgaria, Roumania, and Hungary were also elected respectively to the Transport and Communications Commission, the Statistical Commission, and the Narcotic Drug Commission.

The question of the expansion of the Economic and Social Council and the membership of its functional commissions as a result of the increase in United Nations membership was not raised officially during the session.

Tunisia

All Delegations welcomed Tunisia to the confraternity of sovereign nations and the Council approved unanimously a French resolution informing UNESCO that it had no objection to the admission of Tunisia to this Specialized Agency.

The Council concluded its twenty-first session by approving the provisional agenda for its twenty-second session to be held in Geneva from July 9 to August 10. Two sub-items relating to land reform and to co-operatives were transferred to the agenda of the twenty-third session next spring. Two items, the election of members to the Commission on International Commodity Trade and a portion of the item on Industrialization, were added to the agenda of the twenty-second session, and the election of members to the Executive Board of UNICEF was added to the agenda of the resumed twenty-second session to be held during the eleventh session of the General Assembly this winter.



BRAZIL'S VICE-PRESIDENT VISITS OTTAWA

On May 10 and 11 Joao Belchior Marques Goulart, Vice-President of the United States of Brazil, and Madam Goulart paid a visit to Ottawa. Members of the Vice-Presidential party included Mr. Joao Lima Teixeira, Leader of the Brazilian Labour party in the Senate, and Mr. Roberto Silveira, Vice-Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

During his stay in Ottawa Vice-President Goulart paid calls on Governor General Vincent Massey and Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent; he also held talks with Mr. Milton Gregg, V.C., Minister of Labour, and Mr. R. H. Winters, Minister of Public Works. On May 10 Mr. Goulart was guest of honour at a dinner at the Country Club with Mr. Winters as host, and on the following day attended a luncheon given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Lester B. Pearson. On the evening of May 11 Vice-President Goulart was guest of honour at a dinner given by the Ambassador of Brazil, His Excellency Afranio De Mello-Franco; a reception followed the dinner.

The Colombo Plan: A Progress Report

On May 3 the Administrator, International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Nik Cavell, reported to the Standing Committee on External Affairs, House of Commons, on Canada's Colombo Plan participation as follows:

At my appearance before you last year I told you that generally speaking our aid programme to South-East Asia was going forward in a satisfactory way. I put before you the efforts the various countries of that area were making to help themselves. Actually something between 85 and 90 per cent of their total development effort is being borne by these countries, poor as they are, and you will perhaps remember that I outlined to you some of the assistance we were giving to help them to better themselves. I told you then that in this endeavour we had inaugurated 38 projects and that a number of others were under discussion. The total number of our capital projects, large and small, has now mounted to 60, in addition to which there is a certain amount of equipment which has been provided under technical co-operation in an endeavour to make our experts in the field under the technical co-operation programme more efficient and therefore more productive.

* * * *

Technical Assistance

I would like to start first with the Technical Co-operation programme. Last year when I was before you I talked about our work in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, but you will remember that we received an extra million dollars last year which was to be spent on technical assistance in the new countries which had joined the Colombo Plan but had received no assistance from Canada. These were Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Indochina . . .

I would like to point out that we are training young people and we are bringing them here in increasing numbers and exposing them to our democratic way of life. We do all we can for them and send them back, but it will be some years before we can evaluate their usefulness, and more and more we realize that they are exactly like our own young people—some are brilliant, some do an average job and a small percentage are failures. But all the time I feel we are adding slowly but surely to the technical skills, agricultural, medical and other knowledge which these countries must have if they are to better the lot of their people. After residence with us here in a free and democratic society which has raised the standards of its own people to about the highest in the world, they certainly go back with a very different point of view from that which they hold when they arrive. We hope that their influence will be very considerable for at least 20 years to come, which will be their average working life.

Our greatest difficulty is to find the fields in which we can best help. To aid us in this we send our research missions composed of the best men we can find in their field, or in some cases we send individuals who have had teaching or technical experience here in Canada, and they go to one or two countries

and try to discover for us in what area of education Canada can be most effective . . .

Problems in Burma, Indonesia, Indochina and Malaya

I would like to take a moment here to bring to the notice of the Committee a few facts about the countries of Burma, Indonesia, Indochina and Malaya. They are not nearly as stable or advanced as India, Pakistan and Ceylon, where we have until now done most of our work. Burma fell into terrible chaos both during and after the Japanese occupation. Her communications were destroyed, what little business she had was completely disrupted, and from being the largest exporter of first class rice in the world, her agriculture fell to such an extent that she was hardly growing enough rice for her own needs. This of course meant that she virtually had no exports from which to earn foreign currency, with the result that she was compelled to cut down her development programme very considerably. The situation has very much improved but she is still not in the fortunate position she was before the war. She has now succeeded in bringing to an end the three civil wars which were raging in her own country after the Japanese left. Slowly the government is regaining control, but even today it is not safe to move about many parts of Burma without a military escort and obviously this situation impedes our work and makes it difficult for us to know where we can head in and help . . .

Indonesia is better off; she has now settled most of her difficulties with the Dutch and is gradually evolving a better and stronger government. That government is beginning to turn its attention to a different system of education and to the needs of the people. But here again recent events of history make it difficult for us to see exactly where we can best assist.

Canada has a specially advantageous position with regard to the Indo-Chinese States; they were under the French and therefore, outside of their indigenous languages, their language is French and not English as in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. We can be of great assistance here because outside of France we are the only nation with a large established French population, having schools and universities teaching in the French language. We are able, therefore, to offer training to their young people who speak French as their second language. Forty Vietnamese students are going to Ste. Anne de la Pocatiere, which is the agricultural school of Laval University . . . This will be the largest single group from any country to arrive in Canada under our Technical Co-operation programme. Personally I am very happy that this largest group should come from the war-torn country of Indochina, which certainly needs all the help we can give it to get on its feet.

As you all know, the agreement achieved last February between Malaya and Great Britain looks for Malaya to be an independent state within the Commonwealth by August 1957, if possible. A constitution has to be written and Canada has been asked to send one man, together with the United Kingdom, Australia, India and Pakistan, for this purpose. This would tend to develop and expand the sources of aid to Malaya. So far as Singapore is concerned, that island is not included in this agreement and, as you all know, a Singapore delegation headed by David Marshall is now in the U.K. trying to reach agreement for self-government. All these factors, it seems to me, would tend to diversify the nature of aid both to Malaya and to Singapore, but one must



LARGEST GROUP OF COLOMBO PLAN TRAINEES ARRIVES IN CANADA

Prior to the start of their training at the Laval University Agricultural School at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, Quebec, a party of 38 Colombo Plan Trainees, 37 from Vietnam and one from Laos, spent several days in Ottawa last month.

During their visit to the Canadian Parliament Buildings, the trainees were received by Hon. L. Rene Beaudoin, Speaker of the House of Commons. He is shown above (right) answering the questions of Phan Thank Nguyen, spokesman for the party (left). Standing at the rear are Nguyen Duy Lien, Counsellor of the Vietnamese Embassy, Washington, and Mr. R. G. Nik Cavell, head of Canada's Colombo Plan Administration.

These trainees, who represent the largest single group to come to Canada under Canada's Technical Co-operation Programme, will follow a 3½ months course in the operation, maintenance and repair of agricultural machinery.

Canada is in a particularly advantageous position among Colombo Plan countries since it is the only one which can offer extensive training facilities in the French language, the second language of the Vietnamese trainees.

not forget that the overall percentage of Chinese is 50.8, a potent factor which cannot be ignored in the aid or any other field.

Capital Projects

You might be interested to know how our technical assistance training fits in with our capital projects. Our cement plant in Pakistan which, you will remember, was built in Montreal, is now producing on an experimental basis. Pakistan has been unable to find sufficient personnel to run it and so we are finding some supervising people and helping under technical assistance to make sure that the plant does not break down from want of trained people. By the way, you might be interested to learn that the Pakistanis have called

the cement plant we have built for them "The Maple Leaf Cement Plant". And so with the various electrical generating plants in which we are engaged. We send out Canadian technicians to help run them if required and there is a continuous co-operation with the engineers of the country concerned when we are building them.

However, it would not be right for me to let you think that all this works automatically and always with absolute accord. You must remember that what is happening here is that one of the most technically advanced nations in the world—ourselves—is co-operating with nations still 80 per cent and sometimes 90 per cent agricultural; they are short of technicians, short of engineers and have a mass population which, for the most part, has no machine training or technical background whatsoever. We are in trouble, for instance, at our Warsak Project on the North-West Frontier because enough Pakistanis with technical training cannot be found to co-operate with our people. We have the same problem in East Bengal where we are bringing into being at the present time two badly needed thermal plants. This is no one's fault, neither is it an easy situation to remedy. There is, of course, a limit to the number of Canadians we can find and send out. In this connection, of course, the boom situation in Canada mitigates against us. It is not easy in the first place to find these highly trained men in Canada; if they are good they already have well paid jobs and if they are not good they are useless to us. It is difficult to persuade such men to leave those jobs and go off to countries about which they know little or nothing, to face bad climates, perhaps disease and a standard of living below that to which they are accustomed. So, gentlemen, do not go away with the idea that there are not serious problems. They most certainly are and they are likely to continue. All we can do is deal with them on a day-to-day basis as they arise. So far we have been able to persuade high calibre men to work for us and we hope to continue to find them and to persuade them that the experience will be good for them.

We are still continuing to work on projects which we feel Canada can best supply. Since we are probably the world's most experienced people in hydro electric generation, it is perhaps natural that we should have embarked on five hydro-electric stations in the area, as you will see from the report I have tabled. Remembering the difficulties I have just mentioned, we have found consulting engineers, hydro-electric experts and such-like people to design and get these projects built. In addition, we have undertaken electrical distribution systems and some thermal generating plants. We have done this firstly because, as I have already said, we are experts in the power field, and, secondly, because power is the fundamental requirement of South-East Asia. Given power, they can have agricultural pumping, small industries, etc., and so lead to a better way of life for which power is a first vital necessity.

We have also, as I told you last year, gone into the communication field because communications are another vital necessity in the betterment of the lot of any people.

Co-operation With Other Agencies

The co-operation with other aid agencies, which I believe I mentioned to you last year, still continues. In fact, it improves. There is, every year, the Annual Meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan. Last

year this was held at Singapore and this year it will be held in New Zealand. At this meeting, as you know, the economic situation of Asia is studied and the nations concerned as donors try their best to match their technical assistance and capital projects with the individual needs of the various countries in the area. In addition, there is co-operation with the United Nations Assistance Programme, the International Co-operation Administration and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Here on the North American Continent, there is a continuing co-operation between me and my officers and the officers of these agencies, and particularly with the International Co-operation Administration and the International Bank. The International Co-operation Administration is the organization through which the United States administers its aid. All this co-operation, of course, is organized to prevent overlapping and to keep each other informed on economic and other problems which arise continually.

We are also in very close touch with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose reports are probably the best prepared of any and which is most co-operative. This kind of co-operation, of course, cuts down time and expense because we then do not have to go out and seek so much information for ourselves.

Atomic Reactor for India

You will recently have seen in the press that Parliament this year is going to be asked to increase our appropriation to \$34.4 million from the \$26 million at which it now stands. This is very largely to take care of the Atomic Reactor which we are giving to India. This is a research type of reactor, in fact an exact copy of the research reactor we have at Chalk River. There are several good reasons why this reactor should have been supplied by us. Atomic power is going to be of the utmost value to these under-developed countries. They have very few hydro-electric sites which they can develop and some of these which they have are in areas where profitable development would not be possible. Many of them are short of coal and oil and obviously under these conditions atomic power will be invaluable to them, but no one can jump into atomic power without a lot of experimental work and careful scientific training. The atomic reactor of the type we are sending to India is just the research reactor which affords this training. India has undertaken to train young scientists there from all over the area and this reactor will therefore, we hope, play a very great part in the future development of these countries. With such great scientists as Dr. Bhabha it was inevitable that India would develop along these lines and it was therefore appropriate that a country such as Canada, which is well regarded in India, should help her on her way.

I do not know whether any of you gentlemen have read a book called "Soviet Professional Manpower", which was put out by the Russian Research Centre of Harvard University. This book seems to me to show—and I presume we can take it as being reasonably accurate—that Russia is getting ahead of the West in training young scientists, engineers and other technical people, and whilst, as I have already told you, we are having considerable difficulty in finding the proper people to go to South-East Asia, the Russians as you know are now offering to send almost any number the South-East Asians will take, and are also offering training in Russia. Of course they can order their experts

anywhere they want them to go and make them accept any terms they want to force on them, but it does seem to me worth noting that there is now quite a likelihood that any experts we cannot supply, the South-East Asians can, should they so wish, obtain from the Soviet area.

There is one more point I would like to make and that is that we have tried to disperse the trainees we receive from South-East Asia as widely as possible around Canada and so far as possible we have tried to do the same in the selection of technical experts, and there has been a definite reason behind this. It seems to me that not only are we giving training to South-East Asians but we are an exporting country and are likely to be so for many years to come. South-East Asia will, we hope, when its people acquire a little more wealth, be purchasers of our equipment, and it is therefore good that as many as possible of our business men and professional people should become acquainted with the area, apart altogether from the humanitarian issues which are also involved. British, German and American contractors have had a lot of experience in foreign fields and now under Colombo Plan auspices some of our contractors are obtaining like experience in South-East Asia.

I do not think I have anything more to tell you today except this: that the more I see of this operation, the more I believe it to be vitally necessary if we are to maintain a free world and not see huge chunks of it succumb to the totalitarian doctrine. However, I would also like to say that the glamour and excitement of finding proper operational paths and of beginning our first projects have long ago given place to the hard grind of keeping a large number of projects up to schedule and dealing with the multifarious problems which, of necessity, arise from them. This is so not only in our Canadian operations; it is so in the whole field of Western aid to South-East Asia and other under-developed areas. The merging of highly technically advanced nations in the aid field with very under-developed and non-technically minded people presents an enormous number of very complicated problems. Whereas the first thing a child in our home stumbles over is his mother's vacuum sweeper or some other piece of electrical equipment, the only thing the child in the Asian village knows is how to twist the bullock's tail to make him go a little faster. The two states of mind are vastly different and to bring them together and, still more important, to forge a friendship between them in the process, is not an easy task. But I think I can say that we are slowly accomplishing it.

The end has come to the first Five Year Plan in India and by and large it has been successful. Now they embark on their Second Five Year Plan, which will again enmesh them in more hard work, and vast expenditures on development and still leave millions of their people in the agricultural villages in a state of insecurity and great poverty, not judged by our standards but by almost any standards; and so it is in all these countries—what is being done is slow and all too little.

The task to which we have set our hand is by no means finished.

Canada, United States to Discuss International Boundary Waters

THE following statement was made on May 23 in the House of Commons by the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mr. Jean Lesage. A similar announcement was made in Washington.

The Canadian and United States Governments have decided to examine together the subject of waters which flow across the international boundary between the two countries.

The last time both governments examined this matter thoroughly together was before the conclusion of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. During the forty-six years which have elapsed since its ratification, the International Joint Commission, which was established by the Treaty, has worked with outstanding success in solving water problems within the framework of this treaty.

It has recently appeared, however, that the development of the resources of such basins as the St. John, the Columbia and the Yukon, requires, among other things, the solution of various complicated legal, economic and engineering questions. In agreeing to examine the matter of waters which cross the boundary, the two governments realize that there may be no easy or quick answer to the problems which are arising today in such areas and that the studies may reveal that the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 is sufficiently broad to meet present problems. The two governments believe, however, that a full and confidential exchange of views may contribute to the resolution of these problems and it is in this spirit that the discussions have been agreed to. At the same time, the two governments desire that the International Joint Commission shall press forward its studies under the Columbia River Basin Reference of 1944 and the other similar references which it has under consideration.



—NDHQ
CANADIAN OFFICERS TO PALESTINE

Five Canadian Army majors have been named to serve with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. Above, left to right they are: Majors A. K. Paton, Vancouver; R. P. Yellie, Quebec City; S. M. Pinkerton, Hamilton; G. W. Graham, Calgary; and L. M. Stone, Vancouver.

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the English Speaking Union, London, England, April 30, 1956.

It has long been an agreeable and innocent diversion to the student of history to observe man's curious blindness to important and even revolutionary events in the contemporary scene. Almost any age—certainly including our own—provides numerous examples to give us that curious but common pleasure known as wisdom after the event.

At the very moment when Aristotle was designing the best possible constitution and economy for the City-State, his most renowned student, through his conquest of the civilized world, was making the City-State concept of Society obsolete. Long after the time when the introduction of gunpowder had completely changed the facts of war, moated castles continued to be built throughout Europe, even though their interest had become more picturesque than strategic. Early in the 19th century, as I recall, there were grave misgivings in England concerning the increasingly acute shortage of boxwood, with which alone the hubs of stage coach wheels could be satisfactorily made: this at the time when a network of railways was beginning to spread throughout the country. You will remember, too, that as late as 1917 in the First World War, the Allied Command kept in readiness a division or so of cavalry for the break-through to Berlin, yet one would have thought that by 1917 it would have been evident that cavalry, although continuing to give "an air of distinction to what would otherwise have been disorderly brawl", had largely gone the way of the crossbow and the muzzle-loader. In our own day, it is probable that none of us can fully apprehend the implications for war or peace of the release of atomic energy. A century or so hence, historians, if there still are any left, may wonder at our astonishing shortsightedness.

The fact is that man's inherently conservative nature and his tendency to think in wishful terms not infrequently blinds him to developments which are bound to bring about the most profound and unsettling transformations to his familiar world. That is one reason why it is so hard to bring political action into line with those developments.

Today, for instance, we may not have fully realized the changes that have occurred which render obsolete many of our old concepts of national sovereignty and which, on the other hand, make essential the growth and acceptance of the idea of supra-national association: changes which require that we

give priority to interdependence over independence.

Security, peace and ordered progress call for action on a wider basis than that of the national community. This does not mean, however, that we should move at once into world government or some form of atlantic union or broad political federation with a central legislature and executive, a common citizenship, currency, and budget, a single foreign policy and defence establishment under central control: in short, with all the institutions of a federal state.

Need for Security

Those who advocate such schemes of federation do so from the highest of motives. They perform, I think, a good and useful service in preparing public opinion for the political changes which will undoubtedly be called for in the future to promote international co-operation. As a practising and, I hope, practical politician, however, as well as a quondam student of political science, I confess that I sometimes find some of the blueprints of the brave new international world so far removed from the possibilities of the present that it is difficult to consider them in realistic terms. Our ultimate destiny—to safeguard our very existence—may require some form of federalism on a regional or even a wider basis. But meanwhile we have to work with the institutions which exist today and attempt to adapt them for the more ready and efficient and equitable solution of our current problems. This is, I suggest, a necessary and practicable task, and the insistent demand for something more far-reaching to be achieved immediately may at times be an obstacle to its accomplishment. In any event, the formal surrender of sovereignty, in its old form, is not now so decisive an issue as the provision of a new assurance through adequate international measures that power, traditionally the main attribute of sovereignty, will not be used for wrong purposes and against the general interest. The decisive factors, therefore, are those which determine policy: above all, which bring about a sound and sensible public opinion which alone makes it possible for democratic governments to adopt sound and sensible policies: or should the sequence be reversed?

Power, in the sense of capacity to wage nuclear war against another nuclear state, or on the other hand, to abandon the rest of the world and retire into complete isolation with-

out disastrous economic consequences, is now, in practice, limited to two or three states. Even with those, the consequences of nuclear victory would be about as disastrous as those of nuclear defeat.

Doctrine of Nuclear Deterrent

Realization of this fact has put an effective curb upon the freedom of choice and, therefore, the sovereignty of even the super-states. The concept of power-balance has given way to the doctrine of nuclear deterrent. Even the Soviet Union, rather belatedly, seems to have realized that it is not entirely free to throw its atomic weight around and, making a virtue out of necessity, is offering us 'peaceful co-existence'.

If the great have been limited in this way, how much less freedom of choice remains for smaller states. Indeed, whatever power these states now have can perhaps be most effectively used by the influence they may exert, either alone or even more in association with others, on the policy of the super-power. I suppose, in essence, that—and fear—are the main reasons which now hold coalitions of free states, such as *NATO*, together.

Smaller and newer states are often more sensitive about their sovereign rights even than larger and older ones. That is understandable. If a smaller power were not jealous of what it has, it soon might not have anything. And it is not surprising if a country which has only recently gained freedom and sovereignty is not as aware as an older state should be of the limitations, as well as the responsibilities, of that freedom.

I do not suggest, of course, that nationalism should not find expression in political freedom until these limitations and responsibilities are sure to be accepted. Nevertheless, if they have any sense of political or economic reality, smaller powers must recognize that isolation or neutralism or whatever they may call it, is today not likely to get them very far in controlling their own destinies. It is primarily by working with others that smaller countries can exercise influence on the big decisions by the big powers which so largely determine their own fate. This should strengthen their belief in international co-operation and international organization. It may also make them insistent on a voice and authority within this co-operation and these organizations, in the effort to recapture some of the control over their own fortunes which they may once have possessed but a large part of which, it must be admitted, most of them have now lost. While this is true, the atom bomb has also become itself a leveller

even among those states that possess it. It has for instance, because of its total destructive effects for which there is no adequate defence, made military superiority almost meaningless and armament races irrelevant. As Mr. L. L. White has put it in his wise little book *Everyman Looks Forward*:

"The bomb has exploded the concept of quantity in the military field. Belief in military power may continue as a comforting conviction, just as men still believe in gold and move it carefully from place to place. But the real contest for supremacy will meantime be carried on in the field of policy and ideas.

"With the discovery of the bomb power itself has become powerless before the will of a few. The human mind, by discovering prodigious destructive power within an ounce of mineral has recovered its mastery over quantity. From 1600 to 1945 physical power grew in arrogance, and policy often became the servant of the needs of power. But the bomb has burst the myth of power. It is policy not power, human motive not quantity, which is ultimately decisive in human affairs.

"To be a great power no longer means to be secure. Small nations have never been secure, nor will great nations be so in the future unless their policy is wise. Competition in military strength may continue, but it will no longer dominate world politics. Those who have no policy are at a loss, and have to do some hard thinking.

"While power was dominant, those who lacked an adequate policy could sit back and blame power-politics. But now the bluff of power has been called, and the choice is race-suicide or race-policy. Can it be that the future lies with those who can best think?"

Supra-national Communities

It surely does not take much hard thinking to come to the conclusion that in their own interest, nation states should work together toward supra-national communities.

Such communities can grow in different ways and from different sources. Our Commonwealth of Nations, for instance, has evolved from an imperial centre through the transformation of colonial dependencies into free states who have chosen to remain in political association with each other and with the parent state. Evolution without revolution has been of unique value not only to the nations most directly concerned, but to the world at large. That world should not forget

what it owes to the United Kingdom for originating and directing this process—which, of course, has not been completed. I can assure you that Canada is happy about its position in the Commonwealth and has no desire to see that position weakened. To us it means independence to which something else has been added.

Not a Static Association

The Commonwealth has never been a static association. It has been able to adapt itself to changing conditions and thereby influence those conditions. In recent years its value has increased, and taken on a new significance, by the membership of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and by the steady move toward qualification for such membership of other Asian and African political groups.

In this way the Commonwealth provides a bridge—at a time when there are all too few of them, and when they are desperately needed—a bridge between Asia and the West.

Another impulse to international community development comes from the realization by contiguous nations, with shared political ideas and traditions and interests, that they would be much more adequately equipped to face the political and economic problems, and exploit the political and economic possibilities of today if they could remove the boundaries and barriers between them: in short, become integrated.

The contemporary illustration of this trend which first springs to mind is, of course, the move toward European unity. It is a move which must surely commend itself first of all to Europeans themselves, who must remember best how much their continent has suffered from disunity; more especially from the tragic feud over the centuries between Gaul and Teuton. The movement will also, I believe, be welcomed by non-Europeans of good will—this certainly includes Canadians—who see in it not merely the strengthening of the shield against aggression from the East, but also a more solid foundation for the prosperity and progress of the united peoples of Western Europe who are such a vital part of the Atlantic community. I hasten to add, however, that as a strong believer in the freest possible kind of international trade, Canada's approval of the economic aspects of European integration, without which I suppose the political could not take place, is given on the assumption that in this case the whole, while greater, could not be higher, more restrictive, than its parts. I am thinking of restrictions in the way of trade, of course, about which a country which exports as Can-

ada does, about one third of its gross national product takes a somewhat jaundiced view, one which would be fully understood by a country like the United Kingdom which has flourished and grown great by its commerce with all parts of the world.

We should, I think, favour European unity for another reason. Western Europe has great resources of wisdom, strength and energy which, along with its traditions of freedom and culture, qualify it to play a powerful and constructive part today in world affairs. It can play this part most effectively, if the area of united or at least closely co-ordinated political action is enlarged.

This enlargement therefore is something which, I think, we should encourage and support, without—and I am talking now about North Americans—being too insistent in our advice as to how it should be done, or becoming too impatient if it is not done overnight. After all, as Mr. Bulganin reminded us last week, 'Moscow was not built in a day'. I do not myself see anything in this move to European unity which should hinder in any way the growth and coming-together of the Atlantic community. Quite the contrary. Nor do I see anything necessarily inconsistent between the closest possible association of the United Kingdom with this European development, and the maintenance and even strengthening of its ties with the rest of the Commonwealth.

I appreciate, of course, that while this country is part of Europe—history provides grim as well as glorious reminders of that connection—it has also a wider destiny and wider interests. The world owes much—some states indeed owe their very existence—to the fact that the vision of the British people has ranged across the oceans as well as across the channel. I do not forget this debt when I express the hope that this country, so rich in political sagacity, so steeped in political experience, and which has provided Europe with with imaginative leadership more than once in history, will play an active and constructive part in the efforts now being made by European states to adapt themselves to new conditions which require their closer association. Such a part would represent an important contribution to the development of something more important and far-reaching even than European unity itself—namely the Atlantic community.

Three Essential Parts

I see in that community three essential parts: a North America which must not lapse into continentalism; a Europe whose free and democratic countries must achieve the

greatest possible unity, both for defence and development and to ensure that no one of them will dominate the others; and finally, the United Kingdom, the bridge between the two, linked to Europe indissolubly by many ties and perhaps, above all, by the complete disappearance of the Channel in the air-atomic age; but linked also to North America in a unique way, because that continent—I hope that I will not be misunderstood in putting it this way—is now occupied by two former English-speaking colonies; one of which is proud to retain its political and monarchial association with the 'Old Master'.

We have now laid the foundations of this Atlantic community in NATO. Indeed that may be the most important thing that we did when we signed in Washington seven years ago the treaty bringing this international organization into being. On the other hand, what we did then may prove to have been as insubstantial and ephemeral as the signatures attached to many an international agreement which at the time seemed a veritable Magna Charta, but whose very name can now be found only in some doctrinal thesis. The near future will tell. There is no assurance yet that NATO will survive the emergency that gave it birth. That emergency was itself born of the fear—for which there was sufficient evidence—that unless the Atlantic countries united their resources and their resolve to defend themselves, they might succumb to aggression one by one. It seemed clear when the NATO Pact was signed, even to the mightiest power, that national security could not be guaranteed by national action alone. So we built up our collective defences and by our unity and strength have made NATO into a most effective deterrent against aggression. In doing so we have removed the greatest temptations to aggression: disunity and weakness.

If however, international tension now seems to ease, and the threat of direct military attack to recede, the fear which brought NATO into being in the first place will also recede; and the temptation to relax our defence efforts and indulge in the luxury of dissension and diversion will increase.

We may, in fact, be approaching a period—if, indeed, we are not in it—when NATO will lose much of the cohesive force which has hitherto held it together. There are those who are counting on this loss being fatal to the whole concept of NATO and the Atlantic community.

These dangers must be faced. Defence strength and unity must be maintained, yet we may not now have for this purpose the same incentive which we have had before.

We must, therefore, develop a stronger bond of unity than a common fear. As the challenge of the Communist nations to our free institutions takes new forms, avoiding tactics and policies which risk nuclear devastation, NATO should in its turn, while maintaining whatever collective military defensive strength is necessary, develop new impulses for unity and community.

NATO cannot live on fear alone, nor can it become the source of a real Atlantic community if it remains organized to deal only with the military threat which first brought it into being. A new emphasis, therefore, on the non-military side of NATO's development is essential. It would also be the best answer to the Soviet charge that it is an aggressive, exclusively military agency, aimed against Moscow.

We are now faced by the challenge from the Communist bloc of competitive co-existence: or, to put it another way—of all conflict short of full scale war. This may be an improvement on the imminent possibility of nuclear devastation, but it is a long way from the security of co-operation co-existence and it has not removed the menace of Communist domination.

Answer Must Be Found

The NATO countries must find the answer to this new challenge; by demonstrating the quality and value and sincerity of their co-operation, between themselves, and with all members of the international community. We have here a new opportunity as well as a new challenge, and if we do not take advantage of it, speeches about the Atlantic community will, before long, have as little meaning as those about the lost continent of Atlantis. As the material and technological gap between the NATO countries and the Soviet bloc diminishes, it will be all the more important to maintain the distinctions in other and more important respects: and to ensure that these are more fully understood and valued.

This will require closer co-operation—political and economic—within NATO than has been the case; finding new ways by which we can build up and strengthen our own sense of community—and show others that what we are building is no selfish and exclusive way.

I hope that the meeting of the NATO council later this week will find the answers to some of these questions. And begin a serious and practical search for the others. So it should be an important meeting, if not an easy one. At it we may find ourselves discussing policies rather than power: aims rather than arms: division rather than divisions.

NATO, in truth, is now at the crossroads of its existence. If it is to be forward, and in the right direction, it must concentrate on ways and means of bringing its members closer together politically, without weakening its defence unity and strength. For this purpose the Council must become a more effective agency for consultation and co-operation than it has been.

It must be given more authority and its meetings, with ministerial attendance, should be more frequent. Through the Council, consultation should be developed into an accepted custom, to the point where no member would think of taking action which affected the others in any substantial way—either politically or economically—without prior discussion with those members in NATO.

No Great Changes Needed

For this purpose I do not see the need for any substantial organizational changes or for any amendments to our treaty. Nor do I think that NATO should try to make special economic arrangements between its members or be charged with the duty of removing trade barriers. There are other international agencies which have been specially set up for this purpose—such as GATT and OEEC—and we do not want duplication. I doubt also whether NATO is the agency best equipped actually to provide aid to materially under-developed countries. In this matter, the United Nations should, I think, be brought more and more into the picture. I do not mean that the World Organization should be the sole or even possibly the major executive agency for international aid or replace practical and successful operations like the Colombo Plan. Its special value would be to provide a forum where all assistance plans could be co-ordinated and policies discussed. I think also that the

U.S.S.R. should be encouraged to participate fully in such United Nations discussions. It would give us a very good opportunity to test the nature and the substance of her participation in this field of international economic assistance.

The Role of NATO

In political and economic consultation NATO's role, as I see it, is more limited, but more precise and politically more significant in that here discussions are between closely co-operating friends who are trying to bring about not merely the co-ordination, but the closest possible identity of plans and policies. As the mechanism for this process NATO can become the foundation for the Atlantic community of the future. It must in fact develop along these lines or it will drift into futility and may ultimately share the fate of other international agencies which disappeared because their roots were not deep enough for survival and growth.

May I close with a story, substituting only one or two words in the original, to fit this particular occasion:

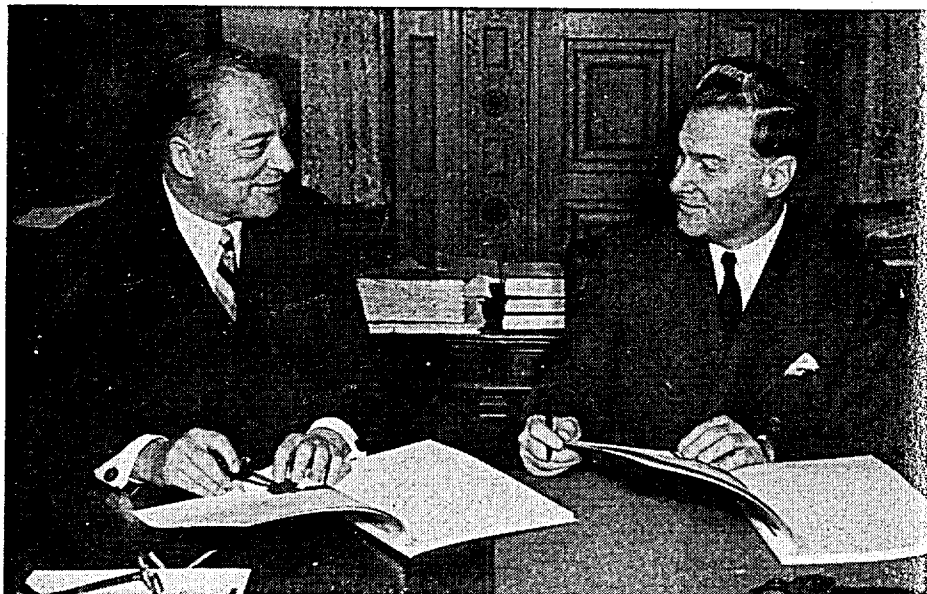
"Making her debut at a NATO meeting, a young matron sat silently through a two hour discussion of the Atlantic community. Afterward, she thanked the women to whose spirited pros and cons she had listened.

'I'm awfully glad I came,' she said, 'because I was so terribly confused about the Atlantic community. Of course, she confessed, 'I'm still confused, but on a much higher plane.'"

If after my talk you are still confused, as you may well be, I dare to hope that it is on a much higher plane.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. M. Johnson, Commissioner, posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective May 15, 1956.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting, DFM, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lima, to Ottawa, effective May 9, 1956.
- Mr. N. F. H. Berlis posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective May 11, 1956.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, to Ottawa, effective May 18, 1956.
- Mr. M. Gordon-Fisher posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to Ottawa, effective May 20, 1956.
- Mr. F. B. M. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective May 23, 1956.
- Mr. L. A. D. Stephens posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective May 25, 1956.
- Mr. F. Charpentier, MBE, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective May 26, 1956.
- Mr. W. A. Jenkins, posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Detroit, effective May 26, 1956.
- Mr. G. A. Rau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, to Ottawa, effective May 30, 1956.
- Mr. J. E. G. Hardy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective April 22, 1956.
- Mr. A. G. Campbell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 5, effective May 28, 1956.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers 1: Mr. R. W. Nadeau (May 7, 1956); Mr. M. Heroux (May 22, 1956); Mr. D. W. Stevenson (May 28, 1956).



—Capital Press

DOUBLE TAXATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Dr. Werner Dankwort, German Ambassador to Canada (left) and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Walter E. Harris, prepare to sign an agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada for "the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income."

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1956.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



July 1956

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa.

Tunisia and Morocco

ON June 19, Canadian recognition of Tunisia and Morocco was extended in the following messages of congratulations from Prime Minister St. Laurent to the Prime Minister of Morocco, Si Embarek Bekkai, and to the Prime Minister of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Bourguiba:

To the Prime Minister of Morocco:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I extend to you my warmest congratulations on Morocco's independence as a result of the Protocols signed on March 2 between the French and Moroccan Governments, and on April 7 between the Spanish and Moroccan Governments.

May I extend our best wishes for a happy and prosperous future for your country and the people of Morocco.

To the Prime Minister of Tunisia:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I extend to you my warmest congratulations on Tunisia's independence as a result of the Protocol signed on March 20 between the French and Tunisian Governments.

May I extend our best wishes for a happy and prosperous future for your country and the people of Tunisia.

Telegrams in reply have been received from the Governments of Tunisia and Morocco thanking the Canadian Government and reciprocating the good wishes expressed in the Prime Minister's messages.

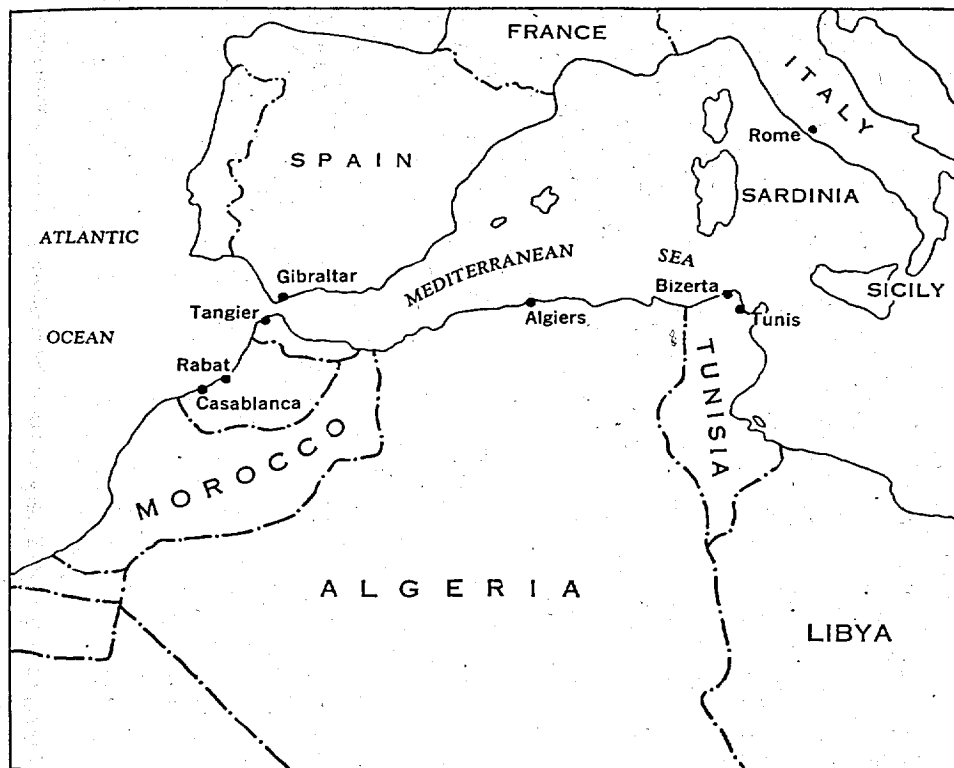
Mr. St. Laurent also sent the following message to M. Guy Mollet, President of the Council of Ministers of France:

I am happy to transmit copies of telegrams which I am addressing today to the Prime Minister of Tunisia and the Prime Minister of Morocco. I should like to take this opportunity to extend on behalf of the Government of Canada my warmest congratulations on the occasion of the signature of the Franco-Moroccan Protocol of March 2 and of the Franco-Tunisian Protocol of March 20.

In the Franco-Moroccan Agreement of March 2, 1956, which formally ended forty-three years of the protectorate regime established by the Treaty of Fez in 1912, France recognized the independence of Morocco as an equal and sovereign state. On April 7, Spain, which had exercised a protectorate in the Spanish Zone of Morocco, also formally recognized the independence and unity of Morocco and the full sovereignty of the Sultan. The Canadian Ambassador in Madrid was asked to convey to the Foreign Minister of Spain the congratulations of the Canadian Government on the Spanish-Moroccan Protocol of April 7.

France in Morocco

France's special interests in Morocco came to be recognized by a succession of treaties and agreements after 1880. Under the Protectorate established by the Treaty of Fez, a Resident General, representing the Government of the



French Republic, was put in charge of foreign affairs and defence with power to approve decrees promulgated by the Sultan. The Treaty gave France the authority to undertake the military occupation of Moroccan territory in order to maintain order. The pacification of Morocco took 27 years, and it was not until 1934 that all recalcitrant tribes were finally brought under control and Morocco was unified under the Sultan's authority.

The Empire of Morocco was in principle an absolute monarchy, with the Sultan exercising spiritual and temporal authority and having a central government under his authority. The French Resident General was in effect responsible for the administration of the French Zone. During the Protectorate the French administration reclaimed land and improved agricultural methods, developed mineral resources, established manufacturing industries, and improved communications. The administration also carried on a successful campaign against epidemics, provided hospital facilities, and introduced modern health practices. During this period thousands of European colonists—the colons—settled in the Protectorate.

A growing movement for the independence of Morocco was spearheaded by the Istiqlal party, which was formed in 1937. The Sultan's open support of the Istiqlal dated from 1947, when he called for a revision of the Treaty of Fez. Subsequently, agitation for independence grew more intense, the situation being complicated by the opposition to the Sultan of the tribal chiefs, the most important of whom was El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakesh. Growing disorders resulted, in 1953, in the disposition of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef,

who was replaced by Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, to whom the nationalists were violently opposed. In 1954, terrorist activity in Morocco increased and for the fourth time a number of Arab and Asian nations brought the Moroccan question to the attention of the United Nations General Assembly. In view of the indications that negotiations between France and Morocco were to begin, the Assembly expressed the hope that a satisfactory solution would be achieved.

The sharp division of opinion on the dynastic issue made it difficult to implement reforms promised by the French Government, and disturbances for a while became worse. In August, 1955, however, talks were held at Aix-les Bains between representatives of the French Government and representatives from Morocco of the Istiqlal and other political parties, of El Glaoui, and of the French colons. As a result of these talks, a Council of the Throne was formed and Sultan ben Arafa abdicated. A short while later, El Glaoui announced his intention to support the former Sultan ben Youssef and declared that he should be re-instated on his throne. Thus no powerful native leader nor native political group remained opposed to the return of the former Sultan.

After further consultations with Moroccan representatives, the French Government, on November 5, 1955, accorded official recognition to ben Youssef as Sultan of Morocco. The Sultan then declared his intention to form a representative provisional government whose main tasks would be to make Morocco a democratic state with a constitutional monarchy and to negotiate with France a new status for Morocco as an independent state associated to France by links of inter-dependency. Sultan ben Youssef returned to Morocco on November 17, amidst general acclaim.

On December 7, 1955, the first independent Moroccan government was constituted under the leadership of Si Embarek Bekkai. On December 9, the powers of the French directors of the administration were transferred to the Moroccan ministers, with the French Resident-General acting as Minister of National Defence and Foreign Affairs to the Sultan. The way was now open for comprehensive negotiations on the future of Franco-Moroccan relations.

The Franco-Moroccan Agreement of March 2, 1956

The Agreement of March 2 between France and Morocco provided that they would conclude new agreements to define their inter-dependence in fields in which they have common interests, to organize their co-operation on the basis of equality, especially in matters of defence, foreign relations, and economic and cultural affairs, and to guarantee the rights and liberties of French citizens settled in Morocco and of Moroccans settled in France. The negotiation of these supplementary agreements is now proceeding, and France and Morocco have already concluded a diplomatic convention re-affirming their permanent friendship and agreeing to consult together on foreign affairs. Under the terms of the convention, Morocco will assume the obligations resulting from treaties concluded by France in the name of Morocco, as well as those resulting from international acts concerning Morocco on which it has made no observations. France has undertaken to support the candidacy of Morocco for membership in international organizations.

Negotiations are also in progress between Spain and Morocco, whose representatives are working out detailed arrangements for the transfer of power.

in Spanish Morocco in implementation of Protocol and Declaration of April 7 in which Spain recognized the independence of Morocco.

Tunisia

The negotiations leading to the transfer of a large degree of local autonomy to Tunisia were described in the December, 1955, issue of *External Affairs*.* Although the Franco-Tunisian Conventions of July 1955 had envisaged a gradual transfer of power over a period of twenty years, throughout which France would remain responsible for Tunisia's defence and external relations, events, in fact, moved very swiftly. Three weeks after the proclamation of Morocco's independence, Tunisia, in turn, became an independent state. In a protocol of agreement signed on March 20, France recognized the independence of Tunisia and the two countries agreed to plan future co-operation, particularly in matters of defence and foreign relations. On June 15, a diplomatic agreement between France and Tunisia providing for the exchange of Ambassadors and consultation on questions of mutual interest was signed in Tunisia. France also promised to support Tunisia's candidacy for membership in international organizations.

The two new states of Morocco and Tunisia have already commenced the exchange of Ambassadors with a number of other countries, established their own armies, and become members of several United Nations Specialized Agencies. The political evolution of the two countries has been greatly assisted by the courageous policy of France and it is encouraging to know that, in spite of all the past difficulties, leaders of both states have re-affirmed their warm attachment for France, which has contributed so much to their political and economic development.

**External Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 12.

Kundah Power Development

URGENTLY needed to provide power for irrigation, industry and other purposes, and thus to reduce the threat of famine and raise the standard of living of more than 30,000,000 residents of the State of Madras in India, the Kundah-Hydro Electric project was formally inaugurated at ceremonies held on June 29 at the site of the project.

The first stage of the Kundah development, a joint Indian-Canadian project under the Colombo Plan, is expected to cost \$60 million, of which Canada will be paying up to a maximum of \$20 million to be allocated over two or three years. The Canadian contribution will include the provision of turbines, generators, and other power house equipment; specified materials and construction equipment for the civil works, and possibly some sub-station and transmission equipment for the transmission line. In some instances, where practicable, equipment may be fabricated in India at Indian expense from materials supplied from Canada. Canada will also provide the services of Canadian consulting engineers to supervise certain aspects of the work and assist the Indian Department of Electricity in the execution of the project.

India will be responsible for the construction of all civil works, the provision of labour and local materials, and the supply of housing, roads, and other facilities at the site. To help India meet the local costs of this project, Canada has agreed to the use of counterpart funds, available in rupees, resulting from Canadian aid to India under the Colombo Plan.

In a message read at the inaugural ceremonies by the Governor of Madras, Shri Sri Prakasa, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, expressed satisfaction that Canada and India were embarking on another important co-operative endeavour under the Colombo Plan. Mr. Pearson's message continued:

"I am sure that the Canadian engineers who will be working along side of the Indian engineers at the project will be proud to be associated with the work of the Madras Department of Electricity, which has such a splendid record of achievement in the development and distribution of power in your country. On behalf of the Government of Canada, may I wish you every success in your new undertaking, which will make a notable contribution to the courageous programme of economic development which the people of India are now embarking upon in the second five-year plan."

Actual terms of the understandings between the governments of India and Canada are now being negotiated, and it is expected that an inter-governmental agreement recording them will be signed shortly in New Delhi.

The Need for Power

The existing electric power system of the State of Madras supplies the City of Madras (the capital city and principal seaport) and a thickly settled, intensively cultivated farming area in southern India, which extends 370 miles from north to south, and 340 miles from east to west. While the rate of power

development has been rapid in recent years, Madras State still has a long way to go before its supply of electrical energy will approach the levels reached in other parts of the world. Only 2,500 of its approximately 30,000 villages have electric service, and electricity generated in the State is only 30 kilowatt hours per capita per annum, as compared to average rates of 1,000 kilowatt hours in Western Europe and 2,400 kilowatt hours in North America.

Because of the vital importance of maintaining food production in those parts of Madras where rainfall is light, irrigation has a prior claim on electrical power, large quantities of which are required for pumps used to bring water to areas not reached by irrigation canals (25,000 of these pumps are now in service and 3,000 more are being added each year). Hydro and steam plants devoted to power production can be operated whenever required throughout the year to meet load demands within the limitations of their plant capacity and the water available. However, since water is more important than power, hydro plants using irrigation water can only be operated as and when water is required for irrigation. Hence, during the irrigation season of about seven months each year (July to January) there is abundant water for power generation at these plants, but during the remaining five months, when irrigation requirements are reduced and water is being stored in the reservoirs, the output of electric energy is drastically restricted. It is, therefore, essential that the power system have substantial generating capacity which can be used as desired at any time of year.

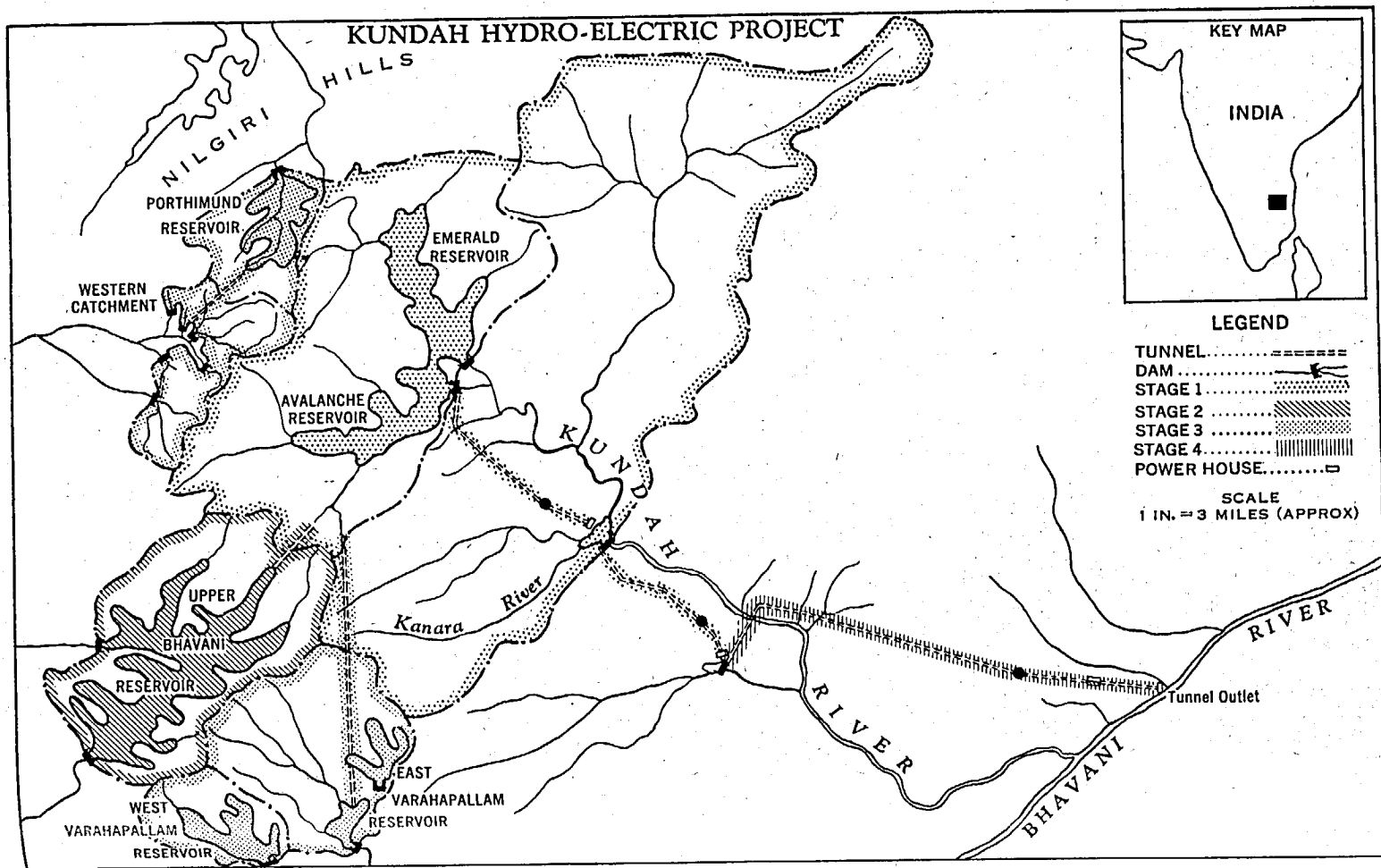
The Canadian engineers who studied the Kundah development have reported to the Canadian government that it will help materially to make up existing shortages, to provide for the industrial and agricultural expansion of the State, to raise the standard of living, and to reduce the threat of recurrent drought and famine.

The Project

The Kundah River is in the Nilgiri Hills, 300 miles west of Madras. Its main stream is formed at an elevation of about 6,200 feet above sea level by the confluence of the Avalanche and Emerald Rivers near the southern edge of the Nilgiri Plateau. It then cascades down the mountain side in a southeasterly direction for a distance of some 14 miles to join the eastward flowing Bhavani River at an elevation of 1,340 feet. The Bhavani in turn joins the Cauvery River and empties into the Bay of Bengal. Although the Kundah is a relatively small stream and its drainage area above the confluence of the Avalanche and Emerald is only 24 square miles, three tributaries downstream make significant contribution to its flow.

Above the confluence of the Avalanche and the Emerald the gradients of both rivers are relatively flat and the valleys widen out into basins with gentle side slopes that lend themselves to the construction of reservoirs. Below the confluence the valleys are deep and narrow, and are separated by high ridges.

The Kundah River possesses most of the attributes of a good power river—good rainfall, steep gradients, high ridges on each side, and sound underlying rock. On the other hand, as pointed out above, the drainage area is relatively small, and only the flow from the area above the confluence of the Avalanche and Emerald can be controlled in storage reservoirs.



The initial investigation of the Kundah River was undertaken by the Madras Department of Electricity in 1949, and the first report was issued in 1951. However, the proposals incorporated in that report have been modified and the project will now be developed in the following four stages (see sketch of project area on page 184):

STAGE I

Masonry dams about 190 feet high will be built across the Avalanche and Emerald Rivers to form storage reservoirs that would merge into one lake at upper levels. Two power plants will also be constructed with installed capacities of 40,000 kilowatts and 105,000 kilowatts respectively. In addition, a pondage and diversion dam is to be built on the Kundah River below the junction with the Kanara River to make the unregulated flow between that point and the Avalanche-Emerald available to the lower plant.

STAGE II

A storage reservoir, involving the construction of two dams, is to be created on the headwaters of the Upper Bhavani and its water carried by tunnel through the height of land to the Avalanche-Emerald reservoir. The generating capacity of the lower plant will be increased to 140,000.

STAGE III

A storage reservoir would be created on the east and west Varahapallam Rivers and the water carried by tunnel through the height of land to the Avalanche-Emerald reservoir. A small drainage area on the western slope of the Nilgiri Hills, known as the Western Catchment, would also be diverted into the Porthimund basin high up on the Pykara drainage area and either used elsewhere or diverted by tunnel to the Avalanche-Emerald reservoir. The generating installations in the upper and lower plants might also be increased to 60,000 kilowatts and 175,000 kilowatts respectively in this stage. Under present planning Stage III would involve the construction of ten dams.

STAGE IV

A third power station would be added near the confluence of the Kundah-Bhavani Rivers. The capacity of this power station has not yet been specified, but it will probably be of the order of 100,000 kilowatts.

In addition to the four stages described above, it has been suggested that power may also be developed on the three drops between the Upper Bhavani, Porthimund, and Varahapallam storages and the Avalanche-Emerald reservoir.

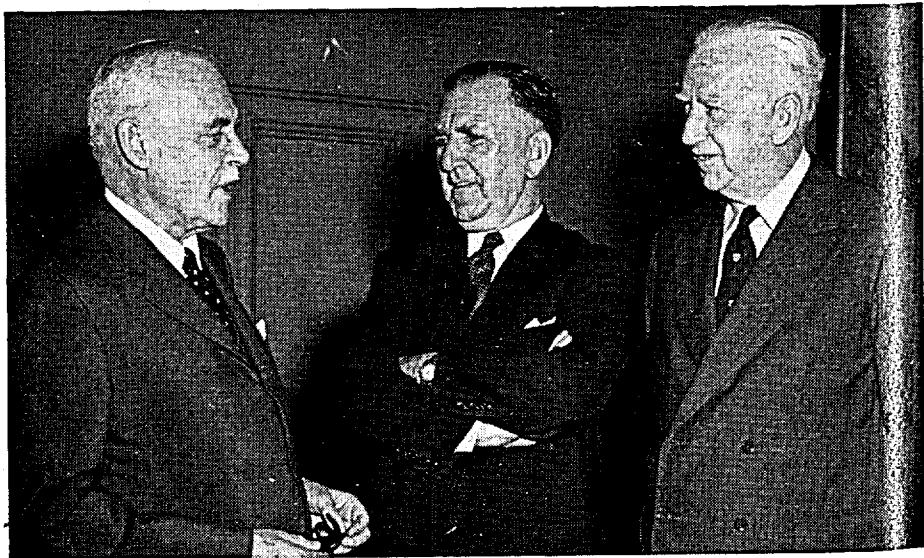
New Zealand Prime Minister Visits Canada

THE Prime Minister of New Zealand, The Right Honourable S. G. Holland, C.H., P.C., accompanied by Mrs. Holland and by Mr. A. D. McIntosh, New Zealand Secretary of External Affairs, spent the period June 6 to June 19 in Canada before attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, England.

After arriving on the West Coast, Mr. Holland was entertained at Government House, Victoria, by the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, was honoured at luncheon by the Vancouver Board of Trade, paid a visit to the University of British Columbia, and attended an informal reception given by the New Zealand-Australian Association.

Following a two-day stay in Banff, Mr. Holland proceeded to Ottawa, where he paid a courtesy call at Government House, called on Prime Minister St. Laurent and on several Cabinet Ministers, held a press conference, and attended a luncheon given in his honour by Mr. St. Laurent in the Parliamentary Restaurant. Mr. and Mrs. Holland were honoured at a dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. C. D. Howe at the Chateau Laurier Hotel, and at a reception held by Mr. T. C. A. Hislop, New Zealand High Commissioner, and Mrs. Hislop.

Mr. Holland and party left Montreal for England on Tuesday, June 19, after a brief stay in the Laurentians.



FRIENDSHIP RENEWED

Government leaders of two Commonwealth countries renewed their friendship when Prime Minister S. G. Holland, of New Zealand, called on Prime Minister L. S. St. Laurent, of Canada, during Mr. Holland's recent visit to Ottawa.

Seen above are Mr. St. Laurent, left, Mr. Holland, centre, and Mr. T. C. A. Hislop, New Zealand High Commissioner.

Recent Developments in Disarmament

Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare, represented Canada at the July meetings of the Disarmament Commission held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. The Commission met to consider the report on the disarmament negotiations, held this spring in London, submitted by its Sub-Committee which comprised Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Martin, whose responsibilities include the co-ordination of civil defence in Canada, represented Canada at the session of the Sub-Committee held in New York during September and October of last year and at previous meetings of the Commission. He headed the Canadian delegation to the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1955.

Recent developments in disarmament were reviewed by Mr. Martin in an address at the annual convention of Ontario Retail Pharmacists Association, held at Windsor, Ont., on June 18.

Excerpts from Mr. Martin's address follow:

... It will be recalled that during the past few years, United Nations efforts to achieve some measure of agreement on the reduction and control of armaments have been centred in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in the work of which I have had occasion to participate. This Sub-Committee, which is made up of the representatives of five countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, and Canada—has now held four series of private talks, the latest taking place in London earlier this spring. In all, no less than 86 individual meetings have been held. The forthcoming New York meeting of the Disarmament Commission itself is for the purpose of receiving and considering the report of the Sub-Committee's work.

While the results of these prolonged discussions have in some respects been disappointing, they have demonstrated that there is substantial agreement among the Western nations as to the provisions which should be included in any satisfactory disarmament scheme.

At the same time, they have provided evidence that the Soviet Union does not yet appear willing to accept measures which the Western nations consider essential to the successful implementation of even preliminary steps towards disarmament. In particular, I have in mind the Soviet Union's negative reaction to the proposal put forward

by President Eisenhower providing for joint aerial inspection and the exchange of blueprints for military installations.

In the past ten days, the inadequacy of the Soviet Union's position on the matter of controls has been given added emphasis. In letters addressed to the Heads of Government of the other four powers represented on the Disarmament Sub-Committee, the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nicolai Bulganin, has called on the Western nations to follow the Soviet Union's "initiative" of May 14 by embarking on unilateral reductions in the strength of their armed forces. Such an action, the Soviet Premier has suggested, would be "of decisive importance" in leading to the creation of conditions more favourable to the achievement of a universal disarmament program.

While these proposed cuts are to be welcomed as far as they go, this invitation would be more meaningful, it seems to me, if we had some concrete evidence that the announced reduction in Soviet forces would actually take place and that it would, in fact, be the expression of a genuine desire to follow a more moderate policy in the future and to renounce aggressive designs. Even if Soviet forces were to be reduced in numbers, the Soviet Union might still be left in possession of forces vastly superior to those available to the Western nations. And there would be no assurance that the demobilization would be

accompanied by a corresponding reduction in equipment or that the savings realized as a result of these cuts in manpower would not be used for financing other projects to increase the war potential of the Communist world. Above all, the Soviet proposal does not touch the central problem which concerns us all—the threat of nuclear warfare.

The Western Powers surely cannot assume that a mere declaration on the part of the Soviet Union of its intention to reduce forces is a peaceful gesture that will promote greater confidence. Such a move could equally be interpreted as a shrewd attempt to lure the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to advance along the road of unilateral and uncontrolled disarmament to the point where they would be unable to provide for their security and where their very unity would be seriously compromised. Indeed, the Soviet leaders themselves have frankly admitted that their opposition to NATO has not changed and that they will continue their efforts to weaken it, if possible, to break up the alliance.

It would seem to me that this latest Soviet move points very clearly to the need for achieving disarmament through an agreed and safeguarded programme. If Mr. Bulganin and his colleagues are sincere and really wish

to reduce their armed forces, why will they not agree to the establishment of adequate and effective controls as the Western nations have done in the proposals they have made in the United Nations Sub-Committee?

By adopting a more open-minded and positive approach to this central problem of control, the Soviet Union could do more to establish an atmosphere of mutual confidence than they could ever hope to achieve through the mere announcement of reductions which cannot be checked. I submit that our final judgment should await such indications as will be provided by the Soviet approach to the future negotiations: this will be the acid test of their sincerity.

The problem of disarmament, like many of the problems facing the world today, cannot be solved by action on the part of one nation or group of nations alone. A solution can only be achieved through the whole-hearted co-operation of all members of the international community, whatever their political structure or ideological leanings. We can only hope that when negotiations are resumed, the Soviet Union will see fit to lend its support to collective measures which, in the words of the New York Times, "will make disarmament a blessing and not a trap in which freedom can die".



AT DISARMAMENT MEETINGS

Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Delegate to Disarmament Commission meetings held in New York this month, chats with Mr. Emilio Nunez Portuondo, centre, of Cuba, Commission chairman for July, and Mr. Jules Moch, of France.

Geneva Tariff Agreements

As announced in the House of Commons on June 7, new tariff agreements were negotiated by Canada with the United States and twelve other countries in Europe and Latin America at the GATT tariff conference held in Geneva, and were signed on May 23 on behalf of Canada by the Canadian Ambassador to NATO, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, who was chairman of the Canadian delegation.

Twenty-two countries participated in the Geneva negotiations. The new agreements concluded represented a further step in the general reduction of tariff barriers which had been carried forward in earlier conferences held at Geneva in 1947, at Annecy in 1949, and at Torquay in 1951. Under the most-favoured-nation principle, which is basic to GATT, all tariff concessions agreed to at Geneva will become available to Canada whether or not these concessions were negotiated directly with Canada. Similarly, Canada will extend its own tariff concessions to each of the other participating countries, and to non-GATT countries with which Canada has most-favoured-nation agreements.



Signing for Canada.

The complete schedules of all tariff concessions are incorporated in a Protocol of Supplementary Concessions to the GATT signed by representatives of participating countries at Geneva. A detailed summary of the concessions may be found in an Appendix to the Official Report of House of Commons Debates of June 7, 1956.

In a statement made in the House of Commons on June 7, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, said that the new GATT agreements represented a further addition to the significant and substantial progress already achieved in previous GATT conferences in the reduction of tariff barriers throughout the world, and that the benefits obtained by Canada would lead to useful, practical gains for Canadian exporters of a wide range of products and in many markets.

Continuing, Mr. Howe said:

"These new agreements will further strengthen the basis of confidence and co-operation so essential in world trade. It is appropriate at this time to reaffirm Canada's view of the usefulness of the GATT as a framework for the conduct of trade and for the development of common trading policies. In this

connection, the establishment of the Organization for Trade Co-operation to administer the GATT on a continuing basis would render the agreement more effective and would have a most encouraging influence on international relations.

"The Canadian Government has consistently supported this proposed organization, and is prepared to take steps to provide for Canadian participation at the appropriate time. The United Kingdom has already indicated its acceptance, and it is our hope that all the members of GATT, and particularly the other leading trading countries whose support is essential, will similarly find it possible to join in its establishment."

Referring to concessions obtained by Canada, Mr. Howe said that the agreement concluded between Canada and the United States was one of the major agreements resulting from the conference. He explained that concessions that could be made by the United States were limited by United States legislation to maximum tariff reductions of 15 per cent, spread over the next two years, and that there were a number of items, particularly in the agricultural and fisheries fields, on which the United States was not then prepared to negotiate. Within these limitations, however, the agreements concluded should be most satisfactory to both countries, Mr. Howe said. Canada has obtained maximum concessions on a large number of products, including various chemicals, certain metals, some agricultural items, and a number of manufactured products, the Minister stated.

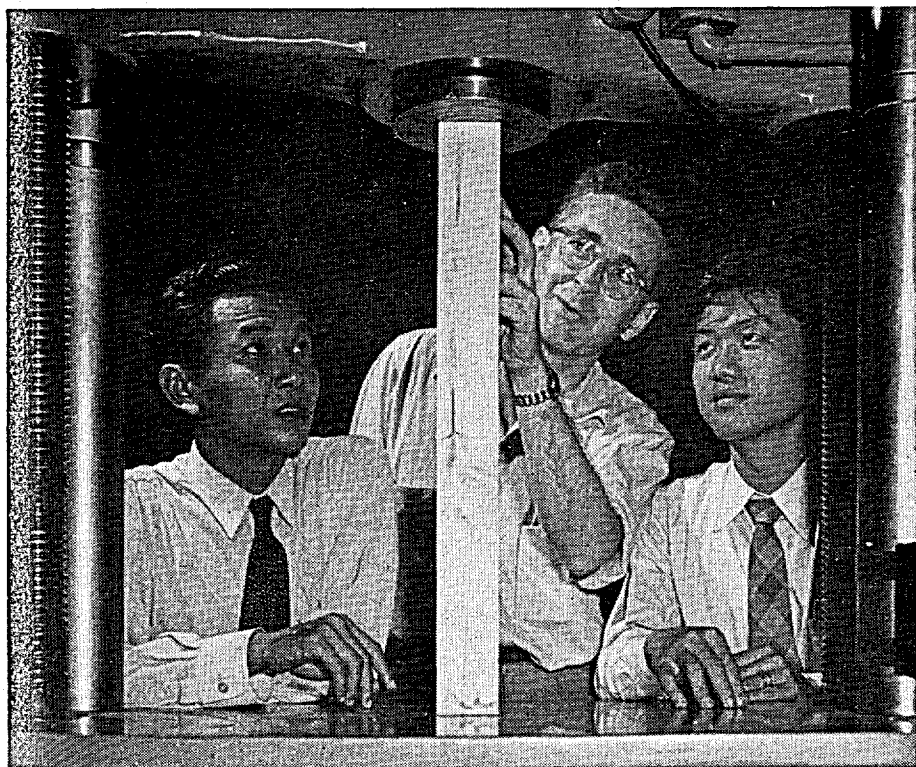
Speaking of the traditional and important trade relations with Europe and Latin America, Mr. Howe said it was Canada's intention to continue to strengthen these relations and to work with the countries of these areas in expanding trade in both directions. Under terms of agreements concluded with Austria, the Benelux countries, Denmark, Western Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, Canadian exporters will obtain useful benefits, the Minister stated. Mr. Howe noted that in the course of the negotiation it was necessary for both Canada and the United Kingdom to alter certain of the tariff preferences accorded to the other. He added that most of the reductions in margins of preference of interest to Canadian exporters in the United Kingdom were relatively minor.

The Minister of Finance, Mr. W. E. Harris, also commented on the new agreements in a statement in the House of Commons on June 7. Mr. Harris said that tariff concessions made by Canada covered 180 items or sub-items. Of these, 115 were reductions in the most-favoured-nation rates of duty, and 55 were undertakings not to raise existing rates of duty.

Mr. Harris told the Members that Canada's imports during the calendar year 1955 from all countries under the 115 items or sub-items on which the most-favoured nation tariff was reduced at Geneva amounted to \$91 million, and, from all countries under the items which were bound but not reduced, to \$88 million.

The reductions in the most-favoured-nation tariff covered a wide range of products, such as textile machinery, orange juice, lettuce, newsprint, shelled oysters, shrimps, spectacle frames, cigars, sawmill machinery, adding machines, cash registers, road building machines, electrical precision apparatus, such as is used in oil refineries and chemical works, cameras, and tobacco pipes.

The new tariff concessions will come into effect in the various countries on dates to be announced by each government. It was not expected that any country would bring its concessions into effect until June 30 at the earliest. United States concessions will be implemented in three stages over the next two years, as required by United States legislation. Under the terms of the GATT, all the concessions agreed upon are bound, against increase, subject to certain procedures permitting countries to re-negotiate particular concessions from time to time.



FIRST BURMESE COLOMBO PLAN TRAINEES IN CANADA

First Burmese to receive training in Canada under the Colombo Plan, U. Than Gywe, left, 31, and U. Maung Maung Win, 27, of Rangoon, being instructed in the use of the timber press by D. E. Kenney at the Forest Products Laboratory, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa. The Burmese, who are engineers employed by the State Timber Board, Burma, will visit plants and research laboratories in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and British Columbia before returning to Burma.

The International Atomic Energy Agency

IN one of the most important international conferences since the end of the Second World War, representatives of more than 80 countries will meet in September at United Nations headquarters in New York to consider detailed proposals for the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency within the framework of the United Nations.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in December 1953, President Eisenhower of the United States first proposed formally "that the governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, should begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials" to an international atomic energy agency in order to further the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes throughout the world.

President Eisenhower's proposal was debated at the ninth session of the General Assembly which on December 4, 1954, approved unanimously a resolution expressing the hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency would be established without delay.

During the first half of 1955, representatives of Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, at a series of meetings at Washington, prepared a draft statute for the proposed international agency which was given general circulation in August 1955, to other countries. The question of establishing the new agency was subsequently considered at the tenth session of the General Assembly, which on December 3, 1955, adopted a resolution, (co-sponsored by Canada), noting with satisfaction the progress being made toward the establishment of the Agency and welcoming the "extension of invitations to the governments of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India, and the U.S.S.R. to participate as governments concerned with the present sponsoring governments" in further negotiations.

Drafting the Statute

The representatives of the eight co-sponsors and of the four countries named in the Assembly resolution began meetings in Washington on February 27, 1956, using as a basis for discussion the draft statute which had been circulated to governments in August of the preceding year. The Canadian delegation was led by Canada's Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, with Mr. G. P. deT. Glazebrook, Minister at the Embassy in Washington, as his alternate. Advisers were Mr. W. J. Bennett, President, and Mr. D. Watson, Secretary, of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited; Dr. J. D. Babbitt, Scientific Attaché at the Embassy in Washington; Mr. S. Pollock, of the Department of Finance; Mr. M. A. Crowe, of the Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, and Mr. W. H. Barton and Mr. D. H. W. Kirkwood, of the Department of External Affairs.

The negotiations in Washington were brought to a close on April 18, when the representatives of the 12 countries agreed unanimously on the text of a new draft statute to be considered at the forthcoming international conference in September. (Some of the delegates, however, specifically reserved their positions on certain articles pending final consideration at the conference, and it was generally accepted that participating governments were not formally committed to the text at this drafting stage). As noted above, it is expected that this conference will be attended by more than 80 countries which, as provided by the draft statute, would be eligible for initial membership in the Agency by virtue of their membership in the United Nations or in the Specialized Agencies.

Principal Provisions

Following are some of the principal provisions of the draft statute to be considered at the conference in September:

1. **Membership:** The initial members of the Agency shall be those members of the United Nations or of any of the Specialized Agencies which shall have signed the statute within ninety days after it is opened for signature and shall have deposited an instrument of ratification. Other members shall be those states, whether or not they are members of the United Nations or of any of the Specialized Agencies, which deposit an instrument of acceptance of the statute and which have been recommended and approved for membership by the Board of Governors and the General Conference. In this connection, these bodies shall determine that the states are able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership, giving due consideration to their ability and willingness to act in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. **General Conference:** The General Conference shall consist of representatives of all members of the Agency. It shall elect a President and such other officers as may be required at the beginning of each annual session and they shall hold office for the duration of the session. Decisions shall be taken by a majority of those present and voting, and a majority of the members shall constitute a quorum.

The functions of the General Conference shall be: to admit and suspend members and to elect members of the Board of Governors in accordance with the provisions of the statute; to consider the annual report of the Board; to approve, or to return with recommendations for re-submission to the General Conference, the budget of the Agency, reports to be submitted to the United Nations, and any agreements between the Agency and the United Nations, or other organizations, and to approve rules and limitations regarding the exercise of borrowing powers by the Board, and amendments to the statute. The General Conference shall also have the authority to make recommendations to, and to request reports from, the Board on any matters relating to the function of the Agency.

3. **Board of Governors:** The Board of Governors shall be composed as follows:

(1) The outgoing Board shall designate for membership on the Board the five members most advanced in the technology of atomic energy, including the production of source materials, (Canada, France, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., United States), and the members most advanced in these respects in each of the following areas not represented by the above-mentioned five:

- 1) North America
- 2) Latin America
- 3) Western Europe
- 4) Eastern Europe
- 5) Africa and the Middle East
- 6) South Asia
- 7) South-East Asia and the Pacific
- 8) Far East

(2) The outgoing Board shall also designate two members from among the following other producers of source materials—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Portugal—and one other member as a supplier of technical assistance. No member in this category in any one year will be eligible for re-designation in the same category for the following year.

(3) The General Conference shall elect ten members to the Board, having regard to the equitable representation of the members in the geographical areas listed above so that the Board shall always include in this category a representative of each of these areas except North America. No member in this category in any one term of office will be eligible for re-election in the same category for the following term of office.

(4) Decisions shall be by a majority of those present and voting, except as otherwise provided in the statute, and two-thirds of all the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

(5) The Board shall have the authority to carry out the functions of the Agency in accordance with the statute and subject to its responsibilities to the General Conference, and to prepare the annual report of the Board as well as any reports to the United Nations or to any other organization.

4. *Supplying of Materials:* Members may make available to the Agency such quantities of special fissionable materials as they deem advisable on such terms as shall be agreed with the Agency.

On the request of the Agency, a member shall deliver without delay to another member, or members, such quantities of such materials as the Agency may specify, and to the Agency itself such quantities of such materials as are necessary for the Agency's operations and scientific research. In this connection, the Agency shall specify the place and method of delivery, and where appropriate, the form and composition of the

materials. The Board shall determine the use to be made of materials made available to the Agency.

The Agency shall ensure that the materials in its possession are safe from the effects of weather, unauthorized removal, diversion, forcible seizure, damage, or destruction, and are dispersed geographically to avoid large concentrations in any one country or region.

5. *Agency Projects:* Any member may seek the assistance of the Agency in securing materials, services, equipment, and facilities required for setting up any project for research on, or development or practical application of, atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Board, may, with the approval of the recipient, send experts into its territory to examine a project, and before approving it shall consider such factors as its usefulness, the adequacy of funds, plans, and technical personnel, and of health and safety standards for handling and storing materials and operating facilities, as well as the inability of the recipient to secure the necessary assistance otherwise, and the equitable distribution of resources available to the Agency. Once the project is approved, an agreement will be entered into between the recipient member and the Agency setting forth the terms and conditions of assistance in conformity with the provisions of the statute.

6. *Agency Safeguards:* With respect to any Agency project, or where the Agency is requested to apply safeguards by the parties concerned, the Agency shall approve the design of equipment and facilities; require the observance of Agency health and safety standards and the maintenance of records and preparation of reports to help the Agency in accounting for materials; approve the means of chemical processing of irradiated materials and the disposition of special fissionable materials recovered or produced as a by-product; and send into the recipient state or states inspectors with the right of access to all data, persons, and places, to determine whether or not Agency regulations are being complied with. Inspectors shall report non-compliance to the Director-General of the Agency, who shall report it to the Board for transmission to all members and to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations. If the offending member does not, within a reasonable period of time, accede to the Board's request to comply, then the Board may curtail or suspend assistance to the member and withdraw materials and equipment. Any member persistently violating the provisions of the statute or of any agreement made under it may, upon the Board's recommendation, be suspended from membership by the General Conference acting by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting.

7. *Relationship of the Agency to the United Nations:* The Board, with the approval of the General Conference, is authorized by the draft statute to enter into an agreement or agreements establishing relationships with the United Nations and any other organizations whose work is related to that of the Agency. Such agreement or agreements between the Agency and the United Nations shall provide for the submission of reports to appropriate organs of the United Nations, when requested, and consideration by the Agency of resolutions relating to it adopted by the General Assembly or by other councils of the United Nations.

Views of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General's views on the relationship of the Agency to the United Nations were made known in a study circulated to all the governments concerned prior to the conference in Washington. The study outlined those basic principles which the Secretary-General considered should be included in the agreement to be entered into by the General Assembly, on behalf of the United Nations and the General Conference, on behalf of the Agency.

It was suggested by the Secretary-General that the United Nations should recognize that the Agency is responsible, "under the aegis of the United Nations", for taking action to accomplish the objectives set forth in the statute, and that "by virtue of its international character and international responsibilities, the International Atomic Energy Agency should function as an autonomous international organization under its statute and in the working relationship with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies set out in the Agreement."

The Secretary-General was of the opinion that the Agency also should submit reports of its activities to the General Assembly, the Security Council, when appropriate, and to the Economic and Social Council and to other organs of the United Nations on matters within their competence. He proposed that the Agency should consider resolutions relating to the Agency adopted by the General Assembly or by any of the councils of the United Nations and, when requested, submit reports on any action taken by the Agency or its members as a result of such consideration; that it should also provide the Security Council with such assistance and information as may be needed to maintain or restore peace and security; and that it should co-operate with the United Nations and its organs to ensure co-ordination of its activities, including administrative matters, with those of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies.

The Secretary-General considered that he or his representatives should be entitled to attend and to participate without vote on matters of common interest in sessions of the General Conference, of the Board of Governors, and of other meetings of the Agency at which matters of interest to the United Nations are discussed. In his view, representatives of the Agency should also be allowed to attend and to participate without vote in meetings of the General Assembly and its committees, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and their subsidiary bodies; they might also attend meetings of the Security Council, at its invitation, to lend assistance on matters within the province of the Agency.

Other suggestions in the Secretary-General's study were that items proposed by the United Nations should be included on the agenda of the General Conference and the Board of Governors; that the Secretary-General should bring to the attention of the appropriate organs of the United Nations questions proposed by the Agency; and that the General Assembly should take action to enable any legal question arising within the scope of the Agency's activities to be submitted to the International Court for an advisory opinion when requested by the Board in accordance with the statute of the Agency.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs, by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

A Compelling Deterrent

Excerpts from an address on Canada's defence given by Mr. R. O. Campney, Minister of National Defence, in Committee of Supply of the House of Commons, June 20, 1956.

A year ago, when I opened my remarks on the defence estimates, I did so by referring to the profound effect that nuclear weapons and fast, far-ranging jet bombers to carry them were having on all our thinking about defence. This, again, must be my opening thought today.

It is now 11 years since the first atomic explosion marked a new departure in warfare—more startling perhaps than any other since gunpowder first came into use some 700 years ago. And then, almost before we could begin fully to comprehend the terrifying possibilities of atomic weapons, the H-bomb added a vastly more far-reaching formidable dimension of terror and destruction—so comprehensive indeed that we cannot yet begin to assess its full magnitude.

No simple, clear-cut, complete answer to the defence problem thus poised has yet been found; and, frankly, as far as I can see, none is yet in sight. Is it any wonder, then, that throughout the free world there is dispute and controversy as to how this problem can be resolved? Is it any wonder that protagonists of this view or that, of this service or that service, of this defence element or that defence element, are so eagerly and at times vociferously projecting their particular views on a confused and worried public.

This active preoccupation with finding answers to the new weapons may ultimately bring us to the point where defence catches up with the offensive, which is now so far out in front in the race. I suppose that, if this balance is redressed, as it has been from time to time over the years in the past, war must then become an even less attractive adventure to aggressively-minded nations than it is today.

No nation ever wants to risk defeat; and that revulsion is made so much the stronger by awareness of how terrible defeat in thermonuclear war could be. And yet the threat of war continues. As long as this is true, our best hope is, undoubtedly, in the maintenance of a strong compelling deterrent. Primarily, of course, this deterrent at present is based on the strategic air force of the United States, now being augmented by that of Great Britain. But, to be effective, such strategic air forces must be supplemented by warning lines to enable their retaliatory planes to get off the ground immediately an attack is launched on the free world anywhere. They must also be supplemented by fighter air power to blunt the edge of the thermonuclear attack. They must also be again supplemented by well-trained, efficient ground forces to form a shield to prevent Europe being suddenly overrun by ground forces of an

aggressor. All these factors are just as much part of the deterrent as the thermo-nuclear retaliatory forces themselves.

To maintain the deterrent power of the free nations will not be an easy task, essential though it is to our survival. Paradoxically, as the existence of the deterrent continues to protect the peace, the continuance of that peace itself may tend to soften up the very deterrent force on which it depends, for it tends to give credibility to smiling assurances and friendly, folksy visits, all propagating the view that the day of world brotherhood has dawned at last, and suggesting that we can now safely set aside our defence programmes, with their heavy costs, and concentrate on the much more pleasant task of raising our material standard of life.

To thus relax our defence effort might be an inviting policy for the free nations, but it would be a very dangerous policy. We would be foolish indeed to neglect those defensive measures that have created the deterrent that has so far kept us all safe from a major war. Rather, we should, I think, make sure that those defensive measures are kept bright and strong.

Our opponents have a very keen understanding and appreciation of the importance of strength. This we have reason to know. They also have perhaps a better understanding than we of the subtle, insinuating effects of persuasive propaganda. If we must sup with the Kremlin, we should always be careful to use a very long spoon.

Change in Defence System

Today I should like briefly to touch on a few of the more notable ways in which Canada is building and maintaining a defence effort that is really out of all proportion to our status as a middle power. Hon. members have in their hands the white paper in which Canada's defence programme is spelled out in greater detail than I could hope to do in the time at my disposal today. My main purpose today, therefore, is to supplement what is in the white paper by drawing attention to some of the highlights, and by telling hon. members something of the changes taking place in our own defence system. In the discussions to follow, hon. members' questions will, I hope, enable me to give a more complete picture of that programme, and their suggestions will as always, I can assure them, receive not only my own consideration but that of my service advisers.

Change has been operative in many fields of defence activity in Canada, but particularly so in our air defence arrangements. Arising from continuing reassessment of Canada's part in the joint United States-Canada air defence programme, I can today announce two major developments: the re-organization of our auxiliary air force and an increase in the number of our regular interceptor squadrons.

Last year I drew the attention of hon. members to the studies being undertaken by the Royal Canadian Air Force to determine whether it was practicable to expect the part-time air crew of the Royal Canadian Air Force auxiliary, however skilled and devoted, to operate all-weather jet interceptors of the complexity of the CF-100 in the role of air defence. This important question, in relation to the overall problem of air defence generally, has con-

tinued to receive thorough reassessment by the Royal Canadian Air Force in the light of the thermonuclear air threat to this country.

This threat is such that defending forces must be able to operate in all conditions of weather by day or by night, must be on immediate alert status, and be trained to a very high standard of proficiency; and must, in peacetime, be deployed at their war stations. Our experience now forces us to the conclusion that these conditions are far too exacting to impose on auxiliary forces who are engaged on their civilian duties throughout the week and whose flying therefore is limited mainly to week-ends. Consequently, the ten auxiliary squadrons that were to have been re-equipped with CF-100 all-weather fighters will no longer comprise part of the first-line forces in the North American air defence system . . .

New Interceptor Squadrons

The conditions that have brought about the withdrawal of these auxiliary flying squadrons from the first-line air defence force necessitates increases in the regular force units assigned to this role in Canada. Accordingly, I can now announce that steps will be taken to establish, over a period of time, three new all-weather interceptor squadrons equipped with CF-100 aircraft. This increase, with the 12 squadrons in Europe, will bring to 24 the number of regular force fighter squadrons. The size and composition of Canada's contribution to the continental air defence system continue, of course, to be under review.

Towards the end of this year we will replace one of our Sabre squadrons in Europe with a squadron equipped with CF-100 all-weather interceptor aircraft. And at intervals thereafter, during 1957, three more Sabre squadrons will be thus replaced. This will fulfil our undertaking to NATO to provide four squadrons of all-weather interceptors. Throughout, our commitment in Europe remains at 12 squadrons.

As for new equipment, the Air Force, working in conjunction with the defence research board, is making good progress with its new supersonic delta wing all-weather fighter interceptor, the CF-105, being developed by A. V. Roe, Limited which, with the very advanced and powerful PS-13 engine being designed for it, is expected to constitute a very fast and formidable fighting plane.

The development and preproduction work at Canadair Limited on the CL-28, the new maritime anti-submarine aircraft developed from the Britannia aircraft, is also proceeding very well, and the prototype is expected to fly next spring. By the production of successively improved marks, both the Sabre and the CF-100 are still, and will continue for some time to be, of their sort and for their purpose, first class and effective fighter planes.

The job of the Royal Canadian Air Force is certainly now a widely diversified one, including the interception of enemy bombers, the transport of troops and supplies, the support of anti-submarine activities and defence of shipping operations . . .

The Royal Canadian Air Force is also responsible for the building of the Mid-Canada line, one of the greatest construction projects ever undertaken in

Canada and one that, apart altogether from its defence implications, is dramatically contributing to the opening of the great Canadian north.

The Mid-Canada line and the DEW line, as the committee know, will form part of a warning system anchored on the Pinetree stations already in operation, all linked together by a vast complex of communications. The Pinetree system itself is being strengthened by additional stations. On both the DEW line, being built largely by Canadian contractors working for the United States Air Force, and the Mid-Canada line, being built by Canada, admirable progress is being made. These are projects of great difficulty and magnitude—costly, but we believe worth the cost. For they will buy us time—time to get the big United States deterrent force of bombers with their nuclear weapons winging away on their missions should the need arise, time to get our defences activated, time to prepare our people for impending attack.

Another purpose of this system is to alert our sister NATO nations if the Canadian north should be chosen as the first point of any attack. It is hoped that in the near future the early warning system of North America will be linked with an early warning system in Europe, to which NATO is giving high priority, thus forming an integrated comprehensive early warning system covering the whole of the NATO area. These warning lines cannot—I want to be very frank about this—buy us absolute protection. Their searching beams are not steel barriers. In a determined attack some enemy planes would run the gamut of the defending fighters and many lives would undoubtedly be lost. But these lines will nevertheless contribute very materially to NATO air defence plans generally and to Canada-United States effectiveness in particular. In defence terms any enemy invasion of our Northland is of immediate concern to every Canadian, but—and this we should not forget—I think it is of equal concern to the citizens of the United States. Realistic policy for continental air defence requires the closest co-operation between our two countries.

Let me assure the committee, there is the closest co-operation. Our defence plans are closely integrated. Our relationship is a friendly one, founded on mutual respect and full understanding of each other's particular rights and interests, and dedicated to the defence of our common continental home against present, indisputable and continuing grave dangers.

Both of the new northern lines are rapidly approaching completion. The United States is now recruiting civilian technicians, for the most part Canadians, incidentally, to assist in manning the DEW line for the initial period. Recruiting and training of civilian technicians will shortly begin to assist the Royal Canadian Air Force servicemen, already trained, in manning the Mid-Canada line.

May I turn now to the Canadian Army. I can advise the committee that the note of change that is evident in Air Force plans applies with equal force to the Army. Indeed, for all the services, the changing shape of our defence problem requires constant re-examination of our defence plans and organizations.

For many months a number of the most senior officers in the Canadian Army have been examining the organization of field formations that would best meet Canada's needs in the light of our commitments, both present and possible, and under conditions of either so-called conventional or nuclear warfare.

The Army has also been closely following recent reviews of army organization in the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other countries which are intended to take account of new weapons and conditions of war, and the army has had observers at large-scale NATO divisional tests in Europe.

Increased Mobility

It is generally accepted that, in the use of ground forces, we must work toward a greater degree of flexibility and increased mobility. In particular, practical assessments are being made by the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Army of those types of aircraft that would be most suitable for rapid deployment, supply, and support of Canada's ground forces.

As the committee knows, Canada for some time has had a mobile striking force of three battalions of infantry with supporting arms and services, largely trained as parachutists and transportable in C-119 aircraft known as flying box cars. The established role of this force has been to deal with possible small diversionary raids in the Canadian north . . .

Turning next to the Royal Canadian Navy, there is less by way of change to report this year since the Navy has so recently reviewed its place in modern war, with sweeping changes in ship design, equipment and tactics. But there is every evidence that this arm of our forces will continue to have an important place in our defence planning.

We are all well aware of the tremendous size, modern design, and readiness of the Russian submarine fleet, which could be used not only to destroy shipping but also perhaps to make long-range missile attacks, using nuclear weapons, on the coastal areas of this continent. Remembering, of course, that the submarine is primarily an offensive weapon, we are continuing to improve as rapidly as possible the anti-submarine capabilities of our fleet. To this end, we can look forward this year to the addition of about nine new operational ships to the fleet, and several supporting crafts as well.

The most noteworthy of the additions to the fleet will be the commissioning of HMCS *Bonaventure*, a light fleet aircraft carrier of the latest design, which will replace HMCS *Magnificent*. The *Bonaventure* will be armed with the Banshee jet-fighter aircraft, which have begun to come forward, and the Canadian-made CS-2F anti-submarine aircraft. These fine modern aircraft will replace the Sea Furies and Avengers formerly in the naval service.

Other additions to the fleet will be three and possibly four destroyer escorts of the *St. Laurent* class, specially designed to meet the conditions of nuclear war. You will recall that the first of these ships, HMCS *St. Laurent*, was commissioned last autumn. Earlier this year she went down to the United States and carried out successfully a very comprehensive series of performance trials and exercises. I am pleased to say I have seen fine reports on this.

Subsequently, the *St. Laurent* visited the United Kingdom for the same purpose, and during this visit participated in escorting Her Majesty the Queen on her visit to Sweden. This Canadian destroyer-escort is probably the finest and most modern anti-submarine vessel in the world today.

In summary, I would emphasize that we are vigorously pursuing our policy of enhancing the anti-submarine capabilities of the Canadian Navy, which is its specialized NATO role . . .

After training more than 3,800 aircrew, at a cost of \$328 million to date, Canada's NATO air training programme is being reviewed and probably will be adjusted downward starting in 1958.

The original plan was to provide trained pilots and navigators to build up the frontline strength of aircrew in the NATO countries. This has now been achieved and the training of aircrew for replacement purposes can now be taken over by most of the NATO nations themselves.

Besides what has been done to train NATO aircrew under Canada's mutual aid programme, this programme since its inception in 1950 has done much to strengthen the defences of our allies in Europe. As their own capability increases, our programme of aid is being scaled downward. More and more the equipment we are supplying is from current production rather than from existing stock.

The value of mutual aid to our NATO partners now totals more than \$1,274 million. This includes, as an example, the provision of more than 600 modern fighter planes and more than 1,000 aircraft engines . . .

Forces in Being

I might remind the committee that NATO places great emphasis on forces in being. This has been asserted again and again by NATO leaders.

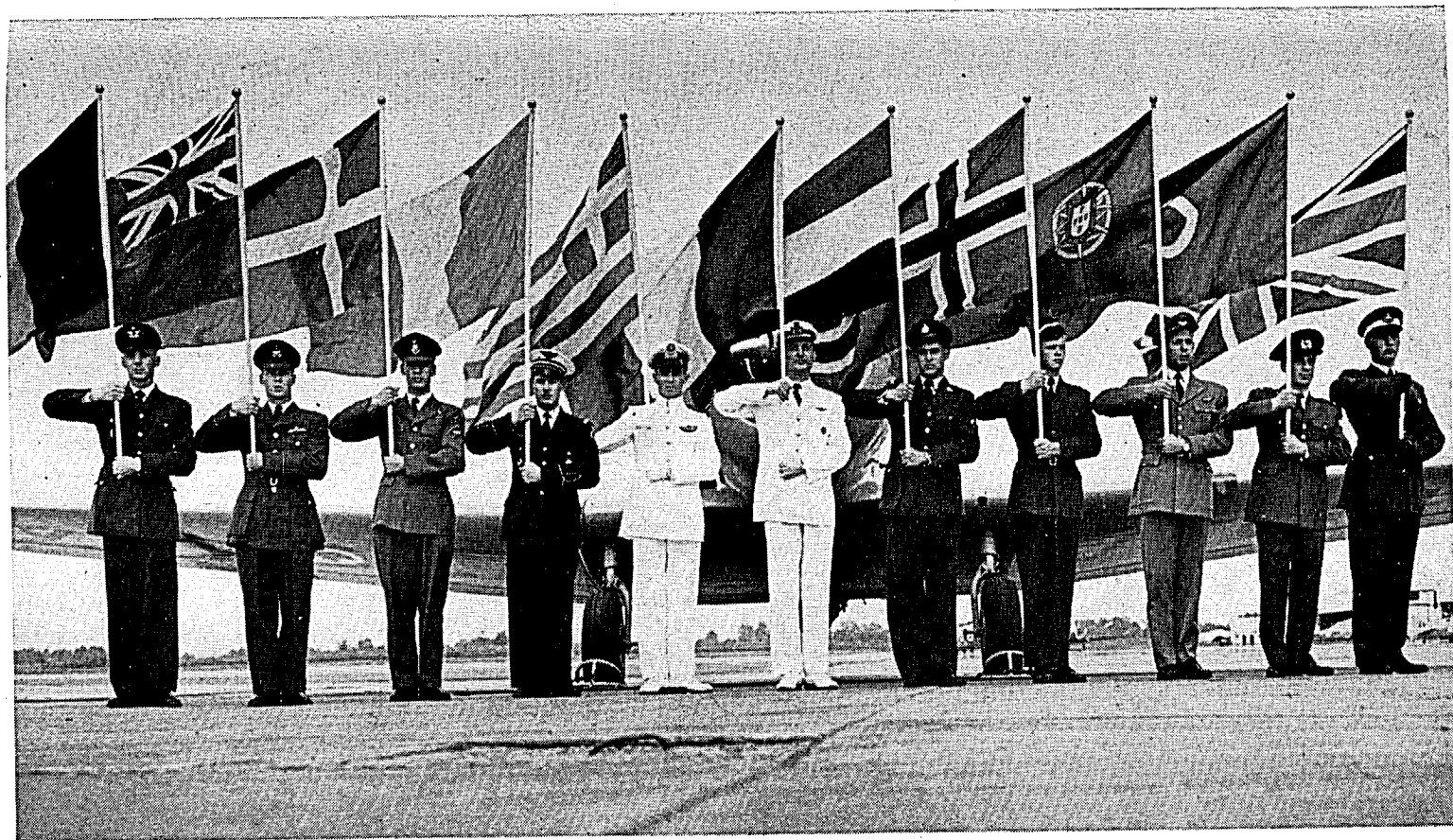
In 1939 we were quite unready for war. Today we have in full fighting trim an army brigade and an air division in Europe and at home a mobile striking force and three infantry brigade groups in the Army; an effective air defence system and other supporting units with more than 3,000 planes in the Air Force; and a Navy with 40 fighting ships at sea and a still greater number under construction or conversion or in reserve . . .

As more and more the requirements of modern war tend to become inter-related, the Department of National Defence, through the co-ordinating efforts of the chairman, chiefs of staff and the joint staff organization, has brought the three services into ever closer working relationship. More than 900 officer cadets are in training at our three tri-service colleges.

It is certain that this trend towards a more unified approach to the defence problem must continue if all the services are to make their maximum contribution to the defence effort and most efficiently manage the defence systems that they are best fitted for. As we move into the use of guided missiles it is more important than ever to have the Navy, Army and Air Force in close co-operation, agreeing on their particular fields of endeavour . . .

The U.S.S.R., by shifting emphasis from quantity to quality, also seems to be working towards more streamlined and professional forces.

For some time now Canada's armed forces, I believe, have had a higher percentage of fully trained personnel than those of most other countries. In recent years, without undue difficulty, and without lowering our selectively high standards of recruiting, we have been able to maintain our forces at about planned size, and we have been able to persuade a relatively high percentage of our recruits to make the services their career—a most important factor in the build-up of first class regular forces . . .



NATO COLOUR PARTY

Flags from 11 nations, flying in the wind on thearmac of an RCAF station, graphically illustrate Canada's NATO partnership. As one of Canada's NATO commitments, the RCAF trains aircrew from 10 other NATO countries, who learn to fly alongside fledgling RCAF aircrew. Since 1951, the RCAF has trained more than 4,000 airmen from other NATO countries.

In the difficult time since World War II, it has not been easy for the free nations to keep their freedoms intact. It has not been by chance, certainly, that this has been achieved. It has, indeed, been only because of the resolute determination of the free peoples working together toward a common end. As a partner in two great organizations looking to the maintenance of peace, the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Canada has given abundant proof of her sincere desire to avoid war and of her active concern for the correction of conditions which might lead to war.

Despite its failure to measure up to the first high ideals it set itself, the United Nations has still helped to prevent and, at the least, to limit war. There is the historic example of Korea, where, incidentally, a small group of Canadians still serve on, the rear guard of that valiant force that fought, successfully, in the Korean war. Canadian officers also, under United Nations auspices, are today serving the cause in Indo-China, in Kashmir and in Israel.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is founded on the truth that in union there is strength. In Canada we subscribe to that truth. In stationing Canadian servicemen in France and Germany, in training aircrew from nine NATO countries here in Canada, and in welcoming United States troops to stand beside our own in defence of our common continental home, we give evidence of our conviction that, in the NATO family, a "stay at home" policy and a "visiting forces not wanted" policy have no place and, indeed, if given effect to, could endanger us all.

The great defensive system that we have built in NATO with so much labour must not be allowed to fall into disrepair. Honest assessment of the world situation tells us that we cannot safely rest on what we have done. We must go on working together for the common good with undiminished zeal and equal determination.

Despite our considerable defence expenditures, and despite our best defence endeavours, there can be, for Canadians, no such thing as absolute safety. That must be sought, not by standing alone in our defence preparations, but in the collective strength and evident capacity of the free nations to survive attack and to strike back with desperate, devastating force. For, paradoxically, it is in the awareness and abhorrence of nuclear war that we must probably look for our best defence against its breaking out . . .

Surely no one could look forward, with equanimity, to year after year of uneasy expectation of that dread day when the first H-bombs might fall. However futile our best attempts may have proved so far, we must keep on trying for disarmament. And we must come to grips with some of those central problems that have led to war: ignorance and hate, disease, privation and poverty.

For it is clearly evident—and it is on this note, and not a defence statistic, that I want to end my opening remarks to this committee—it is clearly evident that, for us and for the generations that will follow us into the wonders and hazards of this thermonuclear age, there must be some surer guarantee of peace, some less uncertain protection against disaster, than military might can hope to provide.

Canada and the World Meteorological Organization

THE World Meteorological Organization is one of ten intergovernmental organizations which are linked with the United Nations through special agreements arranged by the Economic and Social Council and approved by the General Assembly and by the organization concerned. The "Specialized Agencies" of the United Nations are expert in their respective fields: labour, health, education, food and agriculture, finance and banking, civil aviation, postal matters, telecommunications and meteorology.

History

The earth's weather and climate do not respect political frontiers and they create many similar problems all over the world. Realizing that large-scale international co-operation was necessary to solve these problems, the nations of the world have made a common effort to apply available knowledge of the weather and its evolution to the main activities of man. Canada, occupying as it does a considerable portion of the northern hemisphere, including a large part of the meteorologically vital Arctic, became one of the earliest participants in this international exchange of weather data.

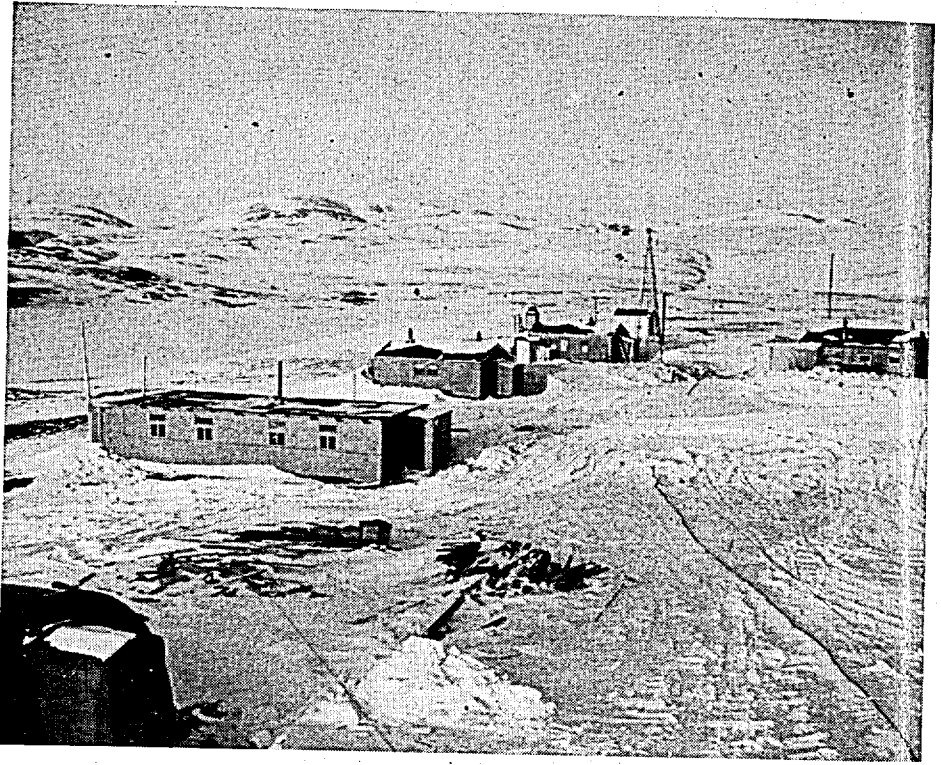
From 1853 efforts were made to draw up a programme of meteorological observations over the oceans, based on the collaboration of shipping belonging to most of the maritime countries. This was still fourteen years before Canada attained her national status.

In 1878, the International Meteorological Organization, composed of the Directors of National Meteorological Services, was created during an international conference at Utrecht in the Netherlands. The infant Meteorological Service of Canada, established in 1871, was not represented at this meeting.

In 1882 the head of the Canadian Meteorological Service, C. Carpmael, sent a full report on the state of the Canadian service to the second meeting of the International Committee held at Copenhagen that year. By 1885 European meteorologists, recognizing the importance of data from Canada and the United States, were studying ways and means of getting weather reports from North America by cable.

During the present century the tremendous development of means of transport and communications (sea and air navigation, radio-telegraphy) and the increased requirements of modern economic activity have given rise to a large number of technical problems and have emphasized the importance of meteorology. At the same time, the surprising development of technology has enabled this relatively young science to make considerable progress. These new developments showed that reorganization at an international level was necessary in view of the increased interest in meteorology.

Consequently the Conference of Directors of the national Meteorological



FAR NORTH WEATHER STATION

Most northerly in Canada, the weather station at Alert, on the northeast tip of Ellesmere Island, is one of five operated jointly by the United States and Canada in the Arctic.

Services, which met at Washington in 1947 under the auspices of the International Meteorological Organization, adopted the World Meteorological Convention establishing a new organization founded on an agreement between governments. Just prior to this Conference, Canada had played host to the sessions of the Technical Commissions of the IMO which met in Toronto in the summer of 1947.

The Convention adopted at Washington was ratified by a large number of states and in 1951 the new World Meteorological Organization became active, the former organization having been dissolved. Furthermore, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, in December 1951, the agreement between the United Nations and the World Meteorological Organization. The latter was thus recognized by the United Nations as a Specialized Agency.

The objectives of WMO are:

- (1) to facilitate world-wide co-operation in establishing networks of stations for making meteorological observations or other geophysical observations related to meteorology, and to promote the establishment and maintenance of centres for providing meteorological services;
- (2) to promote the establishment and maintenance of systems for rapidly exchanging weather information;

- (3) to promote standardization of meteorological observations and to ensure the uniform publication of observations and statistics;
- (4) to further the application of meteorology to aviation, shipping, agriculture, and other human activities;
- (5) to encourage research and training in meteorology and to assist in co-ordinating the international aspects of such research and training.

Structure and Activities

WMO's administrative and technical machinery consists of:

- (1) a World Meteorological Congress in which 86 member countries are represented by the heads of their meteorological services. It meets once every four years to adopt technical regulations on meteorological practices and procedures and to determine general policy;
- (2) an Executive Committee which supervises the carrying out of resolutions of the Congress, initiates studies, and makes recommendations on matters requiring international action. It provides members with technical information, advice, and assistance. Meeting at least once a year, its membership includes the President and Vice-President of WMO, the President of WMO's six Regional Meteorological Associations, and six elected members;
- (3) six Regional Meteorological Associations (Africa, Asia, South America, North and Central America, Europe, and the Southwest Pacific) composed of member countries whose meteorological networks lie in or extend into the Region.
- (4) Technical Commissions established by the Congress to study and make recommendations on technical subjects.
- (5) A Secretariat under the direction of a Secretary-General.

It is necessary, for the practical use and the comparison of observations made at weather stations throughout the world, to standardize and co-ordinate them. Today, all stations make their observations at the same time in all countries of the world with instruments standardized and compared with international standard instruments. Reports from over 200 Canadian stations are included in the international exchange.

However, WMO does not merely draw up regulations and standardize. In 1953, the Organization's programme included the preparation of world thunderstorm maps and the publication of an international cloud atlas. WMO also takes part in arid zone research and contributes to the development of arid land by studying climatic conditions. The Organization actively collaborates in planning "World days" during the International Geophysical Year to study, on a world-wide basis, the properties of the upper air. Locust control and the protection of crops from this pest is a collective undertaking to which WMO contributes. Another important activity of the Organization is to encourage scientific research and instruction in meteorology by all possible means. The WMO collects and makes available to all national meteorological services information on the regional and international organization of meteorological activity. It may be said that the role of WMO is to provide technical assistance in order to facilitate technical progress within the general field of economic

development. In putting its programme of technical assistance into effect, as well as in other fields of its activity, WMO collaborates closely with the United Nations and with other Specialized Agencies.

Canadian Participation

The Canadian Meteorological Service has always played an active part in international meteorology. The first meetings of some of the Technical Commissions, after the WMO was founded, took place in Toronto in 1954. The head of the Canadian weather service, Dr. Andrew Thomson, is a member of the Executive Committee, and is also President of Regional Association IV (North and Central America). Members of the Canadian weather service have served on all Technical Commissions, either as chairman, full member, or technical adviser.

Canadian ships on the high seas report their weather by radio to the nearest land station, and receive in return forecasts and storm warnings for the area through which they are sailing. In return, vessels of foreign registry frequently provide reports of their local weather to Canadian coastal stations, and receive Canadian forecasts and storm warnings for marine areas contiguous to the Atlantic and Pacific shores of Canada. There is no charge made for any of these transmissions to the ships. The national weather service in question bears the cost of transmitting the ship reports to its own forecast centres and to those of neighbouring states. Under the aegis of the WMO, a substantial increase has also taken place in international co-operation by the facsimile exchange of analyzed weather maps among the countries of the northern hemisphere.

Through the good offices of the WMO, and other organizations, there exists an agreement to operate ocean weather stations by which ships are maintained at locations in the Atlantic and Pacific. Reports from these ships greatly facilitate trans-oceanic flights by Canadian air carriers. For its part, Canada operates an ocean weather station in the Pacific, Station Papa, 100 miles west of Vancouver.

The fact that the Canadian Meteorological Service, as well as the weather Service of the United States and the West Indies, could accurately track and forecast the life history of hurricane "Hazel" (October 1954) is a tribute to the co-operation achieved internationally through the WMO. The meteorological history of Canada, and of other member countries, is filled with similar, almost daily examples of the benefits of international co-operation in the field of meteorology.

Canada pays 2.43 per cent of the regular budget of the WMO. In 1955 the net budget of the Organization for assessment purposes was \$314,809 (U.S.).

Ninth World Health Assembly

THE World Health Organization (WHO), one of the ten Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, has as its objective "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health". Once a year WHO holds an Assembly attended not only by delegations from member states but also by representatives and observers from other United Nations bodies as well as from non-governmental organizations and medical and scientific associations. The ninth World Health Assembly met in Geneva from May 8 to 25. Representatives from 70 states attended, and the Canadian delegation was led by Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Deputy Minister of National Health.

This year's Assembly was notable for a number of accomplishments. Already one of the largest of the Specialized Agencies, WHO expanded its membership to 88 states when the Assembly agreed to grant full membership to the newly independent states of Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia; in addition the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone were admitted as associate members. The ninth Assembly also approved the terms under which nine members of WHO which had been inactive for a number of years again will be eligible to participate in the work of the Agency. Five of these members—Roumania, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland—had withdrawn from WHO in 1950, and four of them—U.S.S.R., Ukrainian S.S.R., Byelorussian S.S.R., and Bulgaria—had taken no part in Agency work since 1949. When these states indicated they were again prepared to co-operate with WHO, it became necessary for the ninth Assembly to work out a formula covering their arrears and contributions.

As decided by the Assembly, the WHO programme for 1957 will again give high priority to malaria eradication. WHO is assisting with malaria control in more than 20 countries by providing technical guidance and setting up demonstration and training projects and model clinics. Particular emphasis is being placed on the urgent task of destroying malaria mosquitoes before these insects develop resistance to insecticides.

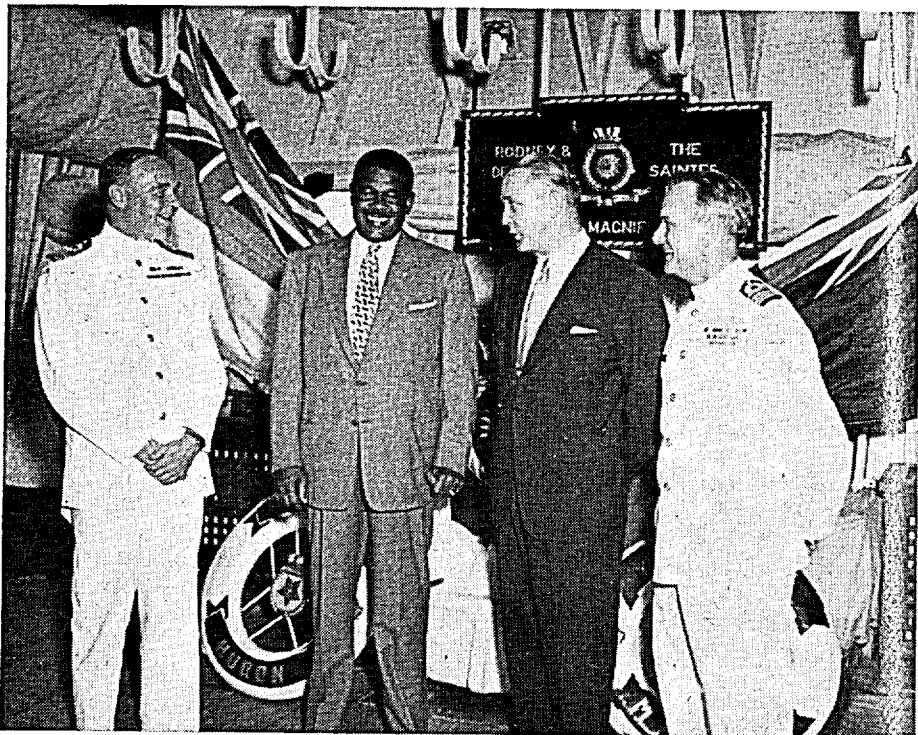
The Assembly noted with concern that, especially in highly industrialized areas of the world, rheumatic, hypertensive, and coronary groups of heart diseases are a leading and ever-increasing cause of death and that they are affecting wider segments of the population. These diseases will be given increased attention by the Agency's panels and expert committees, which will also give further study to occupational health, cardiovascular diseases, cancer, rheumatism, and geriatrics. The Assembly also approved a programme in the field of atomic energy which includes the training of public health personnel and studies of various health risks connected with radiation and radio-active waste disposal.

The Assembly decided to abolish those parts of the WHO international sanitary regulations dealing specifically with the Mecca pilgrimage. This decision will be of particular importance to countries with Moslem populations.

Special technical discussions were held on the education of nurses and their role in public health programmes.

As proposed by the Director General, and approved by the Assembly, the WHO budget for 1957 is about \$11 million. If, however, the nine inactive members resume participation in time, an additional \$1.5 million will be added to the budget. Although this amount of money will not, of course, meet all the health needs of the world or even the most pressing needs of the underdeveloped areas, the budget reflects the amounts which member states are able or willing to contribute. Canada's share of the 1957 budget will be approximately \$382,940.

Canada was elected, for a three-year (1956-59) term, to the 18-member Executive Board which gives effect to the decisions and policies of the annual assembly.



VISIT TO HAITI

His Excellency General P. E. Magloire, President of Haiti, extended a warm welcome to Canadian personnel when HMCS Magnificent and destroyer escort paid a recent call at Port-au-Prince. Chatting with Gen. Magloire are, left to right: Commodore E. P. Tisdall, senior Canadian Officer Afloat (Atlantic); E. P. Bellemare, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. at the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince; and Capt. A. H. G. Storrs, Commanding Officer of the Magnificent.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND A NEW NATO

Excerpts from an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Commencement Exercises, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 3, 1956.

... I wish that I had time to discuss with you some . . . problems; particularly in the international field, where I am supposed to be more or less at home, having been working in it now for about thirty years. I will mention, however, only two.

The first of these problems is the current—and I hope searching—re-appraisal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—in its non-military aspects, and of ways and means of developing greater unity in the North Atlantic community. This work is being undertaken by a committee of three NATO Foreign Ministers who, incidentally have begun their work with one strike against them by being dubbed "The Three Wise Men".

NATO stands today at the very heart of the security of the free world, but a lot of people are so ignorant about it that they think it is a kind of breakfast food. Its defences protect the moral and spiritual basis of a vital segment of that world—as well as its physical security. Those defences are still needed. The danger of military aggression remains. So does the importance of collective strength to deter and, if necessary, repel it.

New Challenge

NATO also faces, however, at this time, a new challenge in the all-out political and economic offensive from Moscow. Our methods, especially in the fields of closer political and economic consultation must be adapted to meet this new challenge.

When NATO's task was almost exclusively military, the ways and means of providing defence against aggression could be thought of in terms of men and missiles. But the strength which NATO now needs, to cope with competitive co-existence has to be cultivated also in terms of public attitudes and of consultation and of voluntary and close co-operation between all member governments.

To this end, the first task of NATO is to look to its internal strength and unity, and to resist those forces which would weaken it. This means that our cohesion must find a more durable basis than the fear which originally brought us together in 1949. We must seek out new ways of providing not only for the continued maintenance of a defensive shield against aggression, but also for strengthening the existing ties which bind

members of the Atlantic Community more closely together. These ties, moreover, are not artificial creations; they existed long before NATO.

Since the war, the nations of Western Europe, with their vast reserves of knowledge, skills, and initiatives have moved toward a closer unity, the outward and institutional expression of which takes many forms.

Viewed against the background of narrow concepts of sovereignty and ancient enmities, the progress which has been made in the last ten years towards European unity is encouraging, though it is not as fast as some impatient souls would desire. Furthermore, expressed in practical forms, it gives Europeans more—not less—authority in playing their proper role on the world stage. And that is all to the good.

Bridging the Gap

The island state of Britain, with its world as well as European responsibilities, can play an important part in this move to European integration by helping to bridge the gap between the interlocking and developing communities of Europe and the Atlantic. At the same time, the North American countries—the United States and Canada—must more than ever before realize that their destinies extend across the Atlantic.

While the other countries concerned have their part to play, it is, I think, true to say that European integration and the cohesion of the Atlantic Community—neither of which excludes the other—will proceed as far and as fast as the United States and the United Kingdom make possible by recognizing the importance of their own roles in bringing it about; and in a way which will strengthen the Atlantic area as a whole.

This, then, is the first task of the new NATO—to strengthen the internal unity of the alliance, to prevent centrifugal forces from sundering it; to build upon the existing foundations of European and Atlantic unity, and to aid and assist the various initiatives to this end within the framework of the Atlantic community, and against the background of the broader international arrangements in which the Atlantic countries are participating as good citizens of the world.

Its second task will be to take advantage of any and every opportunity new soviet tactics

may present to break through the vicious circle of suspicion and fear in the "cold war", in an effort to test Soviet aims and to bring about genuine negotiation. If we cannot do this by a forward looking and flexible diplomacy, and without yielding to the temptation to relax our defence effort, (though we may have to alter its character), then NATO will hardly survive.

Testing Period

We cannot move, of course, from open hostility or sterile "co-existence" to constructive international co-operation without the searching testing period which would be provided by attempts to settle the several important issues which still unhappily divide the Communist and non-Communist world. These issues will not settle themselves; nor will they be settled either by brandishing our swords, or by throwing them away. We must be certain in NATO that if they are *not* settled, it will not be *our* fault.

The unification of Germany by the free choice of its people; effective and agreed disarmament, the right of captive European peoples to decide their own future; a European security system; a united effort by the major world powers to make the United Nations work as it was originally intended to work; all these are the testing grounds of the future on which the Soviet peace offensive must be judged.

It would be rash indeed to be dogmatic, either positively or negatively, about the real significance of the changes which have taken place in Soviet policy since the death of Stalin. We should avoid unreasonable optimism, for orthodox communist revolutionary tenets may still be dominant in Russia, and there is no peace in them. But also we would be unwise to reject out of hand the possibility that a new and pragmatic approach to internal affairs may be developing among the Soviet leaders, combined with a desire on the part of their peoples to return to a more normal relationship with other peoples. If this tendency were to extend, or could be made to extend, to the conduct of Soviet foreign relations and to the many problems which still divide us, we could at last begin to see more solid grounds for hope and confidence than we have now.

Therefore without illusions or without despair we must hold ourselves ready to strengthen and encourage any elements which wish to deal with the world as it in fact exists rather than as Marxist dogma pictures it. We must also be prepared, however, for the contingency that no such elements do exist, at least in a form seriously to influence policy.

This process of testing—of examination and discovery may be a long and difficult one. During it there is an obligation for NATO to maintain itself in readiness to deal with any emergency, military or diplomatic. By doing so, by steadfastly maintaining its basic purposes, and by demonstrating to the world that its continued existence is essential to the future of free men, it can play a vital part in leading the way forward from the bleak prospects of "cold war", or of a harshly "competitive co-existence", to the more distant horizons of world co-operation.

Mutual Assistance

There is one other problem that I would like to mention, which these words, "world co-operation", bring to mind. It is that of international economic assistance. The problem here is to reconcile our obligations to the international community with those to our own people, to whom a government owes its first duty. But it is more than that. It is a problem, not only of what to do (and no country in the world has ever done as much as this country); but of how and why to do it.

The need for assistance to those countries which have not shared in our industrial and technical advances is real and demanding. It will never be satisfactorily met, however, merely by pouring in assistance in a form which, economically, may be a way of putting people on the dole; politically, may give rise to suspicion that there are strings attached to it; and technically, is beyond the capacity of the receiving peoples to administer effectively.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations uttered some wise words on this subject the other night when he said:

"We should not forget that it may be more difficult to live on the dole than to pay it. Few friendships survive a long drawn-out economic dependency of one upon the other. Gratitude is a good link only when it can be given and received without an overtone of humiliation."

A cynic might doubt whether gratitude, so often a "lively anticipation of favours to come", is a good link at all. The feeling of mutual assistance and co-operative effort is surely better. But that requires careful and sensitive planning; a clear understanding of why you are helping and are being helped.

This understanding can surely best be achieved by using the United Nations more and more as the clearing house for all forms of such assistance; as a place where plans can be discussed and related to each other; where purposes can be clarified and, if necessary,

exposed. Where, on the other hand, suspicions can be removed when they are unjust and unwarranted.

This does not mean that bilateral aid such as Point IV, or aid under such arrangements as the Colombo Plan, should be abandoned, or taken over by the United Nations. That would be unnecessary and undesirable as well as politically unrealistic. But the United Nations should be brought more and more into the picture, and all its members pressed to accept their full responsibility. In this way, as Mr. Hammarskjöld put it, we may find "a sound basis for the reconciliation of the natural national interest with valid international considerations."

Enlightened Self-Interest

But why bother at all? Haven't we enough to do at home? I could spend an hour or so on this question. Here I can only say that while the element of goodwill and neighbourliness does enter into these matters, as it does in their domestic manifestations, equally or more important is the long-term consideration of our own enlightened self-interest.

Today we all want peace; more anxiously, perhaps, than ever before, because the alternative could be total annihilation. But we are not always willing to do the things or make the sacrifices that ensure peace. Are we willing to accept, for instance, the proposition that there will be no peace in this small world if it consists of "residential areas surrounded by slums."

The domestic analogy applies here. Every free democratic government today accepts the fact—and most of them act on it—that national stability, welfare and progress are not possible if the poor are allowed to get poorer while the rich get richer. Inequalities and deprivations that are considered intolerable mean unrest, ferment and ultimate explosion.

The same result will inevitably and inexorably occur internationally, if hundreds of millions of people feel condemned indefinitely to an existence below or on the edge of subsistence; hopeless and helpless and bitter; the easy victims for extreme ideas and extremist agitators.

The main and the final responsibility for avoiding this situation lies with the governments and the peoples concerned. We in more favoured parts of the world can only supplement their efforts, unless of course, those efforts are hostile to us. But, we would be well advised to do that, and primarily in our own interest.

Nor should we expect, as I have just said, much gratitude; least of all the United States of America which, I think, deserves it most, in terms of the magnitude of the assistance given.

The United States is the most powerful and the richest country in the world. Yet while great national wealth and power can achieve international recognition and respect, it rarely gains affection—and not too often even understanding. This is something to which the giant has to become accustomed.

All history shows this to be the case, and most recently, the history of the British Empire.

I was reading the other day an article by Mr. Eugen Weber, a British Professor at the University of Iowa, entitled, "European Reactions to American Policies", which contained some witty and perspective reflections on this score. I will quote two paragraphs, while refusing to take responsibility for all the expressions he uses:

"The Greeks despised the Romans as Barbarians; no doubt the Egyptians in their turn despised the Greeks. We British have also had our time of greatness—our time of world supremacy. What were we in those days? We were perfidious Albion. We were a nation of long-shanked, long-toothed milords; of lean and angular spinsters; patronizing Cook's tours, gaping at European culture (which we were not supposed to understand), and calling loudly wherever we went for tea and for porridge. Now we are decaying, and only the memories of this great tradition still live on. We have gathered the distinction of decay. People prize us, like one of the riper sorts of cheese. We are supposed to enshrine and guard admirable traditions, a great cultural heritage, which no one seemed to suspect (or at any rate admit) a generation or two ago. It is wonderful what a little failure can do!

"Meanwhile, the Americans have taken over, more nilly than willy, the banner with the strange device of the white man's burden. They provide the perfidy, they provide the comic relief, they provide the gaping, uncultured tourists chewing gum and sipping cokes. They are the powerful and the rich, and for this they must pay the penalty; and one part of the penalty is that they cannot be loved when they are feared . . . or exploited."

On a day like this, however, I would not like to end on a note which suggests that one cannot be loved. Everything about this com-

mencement suggests a happier and more hopeful mood. I know that you who are graduating are the beneficiaries indeed the very centre of that mood today. I hope that it may

follow you in the months and years ahead when you will be privileged to put into action the sound principles and the good training that you have received at this University.



—Capital Press

Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery is shown during his recent visit to the Canadian capital, in conversation with Prime Minister L. S. St. Laurent.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. M. Johnson appointed Ambassador of Canada to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Proceeded to Moscow June 29, 1956.
- Mr. R. M. Tait posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Athens, effective June 1, 1956.
- Mr. S. D. Pierce posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective June 1, 1956.
- Mr. R. H. Jay posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, Geneva, effective June 5, 1956.
- Mr. G. L. Seens posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commission, Indochina, effective June 9, 1956.
- Mr. J. B. R. Chaput posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 13, 1956.
- Mr. O. A. Chistoff posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commission, Indochina, effective June 16, 1956.
- Mr. R. E. Reynolds posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva to the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, effective June 26, 1956.
- Miss M. I. M. Dunlop posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, effective June 28, 1956.
- Mr. G. Mathieu appointed to the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 4, 1956.
- Mr. A. D. Bryce appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Information Officer 3, effective June 11, 1956.
- Mr. D. R. Hill appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 12, 1956.
- Mr. E. H. Norman, High Commissioner, posted from Wellington to Ottawa, effective May 10, 1956.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde posted from the Canadian Embassy, Athens, to Ottawa, effective May 31, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

Printed Documents:

Financial Reports and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 December 1955 and Reports of the Board of Auditors. A/3124. N.Y., 1956. 57 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 6.

United Nations Refugee Fund. Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1955 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3128. N.Y., 1956. 8 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 6D.

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Technical Assistance Committee. Eighth Report of the Technical Assistance Board. E/2842, E/TAC/REP/66. April 10, 1956. 104 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 5.

* Printed documents may be produced from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



August 1956

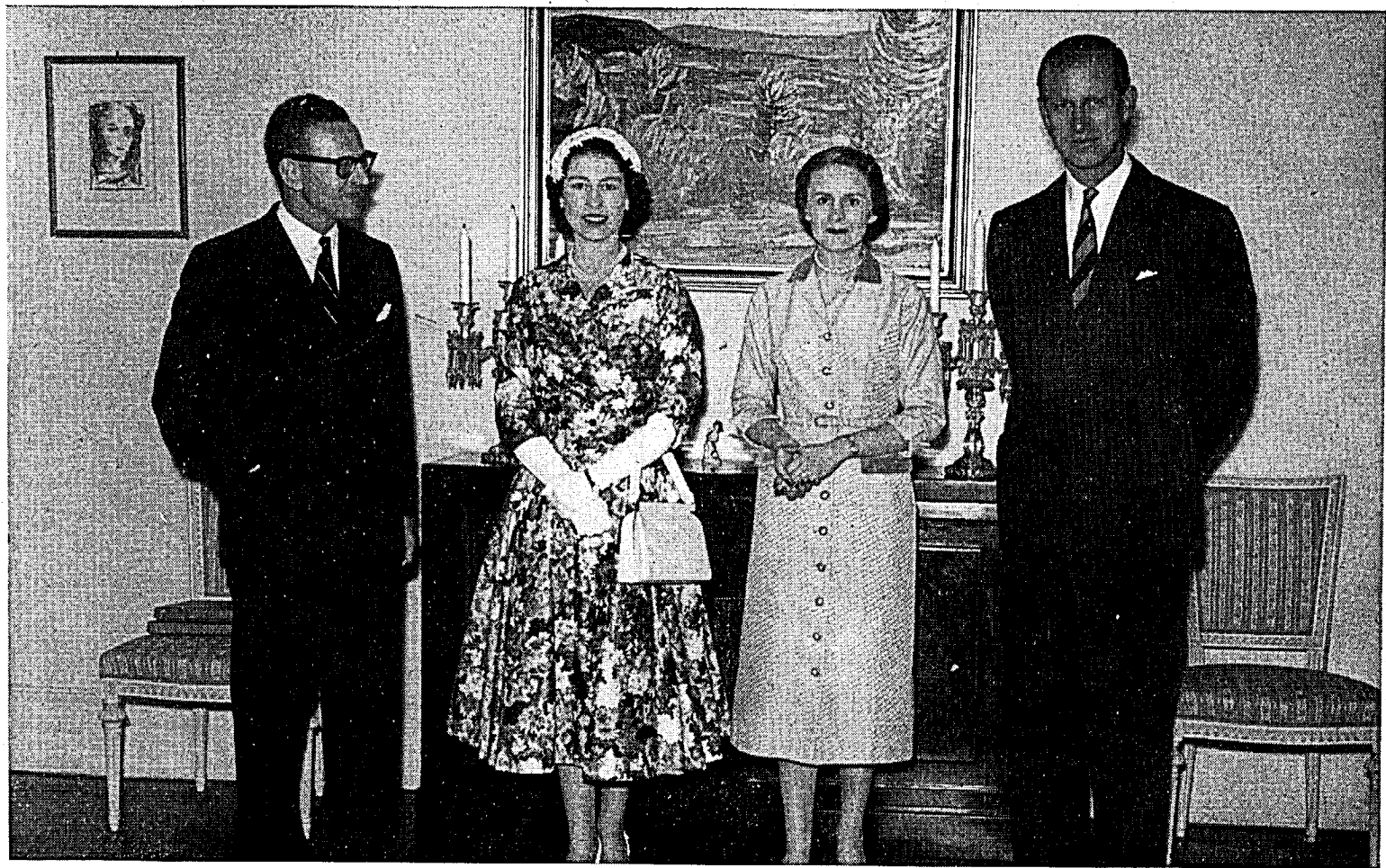
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—Associated Press

Her Majesty and HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, accompanied by HRH Princess Margaret, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and Lord and Lady Mountbatten, paid a private visit to the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, on June 12. The Royal Couple are seen above with Mr. and Mrs. Chapdelaine. The painting shown is entitled "Laurentian Landscape, Shawbridge," and was done by Jacques de Tonnancour, of Montreal.

Royal Visit to Sweden

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II paid a state visit to Sweden June 8-10 and was an unofficial guest of that country June 11-17. Activities during the visit underlined in many ways the fact that Her Majesty has other realms besides the United Kingdom, and the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, and Mrs. Chapdelaine, with other Heads of Commonwealth Missions and their wives, were present on all important occasions during the official part of the visit.



Above—Her Majesty is seen with Mr. Chapdelaine on her arrival at the Canadian Embassy.

—National Defence

Right—The Queen and HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, followed by Admiral the Earl Mountbatten, Britain's First Sea Lord, come aboard HMCS St. Laurent at Stockholm. The St. Laurent escorted the Queen in the Royal Yacht Britannia during Her Majesty's visit to Sweden. It marked the first time a Canadian ship had the honour of carrying out these duties.



Commonwealth Prime Ministers Confer

INTERNATIONAL issues as they affected each of the countries represented and the Commonwealth generally were discussed in London June 27-July 6 at the seventh meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held since the end of the Second World War.

Succeeding Sir Winston Churchill, chairman of the last meeting held in January-February 1955, Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of Great Britain, was in the chair. Among the Commonwealth colleagues he welcomed to the deliberations were three Prime Ministers attending in that capacity for the first time—the Hon. J. G. Strydom, of South Africa, Mr. Mohamad Ali, of Pakistan, and the Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, of Ceylon. The Canadian Delegation was led by Prime Minister St. Laurent, who was accompanied by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs. The other Prime Ministers in attendance were the Rt. Hon. R. G. Menzies, of Australia, the Rt. Hon. S. G. Holland, of New Zealand, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, of India, and Lord Malvern, of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Reporting to the House of Commons on July 9 following his return from London, Mr. St. Laurent said that, as is customary, the conference did not seek to reach any collective decision or take definite action. Its main purpose, he pointed out, was "to assist in bringing points of view closer together". Earlier, Mr. St. Laurent had tabled the communiqué issued on July 6 at the close of the conference. The texts of the communiqué and of Mr. St. Laurent's statement are given below.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUÉ

During the past ten days Commonwealth Prime Ministers have together reviewed the current state of international affairs. Their discussions have again revealed a sense of common purpose in their approach to the major problems of the day. The peoples of the Commonwealth all share the common heritage of parliamentary democracy. They respect aspirations for freedom and self-government, and they take pride in what they themselves have done in helping to fulfil those aspirations.

This meeting has been held at a significant stage in the development of international relations. A new element has been introduced by the growing recognition of the devastating power of thermonuclear weapons. Other developments of importance have taken place in the world, including changes in the Soviet Union. The common understanding which the Prime Ministers have reached in their review will form a valuable background which will assist each government in the formulation and pursuit of its national policies.

Despite the high hopes with which the world emerged from the last war, new international tensions developed. These have given rise to increasing fears and suspicion. They have resulted in vast expenditures on armaments and economic distortions which have delayed the full development of the world's natural resources for the common good.

The governments and peoples of the Commonwealth are united in their desire for peace. They seek friendly relations with all the peoples of the world and have no aggressive intent or design. War would bring disaster for many; world war could mean destruction for all. The policies of all Commonwealth countries will at all times be devoted to preserving and consolidating world peace. The Prime Ministers emphasized the importance they attach to the search for a comprehensive disarmament agreement.

The Commonwealth governments will strive for a progressive improvement in the standards of life of their own peoples and will assist in similar efforts in other parts of the world. Since the end of the war, in addition to furthering their own economic development, they have done much to assist the development of other countries, through the United Nations and such organisations as the Colombo Plan, the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara and by other means. They will continue in their efforts to secure prosperity as well as peace for all the peoples of the world.

In the course of the meeting the Prime Ministers reviewed the significant developments in the Soviet Union in the context of international relations and world affairs. In this assessment they were helped by the reports made by those Ministers who have recently visited the Soviet Union or have held elsewhere personal discussions with the new Soviet leaders. The Prime Ministers considered the recent decisions of the Soviet Government to reduce the numbers of their armed forces, their willingness to facilitate increased contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries, and their expressed desire for improved relations with other governments. They welcomed these developments. A progressive improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the other great powers would help to remove the fear of war and serve the interests of world peace. They believe, however, that the removal of the causes of tension and the creation of mutual confidence and goodwill are essential if peace is to rest on secure foundations. The governments of the Commonwealth countries will persevere in the search for just and lasting settlements of outstanding international problems. Unless such settlements can be reached, resources which might otherwise be used to improve the lot of man will continue to be devoted to armaments; and the fears which impel the peoples of the world to accept the burdens of defence will continue to distract and weaken mankind.

The Prime Ministers noted with regret that, since their last meeting, no progress had been made towards German unity. They were informed of current proposals regarding the political and economic activities of the North Atlantic Alliance and the development of closer economic co-operation in Europe.

The Prime Ministers considered the situation in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their interest in the peace and stability of this area. They welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure observance of the terms of the armistice agreements between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states. They agreed that all practicable steps should be urgently taken to consolidate the progress thus made and to seek a lasting settlement of this dispute.



THE QUEEN WITH HER PRIME MINISTERS

—UKIO

Her Majesty the Queen photographed with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for whom she gave a dinner party at Buckingham Palace. From the left are: Mr. Strydom (South Africa), Mr. Mohamad Ali (Pakistan), Mr. Holland (New Zealand), Mr. St. Laurent (Canada), Sir Anthony Eden (Britain), the Queen, Mr. Menzies (Australia), Mr. Nehru (India), Mr. Bandaranaike (Ceylon), and Lord Malvern (Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

The Prime Ministers were informed of the situation in Cyprus, and welcomed the unceasing efforts of the United Kingdom Government to find a solution acceptable to all concerned.

The Prime Ministers reviewed the situation in the Far East and South-East Asia. They noted the part which was being played by certain Commonwealth governments in seeking to maintain peace in Indo-China. They looked forward to a continuing relaxation of tension in the Formosa area, and expressed the hope that unremitting efforts would be made to this end. Peaceful settlements of the problems in this area are imperative for stability in the Far East and for removing the dangers of conflict which would frustrate the hopes of peace. The Prime Ministers heard with interest a report from the Prime Minister of New Zealand on his recent visit to Japan. They were informed of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and of the negotiations on constitutional development in Singapore.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that Ceylon and certain other countries had recently been admitted to the United Nations. They recognized the important part which members of the Commonwealth had played in securing this extension of the organization. They expressed the hope that its membership could be broadened still further so that it might command a wider allegiance throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers agreed that it was of first importance for their countries to maintain and increase their economic strength. Each country, through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources and earning power, could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area, and move steadily towards the agreed objective of the widest practicable system of trade and payments. The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the United Kingdom's determination to maintain and improve its capacity to serve as a source of capital for development in Commonwealth countries. They received reports on the development programme of certain members of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. They agreed that the civil use of nuclear energy constituted a valuable new sphere of co-operation within the Commonwealth, as well as with other countries, and they noted with satisfaction the progress already made in this field. The Commonwealth countries are already a major source of world supplies of uranium and thorium, and their resources in these materials are increasing. In most of these countries research organizations have been established to develop the use of nuclear energy as a source of power.

During the course of the meeting, the Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that, in accordance with their declared policy, the Ceylon Government proposed to introduce in due course a republican constitution for Ceylon. He also stated that it was their intention that Ceylon should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth. The other Prime Ministers took note of this statement, and expressed their agreement to Ceylon's remaining a member of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers considered the particular position of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in relation to meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Taking into account the 20 years' attendance first by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and now by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, they agreed that they would welcome the continued participation of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Apart from the consideration of matters which are of common concern to all Commonwealth countries, these meetings also afford opportunities for discussions outside the formal sessions. Advantage has been taken of these opportunities on this occasion. The continuing exchange of views on matters of common concern is an important element in the relationship between the member countries of the Commonwealth. It is of the utmost value that this should be supplemented at intervals by personal contacts between the political leaders of the Commonwealth countries, and in a rapidly changing world the need for these direct consultations has assumed a new importance.

LONDON,

6th July, 1956.

TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT

The statement of the conference—which, as always, represented a lot of work in achieving points of substance and forms of expression to which all could agree—indicates that the main subjects of discussion were in the field of international affairs. Problems of the Commonwealth, as such, did not require very much attention. It is functioning as we expect it to function and adapting itself to changing conditions. It is primarily an association of nations having a common heritage of British parliamentary institutions, and many elements of common purpose in their approach to the problems of the day, despite the great differences in the geography, history and cultures of the various constituent nations.

The purpose for which we meet is the important and constructive one of exchanging information and opinions, in the hope that thereby the governments and parliaments of member countries can and will make wiser decisions. The conference does not seek to take any collective decisions or actions itself, but hopes to assist in bringing points of view closer together.

The Commonwealth of today has not been the product of any political theory. It has developed from the practical response of sensible men to the desire for a continuing and close political relationship which adds to rather than detracts from the independence of its members. For most member countries, a common allegiance to the same Crown is a link between us which we hold very dear. For the other, republican members, the Queen is none the less the Head of the Commonwealth. In discussion around the table, there is no distinction between members, and all Prime Ministers joined in frankly and fully setting their views in confidence before their colleagues, and in questioning one another.

I should like to lay special emphasis upon the value I find in having the Prime Ministers of the Asian members of the Commonwealth at our conference table. The histories and cultures, the people and problems of these nations, are so different from our own that it is of great value in dealing with major international affairs to have the benefit of discussions with their leaders

The development of Asian nationalism is one of the great historic movements of our time. Indeed, in some ways it is more comprehensive and significant than the rise of militant communism. The wise counsel of the outstanding Commonwealth Asian leaders of this great movement is something I find most helpful in trying to understand the perplexities of this complicated world in which we must now accept our share of responsibilities.

The London communiqué indicated the main subjects we discussed. They include our relations with Soviet Russia, the problem of security and stability in Europe, the current situation in the Middle East, the developments in South-East Asia, our relations with China, the economic position of the countries in the sterling area and the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In addition, there were many private talks on a variety of subjects, and those members of the Commonwealth who are linked by special defence agreements, such as NATO, met to consider certain aspects of defence policy.

I cannot, of course, give a detailed account of the discussions which were held in confidence and on which we issued this agreed statement. I should like to take a minute or two, however, to say a little from my own point of view about several of the matters we discussed.

First, on relations with Soviet Russia, the communiqué makes clear that we all felt that the changes that have been taking place in the Soviet Government, and its attitudes and policies, may have more than merely a feigned or superficial significance. Events will tell. This situation offers opportunities for improvement in our relations with Russia and perhaps opportunities for the settlement of outstanding difficulties between Russia and the Western nations. All Commonwealth governments plan to seek and use such opportunities and will welcome any improvement in relations with Russia which they may make possible. But the changes that have taken place are not such that we can have confidence that the danger of war has been removed. In view of this and of the tremendous Russian military power, and the evidence we have had in the past of the possibility of aggressive intentions, I believe we must continue to maintain an effective modern armed strength, primarily of course as a deterrent against attack. Such preparedness, however, need not prejudice an improvement in our relations and the development of a greater degree of mutual confidence which would be a more secure foundation for a lasting peace.

In the discussions on China we exchanged views, of course, on the recognition of the government on the mainland. While the views of most of us are already fairly well known, I found the discussions both informative and helpful. I recognise the force of the arguments about the importance to Asia of having its largest country fully participating in the

councils of the world. To that view, of course, we must give great weight and we shall. But there are other considerations as well which must weigh in determining Canada's policy and course of action. I see no reason strong enough to justify changing our policy on this matter at this time.

Our discussions in regard to the Middle East naturally centered on the danger of conflict between the Arab states and Israel. On the whole I was somewhat reassured by what I heard. We all recognize that the situation there is dangerous, but the danger has become a little less acute as a result of Mr. Hammarskjold's mediation. I feel that every effort should be made now through the Security Council of the United Nations to secure the collaboration of the Soviet Union in helping to find a peaceful settlement of this Palestine issue. I think they realise the danger there would be to them as well as to the rest of the world from war breaking out in that area.

Our discussions of economic affairs were in the nature of interim reports and analyses of the situation in the sterling area members of the Commonwealth. They were naturally of very considerable interest to us, for the situation of all these countries, particularly of Britain, affects our trade. I gave a brief résumé of some aspects of our situation likely to be of interest to others. The United Kingdom Government is persevering in its efforts to find solutions to its own economic problems that would permit an increasing freedom of trade between us and the continued elimination of discrimination against imports from the dollar area. We recognized and valued the progress made already in this direction and naturally we expressed the wish to see this progress continue. We were assured that the United Kingdom intended to persevere with this policy and I think the events and public statements in the United Kingdom in recent weeks make this determination quite evident. I am convinced that our policy should continue to be to seek the removal of the remaining restrictions on the imports of Canadian goods into the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the sterling area and to encourage the development of sound competitive export trade from the United Kingdom to Canada.

This trade remains under the detailed scrutiny of our continuing joint committee of senior officers which was established for that purpose and which met in London earlier in June.

There was no discussion at this conference about the time or place of our next meeting. I have been asked whether a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers might be held in Canada and to this I would reply that we should be glad and honoured to have a future meeting here but the time and place of any particular meeting must be determined primarily by the convenience of the busy men who are required to attend. London has proved to be a convenient site but this does not mean that the conference should not be held in other Commonwealth capitals when that is the general desire.

I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express again the gratitude of all the Canadians attending this conference for the hospitality and friendliness with which we were received by Her Majesty the Queen and by all those in the United Kingdom who joined in making the conference a success.

Iceland and NATO

IN a statement made public on August 3, the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced that the Government of Iceland had formally requested the Council to review the continued necessity for the stationing of United States security forces in Iceland and "to make recommendations to the two governments concerning the continuation of the Defence Agreement between Iceland and the United States of America within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty".

Iceland is one of the original members of the North Atlantic Alliance and her then Foreign Minister, Mr. Bjarni Benediktsson, was among the twelve signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on April 4, 1949. When Iceland joined the Alliance, it was recognized that it would not be necessary to have NATO forces stationed in the country in time of peace. By 1951, however, the international situation had seriously deteriorated and, following the outbreak of war in Korea, Iceland agreed that it would be desirable to play a more active role in NATO defences. At the request of NATO, she consequently concluded the 1951 Defence Agreement with the United States which provided for the stationing of United States security forces and the establishment of United States defence facilities in Iceland. The preamble to this Agreement noted that NATO had requested the two countries to make these joint defence arrangements "having regard to the fact that the people of Iceland cannot themselves adequately secure their own defences, and whereas experience has shown that a country's lack of defences greatly endangers its security and that of its peaceful neighbours".

From the first, the United States forces in Iceland maintained good relations with the Icelandic people. However, the recent relative improvement in the international situation led a number of Icelanders to question the necessity of having foreign armed forces remain in their country. This view was also expressed in the Icelandic Parliament which, in March of this year, adopted the following resolution:

"That the foreign policy of Iceland should as hitherto be formulated so as to ensure the independence and security of the country, that friendly relations be had with other countries and that the Icelandic people co-ordinate their defence matters with those of their neighbour nations, i.e. through co-operation with NATO. In view of changed conditions since the Defence Agreement of 1951 was concluded and in view of the declaration made to the effect that foreign armed forces should not be in Iceland in time of peace, revision of the system then adopted should immediately be initiated so that the Icelanders themselves would perform maintenance and security functions (other than military) connected with the defence installations, and that the Defence Force be withdrawn.

"If agreement is not reached concerning these changes, the Defence Agreement should be terminated in accordance with Article VII thereof."

On June 24, general elections were held in Iceland. The possibility that, as a result of these elections, Iceland might seek changes in the 1951 Defence Agreement led to a question in the Canadian House of Commons on June 28.

In reply, Mr. Paul Martin, the then Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, commented as follows:

The Secretary of State for the United States has recently stated:

"The United States has bases in Iceland, not in its own right but acting as an agent for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

I may say it is a question in which Canada and other NATO countries have a definite interest. The treaty provides that either the United States or Iceland may, at any time, on notification to the other government, request the NATO Council to review the continued necessity for the facilities and their utilization, and to make recommendations to the two governments concerning the continuation of this agreement. If, six months after the review by the Council, no understanding is reached between the two governments, either government may at any time give notice of its intention to terminate the agreement which will cease to be in force 12 months from the date of such notice.

The resolution passed by the Parliament of Iceland before the recent elections in that country, which called for a revision of the defence agreement, referred specifically to the appropriate article in the agreement, and at the same time reaffirmed the decision and the intention of Iceland to support NATO.

The Canadian Government hopes that if a new Icelandic Government should decide to ask for a revision of the defence treaty, as envisaged in the resolution of the Parliament of Iceland, it will be possible to reach a compromise satisfactory to Iceland and all of the NATO partners . . .

As a result of the general elections, the three chief parties which had favoured the withdrawal of the United States forces—the Progressive, Social Democrat and Labour Alliance (Communist) parties—commanded a majority in the new Parliament and combined to form a Coalition Government in which each is represented by two members. The new government therefore includes two Ministers with communist affiliations. Although the composition of the Government has changed, there was no major swing to the left on the part of the Icelandic electorate. None of the major parties either increased or decreased its representation in the Althing by more than two seats and, indeed, the Conservatives still remain the strongest party, both in terms of seats (19), and of the popular vote, with 42.5 per cent (an increase of 5.1 per cent over 1953).

In accordance with the procedure provided in the Defence Agreement, the new Icelandic Government formally requested the NATO Council to review the situation and to make recommendations to the United States and Iceland concerning the continuation of the Defence Agreement. At the same time, the Government declared its intention of remaining in NATO.

NATO Council Statement

The Council's statement of August 3 was made after a careful and thorough review which took into account the various strategic and political factors of the present situation. The statement reads in part as follows:

In the view of the Council, the present international situation has not improved to such an extent that defence forces are no longer required in Iceland. Under the present circumstances, the withdrawal of U.S.A. forces, now in Iceland on behalf of the Alliance as a whole, would leave the island completely undefended.

A major deterrent to aggression in the North Atlantic area would no longer exist and a gap would be opened in the chain of defence which maintains our security.

It is the tangible and visible evidence of forces and installations in being, in place and ready, which constitutes an effective deterrent against aggression. An effective deterrent is our greatest safeguard against the outbreak of war.

The North Atlantic Council, having carefully reviewed the political and military situation, find a continuing need for the stationing of forces in Iceland for the maintenance of the facilities in a state of readiness. The Council earnestly recommend that the Defence Agreement between Iceland and the U.S.A. be continued in such form and with such practical arrangements as will maintain the strength of the common defence.

The Council trust that in the proposed bilateral talks between Iceland and the U.S.A. full weight will be given to the Council's finding and to the consideration set forth in this review.

The views of the NATO Council are now under consideration by the Icelandic Government. Discussing these developments in the House of Commons on August 1, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, commented as follows:

. . . the situation in Iceland is one, of course, which is worrying to the NATO organization, and it is one that has been discussed already in the NATO Council. I am hopeful that as a result of those discussions, this difficulty over the United States air base in Iceland can be solved, and that Iceland will continue to give strong and steady support to the organization. It is an important matter because the base is an important one; but probably just as important as the air base itself is the situation of Iceland in so far as radar communication and installations are concerned. Therefore we must hope, and do everything we can in NATO to resolve this difficulty, and I have some expectation that this will be possible before long.

It is quite true that one of the reasons for discontent, if you like, in certain sections of the Icelandic population about the NATO association is the trade dispute between Iceland and the United Kingdom in respect of fish and concept of territorial waters

Also there is uneasiness on the part of certain of the people of Iceland in having a United States air base on their territory at a time when the sense of imminent danger seems to be somewhat removed. The trade dispute between the United Kingdom and Iceland did result—and this is an interesting illustration of Soviet tactics—in the Soviet moving in and offering to take all the surplus catch of Iceland's fish, thereby possibly saving them at that particular time from economic distress.

I hope that situation can be rectified but as I said a few moments ago, I feel that the discussions which are now taking place inside NATO and with the Iceland Government will at least provide a solution for these difficulties which will permit that small but important NATO country to support an organization which is as important for Iceland's security as it is for the rest of us.

The Reply to Mr. Bulganin

ON June 6, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed a letter to the Prime Minister on the question of disarmament. After referring to the absence of "positive results" from the discussions in the United Nations, Mr. Bulganin expressed the view that measures taken by states for reducing their armaments and armed forces before an international agreement was reached would strengthen international confidence. It was such considerations, he said, which had led the Soviet Union to decide to reduce its armed forces by 1,200,000 men and its armaments and military expenditures correspondingly. The letter also drew attention to the statement of the Soviet Government of May 14, announcing the intended reductions, which was enclosed. Similar letters were addressed to the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey.

The Prime Minister's reply, which was transmitted on July 16, reads as follows:

Thank you for your letter of June 6 on the question of disarmament with which you forwarded the statement of May 14 of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Government of Canada has given earnest consideration to the contents of your letter and the accompanying document.

We have noted with interest the announcement of reductions in the armed forces of the Soviet Union to which you refer in your letter. However, our satisfaction over the announcement is somewhat tempered by the reflection that these reductions would have been more timely 10 years ago, when the Western Powers demobilized the great armies they had brought together in the common interest of the United Nations, and that the Soviet Union will continue, even after the reductions, to dispose of a far greater number of divisions in Europe than the Western Powers have stationed there. We have also, of course, considered your letter and the related documents in the light of a number of recent statements on the part of Soviet authorities concerning the modernization and expanding might of the Soviet armed forces.

It is because of such considerations that Canadian representatives have consistently expressed our firmly held view that, if they are to contribute to international confidence, reductions in forces should be part of an agreement providing for machinery to reassure all signatories that the reduction measures are in fact carried out. We believe that the need for such controls together with an adequate system for warning of preparations for surprise attack has become more pressing during the last few years when, as you observe in your letter, new and increasingly destructive weapons have been developed.

As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, Canada has been directly associated with the search for an agreement ever since the United Nations General Assembly in its first resolution created the Atomic Energy Com-

mission and laid upon Canada, as a permanent member of the Commission, a part of the continuing responsibility for finding a solution to the problem of disarmament. Our participation in the negotiations in that Commission and more recently in the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee has made us acutely aware of the difficulties which beset the problem; it has also enabled us to associate ourselves intimately with the repeated efforts and initiatives on the part of the Western Powers to bring about a general disarmament agreement. This is not the place to recapitulate these successive endeavours which stand in the records of the United Nations. However, you will understand, Mr. Chairman, that my colleagues and I are impelled to state that we cannot accept the charge of a negative stand, as alleged in your Government's statement of May 14, on the part either of Canada or of the other Western Powers.

The Government of Canada shares the regrets you have expressed that the discussions on disarmament have not been productive of agreement. However, it is our impression that the more recent negotiations, particularly in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, have given some cause for encouragement. We therefore differ with the stated views of your Government that the discussions in the Sub-Committee have been marked by futility. It would, in our opinion, be unfortunate if these negotiations were to be interrupted. We favor the continuation of efforts through the United Nations to reach an agreement covering limitation, reduction and control of armaments including nuclear weapons. We consider that discussions in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission as well as in the Commission itself are more than ever necessary in order to reach an agreement which will ensure the security of all by means of an adequate system of international control.

It is the belief of the Government of Canada that the international situation which we hope ultimately to achieve can be created only through the establishment of greater mutual confidence progressively and by stages. In any comprehensive programme directed to that end there should be arrangements designed not only to cover disarmament and control but also to solve urgent political questions, in particular the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security.

The Government of Canada is strongly of the opinion that if a mutually satisfactory agreement on disarmament can be negotiated an important contribution will have been made to the development of greater confidence between nations. I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that for our part, we will continue to exert every effort in negotiations within the framework of the United Nations to draw closer to an agreed solution. We are the more prepared to make these efforts to reach agreement because of our conviction that the disarmament problem is becoming even more intractable with the passage of time, but that if there is a corresponding willingness to co-operate in these negotiations on the part of the Soviet Government, significant and gratifying results can still be attained.

Distinguished Visitors to Canada

THE Right Honourable R. G. Menzies, C.H., Q.C., Prime Minister of Australia, and his wife, Dame Pattie Menzies, were guests of Canada July 25-29 on their return from London, where Mr. Menzies had attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

After arriving in Ottawa July 25, Mr. Menzies called on Prime Minister St. Laurent, on Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and on the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons, attended a luncheon given in his honour by Mr. St. Laurent, and, in the evening, attended a dinner held by the Australian-Canadian Association. Dame Menzies was guest of honour at a luncheon given by Mrs. Pearson at the Country Club.

A busy schedule awaited Mr. Menzies in Quebec City the following day. After calling on Prime Minister Maurice L. Duplessis, Mr. Wilfrid Hamel, Mayor of Quebec City, and the Most Rev. Philip Carrington, D.D., Anglican Archbishop of Quebec, Mr. Menzies received an honorary degree from Laval University. In the evening the Australian Prime Minister was honoured at a dinner given by the Most Rev. Maurice Roy, O.B.E., Archbishop of Quebec and Chancellor of Laval.

After visiting points of historic interest on Saturday, July 28, Mr. Menzies and party left Quebec City for Chicago by air the following morning. Mr. Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and Mrs. Lesage accompanied the distinguished visitors on their trip to Quebec City.



—Capital Press

WELCOMED TO CANADA

Mr. Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, received a warm welcome from Mr. L. S. St. Laurent when he called on the Canadian Prime Minister at the Parliament Building during his visit to Canada last month. Later, Mr. Menzies visited the House of Commons and, when welcomed by the Speaker, Mr. Rene Beaudoin, rose from his seat in the diplomatic gallery and bowed to the applauding Members of Parliament.

United Nations Disarmament Commission

THE United Nations Disarmament Commission met between July 3 and 16 to consider the report of its Sub-Committee on the discussions held in London between March 19 and May 4. Canada was represented by Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare and the then Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs.

At the opening meeting Mr. Anthony Nutting introduced in the name of Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States a joint draft resolution which reaffirmed the six basic principles enunciated in a declaration at the close of the Sub-Committee session. Those principles were:

- (1) The disarmament programme should proceed by stages. Progress from one stage to another must depend upon the satisfactory execution of the preceding stage and upon the development of confidence through the settlement of major political problems.
- (2) The programme should begin, under effective international control, with significant reductions in armed forces to such levels as are feasible in present unsettled world conditions. There should be corresponding reductions in conventional armaments and in military expenditures. Further reductions would be carried out as world conditions improved.
- (3) The programme should provide that, at an appropriate stage and under proper safeguards, the build-up of stockpiles of nuclear weapons would be stopped and all future production of nuclear material devoted to peaceful uses.
- (4) The programme should provide for a strong control organization with inspection rights, including aerial reconnaissance, operating from the outset and developing in parallel with the disarmament measures. The control measures should also provide against major surprise attack. This is particularly important so long as it is impossible to account for past production of nuclear material.
- (5) Preliminary demonstrations of inspection methods on a limited scale would help to develop an effective control system and could bring nearer agreement on a disarmament programme.
- (6) Provision should be made for the suspension of the programme, in whole or in part, if a major state failed to carry out its obligations or if a threat to peace under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should occur.

Mr. Gromyko then introduced for the Soviet Union a "Draft declaration of States regarding measures on strengthening universal peace and the security of peoples". The declaration noted with satisfaction "the substantial relaxations of international tension" which have recently taken place. It declared that the

rejection by states of war or the threat of war as an instrument of policy and the repudiation by them of the use of nuclear weapons would facilitate further improvement of the international situation. It then called on members of the United Nations to assume a solemn obligation to refrain in their international relations from the use or threat of force and the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Finally, it called upon non-members of the United Nations to join in the declaration.

In the course of the debate, Australia submitted amendments to the four-power draft. These were accepted. Australia also joined with the four sponsors in submitting an amendment which provided for adding to the third principle a provision that, at the appropriate stage, limitations would be imposed on the testing of nuclear weapons.

Also circulated was a Yugoslav draft resolution which urged the members of the Sub-Committee to continue their endeavours to reach agreement on general disarmament and to seek an early agreement on and implementation of such initial disarmament measures as are now feasible and such forms and degrees of control as are required for these measures, more particularly with regard to (a) a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces (b) the cessation of experimental explosions of nuclear weapons, as well as other practicable measures in the field of nuclear armaments and (c) a reduction of military expenditures.

The Commission also heard a submission on behalf of India by Mr. Krishna Menon concerning an Indian proposal for suspension of nuclear weapon tests and an armaments truce.

At the conclusion of the debate, the Commission did not vote upon any of the substantive proposals submitted but adopted by 10 votes to 1 with 1 abstention a resolution advanced by Peru which had the effect of requesting the Sub-Committee to study all the proposals submitted and to report back.

The Canadian Position

In presenting the Canadian position, Mr. Martin stated in part that the general approval of the Canadian Delegation to the present problem of disarmament could be stated in the following propositions:

(1) Because the complete elimination of nuclear weapons cannot at present be effectively controlled, it cannot be part of any programme of disarmament capable of implementation in the immediately foreseeable future. This blunt scientific fact does not, however, modify Canadian policy to seek, as an ultimate objective, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, an objective which we continue to support as part of a comprehensive general disarmament scheme provided that adequate control is both technically feasible and acceptable to all states concerned. We will co-operate with all our energies in the search for any practical measures in a determined effort to devise the means whereby such control could be made effective in the future.

(2) Because the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons cannot be made effective at the present time, the efforts to arrive at negotiation of an agreement in the field of controllable disarmament, including its nuclear aspect, should not be abandoned. There remains before us a broad area in the field of conventional armaments which is susceptible of effective limitation and control, and impor-

tant segments of the nuclear field, such as the future production of fissionable material and its application to peaceful rather than military uses, which can be subjected to extensive checks and verification. These and other objectives, could in fact be translated into a working agreement on disarmament which would go a long way to reduce tensions, and develop the necessary basis of confidence which would enable us to take further steps when our inspection measures and control techniques are adequate to the task.

(3) The Canadian Government attaches very great importance to the establishment of effective warning systems against surprise attack as an integral part of such a disarmament programme. For this reason, we welcomed the initiative taken at Geneva in July of last year by President Eisenhower and the proposals by Premier Bulganin. We consider that the early application of the procedures envisaged through a reciprocal programme of aerial reconnaissance and observation from control posts on the ground should be an integral part of the early stages of such a disarmament programme. These measures would not only help to lay a basis for the effective control of an agreed programme of disarmament, but would greatly reduce, if not prevent the possibility of surprise attack. Such a reciprocal warning system is needed if we are to move forward from a co-existence based on mutual fear, to the prospect of co-operation based on mutual confidence.

(4) We recognize that in the light of the new positions which have been indicated to the Sub-Committee and which are now before this Commission in the Sub-Committee's Interim Report, the search for a comprehensive programme of disarmament which would fit neatly into an international convention to be concluded at some future date in a happier world should not preclude urgent efforts to reach early agreement on the measures which can be made effective in the immediate circumstances. In other words, time may not be on our side. Without abandoning our ultimate objective of comprehensive disarmament, but without waiting for agreement on the whole of its complex features, the Canadian Delegation considers that an earnest effort should be made in the Sub-Committee to determine what "initial steps" can and should be taken without delay. Such an approach is wholly consistent with the resolution of the General Assembly of December 16, 1955, which urged the Sub-Committee, while continuing their endeavours to agree on a comprehensive plan, to give priority, as initial steps, to early agreement on confidence-building measures as envisaged in exchanges between President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin, and to "all such measures of adequately safeguarded disarmament as are now feasible".

(5) We consider that both in the conventional field and in the nuclear field as well it should be possible now to make an important beginning, under agreed measures of inspection and verification, on reciprocal first-stage reductions of armaments and manpower applicable to the principal military powers and to other states. First-stage measures should provide for reciprocal early warning and for as much progress in the nuclear field as can be agreed between the powers principally concerned. Such an agreement, capable of being carried out in the present state of international relations, would be largely of a stabilizing character, although some reduction in manpower, in material and military expenditure would be possible. The existing balance of power—the relative position of one side to the other—could not be substantially affected, nor would there be any real change in the state of mutual deterrence which arises from the possession by both sides of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, such a limited agreement could serve to stabilize the military situation and strengthen the possibilities for more far-reaching political settlements. Subsequent and more comprehensive disarmament measures could be taken as tensions reduce,

and confidence based on substantive progress in the settlement of disputes is allowed to develop.

Soviet Union Proposals

Commenting on views advanced by the Soviet Union at the Sub-Committee discussions, Mr. Martin said:

The Soviet proposals represent on their face a shift in previous Soviet positions which had long emphasized the nuclear aspect and the importance of nuclear prohibitions. For the first time the Soviet proposals insofar as they relate to the general problem of disarmament made almost no mention of control in the nuclear field, but were restricted to far-reaching measures of conventional disarmament to be carried out virtually on an automatic basis between 1956 and 1958.

To a certain extent the Soviet proposals represent a step forward insofar as their acceptance of certain limited control procedures is concerned. I do not minimize the importance of this; I welcome it. But they contain a number of basic weaknesses which make them unacceptable, in our view, as a basis for general agreement:

(1) Parts I and II of the proposals divorce measures of conventional disarmament from measures of nuclear disarmament and contain no provision even for a beginning in the nuclear field. To proceed in this manner would serve only to accelerate the nuclear arms race and cause more and more states to join in it.

(2) On the question of force levels, they proposed the figures of 1 to 1.5 million for the United States, the Soviet Union and China, and 650,000 for the United Kingdom and France. According to the Soviet plan, these levels would be reached by 1958 without regard to whether or not a reduction in international tension had been achieved through political settlements. The Soviets claim to have accepted proposals of the Western Powers in putting forward these levels and superficially this appears to be so. However, when the earlier Anglo-French proposal for fixing numerical ceilings for all armed forces was originally advanced, it was intended that these levels should be the ultimate agreed objectives to be reached by *successive stages* allowing for the growth of confidence and parallel political settlements; for *effective nuclear prohibitions and controls*; the whole being arranged in a *comprehensive* disarmament programme. This is a vastly different proposition from the Soviet use of the figures in a plan limited to a single phase having no nuclear control provisions nor any provisions for beginning upon nuclear disarmament. It is vastly different from the proposal that these reductions be carried out without regard to the international situation.

(3) The Soviet proposals are contained in four sections. Sections I and II deal with what might be described as general conventional disarmament. Sections III and IV, however, which according to the Soviet delegation may be considered separately from the first two sections, and are described as representing "desirable" steps, contain proposals which have important and wholly unacceptable implications. The Soviet plan in these latter sections contains a number of elements which would have the effect of crippling NATO forces in Western Europe, denying atomic weapons to any forces stationed in Germany and placing a tight rein on German rearmament. The proposal set forth in Section III for a zone of limitation and inspection of armaments to be established in Europe, including territory of "both parts" of Germany and states adjacent to them, is yet an-

other unacceptable element, since it raises far-reaching political issues and problems of European settlement, which can only be settled in a wider forum.

(4) The proposals are inadequate because they ignore the close connection which should exist between progressive disarmament and the growth of international confidence through the practical settlement of political questions such as the key problem of the unification of Germany in freedom. To enact the Soviet proposals without such settlements would mean that within three years most United States and United Kingdom forces would have been withdrawn from Europe, the strength of NATO would have been sapped, and Germany would remain permanently divided.

(5) Finally, the Soviet proposals are inadequate on the question of control. They relegate the concept of aerial surveys to a mere "possibility" to be considered after a disarmament agreement has been signed and disarmament measures are under way. The delegations of Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States consider that it would be impossible to supervise the operation of a disarmament agreement, especially where vast territories are involved, unless aerial surveys are an accepted part of the inspection system from the start. The aerial survey requirement is not new; it has been a basic element of our common position since the beginning of disarmament discussions.

Agreement on Initial Steps Needed

Continuing his remarks, Mr. Martin said:

In proposing that the Sub-Committee should concentrate immediate efforts on a limited or first-stage approach, I must make it plain that the Canadian Government has abandoned none of its long-range disarmament objectives. In the Canadian view, however, although efforts should continue towards reaching final agreement on the implementation of a comprehensive programme, time is crucially short. There are compelling reasons for seeking agreement now on immediate "initial steps". While indicating in the Sub-Committee that the contents of such a first-stage programme were matters for careful study and negotiation, it was suggested by the Canadian Delegation that such initial steps might include:

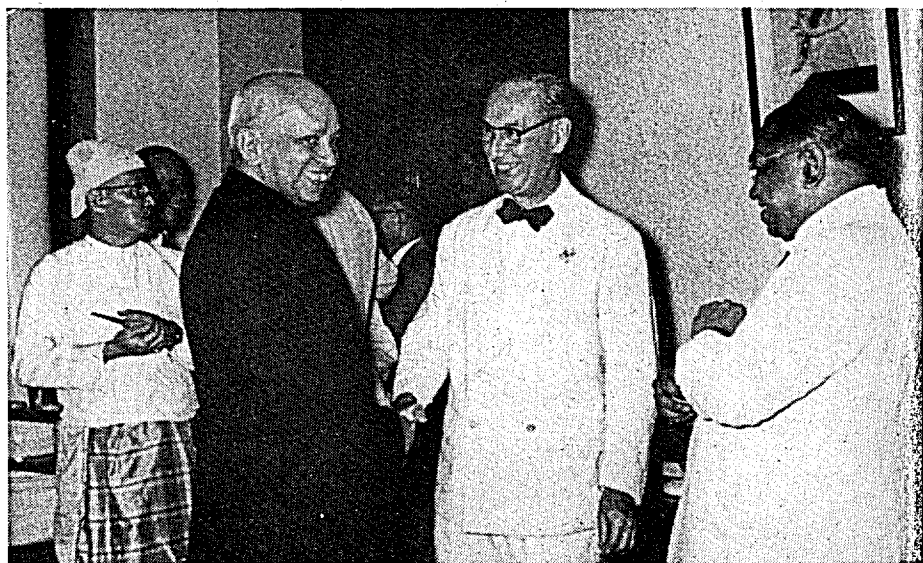
- (1) a first-stage stabilizing agreement on levels of conventional forces and armaments,
- (2) preliminary steps for testing and inspection procedures such as proposed by the United States delegation,
- (3) adequate control and machinery including aerial reconnaissance which would also have the advantage of providing early warning facilities,
- (4) at the same time, we made it clear that a first-stage agreement should include a nuclear component, and at least a start should be made on the international control of nuclear weapons, and the use of fissile materials.

In his closing remarks, Mr. Martin referred to the Soviet approach to world affairs as follows:

There is some evidence that new forces are at work in the Soviet Union, that the rigidities of thought and policy of the Stalinist era are now dark

(Continued on page 250)

July 1 in South-East Asia



IN CEYLON

Mr. J. J. Hurley, Canadian High Commissioner, welcomes distinguished guests at a reception held to mark Canada's national day. Left to right, above, are Mr. U Ba Lwin, Burmese Minister to Ceylon; Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Governor General of Ceylon; Mr. Hurley; and Hon. H. H. Basanayake, Chief Justice.



IN CAMBODIA

Members of the Canadian Delegation in Phnom Penh held a reception for some 250 guests in the auditorium of the Hotel du Gouvernement. Above, centre, Mr. Arnold Smith, Canadian Commissioner, International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia, receives guests. To his right is Mr. Lorne Lavigne, who is now Acting Commissioner.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs, by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

At meetings of the Standing Committee on External Affairs during the current session of Parliament, the Secretary of State for External Affairs reviewed recent developments in international affairs. Given below are reports of Mr. Pearson's comments on the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris last May; the situation in Formosa and the Islands of Quemoy and Matsu; the recent developments in Indochina, and the work of the International Supervisory Commissions in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

REPORT ON NATO

Reporting on the two-day session of the North Atlantic Council in Paris early in May, the Secretary of State for External Affairs stated that in his opinion the importance of these ministerial meetings, from the point of view of consultation, had increased. The Ministers had not only discussed a prepared agenda in formal meetings, but also had had an opportunity to discuss recent developments informally between meetings. These informal discussions were often as important as the more formal ones.

The Minister reported that the agenda which had been drawn up for this meeting, although a short one, covered a considerable range of topics. The first item was discussed under the following headings: "trends and implications of Soviet policy including the political and economic penetration of underdeveloped countries;" political and economic questions arising from current Soviet tactics"; and other matters of common concern in the international situation".

The first item consisted primarily of an analysis by the Foreign Ministers of the change in tactics of the Soviet Union and the new conditions brought about by "competitive co-existence". The Ministers had discussed the effect that these new developments would have on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in particular, and on international relations in general. While it had been generally recognized that Russian tactics had changed significantly, the Ministers had agreed that it would be premature and unwise to come to any dogmatic conclusions with regard to the long-range significance of these changes. Some members of the Council had been inclined to attach greater importance than others to the shift in Soviet tactics. There was also general agreement that, whatever the immediate significance might be, it should not result in any lessening of effort on the part of NATO, and that the need for maintaining adequate defences remained no matter what happened in Moscow or what might be likely to happen there. It was still a primary objective of NATO to resist any weakening of its defensive strength, although efforts would be made to adapt the Alliance to changed conditions.

Non-military Co-operation in NATO

The Council had also concluded that because of the relaxation of tension and the removal of some of the more urgent and immediate fears which had been felt a few years previously, the non-military side of NATO co-operation was now more important than ever and should be developed, strengthened, and deepened. With the lessening of fear and tension, the main incentive which had led to the creation of NATO was being modified and attempts should therefore be made to strengthen the other bonds which held the NATO countries together. This idea had been reflected in the communiqué at the end of the ministerial meeting.

Mr. Pearson reported that the Foreign Ministers had spent almost a day discussing the item "what can we do to extend non-military co-operation between the NATO countries". In particular, Mr. Dulles had underlined the importance of this aspect of NATO co-operation and had made a very searching and serious statement about the future of NATO in the light of the new developments. Mr. Dulles had not been unduly pessimistic about the future, but he had stated that NATO had reached a new stage of its development and that NATO unity could no longer be based on fear.

The Minister pointed out that it was easier to talk about these subjects than to agree on immediate action which might be taken. It had become clear as the discussion developed that the Ministers would not be able to come to a final agreement at that time as to what should be done. The Council, therefore, decided to set up a Committee of three Foreign Ministers, who would continue to examine the problems of non-military co-operation and report back to the Council.

It was hoped that the three Ministers would be able to get in touch with the various member governments during the following two or three months and hold discussions which would be a continuation and amplification of the talks held in Paris. The three Ministers would then meet and prepare a report to the Council with specific recommendations as to what might be done to strengthen non-military co-operation between NATO countries; they would also examine the relationship between NATO and other international agencies. In addition, Mr. Pearson continued, the Committee of Three would look into the economic aspects of non-military co-operation as envisaged in Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty. He reported that the French Foreign Minister had submitted proposals at Paris for economic action through the United Nations. This plan called for the NATO countries to initiate, although not necessarily to sponsor, a new programme of international economic assistance. The Italian Foreign Minister had made proposals of a somewhat similar nature and a very good discussion of this subject had ensued.

Mr. Pearson said that the NATO Council had also considered a report on the work of the Disarmament Sub-Committee in London and had held a useful discussion of the situation in the Middle East and its relation to NATO, with particular reference to North Africa and Israel.

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Mr. Pearkes, M.P. for Esquimalt-Sannich, asked whether the Minister foresaw any large increase in the financial contribution which Canada would be required to make to NATO in view of the new emphasis being placed on

the non-military aspects of the Alliance. Mr. Pearkes wondered whether a sort of European Colombo Plan was envisaged, under which the more fortunate countries of the NATO Alliance would make contributions towards the economic development of the less fortunate countries. Mr. Pearson replied that he did not see any such immediate requirement. There had been general agreement that NATO in its present form was not the best agency for economic planning for assistance to other countries, nor for discussions in order to bring about increased trade and commercial relations between its members. Other economic agencies such as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade had been designed for this purpose and were working effectively. It would be wrong for NATO to duplicate the work of these and other international agencies. The Minister said that there was already enough international machinery and that the problem was rather to make this existing machinery work. He did not think that NATO as such would be a very effective agency for international economic assistance because the political and defensive character of NATO might give rise to doubts in the minds of some of the receiving countries, especially in Asia, as to the objective character of any assistance which might be given. The NATO Foreign Ministers had agreed that, while the NATO countries should take a lead in providing international economic assistance and the NATO Council provided a good forum for an exchange of views on this subject, existing machinery such as the Colombo Plan and the United Nations should not be duplicated or superseded. However, this was one of the questions which would be examined further by the Committee of Three.

Mr. Stick, M.P. for Trinity-Conception, enquired whether political co-operation as distinct from economic co-operation had been discussed at the ministerial meeting. Mr. Pearson replied that the Ministers had had the best and most comprehensive discussion on political consultation inside NATO that he had attended since the NATO Council was formed. There had been general agreement that the NATO Council had not been used for political consultation by its members to the fullest extent, and that they should try to develop political co-operation in the Council by holding more frequent meetings and by increasing the authority and prestige of the Permanent Council. Mr. Pearson stated that member countries should develop the habit of consultation to a point where no member government would take any major step in foreign policy which had consequences for the other members of the Alliance without first discussing it in the Council. However, although this was agreed in principle, it would not be easy to work it out in practice. One of the Council members had pointed out that consultation, in order to be effective, must sometimes lead to commitments. The Minister felt that a distinction should be made between two kinds of consultation: consultation through which the member governments simply exchanged information about what they were doing individually without asking for assistance or advice, and consultation designed to bring about uniformity in policy which often involved assuming additional commitments.

Mr. Stick then asked whether there had been any developments towards closer economic co-operation between France and Germany. Mr. Pearson replied that an illustration of closer economic co-operation between these two countries could be found in the discussions which began at Messina, and which were continuing between the six countries of the Western European Union,

including France and Germany, who were trying to work out a common market and common machinery for the development of atomic energy. The Minister considered this to be one of the most hopeful developments which had occurred in Europe in the last ten years.

Mr. Knowles, M.P. for Winnipeg North Centre, asked Mr. Pearson whether he had any comment to make on the statement, attributed to Sir Winston Churchill, that in view of the new attitude of the Soviet Union it might be possible for the Soviet Union to join in the spirit of NATO. The Minister replied that Sir Winston was, as usual, looking a long way ahead. It was generally agreed that it would be desirable to bring about a situation where the Soviet Union or any other country could be associated with the spirit of NATO because this spirit was essentially defensive and co-operative; Sir Winston's language had, however, been chosen very carefully and the association of the Soviet Union or any other country with the spirit of NATO was not quite the same thing as an invitation to the U.S.S.R. to join NATO at the present time. The Minister recalled that when he had been in the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev had asked him "Why don't you let us join NATO if it is such a fine organization?" At that time Mr. Pearson replied that if a state of confidence, co-operation and friendship between the Communist and non-Communist world had been reached which would enable countries of the Atlantic Alliance to invite the Soviet Union to join with them and to share their most secret defence information and planning then NATO would not be necessary at all and there would be no point in asking the Soviet Union to join it.

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Mr. Starr, M.P. for Ontario, requested the Minister's opinion on whether NATO was growing in strength or whether some laxity might be developing among the member nations. Mr. Pearson replied that in his opinion NATO as an organization was changing in character, as the situation in the world was seemingly changing. He thought that NATO had reached a point where its defence goals were not likely to increase. He would hope that the collective strength of NATO could be maintained but he did not think that there was likely to be a desire to build that strength up above the present point. For this reason, the urge to achieve a high level of defence strength which had manifested itself so clearly a few years ago was now less evident. The feeling of urgent and immediate danger had been lessened and this had brought about a change in the climate of NATO. There was a danger that people would begin to lose some interest in NATO. This was one of the problems with which the Council would now have to deal.

NATO Information

Mr. Decore, M.P. for Vegreville, stated that the Soviet claimed to be champions of national freedom and supporters of freedom from colonialism although they were in fact the worse offenders with regard to colonialism and the worst oppressors of freedom. He wondered whether consideration had been given to exposing the basic contradiction in this Soviet position. The Minister replied that a great deal of consideration had in fact been given to this matter in the last two or three months and that one of the subjects discussed at the recent ministerial meeting had been NATO information policy and propaganda. The Foreign Ministers had discussed how to make their information

policies more effective and they had all thought that one of the things which should be emphasized most strongly in NATO information work was the fact that the Soviet Union, far from being the champion of oppressed people struggling to be free, was the greatest colonial power in history. The Ministers had agreed that every attempt should be made to expose the falseness of Soviet intentions. The Committee of Three would look into the possibility of a collective information policy for NATO countries, but even if this proved to be impossible, the national information policies of the governments which had resources for that purpose should emphasize this inconsistency in the Soviet position.

There were many glaring examples of the colonial oppression practised by the Soviet Union—for example, the peoples now living in the U.S.S.R. as Soviet States had not been given a chance to express their own view as to whether or not they wished to be part of the Soviet Union. Then there were the satellite states which were still under Moscow's control. Above all, there was the graphic example of East Germany, which was a communist colony. The Soviet Government had made it perfectly clear that they would not permit any expression of the will of the people in East Germany at the present time, not merely because it might mean that East Germany would join with a United Germany in NATO, but also because they had insisted that the social and economic benefits of the East Germans must be preserved. Thus there could be no unification of Germany unless all of Germany is willing to become a Communist State and partake of these "social and economic benefits", even though the East Germans have so little regard for these benefits that about 1,000 of them are trying every day to cross the border into West Germany in order to escape them.

Mr. Stick enquired whether any consideration had been given by NATO to means of reaching the people in the U.S.S.R. and satellite states in order to inform them of our conception of freedom and Western democratic ideals. Mr. Pearson replied that there was no suggestion that this should be done by NATO itself at the present time. NATO had not the resources to do this and the governments which were in a position to engage in this type of activity, particularly the United States, had not yet come to a point where they would prefer a propaganda effort planned and carried out by an international agency such as NATO to their own national propaganda effort. Mr. Pearson pointed out that this whole question of NATO information policy was one of the many subjects which the Committee of Three would have to look into.

NATO and the U.N. Security Council

In reply to a question by Mr. Fleming, M.P. for Eglinton, Mr. Pearson stated that he believed that many people in India and other Asian countries considered NATO to be not an alternative to the United Nations Security Council but a substitute for it. Many Asian people believed that the Western nations preferred the NATO arrangement because they could work better together in a western organization of this kind than in the United Nations where Asian and Communist countries were represented, and that the members of NATO were trying to replace the Security Council by the NATO Council. Mr. Pearson stated that this had not been the intention of the Western nations. They had always stated that NATO was the foundation of their collective defence policy *now*, but that it was a "second best" arrangement and that when it was possible to bring about collective security on a United Nations basis, there would be no need for NATO as a security organization. There would,

however, always be a need for NATO as an instrument for building up North Atlantic co-operation and development. The Secretary of State for External Affairs stated that he did not think it unwise to emphasize that the United Nations still remained the primary basis for international co-operation and peace if only it could be made to work, but that until such time as the United Nations became a fully effective organization for these purposes, it would be necessary for the Western nations to support NATO.

Mr. Fleming said that he agreed with part of what the Minister had said but that he did not think it was wise to give the impression that we were weakening in our support of NATO, or in our estimate of the danger which led to the creation of NATO in the first place. The Minister agreed, and emphasized the fact that NATO remained the sheet anchor of the Canadian defence policy at the present time and that the Canadian Government was not likely to abandon NATO unless something better could be obtained.

FORMOSA, QUEMOY AND MATSU

Mr. Pearson said that during the past year there appeared to have been little outward change in the situation in Formosa and the Islands of Quemoy and Matsu. The Nationalist Government continued to hold these islands with large forces. Most of the men who made up these forces were still drawn from those who were evacuated from the mainland in 1949, but a few had escaped from the mainland in recent years and there was an increasing proportion of Formosans in Chiang Kai-Shek's forces.

Mr. Coldwell enquired whether or not the Formosans were being conscripted. The Minister replied that he thought so, but he would endeavour to obtain more definite information. He went on to say that the United States, under its mutual defence treaty with the Nationalist Government, was helping to train and supply Chiang Kai-Shek's forces and provide sea and air protection for Formosa in accordance with United States policy which had already been declared. A substantial proportion of the Nationalist forces were stationed on the offshore islands, in order to defend them against attack from the mainland. Mr. Pearson stated that in his opinion the principal change which had taken place in this area during the past 12 months had been the growth of the hope that the Chinese Communists had realized that there would be serious repercussions if they were to attempt an attack on Quemoy and Matsu. There was still some irregular firing between the islands and the mainland, but the hope had grown that the Communists would not attack the islands.

Mr. Coldwell enquired how far the islands of Quemoy and Matsu were from the mainland and how far from Formosa. Mr. Pearson replied that the nearest off-shore island was about 4 miles from the mainland and about 80 or 90 miles from Formosa. He continued by pointing out that the United States was committed to the defence of Formosa against attack by the Chinese Communists and stated that the fact that no such attack has materialized during the last year would suggest that the Chinese Communists realize the probable effect of such an attack.

Mr. Pearson pointed out that the United States position in regard to Quemoy and Matsu was less clearly defined than was the case with Formosa. The United States has assumed the responsibility of protecting territories which in the judgment of the President of the United States were related to the de-

fence of Formosa. Mr. Dulles had made it clear that this was not in itself a commitment to defend the coastal islands. Mr. Pearson thought that the Chinese Communists might have decided that an attack on Quemoy or Matsu or an attack on Formosa would be too dangerous, but he was unwilling to come to a categorical conclusion on this matter. Although the possibility of a Chinese Communist attack on Quemoy and Matsu still remained, there was reason to hope that the Peking authorities had decided that any advantage which they might gain from such an attack would not justify the risk involved. There was no evidence that a full-scale attack on either the off-shore islands or Formosa was imminent.

Mr. Pearson went on to say that the Canadian Government made a clear distinction between an attack on Quemoy and Matsu and an attack on Formosa. An attack on Formosa could conceivably be aggression if it were so determined by the United Nations, because the position of Formosa had not been finally decided in international law. The Canadian Government did not necessarily accept the Chinese Communists' position, or indeed the Chinese Nationalists' position, that Formosa was part of China. The Canadian Government did think, however, that if a decision were to be made, the wishes of the Formosans should be considered. Mr. Pearson then stated that if an attack on Formosa were considered by the United Nations to be an aggression, Canada as a member of the United Nations would be under an obligation to take appropriate part in any action which the United Nations might decide. If, however, the Islands of Quemoy and Matsu were attacked, the Canadian Government would have no obligation to intervene in any way because it considered these islands to be part of continental China. The Minister felt that the Canadian policy had been clearly laid down.

THE SITUATION IN INDOCHINA

In response to a request made by Mr. Patterson, M.P. for Fraser Valley, the Minister gave the Standing Committee an account of recent developments in Indochina and the work of the International Supervisory Commissions. Mr. Pearson reported that the work of the three Commissions in Indochina had not diminished in any substantial way since he had last referred to this matter in the Standing Committee, although a few of the military officers had been withdrawn. He went on to say that there were still about 160 Canadians serving on the three Commissions. The Minister said that these Canadian servicemen and officials had performed valuable and efficient services in Indochina, often amid difficulties and dangers.

Vietnam

Mr. Pearson pointed out that in Vietnam a new situation had arisen because of the imminent departure of the French forces. The termination of French authority in Vietnam had raised the problem of the position of the successor government of South Vietnam with relation to the Armistice Agreement which had been signed at Geneva in 1954, and of the transfer of responsibilities which France had undertaken. Mr. Pearson pointed out that the Government of South Vietnam had not signed the Agreement and that, therefore, it did not accept responsibility for its implementation. The withdrawal of French forces also raised the question of the legal position of the Commis-

sion in Vietnam and made it essential to determine whether the Commission could rely on the co-operation of the Government of South Vietnam with regard to the provision of supplies and transportation.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs reminded the Committee that Mr. Diem's government had issued a statement a few weeks previously outlining their attitude toward the Commission. This statement could be interpreted as an invitation to the Commission to remain in Vietnam, but it made clear that the South Vietnam Government did not accept any legal responsibilities under the Armistice Agreement. Mr. Pearson stated that the future of the Commission in the light of the new situation in South Vietnam was being examined by the representatives of the Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, who were meeting at London at that time. The Co-Chairmen were, of course, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, who were being represented at the London meeting by Lord Reading and Mr. Gromyko.

The Minister then expressed some uncertainty as to whether the position taken by the Government of South Vietnam would provide an adequate legal and practical basis for the future work of the Commission. He also reported that it had not yet been decided whether the articles of the Geneva Agreement which were concerned with elections in Vietnam had been, or could be implemented in such a way that certain members of the International Commission could be persuaded to remain there. The Canadian Government would be willing to continue to participate in the work of the Commission in Vietnam as long as there was any possibility that the Commission's work would be useful in maintaining peace and establishing conditions of stability. He thought that the whole situation in Vietnam should become clearer when the report of the Co-Chairmen had been received.

Laos

Mr. Pearson then turned his attention to Laos, where the main difficulty arose from the situation in the two strategically located northern provinces. The Pathet Lao, whose forces controlled these two provinces, had not accepted the authority of the administration of the Royal Laotian Government, nor had they been willing to participate in the elections which were held in December, 1955. The Commission had agreed on a resolution calling on the Royal Government to take the necessary measures to bring about integration of the Pathet Lao forces into the national community but this resolution had not been implemented because of the resistance of the Pathet Lao. It had therefore been necessary to refer this matter to the Co-Chairmen, and the situation in Laos was also being discussed in London by Mr. Gromyko and Lord Reading. The Minister stated that the responsibility for the failure to bring about a political settlement in Laos lay with the Communist forces in the north. He went on to say that in the absence of a political settlement it would probably be necessary for the Commission to remain in Laos for some time if peace were to be maintained in that area. The Canadian Government had been urged to continue its work on the Commission and Mr. Pearson stated that he believed it should do so.

Cambodia

The Minister said that elections had been completed in Cambodia in September 1955. The former members of the resistance movement had been

reintegrated into the community and had taken part in the election campaign. The third interim report of the Commission in Cambodia had stated that the government had fulfilled its obligation with regard to elections. There were residual tasks which still remained to be done, but the Minister hoped that the Commission could be dissolved in a short time. He stated that all the inspection teams in the field had been withdrawn from Cambodia and that the Commission's establishment had been reduced. Although he saw no reason why the Commission should stay much longer in Cambodia, Mr. Pearson said that it might be necessary to maintain a token Commission there because of the relation of the three Commissions to each other under the Geneva settlement.

Mr. Patterson enquired whether or not the inspection teams had been faced with the same obstructionist tactics that they had encountered earlier. In reply the Minister stated that recently conditions in Vietnam had been less difficult because the military clauses of the armistice which were concerned with the regrouping of forces and similar questions had been implemented. Because of this the military teams had not experienced quite so much difficulty recently, but they had not always found it easy to secure the co-operation of the Communist Government in the north or indeed, of the government in the south. Both of the governments in Vietnam had blamed the other for all the difficulties which the Commission had encountered, but the Secretary of State for External Affairs considered that it was fair to say that the major difficulties facing the Commission had been caused in the beginning by Communist obstruction in the north.

Mr. Patterson asked whether or not there had not been some obstruction by certain members of the teams themselves at one time. Mr. Pearson replied that this difficulty had diminished recently because there had been less necessity for investigations by mobile teams than in the earlier days of the Commission; consequently the opportunities and incentive for delay action had been less.

Mr. Fleming, M.P. for Eglington, said that he assumed there was now little or no prospect that the elections originally envisaged would take place in Vietnam this year. The Minister confirmed that, under the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, elections should have been held in the summer of 1956, but that there was now no prospect of this happening. There had been no consultations between the two governments of Vietnam with regard to preliminary arrangements. Mr. Fleming enquired whether or not there had been any protest from the Communist Government in the north because of this. Mr. Pearson replied that the Communist Government had made continual protests that the south had failed to bring about the elections promised by the Final Declaration. However, the Government of South Vietnam maintained that, as it was not a party to the Geneva settlement, it had no responsibility for bringing about such elections and no obligation to consult with the north to make arrangements for elections. Mr. Fleming asked whether or not there was any indication that there might be an attempt to carry out this part of the settlement by force. The Minister replied that there was no indication that the Communist Government in the north would attempt to use force to carry out this part of the settlement. Mr. Fleming then asked if the border between the north and south had been effectively closed to prevent any further entry of refugees from the north into the south. Mr. Pearson replied that there had been very little movement of refugees from north to south in the last six months.

39th Conference of ILO

THE 39th Conference of the International Labour Organization (ILO) met at Geneva from June 6-28, 1956, under the presidency of Mr. Mohsein Nasr, the Iranian Minister of Labour. Founded in 1919, and originally associated with the League of Nations at Geneva, the ILO in 1946 became a Specialized Agency of the United Nations whose main purpose is the improvement of working and living conditions throughout the world. The admission of six new members this year—Jordan, Morocco, Rumania, Spain, Sudan, and Tunisia—brings the total membership to 76 states.

The constitution of the ILO contains a unique provision for "tripartite" participation by representatives of governments, employers, and employees from each member state. Canada was represented at the 39th Conference by Mr. Arthur H. Brown, Deputy Minister of Labour, and Mr. P. Goulet, of the Department of Labour, who served as Government delegates, Mr. W. A. Campbell, Vice-President and Secretary of Canadian Westinghouse Co. Ltd., who represented Canadian employers, and Mr. C. Jodoin, President of the Canadian Labour Congress, who represented Canadian workers. The delegates were accompanied by advisers.

Representation of Communist States

Ever since 1954, when the U.S.S.R. returned to the ILO after being expelled in 1939, controversy has been growing about the right of Communist states to be represented by tripartite delegations. Many ILO members assert that employer and worker representatives from many of the non-Communist countries (Communist countries in the ILO) have no freedom of action and are subservient to their respective governments, and in previous years the credentials of many of these delegates were challenged unsuccessfully. With the admission of Rumania, the controversy was renewed at the 39th Conference, and employer and worker representatives from many of the non-Communist countries objected to the seating of the Rumanian employer and worker delegates. These objections were voted down by the Conference, as was a similar challenge to the credentials of the Spanish worker delegates.

In 1955, the ILO Governing Body had set up a three-man committee, with Lord McNair, former President of the International Court of Justice, as Chairman, to examine the "Freedom of Employers and Workers Organizations" in all ILO member countries. The McNair Report, issued in March 1956, was before the 39th Conference, but for an exchange of views only as it is to be studied in detail in November by the ILO Governing Body.

Speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Brown, the leader of the Canadian delegation, described the dilemma with which the ILO is faced in wishing both to support the principle of universality of membership and also to maintain effectively its tripartite system of representation. Many divergent views were expressed on this subject at the Conference: some delegates said that the ILO constitution should be amended to bar government-dominated employers and workers; others maintained that the ILO should

recognize the variety of political and social structures which exist in the world today and that the ILO constitution should not be amended to recognize only one (i.e. the free enterprise) economic system; several speakers stressed the need for ILO to take cognizance of the increasing nationalization of economies in many countries, and one delegate argued that the ILO could not solve the problem of co-existence between free enterprise and Communist economies by removing the points of contact between the two and by transforming the ILO into an organization which would serve only one political ideology or economic system.

Chinese Representation

In spite of objections put forward by a number of delegations, the Conference decided to accept the credentials of the Chinese Nationalist delegation and to grant them voting rights, notwithstanding the fact that Nationalist China has arrears of more than one million dollars. A two-thirds majority is required by the ILO constitution on a vote of this kind, and the final vote was 138 for, 63 against, with 24 abstentions, the affirmative votes being only four more than the minimum required to secure the two-thirds majority. (The two Canadian Government delegates abstained. The Canadian employer and worker delegates voted to grant voting rights to China.)

Conventions and Recommendations

The Conference reached agreement on two new international labour instruments—a recommendation to promote vocational training in agriculture and a recommendation on welfare facilities for workers. The Conference also took preliminary action on five other instruments with a view to final discussion next year—a convention on forced labour, a convention and a recommendation on weekly rest in commerce and offices, and a convention and a recommendation on the protection and integration of indigenous peoples, including tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries.

The proposal for a convention on forced labour had been referred to the ILO by the Economic and Social Council. Although its primary purpose is to outlaw forced labour as a means of political coercion, the proposed convention contains clauses aimed against other types of forced labour as well. Delegates from the democratic countries noted with interest that the Communist governments have apparently decided to give this convention whole-hearted support.

The Conference adopted resolutions on automation, reduction of hours of work, abolition of wage discrimination based on sex, and disarmament. The first three of these resolutions were designed mainly to pave the way for more formal activity by the ILO on these subjects.

The Conference also conducted its annual review of the manner in which member states are applying ILO conventions and recommendations.

Technical Assistance

The Conference examined carefully the technical assistance work of the ILO during 1955. Although some of this work is carried out under the regular budget of ILO, funds for a great part of it are put at the disposal of ILO by the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It was noted that at the end of 1955 the ILO had 165 experts working in the less-

developed areas of the world. These experts were helping to set up training centres in Indonesia, India, Libya, Turkey, the Gold Coast, Gambia, Haiti, Egypt, and Bolivia; working with the governments of Afghanistan, Guatemala, Haiti, and Thailand to develop handicrafts and small cottage-type industries; and assisting in the organization of various types of co-operatives in Burma, Iran, Federation of Malaya, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sarawak, and Vietnam. During 1955 the ILO awarded 573 fellowships and study grants as compared with the 496 awarded in 1954.

The ILO spent a total of about \$3 million in 1956 on various kinds of technical assistance in order to provide vocational training, rehabilitation for handicapped workers, or other improvements in the use of manpower. Reviewing this work, the Director-General, Mr. David A. Morse, noted that where people have shockingly low living standards their primary objective is, of necessity, higher material welfare. He appealed to all members of ILO to give greater economic and technical aid to countries of Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, and Latin America so that economic development in those areas could be accelerated.

The Conference approved a budget of slightly more than \$7.5 million for ILO in 1957. Canada's contribution will be about \$275,000.

UNITED NATIONS DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

(Continued from page 237)

shadows of the past. We have witnessed remarkably frank expositions by the present leaders of the Soviet Union of the errors, the injustices, the miscalculations and the obscurantism of the years of Stalin's dictatorship. If these things in fact occurred in the Soviet Union, and we have the testimony of the 20th Party Congress to show that they did, did they affect only the Soviet Union's internal policies? Or did they not also affect the Soviet approach towards the outer world over those long years when the insecurity within Russia was spread to the rest of the world? And if this is possible, might they not also have affected the Soviet Union's approach in those years to disarmament, seeing in it, not a real pathway to agreement and reduction of world tensions, but a means of weakening the free world, of posturing for propaganda purposes, of maintaining inviolate within the vast area of Stalinist power the secret places and origins of potential conflict.

In their approach to disarmament today, the Soviet leaders face a test of the new spirit, which we are told, and which we deeply hope, is alive in the Soviet Union. The new "openness" which has recently been expressed in high level visits and increased contact with the outside world of which Mr. Gromyko spoke on Tuesday stands in remarkable contrast to the closed doors of the past. Let us hope this principle will now be applied, on the limited, reciprocal and collective basis on which it is so vitally needed, to permit us to begin an effectively supervised disarmament programme. Without this openness, we face a common future based on fear, and the possibility of a common destiny based on mutual destruction. With it we can move forward from precarious co-existence to co-operation in the common tasks which mean a brighter future for mankind.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. C. Smith, Commissioner, posted from the International Supervisory Commission, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective July 3, 1956.
- Mr. H. M. Robertson, DFC., posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective July 3, 1956.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman transferred from the Canadian Legation, Vienna, to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective July 6, 1956.
- Mr. J. H. Taylor posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1956.
- Mr. C. C. E. Chatillon posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 10, 1956.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1956.
- Mr. H. T. W. C. B. Blockley posted from the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1956.
- Mr. A. R. Kilgour, MBE., posted from the National Defence College to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1956.
- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, appointed Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand, effective July 26, 1956.
- Mr. F. Hudd, CBE., posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective July 27, 1956.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective July 27, 1956.
- Miss L. Côté, Mr. W. T. Delworth, Mr. W. E. Fulton, and Mr. E. G. Lee appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers 1, effective July 3, 1956.
- Miss E. P. MacCallum posted from Travel and Sick Leave (London) to Ottawa, effective June 8, 1956.
- Mr. C. E. Bourbonnière posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective June 23, 1956.

TREATY INFORMATION

Bilateral

Current Action

Belgium

Exchange of Notes concerning an amendment to paragraph 4 of the annex to the agreement for air services signed at Ottawa August 30, 1949 between Canada and Belgium.
Signed at Ottawa May 25 and July 20, 1956.
Entered into force July 20, 1956.

Federal Republic of Germany

Convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes in income.
Signed at Ottawa June 4, 1956.

Honduras

Agreement for the establishment of a commercial modus vivendi.
Signed at Tegucigalpa July 11, 1956.
Entered into force July 18, 1956.

United States of America

Amendment to the agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America for co-operation on the civil uses of atomic energy.
Signed at Washington June 26, 1956.

Multilateral

Sixth protocol of supplementary concessions to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade.
Signed at Geneva May 23, 1956.

Agreement regarding financial support of the North Atlantic Ice Patrol.
Signed at Washington July 5, 1956.
Entered into force July 5, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

a) Printed Documents:

World Economic Survey 1955. E/2864; ST/ECA/38. N.Y., Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, April 27, 1956. 201 p.

Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1954-55. Supplement to World Economic Survey 1955. E/2880; ST/ECA/39. N.Y., Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, 1956. 151 p.

Economic Developments in Africa, 1954-55. Supplement to World Economic Survey 1955. E/2881; ST/ECA/40. N.Y., Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, 1956. 100 p.

Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly. A/520/Rev.4. N.Y., March, 1956. 45 p.

United Nations Children's Fund. Financial Reports and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 December 1955 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3129. N.Y., 1956. 64 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 6A.

Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Report. A/3127. N.Y., 1956. 24 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 15.

Economic Commission for Europe. Annual Report (31 March 1955-21 April 1956). E/2868; E/ECE/237. N.Y., April 23, 1956. 59 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 6.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Annual Report (8 April 1955-14 February 1956). E/2821; E/CN.11/43. N.Y., March, 1956. 62 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 2.

Statistical Commission. Report of the Ninth Session (16 April-2 May 1956). E/2876; E/CN.3/225. N.Y., 1956. 30 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 7.

Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Summaries and

Analyses of Information Transmitted to the Secretary-General During 1955. ST/TRI/SER.A/10. N.Y., 1956. 172 p.

Analytical Bibliography of International Migration Statistics, 1925-50. Population Studies No. 24. ST/SOA/Ser.A/24. N.Y., Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, October, 1955. 195 p.

International Labour Organisation. International Comparisons of Real Wages; a Study of Methods. Studies and Reports: New Series, No. 45. Geneva, 1956. 89 p.

Unesco. Political Science in the United States of America; a Trend Report by Dwight Waldo. Documentation in the Social Sciences Series. Paris, 1956. 84 p.

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* Printed documents may be produced from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill Unversley Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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Canada's Post-War Financial Assistance Abroad

FROM the end of the Second World War through the fiscal year 1956-57, Canada will have provided more than \$4 billion of assistance to other countries. Included in the Canadian programme are post-war reconstruction loans (made between 1945 and 1947), relief credits, contributions and subscriptions to United Nations programmes and other international financial contributions and military aid to NATO allies. Funds on an increasing scale have also been made available for capital and technical assistance to under-developed countries and relief to distressed areas.

Canadian military aid to NATO countries, including the amounts which Parliament has approved for 1956-57, totals more than \$1.4 billion. The bulk of this aid has taken the form of air crew training and equipment.

Canada has provided increasing amounts of capital and technical assistance to under-developed areas through the Colombo Plan and the United Nations and its various agencies. Since the inception of the Colombo Plan in 1950, Canada has contributed more than \$128 million. For 1956-57, the amount which Parliament has approved for the Colombo Plan has been increased by \$8 million to \$34.4 million. Some projects assisted by Canadian funds are:

- (a) An atomic reactor in India which also will be available for use by other Colombo Plan countries;
- (b) 120 steam locomotives for India to help re-equip the transportation systems;
- (c) The Canada Dam in West Bengal to provide flood control to the Mayurakshi River, generate hydro-electric power, and irrigate some 600,000 acres of land;
- (d) The modernization of the Bombay Transport System;
- (e) A cement plant in the Thal development in Pakistan;
- (f) Electrical equipment and engineering services for the Warsak Project near the Khyber Pass in Pakistan which will provide 160,000 k.w. of installed electric power capacity for use in West Pakistan;
- (g) Aerial surveys of the resources of Pakistan, India, and Ceylon;
- (h) A fisheries research and development scheme in Ceylon which will materially assist the development of the fishing industry and thereby provide a more balanced diet for the population.
- (i) A hydro-electric project on the Kundah River in the State of Madras, India, to improve conditions for more than 30,000,000 people.

To help under-developed countries train their citizens to make the most effective use of all forms of capital aid and their own resources, Canada has contributed more than \$8.9 million to the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme. Canadian contributions to this programme have doubled since 1953. The contribution which Parliament approved for 1956 totals \$1.8 million.

Canada strongly supports the use of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to augment the supply of funds for investment in the

under-developed areas. To this end, Canada has made its entire 20 per cent capital subscription (\$65 million) available for lending and has authorized the Bank to obtain additional capital by the sale of bonds in Canada.

To encourage the investment of private funds in under-developed areas, Canada supported the formation of the International Finance Corporation and purchased 3,600 shares of stock at a cost of \$3.6 million. Furthermore, there are no restrictions on the access of foreign borrowers to Canadian capital markets, and Canadian tax laws do not impede investment abroad. Canadian investors receive credits against their Canadian tax for income tax paid to foreign governments and Canadian corporations are exempt from tax on dividends they receive from foreign investments in which they own 25 per cent or more of the voting stock.

Canada's financial contribution is reinforced by the provision of training facilities in Canada for United Nations fellows and by the sending abroad of Canadian experts. From 1950 to March 31, 1956 Canada provided training for 340 United Nations trainees, while at least 77 Canadians served overseas as United Nations experts. In addition to these United Nations fellows and experts, training was also provided for 410 students under the Colombo Plan from 1950 to March 31, 1956. During the same period 69 Canadian Colombo Plan experts served abroad.

CANADA'S POST-WAR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE ABROAD, 1945-57

(Millions of Canadian Dollars)

Expenditures and Allotments, March 31, 1945 to March 31, 1957

Reconstruction Loans:

Belgium	68.8
China	65.0
Czechoslovakia	16.7
France	253.4
Netherlands	123.9
Indonesia	15.5
Norway	23.7
United Kingdom	1,185.0
U.S.S.R.	15.2
TOTAL	1,767.2

Military Relief:

Balkans, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway	105.2
--	-------

Grants:

a) To UN Agencies and Programmes -

UNRRA	154.0
Post-UNRRA Relief	12.1
Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees . . . . .	.2
IRO	18.8
ICEM . . . . .	.10
UNHCR . . . . .	.41
UNICEF	10.05

UNKRA	7.75
Palestine Arab Refugees	4.54
UNETAP	7.2
TOTAL	215.15
b) <i>Colombo Plan</i> –	
Capital and Technical Assistance	162.3
c) <i>Special Relief</i> –	
Greece (wheat) . . . . .	.85
Korea (fish) . . . . .	.75
Pakistan (wheat)	5.05
Greece (earthquake relief) . . . . .	.50
India, Pakistan, Nepal (floods) . . . . .	.23
Haiti (fish) . . . . .	.03
Japan (flood relief) . . . . .	.04
Yugoslavia (fish) . . . . .	.05
British West Indies (hurricane relief) . . . . .	.05
European Flood Relief (1952)	1.00
India (flood relief) . . . . .	.20
TOTAL	8.6
d) <i>NATO</i> –	
Mutual Aid (transfers from Canadian stocks, new production items, NATO aircrew training, etc.) and infrastructure	1,417.9
Other International Organizations:	
IBRD	70.9
IMF	300.0
IFC	3.6
GRAND TOTAL	4,050.8

The following are the full names for some of the abbreviations used on this table:

- UNRRA – United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
- IRO – International Refugee Organization.
- ICEM – Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.
- UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund.
- UNKRA – United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.
- UNETAP – United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme.
- IBRD – International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- IMF – International Monetary Fund.
- IFC – International Finance Corporation.

Tenth Assembly of ICAO

THE TENTH SESSION of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization met in Caracas, Venezuela, between June 19 and July 16, 1956 under the presidency of Dr. Santiago Pérez Pérez, the Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations. The Canadian Delegation, led successively by Mr. George C. Marler, Minister of Transport, and Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, included Mr. C. S. Booth, Assistant Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr. J. A. Irwin, Canadian Representative to ICAO, and officials of the Air Transport Board and the Departments of Transport, Finance, and External Affairs.

Organization of ICAO

ICAO is a Specialized Agency of the United Nations in which the governments of sixty-nine states are now participating. Fifty-six member states sent delegations to Caracas while three non-contracting states and nine international organizations were represented by observers. The Organization was established by the Chicago Convention of 1944. Its aims include the development of the principles and techniques of international air navigation and the encouragement of the planning and development of international air transport, so as to meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient, and economical air services while protecting the rights of all contracting parties.

ICAO has its permanent headquarters in Montreal, where it maintains an international secretariat of some four hundred persons. The executive body of the Organization is the Council, which consists of twenty-one member states chosen by the Assembly every three years; Council states maintain permanent representatives at the headquarters in Montreal and also participate in the work of subordinate bodies, the Air Navigation Commission, the Air Transport Committee, the Joint Support Committee, the Legal Committee, and the Finance Committee. In the past a number of assemblies have been held in Montreal, but in recent years "major" assemblies have only been held every three years and it has become the practice for these meetings to take place away from Montreal.*



Mr. George C. Marler

*The last such Assembly was held in Brighton, England in June 1953: see "External Affairs", September 1953, p. 274.



CANADIAN DELEGATES

Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who followed Mr. George C. Marler, Minister of Transport, as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the tenth session of ICAO, is seen above with three members of the Delegation.

From left to right: Mr. Macdonnell; Mr. C. S. Booth, Assistant Deputy Minister of Transport; Mr. J. L. G. Morriset, Member of the Air Transport Board; Mr. J. A. Irwin, Canadian Representative to ICAO.

First Plenary Meeting

The first Plenary Meeting of the Tenth Assembly was attended by General Marcos Pérez Jiménez, President of the Republic of Venezuela, and members of his Cabinet, and was held in the magnificent Aula Magna of the University of Caracas. Later Plenary Meetings and meetings of Assembly Committees were held in conference rooms of the library building which, together with virtually the entire facilities of the University City, had been generously placed at the disposal of the Organization by the Government of Venezuela.

In opening the tenth session, Dr. Edward Warner, President of the Council of ICAO, struck the keynote of later deliberations when he drew attention to the phenomenal growth of civil aviation in the last decade; the world's air passenger traffic has quadrupled, air freight traffic has increased ten-fold, and future prospects are still enormous. Never, Dr. Warner declared, has it been as important as it is now, on the threshold of the jet age, for ICAO "to look well ahead and to plan both boldly and imaginatively for the future". This

theme was also dwelt on by a number of delegations in their opening statements to the Assembly. After the election of officers the Assembly appointed an Executive Committee and Technical, Economic, Legal, and Administrative Commissions to deal with the wide variety of topics on the agenda.

Air Navigation Facilities

Probably the most important of the items considered by the Executive Committee was a proposal by the United States for the establishment of a special "task force" of highly qualified individuals to consider present and future deficiencies in international air navigation facilities and recommend measures designed to meet the technical and financial problems arising out of new developments in international air transport. Although there was general agreement that the onset of jet transport on international routes made the question of improved facilities a vital one, a number of delegations took issue with the form of the United States proposal. The Canadian Delegation took the position that the question of air navigation facilities was properly the responsibility of the Council and that the United States proposal, if adopted in the form submitted, would circumvent Council's authority. The Delegation submitted for consideration by the Committee a draft resolution referring the matter to the Council for urgent consideration and suggesting that the Council appoint a special committee and consider employing a panel of experts to deal with the technical and economic aspects of the problem. The United States and Canadian proposals, together with resolutions subsequently submitted by Belgium and France, were referred to a working group for further examination; the final resolution adopted by the Assembly directed the Council to study these problems as a matter of urgency in consultation with the states most concerned and recommended that the Council appoint a special panel of experts. At its post-Assembly session the Council acted on this recommendation and appointed the panel, to serve under the chairmanship of Dr. Warner.

European Civil Aviation Council

The Assembly had before it a proposal for regularizing the relationship between ICAO and the European Civil Aviation conference, the regional organization established under the auspices of the Council of Europe to consider the special problems of civil aviation in the European area. A proposal was submitted under which ICAO would provide secretarial and other assistance to ECAC but would be reimbursed for certain direct out-of-pocket expenses arising out of meetings of the regional body. There was considerable discussion on the question of whether ECAC should not be established as a regional affiliate of ICAO rather than as a separate body, but it was finally agreed that in the special circumstances the compromise arrangement was a reasonable one and it was consequently approved.

The Executive Committee examined proposals by the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Peru, and Bolivia for settlement of their outstanding financial arrears to the Organization. Although many delegations disliked the principle of a retroactive change of assessments which had been carefully screened and approved in past years, it was agreed that special circumstances prevailed in the case of all three of the countries concerned. The proposals of all three countries, involving the scaling down of arrears in varying proportions, were

adopted by the Committee and subsequently approved by the Assembly. The Assembly also as a consequence voted to restore voting rights of Czechoslovakia, Peru, and Bolivia.

The Committee reviewed a report by the Council on the participation of ICAO in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and heard the representatives of many recipient states express their appreciation for the assistance rendered by the Organization. A debate developed over a proposal by the delegates of Portugal and Mexico for establishment of an ICAO Technical Assistance Fund separate from that of the United Nations. It was generally agreed that ICAO's technical assistance was making an important contribution to the progress of civil aviation in under-developed countries and should be expanded considerably; on the other hand it was the view of many delegations that since the total funds available from donor governments for technical assistance were limited, it would be most undesirable for ICAO to initiate a separate fund and perhaps lead other Specialized Agencies to do the same, thus forcing donor governments to allocate their contribution among competing programmes. It was agreed to recommend an increase in the contribution by member countries of funds for technical assistance but to leave the question of allocation to the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the body most competent to resolve the problem.

Administrative Proposals

In later sessions, the Executive Committee dealt with a number of proposals concerning the administration of ICAO itself and its constituent bodies. An amendment to Articles 48(a), 49(e), and 61 of the Chicago Convention to eliminate the requirement for annual Assembly sessions had received 38 of the required 42 ratifications when the Assembly met; the Committee therefore assumed that by January 1, 1957 the amendment would be effective and authorized the Council to call only a limited Assembly in either 1957 or 1958 before the next major Assembly in 1959. A proposal which had also been on the agenda of the two previous Assembly sessions called for changes in the number and length of sessions and the working methods of the ICAO Council so as in particular to eliminate the requirement for a permanent Council with full-time representation at the headquarters. The Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution approving sequential sessions of the Council and its committees so as to streamline the activities of these bodies as much as possible.

Toward the end of the session the Committee received the report of the Council on privileges and immunities granted to ICAO by the Canadian authorities. Following announcement of arrangements made with the Organization by the Federal Government and the Government of the Province of Quebec on a number of outstanding questions involving provincial taxation, the Assembly unanimously approved a resolution thanking both the federal and provincial authorities for the goodwill shown to ICAO and the efforts which had brought about a solution of the various problems in this field.

New Council

The Assembly met in plenary session to elect a new Council for the Organization to hold office for a three-year period. The twenty-one Council

member states are elected at each major Assembly meeting and are chosen on the following basis:

- a) Eight states of major importance in air transport;
- b) Seven states providing important facilities for international civil aviation;
- c) Six states chosen from geographical areas of the world which are otherwise unrepresented.

This year there were twenty-three candidates for the Council, Japan and Chile seeking election for the first time and Sweden standing for the "Scandinavian seat" in place of Norway. When balloting was completed the following states had been elected:

Category (a): United States
United Kingdom
France
Canada
The Netherlands
Australia
Sweden
Brazil

Category (b): Argentina
India
Egypt
Italy
Belgium
Japan
Mexico

Category (c): Ireland
Lebanon
Portugal
Spain
Union of South Africa
Venezuela

Commission Meeting

While the Executive Committee was in session there were concurrent meetings of the Economic, Technical, Legal, and Administrative Commissions. The Economic Commission briefly considered the question of a multilateral agreement for non-scheduled air services and approved the action taken by the Council for collaboration with the European Civil Aviation Conference in a study of a possible multilateral agreement in the European area. There was also discussion of possible multilateral agreement on international air cargo, and the Commission noted the progress achieved in this field by the ECAC. A final resolution on this question directed the Secretariat to gather information on the movement of air cargo in other areas in addition to Europe which would be of interest to all contracting states. Although there was a large measure of agreement on the desirability of a multilateral accord it was recognized that, even in a compact region such as Europe, many differences of viewpoint remain. It was clear that many of the high hopes at earlier Assemblies

for a universal multilateral air agreement had been dissipated and that no such agreement could be expected in the near future.

There was also discussion of a possible Air Mail Multilateral Agreement but the Commission decided that the views of the Universal Postal Union and contracting states should be sought before any attempt was made to draft such an Agreement. The Commission devoted some time to a discussion of Facilitation, ICAO's programme of eliminating red tape and unnecessary delays in international air travel, and approved a resolution calling on contracting states to give attention to their obligations under the Convention and conduct periodic reviews of national requirements so as to bring them into line wherever possible with ICAO's recommendations.

The Technical Commission reviewed the work performed by ICAO in the technical field and approved a future work programme. The Commission approved a resolution giving high priority to the development of Regional Plans for provision of facilities and devoted particular attention to the question of airport specifications and length and strength of runways to be required by new types of heavy jet aircraft. The proposed introduction of new types of aircraft also induced consideration of existing deficiencies on international air routes; the Commission approved a resolution directing the Council to make greater efforts to remove these deficiencies by several methods including, where possible and appropriate, utilization of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

The Legal Commission, in reviewing the work of the Organization in the field of international air law, took note of the slowness of ratification by contracting states of such agreements as the Geneva Convention on the International Recognition of Rights in Aircraft (1948), the Rome Convention on Damage caused by Foreign Aircraft to Third Parties on the Surface (1952), and The Hague Protocol to amend the Warsaw Convention (1955), and called upon signatory states to complete the process of adherence as soon as possible. The Commission then discussed and approved a work programme for the Legal Committee of the Council, giving priority to problems of the hire, charter, and interchange of aircraft, and the legal status of the aircraft (with particular emphasis on the question of crimes committed on board an aircraft outside the territory of the state of registration).

Budget

The budget of the Organization for 1957 and draft budgets for 1958 and 1959 were submitted to the Administrative Commission. There was general recognition of the fact that ICAO has been successful in stabilizing its budget for a number of years, but the Commission nevertheless approved a small number of reductions recommended by the Budget Working Group which it believed could be effected without serious impairment of the work programme. As a result of the approval by the Executive Committee of the recommendation to Council for establishment of the special panel for the study of air navigation facilities and services, the Commission voted to add an amount of \$100,000 to the budgets for 1957 and 1958 and authorized the Council to approve additional expenditures in each of these two years of up to \$100,000 to finance the implementation of other recommendations of Assembly bodies, the precise costs of which could not be established immediately. With these

changes the Commission approved budgets for 1957 and 1958 but, in view of the decision to hold a minor Assembly in one of these years, took no action on the draft budget for 1959. A new scale of assessments made necessary by the admission of additional states to membership in ICAO was examined by the Working Group on Contributions and subsequently approved by the Administrative Commission.

Final Plenary Meeting

At the final Plenary Meeting, which took place on July 16, the Assembly approved the resolutions submitted by the Executive Committee and the Commissions and welcomed the accession of the Republic of Sudan as the sixty-ninth member state of ICAO, effective July 29, 1956. There was a general feeling among national delegations that the Assembly, faced with a number of new and important questions, had accomplished its work expeditiously and well. This had been the first session held in Latin America, and thanks in large measure to the excellent arrangements made by the host government of Venezuela, for which the Assembly expressed its gratitude, it had been a great success.



FISHERIES MINISTERS

Mr. A. A. Ishkov, left, U.S.S.R. Minister of Fisheries, and his Canadian counterpart, Mr. James Sinclair, arrive in Ottawa for a stopover en route to the West Coast. Mr. Ishkov and a party of fisheries experts toured fishing grounds and research stations on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard during a three-week visit which ended this month. They were escorted by Canada's Minister of Fisheries.

Economic and Social Council, 22nd Session

THE 22nd Session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations was held in Geneva from July 9 to August 10, 1956. Canada, which resumed membership in ECOSOC before the 21st Session, was represented by a delegation headed by Mr. P. A. Cardin, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Delegation members were Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations in New York, Mr. H. Allard, Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations, Mr. A. J. MacEachen, M.P., Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, and Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.

During the Session, in addition to attending the plenary meetings, the various delegations were represented at concurrent meetings of committees of the whole in which the preliminary and more detailed work is done—the Technical Assistance Committee, the Economic Committee, the Social Committee, and the Co-ordination Committee. As an exception at this session and in order to save time, the Technical Assistance Committee started its work on July 4.

The plenary session was presided over by Dr. Hans Engen, Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations and President of ECOSOC for 1956, while the two Vice-Presidents of the Council, Mr. Trujillo, of Ecuador, and Mr. Said Hasan, of Pakistan, acted as Chairmen of the Economic and Social Committees, respectively. Dr. Bannier, of the Netherlands, was Chairman of the Technical Assistance Committee, and Dr. Davidson, of the Canadian Delegation, was unanimously elected to the chairmanship of the Co-ordination Committee which was set up to insure closer co-ordination between the various economic, social, and human rights programmes of the ECOSOC subsidiary bodies and of the Specialized Agencies.

Although the 22nd Session, in the words of its President, Dr. Engen, was "more characterized by pausing and reflection than by decisive action", its discussions were useful in several respects. Furthermore, as the President suggested, a pause is sometimes "a necessary stage through which we have to go in order to make further progress".

The Canadian Delegation went to the 22nd Session with a full realization of the importance of ECOSOC as a means of improving living conditions throughout the world and consequently as a safeguard for peace. Although the World Economic Survey carried out by the U.N. Secretariat General in 1955 showed a substantial advance in world production and trade, in employment and levels of productivity, and in incomes, consumption, and investment, the progress has not been uniform in the various areas of the world. Indeed the gap between the standards of living in the industrialized and less-developed countries has increased and offers a challenge which still has to be met.

Economic Matters

It was, therefore, to be expected that the emphasis in the Council's discussions would be placed on economic development and related problems such as the development of natural resources, industrialization, and questions of financing. In the Economic Committee, which was concerned with the practical consideration of these topics, the Canadian Delegation tried to play a positive role and, without seeking compromise for the sake of compromise, was instrumental in some instances in reconciling conflicting resolutions. Controversy arose over the proposed establishment of a World Food Reserve, of a special organization (SUNFED) to promote the economic development of less-developed countries, and also of some machinery to speed up the industrialization of the latter group of countries. A U.S.S.R. proposal to establish an international trade co-operation machinery under the auspices of the United Nations was also discussed.

In accordance with a resolution of the 9th Session of the General Assembly, the Council had to consider the complex questions involved in the concept of a World Food Reserve as a means of attaining one or more of the following four main objectives:

- 1) Raising low levels of food production and consumption, and fighting chronic malnutrition;
- 2) Relieving famine and other emergency situations;
- 3) Counteracting excessive price fluctuations; and
- 4) Promoting the rational disposal of intermittent agricultural surpluses.

The working document before the Council was a study prepared by the FAO at the request of the General Assembly. The discussion led to the conclusion, which was recorded in the relevant Economic Committee's resolution, that the establishment of a food reserve was impractical at the present time. The remedy to the above-listed problems, it was stressed, lay rather in a rapid and balanced economic development and also in the disposal of food surplus in accordance with the principles established by the Food Agriculture Organization. At the request of spokesmen for the less-developed countries, however, the Council requested "the Secretary-General, in consultation with the FAO and other organizations and experts as he considers appropriate", to study further and to report on the possibility of further national and international co-operation to attain the objectives pursued, including the use of food reserves for meeting unforeseeable food shortages. The resolution which embodies these recommendations was the outcome of very laborious negotiations between what appeared at the time to be two irreconcilable bodies of opinion, and the Canadian Delegation was particularly active in seeking a solution which was generally acceptable to both camps. Further consideration of this problem will be required—especially when the Secretary-General submits his report at the 24th Session.

Since 1951, the less-developed countries have campaigned for the establishment of a United Nations fund which would assist them in making grants in-aid and long-term, low-interest loans. Canada, although it has so far reserved its position on this proposal, had agreed to participate in the work of an ad hoc committee of representatives of sixteen countries which met last May in

New York to examine the replies to a questionnaire which had been approved at the 10th Session of the General Assembly.

The ad hoc committee's interim report was considered at the 22nd Session and a resolution was passed which expressed "the hope that the General Assembly will consider what further steps may help to promote the early establishment of a special United Nations Fund for Economic Development". This decision obviously fell short of the hopes of the advocates of SUNFED, but it keeps the issue alive, while giving all United Nations member countries some breathing spell to consider all its implications. Canada, for one, considers that further study of the proposal will be required before a final decision can be made.

The connected problem of industrialization of less-developed countries was also on the agenda of the Council. At its 19th Session, ECOSOC had requested the Secretary-General to prepare and submit, in the light of an earlier survey he had made, a programme of work with a view to accelerating industrialization. At its 21st Session, ECOSOC adopted a resolution, in the formulation of which the Canadian Delegation played an important part, endorsing a programme of study on industrialization and productivity. As a result, the Secretary-General presented at the last Session new proposals which were endorsed by the Council, with the additional request, however, that the Secretary-General "consider further the question of machinery necessary in the field of industrialization of under-developed countries".

The U.S.S.R., which last year had proposed the resurrection of the International Trade Organization, submitted at the last Session a resolution calling for the establishment of a committee "to work out proposals for setting up an International Organization for Trade Co-operation". The Soviet proposal appeared of doubtful value to a majority of delegations because there is already a great deal of inter-governmental trade machinery in existence, particularly GATT, and what is needed is to make better use of these organizations. The Canadian Delegation promoted a compromise, which was adopted as an amendment to the Soviet resolution, stressing the valuable services of the United Nations regional economic commissions in connection with trade co-operation. In the same field, Canada agreed to serve on the United Nations Commodity Commission.

Technical Assistance

In the Technical Assistance Committee, Canada co-sponsored with the United States and Norway a resolution on currency utilization which aims among other things at inducing countries to make their contributions in currency rather than in kind, and stresses the multilateral basis of contributions.

The Canadian Delegation also suggested a series of amendments to an Egyptian, Netherlands, Pakistani, and Indonesian resolution on administrative and operational costs which called for the setting up of an administrative review group of eight members of the Technical Assistance Committee. The Canadian amendment restricted the review group's life until November of this year and also requested the Chairman of the Technical Assistance Committee to consult with the Chairman of the U.N. Advisory Committee on administrative and budgetary questions to determine how the latter's services could be used by the Technical Assistance Committee in examining the administra-

tive and operational services cost of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. In addition, Canada supported a resolution on the "Forward Look" of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme which urged continued support for the increased programme, with a long-term commitment wherever possible. As stated by Dr. Engen, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance is perhaps the most important practical achievement of ECOSOC and it is not without significance that the Council has unanimously re-affirmed its confidence in the programme "as an effective instrument for promoting the economic development of the less-developed countries and strengthening the foundations of a prosperous and peaceful world."

Social Questions

Discussions in the Social Committee proceeded rather smoothly, and there again the Canadian Delegation displayed active interest. The efforts of the Canadian Delegation were directed towards greater co-ordination, particularly of the reports which were requested from governments in the field of human rights, and the programme of concerted practical action in the social field. Canada has already expressed its intention to stand for election next year to the Commission on the Status of Women.

An interesting feature of the 22nd Session was the Secretary-General's intervention in favour of the creation of a kind of international civil service. The Canadian Delegation took this opportunity to re-affirm Canada's interest in the possibility that the U.N. might recruit experts for its technical and other assistance programmes on a long-term basis. The Secretary-General's views were slightly different, inasmuch as he favoured the strengthening of the administration of the less-developed countries through the appointment of administrators provided by the United Nations. This proposal is likely to be revived in future U.N. discussions.

The Council urged all governments to continue their support for the work undertaken on behalf of refugees. The Council also approved the admission of Morocco to UNESCO.

The Session finally approved a calendar of conferences for 1957. Although no definite date has been set, the resumed 22nd Session is likely to be held in New York before the end of December 1956.

Conclusions

The 22nd Session will have showed once more the importance and complexity of the tasks which were entrusted to ECOSOC. However, progress is gradually being made in dealing with these tasks, and particularly in the field of procedure. There is a fuller realization of the need for co-operation, and, quoting the President of ECOSOC again, "the debate on co-ordination has been more fruitful this year than ever before". Another development of consequence is the growing interest of Communist countries in ECOSOC, which not such a long time ago they ignored almost completely; it is gratifying to note that they are now less obstructive than in the past.

The 22nd Session reached no spectacular decisions. One must consider, however, that economic and social progress cannot be effected overnight. It is the result of long and patient efforts. This is particularly true at the inter-

national level, where aims and methods must be adopted to different political, economic, and social approaches. In spite of these obstacles, ECOSOC is year by year gaining knowledge and experience which bring it closer to its goal. It may sometimes give the impression of "pausing", but it is necessary from time to time to take stock of the progress already achieved and to make careful preparations before tackling the problems which lie ahead. The 22nd Session represents, therefore, one more modest, perhaps, but useful step in the right direction.



IMPRESSIVE CEREMONY HELD

A monument erected by the City of Mons, Belgium, to the memory of the 116th Canadian Infantry Battalion was unveiled in Casteau on July 10. Bearing a bronze plaque supplied by the 116th Regimental Association, the monument marks the spot where the 116th had an outpost located on November 11, 1918.

The unveiling ceremony took place in the presence of Major General G. R. Pearkes, V.C., M.P., Commanding Officer of the 116th in 1918, Mr. C. P. Hébert, Canadian Ambassador to Belgium, and a number of Belgian dignitaries. A Canadian tri-service detachment participated.

Mr. Hébert is seen above signing the Book of the City of Mons. Seen from left to right, standing, are Major General Pearkes, Mr. Maistriaux, former Burgomaster of Mons, Mrs. Hébert, Mr. Demarbre, Burgomaster f.f. of Mons, Mrs. Pearkes, and W/C E. L. Wurtele, Naval, Military, and Air Attaché at the Canadian Embassy.

Co-operation on the Seven Seas

Canada has a special interest in the work of organs and agencies of the United Nations which are concerned with the sea. Through the courtesy of the *United Nations Review, External Affairs* presents Part I of a two-part article, "A Chart for all the Oceans", which appeared in the *Review* earlier this year. The article presents aspects of the ocean which may be unfamiliar to many, and outlines how the United Nations and several of its Specialized Agencies help to foster international co-operation on the seas. Part II of this article will appear in the October issue.

A Chart for All the Nations

Part I

PUSHING forward across the unknown, primitive man came, again and again, upon the sea, a still greater unknown. To him it was a mystery and an obstacle. Beyond it, all unsuspected, lay the great empty lands. There were others, too, inhabited by men like himself but, because of the sea, his descendants might not hear of them until scores of centuries had passed.

Paradoxically, this same ocean, which for so long kept men apart, has come to symbolize the concept of one world. It is not only that men have found in the oceans a highway by which they can exchange their goods for those of distant peoples. Something in man's relation to the sea itself has affected his attitude. All men, irrespective of their origin, must be on guard against its violence and ready, as they seldom are on land, to help one another. "Faithful to no race after the manner of the kindly earth," wrote Joseph Conrad, "receiving no impress from valor and toil and self-sacrifice, recognizing no finality of domination, the sea has never adopted the cause of its masters like the land." It was inevitable that a feeling of solidarity, a kind of international understanding, should arise among sailors of all nations. Launching out upon the deep, men have recognized the need for a higher loyalty and a common discipline.

"All vessels must answer all calls of distress at sea and must render assistance to every person, even though an enemy, who is found at sea in danger of being lost."

That is one of certain rules of the sea, now generally accepted throughout the world, on which the International Law Commission of the United Nations is to report to the 1956 General Assembly. The commission consists of fifteen international jurists chosen by the Assembly. Every summer in Geneva, it meets to continue its task of developing and codifying a body of international law. Its session in 1955 was mainly concerned with the regime of the high seas and of the territorial sea. The distinguished lawyers have commented, one by one, on various points in international maritime law. It is an interesting fact that many rules of the sea which have won considerable, if not general, acceptance express a standard of conduct not related so much to the laws of individual states, as to the conscience or interests of mankind. Thus

"No State may endanger the safety of life at sea by issuing any regulations which are inconsistent with the regulations approved by a majority of seafaring States."

And again there is much support for the principle that ships without flag—or with more than one flag—may be boarded and searched by the public vessels of all states and, if suspected of piracy, may be forcibly brought to port for investigation.

The Office of Legal Affairs of the United Nations, a part of the Secretariat, co-operates with the International Law Commission in this task of codifying international law, including maritime law. Many intricate problems are involved, but a broad background of co-operation and understanding already exists. Certain navigational rules are universally accepted. The Plimsoll line might be called a worldwide acknowledgment of human rights at sea, since it lays down the principle of responsibility on the part of ship-owners for the lives and safety of those who travel under their flag. The greed of owners can no longer cause ships to be overloaded and so become death-traps for crews and passengers. When danger threatens, the captain of any vessel knows that his S.O.S. will be answered without thought of his ship's nationality or origin. Every day, some small ship with a case of sickness or injury on board, and no doctor, uses radio to seek medical advice from another. Very many lives must have been saved in this way not only across the waters, but across the so-called barriers of race. Every evening, as the advancing fringe of darkness brings the world's lighthouses and buoys into operation, each flashes a message which is independent of the trammels of language that separate man from man. The charts to which seamen entrust their lives embody the lessons of many generations and of many races. Their symbols convey to every seaman a warning without words. They are fruits of human experience, wrung from danger and made available to all.

And so the sea, unlike the land with its passionate local loyalties and associations, speaks to man in universal terms. We have come to recognize in what was once the principle obstacle keeping mankind apart one of the major instruments working to bring the human family together and to emphasize its inter-dependence.

This co-operation of the human family at sea has already been the means of saving several hundred lives in the North Atlantic through the work of a specialized agency. Those saved were the crews and passengers of more than half a dozen ships. The specialized agency concerned, the International Civil Aviation Organization, co-ordinated an agreement by which fifteen nations maintain nine floating ocean stations for weather reporting to countries on both sides of the Atlantic. For ICAO, life-saving at sea is quite subsidiary to its main work in civil aviation. Nevertheless, in a few years, these ships have built up an enviable, if obscure, search and rescue record in addition to the daily weather observations at sea level and by stratospheric balloons which are their crews' main function. The personnel of several aircraft in distress have also been rescued by the same means from Atlantic waters.

Weather Casualties

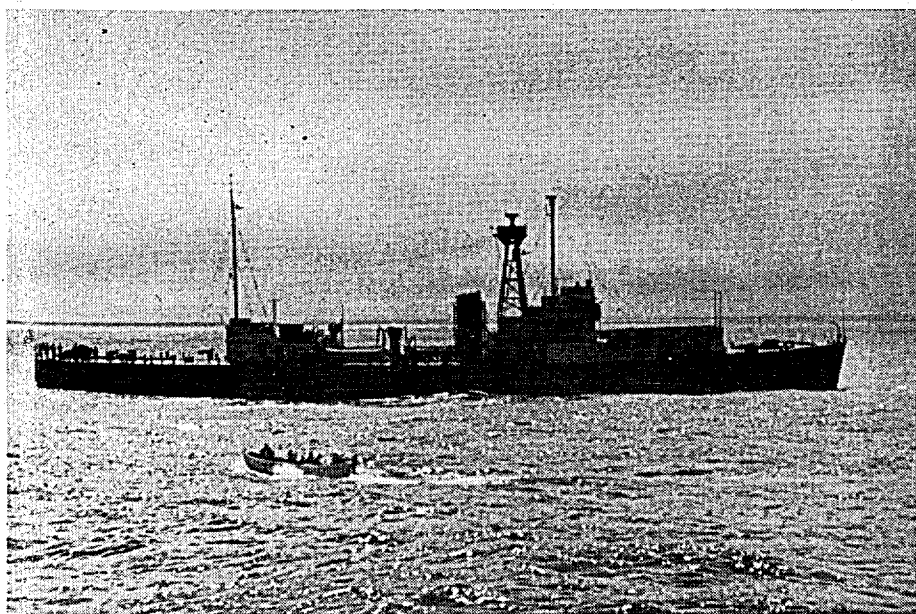
As little known, although it operates on a much wider scale, is the voluntary weather observation carried out internationally by the world's merchant

ships. The World Meteorological Organization, another specialized agency, estimates that thirteen per cent of recorded shipping casualties are directly due to the weather. This does not take into account other casualties, such as collisions or strandings which in many cases are due indirectly to the same cause.

As there is at present nothing man can do to control the weather, the task of the weather men is to give as long and as accurate warning as possible of weather conditions likely to be hazardous for shipping.

Weather forecasts as well as gale, storm and hurricane warnings are issued to shipping by radio several times a day all round the world according to a scheme adopted by WMO.

In order to provide adequate warnings and forecasts it is indispensable to obtain information on the weather over ocean areas. The cost of operation of stationary "ocean weather ships" makes it impossible to establish more than a very limited number. Practically all the meteorological information obtained from the sea must therefore be provided by voluntary observers aboard merchant ships. A worldwide plan of WMO governs the recruitment of such voluntary observing ships. They are supplied with instruments and report regularly by radio to the nearest coastal stations



CANADIAN WEATHER SHIP

Regular duty at a point far out in the Pacific Ocean is shared by two Canadian weather ships. Operated by the Department of Transport, these floating meteorological stations provide a constant flow of information on weather patterns moving toward the West Coast.

There are at present about 2,500 such ships on the oceans as against thirteen stationary "ocean weather ships." The ships' officers who act as amateur weather men make observations which are accurate and scientifically recorded. Considerable credit is due to them for the painstaking way in which

they report their observations. These are of value not only to shipping but to users of meteorological information all over the world.

Arrangements have also been made by WMO for whalers to transmit weather reports. In these reports the ships' position is given in cipher, so as to avoid revealing it to competitors in the whaling grounds.

Ships also use weather forecasts for route planning with a view to avoiding contrary winds and thereby saving time and fuel. This aspect of the maritime uses of meteorological information is of considerable economic importance.

Fellowships in Meteorology

It is interesting to note that the first efforts towards international co-operation in meteorology were made by naval officers. These convened a conference in Brussels in 1853 to draw up a program of meteorological observations based on the collaboration of shipping belonging to most of the maritime countries. One of the first governmental weather services of the world, the French Meteorological Service, was founded as a result of a disaster that overtook the French Fleet in the Black Sea during the Crimean War in 1854.

In its technical assistance projects under the United Nations Expanded Program, WMO has not neglected the needs of maritime meteorology. Among projects in this field, a fellowship in maritime meteorology granted to Ibrahim Kulaksiz of the Turkish State Meteorological Service may be given as an example. Mr. Kulaksiz received training in the United Kingdom and learned not only about modern methods of maritime climatology, but also participated in taking meteorological observations aboard ocean weather ships and ships of the merchant marine.

Information and warnings about ice conditions are of paramount importance to winter shipping in the northern seas. The most effective ice service for winter navigation can be achieved only through intimate collaboration between an ice information service, an icebreaker service and—for forecasts—hydrological and meteorological services.

All these radioed messages and all appeals for help at sea reach their objective because of international radio agreements. Here again, a specialized agency of the United Nations, the International Telecommunications Union, is the operative link among governments. This agency organizes the periodical conferences at which radio frequencies are allocated. Vital are those set for communication between ships and between ships and land. These conferences also draw up regulations for the use of frequencies intended for distress purposes and for routing distress messages to the authorities concerned.

In the United Nations, the Transport and Communications Commission of the Economic and Social Council, serviced by a Division of the same name in the Secretariat, has also been concerned with the prevention of loss of life at sea. At a conference in London in 1948, the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea was opened for signature and the conference also approved several recommendations on safety matters, including International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea.

For some years, preparations have been in progress for another projected specialized agency, the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organiza-

tion: This agency will come into being when the Convention opened for signature has been ratified by twenty-one states, of which seven must each have a total tonnage of at least one million gross tons of shipping. The Organization will deal with technical matters affecting international shipping and will encourage the highest standards of safety and efficiency of navigation. It will help to make shipping services available to the commerce of the world without discrimination and will include a Maritime Safety Committee, on which fourteen countries will be represented, including not less than the eight largest ship-owning nations.

The free passage of all these ocean-going vessels and the acceptance of certain international rules of the sea was not something which came about by itself. For a long time, countries staked claims on the oceans as on the land. In the second half of the Middle Ages, princes and principalities claimed entire seas as their own. Venice proclaimed her sovereignty over the Adriatic, Genoa over the Ligurian Sea. Portugal asserted her rule over the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic south of Morocco, while Spain claimed the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific. Early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch lawyer, Hugo Grotius, advanced arguments in favor of recognizing the freedom of the seas. "The sea cannot be physically possessed. It is free by the laws of nature," he wrote. "It must, therefore, be free also of the laws of man." This principle was vigorously contested and more than 200 years were to pass before nations silently withdrew most of their exclusive claims and, in so doing, accepted the principle of the freedom of the open sea.

Legal Interpretations

This absence of sovereignty over the high seas does not mean the absence of law. There are still a number of outstanding problems to engage the jurists of the International Law Commission. One of the disputed points now before them concerns what is called the continental shelf, an area of shallow water extending around the coasts of continents. In the case of North America, geologists have estimated that one small part of this continental shelf in the Gulf of Mexico will yield, besides valuable minerals, perhaps as much as twenty-two billion barrels of oil—more than they can be sure exists beneath the soil of the continent itself. If such rich treasure lies buried under the sea, it is clear that some law must be formulated and generally accepted to provide for its exploitation and exploration. "The world needs these resources," wrote a Dutch jurist of our own time, Dr. M. W. Mouton. "A solution has to be found to regulate exploitation activities in such a way that a rush and grab policy will be forestalled, that each part of the world's population will get its share and that exhaustion and conflicts will be prevented." If the text drafted by the International Law Commission is approved, nations will exercise sovereignty over the seabed and subsoil near their territorial waters up to a depth of 200 metres, provided they do not interfere with free shipping and fishing on the high seas above.

In that text, the lawyers were careful to provide for fishing rights, because disputes about these rights are among the most frequent that arise in connection with the sea. Since the Second World War, disagreements involving fishing interests have been heard by another organ associated with the United Nations, the International Court of Justice at The Hague. In 1951, judgment was given by the Court in favor of Norway, following a dispute between that country

and the United Kingdom, regarding the delimitation of the territorial waters of Norway. In 1954, the United Kingdom won a case against France concerning jurisdiction over the islets of Minquiers and Ecrehos in the Channel Islands. The dispute arose chiefly because both French and British fishermen wished to have exclusive rights in the area. The Channel Islands, formerly part of the Duchy of Normandy, were brought to the English crown in 1066 by William the Conqueror and The Hague hearings were remarkable in that one of the documents cited went back as far as the year 1200—a record for the proceedings of the International Court.

When the International Law Commission discussed the problem of legal claims to the wealth of the sea, the lawyers found it necessary to turn to the scientists for technical information. In 1954, the General Assembly decided that the problem of territorial waters and marine rights was closely linked to that of the international protection of fisheries and other resources of the sea. The Food and Agriculture Organization is closely concerned with the conservation, development and controlled exploitation of the living resources of the sea, and has been engaged for some time in surveying the living aquatic resources of the world. For this reason, the General Assembly voted to convene an International Technical Conference on the Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea at FAO Headquarters in Rome, April 18 through May 10, 1955. The recommendations of this conference were reported to the International Law Commission, which had already proposed the establishment of an international authority under the United Nations to regulate fisheries and to protect fishery resources.

How Great Its Resources?

Many of the subjects discussed at the Conference had already been considered in a number of FAO publications. According to FAO, the seas of the world could make a substantially greater contribution to world food supplies. To bring this about, however, it will be necessary to learn a great deal more about the sea's resources, to make further technical progress and to improve the organization of industries. In the long run, the maintenance of food production from the sea will be dependent, as it already is in particular cases, on international action.

This is made all the more necessary by developments taking place in the design and equipment of fishing vessels and in fishing techniques. The world's fishermen are now making bigger catches than ever. It is estimated that the world catch of fish, crustaceans and molluscs, which in 1938 totalled something over twenty-two million metric tons, had increased by 1953 to more than twenty-seven million metric tons. While this represents a very substantial increase (more than 20 per cent) in landings, it is only a fraction of what fishery biologists believe could be taken from the sea continuously and without impairing resources, provided there is efficient international control. The sixth FAO Conference endorsed the view that it should be possible to double production. On the other hand, without proper national and international conservation and development programs, another concern of FAO, it is possible that some important existing resources may be overfished and depleted, particularly in view of the growing efficiency of modern vessels, equipment and techniques. For example, the development of wartime submarine detecting devices into peacetime fish finding apparatus and the use of radiotelephony and telegraphy have



RICHES OF THE SEA

—FAO

Chilean trawler fishermen emptying a bag of hake onto the deck. Fish production holds an important place in the program of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Fish can provide the proteins lacking in the diet of a large portion of the world population.

tended to concentrate fishing boats at points where fish are located. Before the days of echosounders and radar devices, the flair of some skippers for locating fish resulted in their regularly catching more than their competitors. Then came the use of radiotelephony and telegraphy, and the introduction of a policy, instituted by owners, whereby a skipper locating fish had to call up other vessels of the fleet so that all joined in. Continued development of echosounders and radar devices has made it easier for all skippers to make good catches, although of course a good skipper is still more successful than his less skilled colleagues.

One of the latest developments is the use of a device to enable fishermen to ascertain the strength and direction of currents at fishing levels. It has been used with considerable success by the Norwegian fishermen working the Lofoten cod fishery. The trend shows that, with modern echosounders, radar equipment and current meters, fishermen are making more and more use of scientific discoveries in their search for fish, and are able to estimate the density and depth of shoals as well as the direction in which they are heading.

Scouting for shoals by aircraft is another method by which fishermen can obtain guidance in their work. The Icelandic herring fleet relies to a great extent on its aerial scouting service, which is all the more important to it because echosounding is found to be of limited value in fishing off the north coast of Iceland. Experiments are going on in the use of underwater electric fields actually to control, and not merely to detect, the movements of fish and, of course, there has been the development of such nets as the midwater floating

trawl and of power equipment which makes for more efficient handling of traditional gear.

New Techniques

One of the latest developments in fishing is that of the factory ship, a very large vessel which is capable of staying at sea for, perhaps, three months at a time, and processing the catch as it is brought aboard. These ships—the British vessel “Fairtry” is one—are equipped with machinery and a processing plant which can produce consumer packs of fish, hold some of the catch in cold storage “in the round,” extract fish oil, and produce fish meal. There are other modern fishing vessels which, although not so elaborately equipped, can also stay at sea for considerable periods and land large quantities of fish in excellent condition.

Intensive biological study of the habits of fish, particularly in relation to their spawning and migration, has contributed greatly to increased catches. Biologists have studied the daily migration of fish and the movement of shoals, which seem to be connected with the depth of light penetration. For example, herring rise at dawn, but descend to deeper waters. Such information as this is of value to the fishermen, as is the knowledge resulting from studies of the influence of temperature on the growth of fish and the effects of sea currents, both horizontal and vertical, on the dispersal of eggs and of fry and fingerlings. The fishery biologist, indeed, has a most essential part to play in the future of the world's fisheries, because any given conservation program must depend on our detailed knowledge of the life history, ecology, population dynamics and behavior of the fish we seek to preserve.

Apart from these factors affecting the conservation and exploitation of fisheries, the problem of marketing and distribution of the catch is of great importance. Examination of this problem and developing of ways and means to solve it forms an essential part of the work of FAO. For example, little is known of the whereabouts of the Norwegian herring outside the spawning season, but if the fish could be located at other times of the year, much bigger supplies could be landed. While this appears at first glance to be highly desirable, it raises the problem of marketing and distribution, because means must be devised for efficient use of increased catches landed by fishing fleets. The problem naturally varies from country to country. For example, it might be expected that an extra supply of fish would be readily sold in countries where the mass of people suffer from lack of high-quality protein in their diet, but the matter is not so simple as that. The problems of distribution and sale, as well as socio-economic factors such as religious precepts and inadequate incomes, are often most complex and difficult.

These, then, are some of the problems on which FAO is constantly at work, and they also provided subject matter for the International Technical Conference on the Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea.

Organized Effort

An interesting fact is that most of the world's fishing at present takes place over only ten per cent of the marine area of the globe, the continental shelves, and more than ninety per cent of the world's catch is taken north of the equator. These will probably continue to be the richest areas, although

much research and fishing are being carried out elsewhere. Experts are also looking forward to the expansion in the cultivation of crustaceans and molluscs along the coasts, and experimental work is being done with regard to the use of seaweeds for food. An expert estimates that an annual harvest of one million tons of brown seaweed could be taken on the coasts of Scotland alone and the potential harvest throughout the world must be calculated in astronomical figures.

In dealing with the complex problem of development and conservation of the world's fisheries, which differ from country to country, there is need for continuous effort in organizing and directing the work involved. Valuable as are meetings like the International Technical Conference, an established organization, such as the FAO Fisheries Division, is essential. To help in this aspect of the work, UNESCO has organized an Advisory Committee on Marine Science, the aim of which is to form a bridge between scientists working on various fundamental problems of the sea. In its task of promoting the orderly development of the world's fisheries resources and promoting fishery science, FAO works in co-operation not only with its seventy-one member nations, but also with other international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, the United States International Co-operation Administration, the Colombo Plan, the International Council for Exploration of the Seas, and others.

This broad range of international co-operation is one of the most impressive facts to emerge from a study of the sea. The vastness of the waters, their peculiar demands as well as the wide variety of things they furnish plant and animal life all combine almost to force man to share the knowledge he has for living on the sea, for making use of its resources. This sharing has led to international exchanges of information in such fields as fishing methods, cargo handling and the health and working conditions of seafarers. In all manner of ways we come to realize how the oceans bring peoples and nations into closer realization of each others' problems through a common interest in the sea.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs, by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Some Aspects of Canadian Foreign Policy

Excerpts from a Speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in the House of Commons, August 1, 1956.

. . . In the House, in January last, I made a fairly comprehensive statement on some of the major aspects of our policy. At that time I dealt more particularly with an analysis, in so far as we were able to make it, of the recent changes in Soviet leadership. I discussed the situation in the Middle East and also, at that time in January, the situation in the Far East.

So far as the latter subject is concerned, there has been no substantial change in the situation in the Far East since I spoke in January; nor has there been any change in Canadian policy with respect to it. That situation, particularly in and about the Formosan straits, remains potentially dangerous as long as two Chinese armies face each other only four or five miles apart, but it has not in recent weeks or even in recent months deteriorated.

The Middle East—Suez

So far as the situation in the Middle East is concerned, the long and bitter dispute between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbours continues. That situation, while still tense, has not—and this is as far, I think, as anyone would dare go—has not grown worse since I talked about it last. Incidents, which continue on the frontiers and which are likely to continue in the present atmosphere, have not, at least, exploded into war. The United Nations Secretary-General in two visits to the area has made a useful and constructive effort to lessen tension in that area, and by his intervention he has, I think, succeeded in strengthening the truce. I know that on the cease fire and the truce which he has helped to strengthen he hopes to build an arrangement which will be more permanent.

I think we can also pay tribute at this time to the activities of the United Nations Truce Commission in Palestine, in which several Canadian officers are now serving. That Commission is playing a courageous and selfless part in difficult and indeed—as we know from the tragic incident of last week—often in dangerous circumstances. It is operating under the objective, patient and very efficient leadership of a Canadian, General Burns, whose work, I think, deserves the highest commendation on the part of all those who are genuinely interested in establishing security and a just peace in that part of the world. Certainly there is not peace there yet, for there has been no political settlement made between the contending parties. That must come if there is to be peace, because in the long run such a political settlement under the United Nations, rather than arms, will be the foundation of security for Israel and the Arab states.

In recent days a new situation—I was going to say “a new crisis”—has developed there in connection with the Suez Canal. A sudden arbitrary move

on the part of the Egyptian Government has aroused fears that the right to use this international waterway in peace and war without discrimination may be prejudiced, a right which, as Hon. Members know, is guaranteed by an international treaty. Far more than the nationalization, or, if you like, the expropriation, of the Suez Canal Company is at stake in this matter; it is the future use for all nations without arbitrary or unnecessary interference of an essential international artery of trade and of communications, a waterway which was constructed by international agreement and with international co-operation and is now maintained and operated internationally.

As Hon. Members know, steps are being taken at the moment in London, by three powers very directly and importantly affected by the Egyptian decision, to bring about a satisfactory solution to this problem, the problem created by this action of the Egyptian Government, by establishing some form of permanent international control for this international waterway, by which the legitimate rights of all countries can be protected. Until the results of this London meeting are available—and the meeting has not concluded yet—I think I should say nothing more about this matter, except possibly to express the support of our Government for the principle of such international control, with the countries having the greatest interest in the operation of the canal sharing in that control, preferably, if this turns out to be practicable, under the aegis of the United Nations.

Relations with Soviet Union

The third subject I dealt with last January is one which will occupy our attention and at times our anxieties, namely, the relations between the Soviet Union and the coalition of free states in which Canada is playing a part. In so far as the possibility of an all-out war is concerned, I think it can be said, as it has been said on more than one occasion, that we are now reaching, if we have not already reached, a deadlock of mutual deterrence through the certainty of mutual destruction. That is in a sense, I suppose, effective but it does mean reliance by both sides on the fear brought about by thermonuclear power used for destructive purposes. Therefore national security and international peace are becoming merely the probability and the hope that we will get through any year without being blown to bits.

At the very same time that we rely on this deterrence, and we have to rely on it, there is a frantic search going on on both sides for the intercontinental ballistic missile which will remove or certainly will minimize this mutual deterrence by the discovery of an annihilating weapon against which, if used aggressively, there may be no defence or, indeed, no warning. Therefore I do not think any of us can get very much permanent comfort out of a security resting on a balance of terror. Indeed, in that situation there are certain advantages possessed by the Soviet Union. With its despotic government, without the restraints of public opinion, it can, if it so desires, use this situation for political blackmail in peacetime and for what have been called brush fire wars which would throw on our side the responsibility of converting these limited wars into thermonuclear ones.

That possible situation certainly has a bearing both on our defence and on our diplomatic policies and it leads me to the conclusion that atomic defence and atomic deterrence are not enough. It also leads me to stress the importance of diplomatic defences, of political unity on our side, of economic strength, of moral purpose. These things are becoming more and more impor-

tant as developments occur, but while we seek them on our side the drive to extend Soviet influence by a wide variety of means still continues.

The emphasis now in tactics and perhaps in policy has been shifted, I think, since the new leadership came into power in Moscow, from the military to the economic and the political. How much this shift represents a change of heart and how much is a revision of thinking forced upon Moscow by the H-bomb and the strength and unity of NATO, I am not prepared to say. I think that the latter factor, our strength, may have been, if not the dominating, at least a very important consideration in any changes that have taken place.

But whatever the reason, the Soviet Union may now have decided to abandon for the time being at least the open and direct use of armed force for the extension of its influence lest this should lead to the outbreak of global and thermonuclear war. Yet while such a thermonuclear war is recognized by the Soviet Union, as it is by us, as a calamity of unthinkable proportions, nevertheless until such time as a condition of greater mutual trust has been established between the two worlds, any weakening in the defence capabilities of the free democracies might provide a serious temptation to the Soviet Union to revert to the use of armed force for the pursuit of policy. They certainly have the capacity for this. Their tactics may have changed but their military strength has been maintained. Indeed, their industrial strength has been greatly increased and that industrial and economic strength is now becoming an important agent of their foreign policy. The armed strength of the Soviet Union, which is now in process of being revamped and modernized, is a central fact which I suggest we cannot and must not ignore, especially when we consider our own defence plans and defence policies.

Mr. Khrushchev, speaking at the recent 20th party congress in Moscow, said:

We must resolve to take all measures necessary to strengthen further the defence potential of our socialist state.

It is well to remember this when we read of Soviet proposals to demobilize soldiers and when we receive appeals to take it easy and to throw away our arms because the danger has now disappeared. This strengthening, moreover, applies not merely to the Soviet state itself but to what the Soviet leaders call—and they never seem to weary of referring to it—the international camp of socialism, something which, of course, is quite peaceful and respectable although our own coalitions are always referred to by them as aggressive military blocs.

Must Remain on Guard

Therefore I think that all Members will agree with me that we in the Western world must remain on guard. But while all this is true, and it certainly is true, I think it is also true that since the death of Stalin the Soviet Government and the Soviet regime have begun to eliminate some of the more objectionable features of both their foreign and domestic policies. There have been relaxations at home, and as a result I believe that certain internal pressures may be developing in Russia which could have a restraining influence on the activities of the Soviet leaders. These Russian leaders may have started a train of events which, under normal conditions, should be welcome to the bulk of their population with whom the dynamism of revolution has probably run down. That process may become increasingly difficult to reverse at home if it is permitted to gain momentum there, but it is certainly not likely to lead, as

we sometimes hopefully think, to parliamentary democracy or to any kind of democracy as we understand it because that is impossible in a communist state and Russia under its new leaders remains determinedly communist.

Also it is too soon to say, I think, that irresistible forces of freedom have been set in motion and that this means a great triumph for the Western world. Indeed, these relaxations and their results, both at home and among their satellite communities, may frighten the new rulers who may try to reverse the trend, and out of this effort a new Stalin, Khrushchev or somebody else may arise as the old Stalin arose out of the ruins of the new economic policy in the twenties. This accession of one man to power is consistent both with the Slav tradition of autocratic rule and the communist doctrine of what they call democratic centralism.

So we would be wise, I think, to welcome and exploit any changes that seem for the better in both domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union without exaggerating their extent or being bedazzled or deceived by them. At the same time, we must not be too tightly bound by the analysis which we made of Soviet policy under the Stalin regime, nor must we leave the initiative in the present period always to the new Soviet leaders, and they are very adept, indeed, in taking advantage of the initiative.

But one thing we can be sure of, that any changes of this character, and there certainly have been some, are not the result of weakness or lack of confidence of the new rulers in the future of the Soviet system. They are certainly as fanatical on that score as ever Stalin or his contemporaries were. Let us not be deceived by the illusion—I think we are in the process of tearing it away—that the Soviets are a backward people, 150 million feudal, downtrodden peasants in an oxcart civilization because, as we know, nothing could be further from the truth. We are beginning to appreciate that fact as more of us visit the Soviet Union. It is true that in that country individuals have not the luxuries which we consider to be necessities nor often even the necessities which we take as a matter of course. But the regime there has converted the poverty of the people into the power of the state. On individual deprivation they have built great national strength and great national confidence and pride. Two United States commentators are not always too encouraging in their prognosis of what is going to happen. The Alsop brothers have warned us that we had better drop the favourite Western parlour game of searching for imaginary Soviet weakness. In an article which one of them wrote a few weeks ago he had this to say:

... it is one of history's little jokes that this demonstration of the Soviet society's superior efficiency, on its terms,—

That is the terms of centralized, autocratic, communist power and control.

—should come at a moment when the Western societies are also demonstrating their superior efficiency on their terms, in the form of Britain's all-embracing welfare society and America's gorged plenty. But history does not suggest, alas, that great power contests can be won by free false teeth or even by platoons of air-conditioned Cadillacs.

Essentials of Stalinism Remain

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, this strength and power of the Soviet under its new leaders has not been affected, as I see it, by the de-Stalinization of the regime. In fact, while Stalin has been repudiated, the essentials of Stalinism

remain. We know what they are: one party-despotic government; control of every expression of free thought and free action by that government; induced fear and hostility to every form of non-communist rule, especially through education; subordination of the individual to the ruling communist group; unqualified belief in the ultimate overthrow of free democracy by communism; and refusal of any form of political freedom to subject or satellite peoples who are incorporated into the Russian political system for power political purposes, except on the basis of complete acceptance of the rule of the communist junta in Moscow itself.

It may be of developing significance—I hope it is—that there have been signs of change in this latter situation in the satellite border states. But there is no sign of change in respect of the absorption of subject peoples like the Ukrainians and the Balts inside the communist centralized empire. While they and other subject peoples remain under the heel of Moscow, we certainly have the right to reject any protestations by the leaders in Moscow of their belief in self-government or the rights of peoples. Indeed, this Russian system is a new colonialism which is far more terrible, far more reactionary and far more widespread than was any form of colonial rule in history. Moreover, it is practised by men who have managed to get too many other men to accept them as champions of national freedom against the old colonialism which is now fast disappearing. Their claims to such a role in twentieth century development of national freedom represent one of the greatest perversions in history.

Then finally, Stalinism meant the use of communist parties in non-communist states as agents of Moscow policies. These parties I think have been shaken by the overthrow of their great god Stalin; but they are recovering from this shock and they are now beginning to rally with traditional submission—as so often in the past—to the new dictates from Moscow and to become its agents as before. Their attitude to this change that has taken place will be a conclusive test whether they have any claims to national allegiance or national status at all or whether they are merely, as they were formerly, the tools of Moscow for any purpose that Moscow may decide to follow.

Hence a question which has exercised us in the past is, I think, exercising us even more at the present time. The question to which I refer is this. Have the Moscow communist leaders abandoned the cult not only of personality, as they claim, but the cult of international revolution, of the violent overthrow of our system? They, of course, insist that there is no such cult, no such design, or no such danger. Khrushchev, Shepilov and the others, it is true, have admitted—indeed they have insisted—that the capitalist and the socialist-communist systems cannot be reconciled, that one or the other must go; and they are confident that it will not be the communist system that will go. But, they add, this can be done peacefully. As Mr. Khrushchev put it in the twentieth party congress in Moscow, and his words were repeated by other Soviet leaders on that occasion:

There is nothing more absurd than the fiction that people are forced to take the path of communism under pressure from without. We are confident that the ideas of communism will triumph and no "iron curtains" or barriers erected by the bourgeois reactionaries can halt their spread to more and more millions.

That is the fairy tale, namely that these things develop from within, peacefully and without force. The fact is, as we all know, that no single country in history

has become communist by the declared will of its people. In every case force was used and force was decisive. Mr. Khrushchev really let the cat out of the bag last February when he wrote—and some of his colleagues repeated it at the last party congress—as follows:

Of course, in those countries where capitalism is still strong, where it has in its hands an enormous military-police apparatus, there the serious opposition of the reactionary forces is inevitable. There the transition to socialism will take place in conditions of sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

What this means, in plain English, is that communism will use force when it considers it necessary to do so, and if it can, in order to destroy parliamentary democracy and establish the dictatorship of the communist party. In effect, the new position in Moscow is exactly the same as it was when Stalin, some years ago, said that the communist parties would be quite happy to achieve power by parliamentary means, by peaceful means, but that they would use force if they had to and in any event they would achieve power peacefully for the same purposes as if they had achieved it by force.

A question arising out of this which concerns us in this country and in other countries, is this. Does this mean that Moscow is still willing and anxious to assist any and every foreign communist party in its revolutionary plans, in its determination to overthrow free parliamentary government? That, Mr. Chairman, seems to me to be a vital question, the test of Soviet sincerity. It is for them to demonstrate that they are not concerned now with international revolution. I do not expect—nor can any of us—that these people in Moscow and elsewhere should abandon their revolutionary slogans. That probably would be too much to hope for. But we can expect, and indeed we can insist as a test of good faith, that they show that in fact they are keeping out of our domestic affairs. We have no assurance on this score in this country or in other countries. Nor have we any reason to believe, changing to another aspect of Soviet policy, that they have abandoned or weakened in any respect what has been for some years now the primary objective of Soviet policy, the weakening and destruction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO is still a major target for Soviet attack; that is still the greatest tribute to its value and strength. It certainly should counsel us to preserve that strength.

Reassessment in NATO

So far as the military side of this question is concerned it may well be, as has been indicated, that new developments both political and strategic may make a reassessment of NATO's plans and NATO's defence policies desirable. It may even make desirable some reassessment of plans and strategy to meet new circumstances. But that, I suggest, must not imply any weakening of NATO's deterrent and defensive forces.

Moreover, Mr. Chairman, I think it is important, indeed I think it is essential, that this reassessment and any changes which may result from it should be made inside the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and should be the result of collective discussion and collective agreement. Unilateral decisions, without such discussion or agreement, would weaken and indeed might even destroy NATO. We must then work together as members of this coalition if unity and strength are to be preserved. That is the very essence of the NATO concept, and without it NATO is not likely to last very long. Yet, this kind of close and

continuous co-operation may be more difficult now in NATO than it has been, now that the fear of direct all-out military aggression against Western Europe seems to have lessened. That is one of the dangers confronting us. It is also, Mr. Chairman, the reason why the non-military aspects of co-operation are becoming more and more important. Indeed that form of co-operation, and we are beginning, I think, to recognize this more and more, is an important aspect of collective defence in the new situation.

I hope that the Committee of Three which has been set up by NATO will be able to make some recommendations in this field which will strengthen this side of NATO. This Committee hopes to be able to finish its work and make its report some time in October

The United Nations—Disarmament

But while, Mr. Chairman—this will be the last matter that I will be discussing in my general statement—NATO is important and is essential to our security and the development of the Atlantic community, *the United Nations, with all its disappointments and its weaknesses as well as with all its accomplishments and its strengths, remains the basis of our general international policy.* One of the most important things to be discussed through the United Nations now is, of course, disarmament. As members of the committee know, the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Committee on Disarmament, of which Canada has for some years now been a member, met in London last Spring and the Western side did produce proposals at that meeting which provided for the limitation and reduction of armaments by stages under control in each stage. It is also true that at that time it was proposed on our side that at the beginning of the second stage there should be a limitation on nuclear tests, a matter which is of very great and understandable interest to all of us, a limitation of nuclear tests supervised by a special branch of the international control organ.

At the meeting comprehensive agreement was not possible, and therefore an effort was made to bring about a more limited agreement as the first stage to making a more comprehensive agreement. The more limited agreement would have dealt primarily with conventional forces, but there was also a provision dealing with nuclear tests. But agreement on that was also not possible. Therefore, the Sub-Committee reported in July to the full Committee in New York and its report, one must admit, was one of progress only in a strictly academic and possibly parliamentary sense. In July the full Committee met and at this meeting, at which Canada was represented by my colleague the Minister of National Health and Welfare, the four Western members of the Sub-Committee introduced a resolution reaffirming the six basic principles which they accepted for a disarmament convention. I think it is important, in view of the interest in this matter, that these six basic principles be put on the record. I believe they have been found acceptable by a great many other countries.

They are:

1. A disarmament programme should proceed by stages. Progress from one stage to another must depend upon the satisfactory execution of the preceding stage and upon the development of confidence through the settlement of major political problems.

2. The programme should begin, under effective international control, with significant reductions in armed forces to such levels as are feasible. There should be corresponding reductions in conventional armaments and in military expenditures. Further reductions would be carried out as world conditions improved.

3. The programme should provide that, at an appropriate stage and under proper safeguards, the build-up of stockpiles of nuclear weapons would be stopped and all future production of nuclear material would be devoted to peaceful uses. There would also be a limitation, before that took place, of nuclear tests.

4. The programme should provide for a strong control organization with inspection rights, including aerial reconnaissance, operating from the outset and developing in parallel with the disarmament measure.

5. Preliminary demonstrations of inspection methods on a limited scale would help to develop an effective control system and could bring nearer a general agreement on a disarmament programme.

6. Finally, there should be provision made for the suspension of the programme in whole or in part, if a major state failed to carry out its obligation or if a threat of peace under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should occur.

Well that, Mr. Chairman, is the position taken by the West at the recent meeting. I emphasize that in that position, which we have supported, even a partial agreement must contain some nuclear components. The representative of the United Kingdom at this Committee in New York went even farther, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom repeated in essence, the other day in the House of Commons, what Mr. Nutting said on this point in New York. Mr. Nutting said:

If limitation of nuclear test explosions is not possible under a disarmament agreement, we are prepared to try other methods, without delay, and without waiting for agreement on a comprehensive disarmament programme.

This means that while the abolition of tests would be part of a broader agreement; the limitation of tests could begin independent of the achievement of any such broader agreement. I can say, Mr. Chairman, that we warmly support that position taken by the United Kingdom. We feel that it is of the most vital importance to press ahead both with arms limitations and with political settlements wherever there is any hope of reaching such a settlement with the other side. To adopt any other policy would be to accept the proposition that security rests, and must continue to rest, merely on the fear of common annihilation. That policy—some people call it realism, but I think it is realism based on despair—is not a policy which I am sure will commend itself to the members of this committee, or indeed to the people of Canada. A substitute for that policy, which may be essential at the present time for the avoidance of war, something which is even more permanent and in the long run more satisfactory, would be a policy of mutual agreement, mutual trust and mutual co-operation. I hope that in the effort to reach that objective the Canadian Government will play a good part, and I am quite sure that if it succeeds in playing such a part it will have the support not only of all Members of this House but of the people of Canada.

To Regulate Lake Ontario Levels

The International Joint Commission, at its meeting in Montreal on July 2, issued a Supplementary Order to the Order it issued on October 29, 1952, approving the construction, operation, and maintenance of hydro-electric power works in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. In its 1952 Order of Approval, the Commission anticipated the need to develop the method of regulation of the flow of the St. Lawrence River in the light of further information to be obtained, and specifically retained jurisdiction to make such further order or orders as might prove to be necessary.

In the interval between the approval of the St. Lawrence River Power project in October of 1952 and the issuance of the Supplementary Order, the Commission conducted extensive investigations and studies, through its International Lake Ontario Board of Engineers, and held public hearings in both the United States and Canada, under the Reference from the two Governments, dated June 25, 1952, regarding the levels of Lake Ontario. As a result of these investigations, the Commission made recommendations to the Governments of Canada and the United States which were designed to protect interests of navigation and property both upstream and downstream, and within these limits to give substantial benefits to power. These recommendations were accepted by both Governments, and the July 2 Supplementary Order gives effect thereto.

The Supplementary Order provides that the levels of Lake Ontario will be regulated within a range of mean monthly elevations from 244 feet in the navigation season to 248 feet, as nearly as may be; prescribes detailed criteria for the regulation of the discharge of water from Lake Ontario and the flow of water through the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River; and prescribes a Plan of Regulation as the basis for calculating critical water profiles and designing the channel excavations in the river.

The Commission's studies looking to the perfection of a plan of regulation which will take advantage of progressive channel developments will proceed under the direction of the Commission's International St. Lawrence River Board of Control.

**APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS
IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE
DURING THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1956**

- Mr. E. H. Norman appointed Ambassador of Canada to Egypt. Proceeded to Cairo, August 16, 1956.
- Mr. F. Hudd, CBE., retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service (London), effective August 6, 1956.
- Mr. R. W. A. Dunn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective August 12, 1956.
- Mr. V. C. Moore posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective August 13, 1956.
- Mr. D. W. Fulford posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective August 17, 1956.
- Mr. T. M. du M. Pope posted from the School of Oriental Studies, London, to Ottawa, effective July 10, 1956. Proceeded to Hong Kong University, effective August 17, 1956.
- Mr. J. P. Erichsen-Brown posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective August 21, 1956.
- Mr. d'I. J. H. G. Fortier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective August 24, 1956.
- Mr. P. A. Howard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 28, 1956.
- Mr. A. D. Small posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective August 31, 1956.
- Mr. A. C. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective August 31, 1956.
- Mr. K. A. McVey, Mr. M. F. Yalden, Mr. R. W. Clark, and Mr. J. L. McAvoy appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers 1, effective August 20, 1956.
- Mr. F. G. Hooton posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 26, 1956.

■
**TREATY INFORMATION
Current Action**

Bilateral

India

Agreement respecting the reciprocal protection on a priority basis of patents of invention.
Signed at Ottawa August 30, 1956.

United Kingdom

Exchange of Notes extending the agreement of June 5, 1946 for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income to Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar.

Signed at Ottawa August 2, 1956.

United States of America

Convention further modifying and supplementing the convention and accompanying protocol of March 4, 1942 for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes as modified by the supplementary convention of June 12, 1950

Signed at Ottawa August 8, 1956.

Multilateral

Protocol to the international convention for the northwest Atlantic fisheries.

Signed at Washington February 8, 1949.
Opened for signature June 25, 1956.
Signed by Canada June 26, 1956.

Protocol to amend the convention for the unification of certain rules relating to International carriage by air.

Signed at Warsaw October 12, 1929.
Opened for signature September 28, 1955.
Signed by Canada August 16, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

a) Printed Documents:

United Nations. Annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization, 16 June 1955 - 15 June 1956. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh session, Supplement No. 1. A/3137. 118 p.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Report to the Economic and Social Council on the 11th session of the Commission held in Geneva from 23 April to 18 May 1956. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second session, Agenda item 13(a). E/2891; E/CN.7/315. 110 p. and annexes.

Economic Survey of Latin America, 1955. E/CN.12/421/Rev.1. May 1956. 176 p. Sales No.: 1956.II.G.1.

World Population Conference. Proceedings, 1954. Papers: Volume I (Meetings 2, 4, 6, and 8). Rome, 31 August - 10 Sept. 1954. E/CONF.13/413. 1040 p. (Eng.-French-Spanish). Sales No.: 1955.XIII.8 (Vol. I).

Economic Commission for Europe. Convention on the contract for the international carriage of goods by road (C M R) and protocol of signature done at Geneva on 19 May 1956. 23 p.

Bibliography of industrialization in under-developed countries. April 9, 1956. ST/

ECA/37; ST/LIB/SER.B/6. 216 p. Sales No.: 1956.II.B.2.

United Nations visiting mission to the trust territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955. Report of Togoland under French administration. T/1238. April 1956. Trusteeship Council official records: 17th session, Supplement No. 2. 44 p.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Sixth protocol of supplementary concessions to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Geneva, 23 May 1956. 541 p.

International Labour Organization. Sixth conference of American states members of the International Labour Organization, Havana, September 1956. Report of the Director-General. Geneva, 1956. 99 p.

b) Mimeographed Documents:

Financing of Economic Development. The international flow of private capital, 1953-1955. Report by the Secretary-General. E/2901. June 21, 1956. 78 p. and Annex.

Report of the Trusteeship Council to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands covering the period from 23 July 1955 to 14 August 1956. S/3636. August 15, 1956. 97 p.

* Printed documents may be produced from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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Agreement on the Saar

AN agreement of historic significance was reached last June 5 in Luxembourg, when M. Guy Mollet, Prime Minister of France, and Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, succeeded in reconciling the divergent views of their Governments over the future of the Saar. The decisions of the two Ministers were confirmed in a more detailed and final form when they met in Bonn on September 30, 1956. This agreement is of particular importance from the point of view of Western European and Atlantic solidarity, as it resolves in a manner satisfactory to both parties the major source of irritation in recent years between France and Germany.

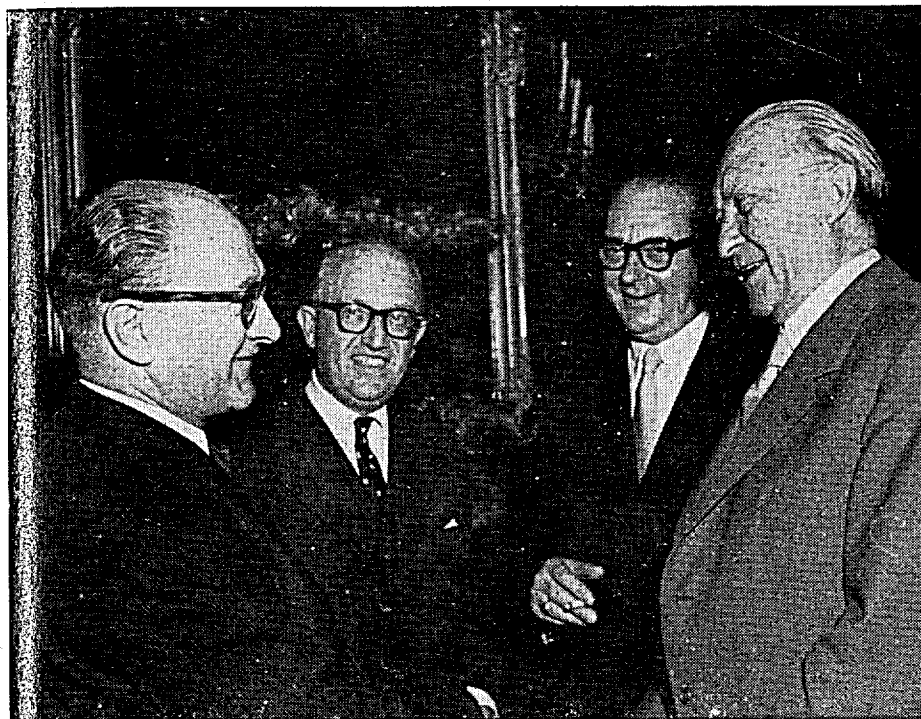
Importance of the Saar

The Saar is a border territory between France and Germany of about 1,000 square miles, whose population, largely German in race, is just under the million mark. The Saar is one of the world's richest coal and steel producing centres; it lies in the great coal basin of which the Ruhr is a part, and adjacent to the iron fields of Lorraine, on the ores of which the Saar steel industry naturally depends. The coal and steel production of the Saar, though considerably below that of France and Germany, is sufficiently large to constitute an important factor in the economic relationship between those two countries.

At the end of the First World War, as stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles, Germany ceded the Saar coal mines to France as war reparation, and the territory was placed under the government of an international commission responsible to the League of Nations. After fifteen years, a plebiscite was held on January 13, 1935, and it resulted—to a considerable extent owing to Nazi pressure on voters—in a 90 per cent vote in favour of reunion with Germany. This took place, accordingly, six weeks later, and the Saar subsequently proved to be a most valuable asset in the build-up of the Nazi war machine.

The Saar After the War

At the time of the unconditional surrender of Hitler's regime in the spring of 1945, it soon became apparent that France would ask for proof of Germany's willingness to guarantee the security of her neighbours and make amends for the damage she had caused during the War. France held the view that this proof should take the form of special arrangements for an economic union of the Saar with France. She considered that if the Saar coal and steel production was included in total French production, not only the economic disparity in basic industry between France and Germany would be much lessened, but Germany would also be deprived of war potential. This claim was fully supported by the Western Allies. As a result, and under the terms of the Inter-Allied Agreements of 5 June, 1945, the Saar was included within the French zone of occupation in Germany; and France immediately saw to it that a political and economic status different from that of the rest of her zone of occupation was applied to the Saar.



—United Press Photo

AGREE ON THE SAAR

Leaders of France and Germany chat following their agreement June 5 at Luxembourg on settlement of the Saar problem. Left to right are Mr. Guy Mollet, Premier of France; Mr. Walter Hallstein, German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Heinrich Von Brentano, German Foreign Minister; and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

As the area of the Saar had been heavily damaged during the war, the population welcomed, at least as a temporary solution, the French plan for the economic union of the Saar with France, combined with regional autonomy for the Saar. To the Saarlanders, the proposal meant, among other benefits, profitable economic relations with Lorraine again, no refugee problem, and no post-war dismantling by the Allies, as in the rest of Germany.

Following the formation in the summer of 1945 of an Administrative Commission of the Saar under the French Military Government, the latter authorized in March 1946 the reconstitution of three local political parties, the Christian Democrats (CVP), the Social Democrats (SPS), and the Communists (KPS). Representatives of the Christian and Social Democrats, with a few Communists, were chosen in elections held in September 1946 and in October 1947 as members of the Municipal Councils and of a newly-created Saar Diet. A Saar Government responsible for the whole administration of the territory was then formed and the Diet approved in December 1947, by an overwhelming majority, a Saar constitution which, pending the final German peace treaty, provided for the political autonomy of the Saar under France's protection and for its economic union with France. On January 10, 1948, a French High Commissioner took over the authority previously exercised by the French Military Government; his functions were to be reduced in January 1952 to those of a diplomatic representative.

Jointly with these political developments, the franc was introduced as the monetary unit of the Saar in November 1947 replacing the Saarmark, a provisional currency created in 1945, and a customs union with France was definitely established as of April 1, 1948. In March 1950 French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman and the Saar Prime Minister, Dr. Johannes Hoffmann, signed a series of inter-Governmental Conventions sanctioning formally the previous political and economic arrangements and granting France a 50-year lease on the Saar coal fields.

A Franco-German Problem

From 1948 on, however, the Saar situation was rendered more delicate as a result of radical changes in the position of Germany both internationally and internally, and to a lesser extent of a number of developments inside the Saar itself. During these years, the Federal Republic of Germany was formed and restored by the Western Allies to a position of equal partnership in the community of free nations. The Federal Republic thus became a member of the European Coal and Steel Community and of the Council of Europe, and in May 1955, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the West European Union (WEU). Germany also made a most remarkable economic recovery and rapidly emerged to a position of importance in world affairs.

As a result of these developments it was only natural that Germany should take a growing interest in the political and economic situation of the Saar, which for so many years had been an integral part of her own national territory. It became apparent that some compromise solution would be necessary for the settlement of the Saar question. On several occasions the Federal Republic of Germany formally protested against the political and economic regime which was being established by the French in the Saar. It insisted that pending the peace treaty the Saar remained legally part of Germany, and that the Saar Nationality Law enacted in 1948 and creating a distinct Saar nationality was invalid. When Germany became a member of the European Coal and Steel Community, she demanded economic access to the Saar on equal terms with France. The French refused to jeopardize their customs and currency union with the Saar, but suggested that the Saar might be prepared for a special "European" status as European integration progressed.

The issue took on heightened importance with the proposal for a European Defence Community. The French, already unhappy over the prospect of German rearmament, were more determined than ever that the resources of the Saar should not fall into German hands. They made it clear that an agreement on the Saar which would safeguard French interests was a prerequisite to their consent to any German rearmament; and even after EDC was defeated, this condition stood as a necessary preliminary to Franco-German co-operation in defence, through NATO and WEU.

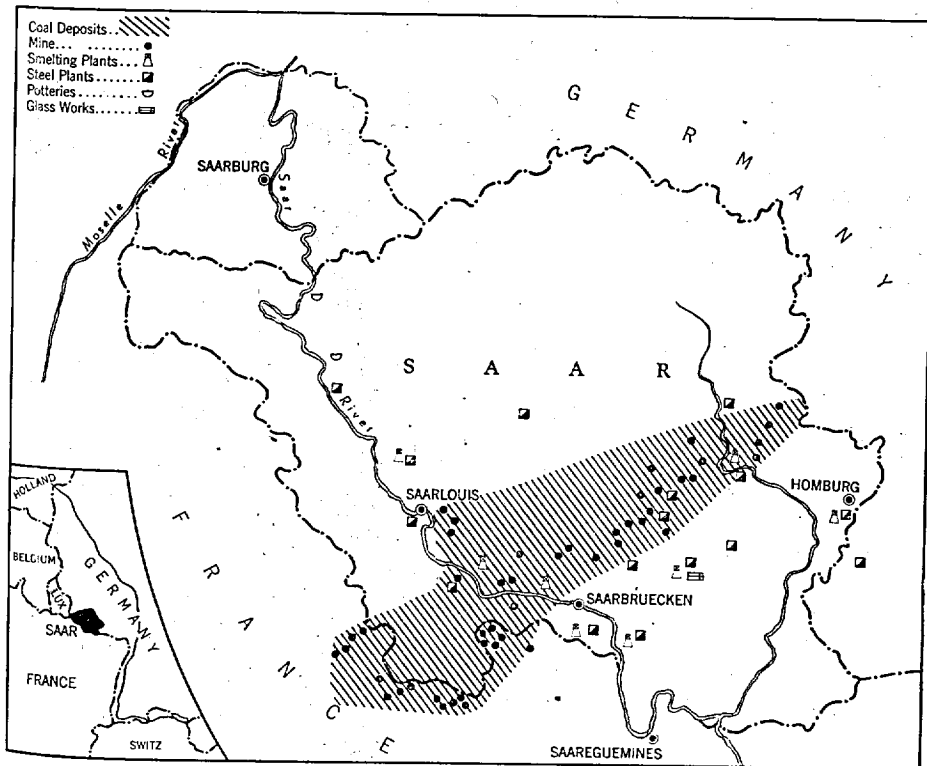
Proposal to Europeanize the Saar

After repeated and often abortive discussions M. Mendès-France and Chancellor Adenauer finally agreed, (as part of the Paris Agreements), in October 1954, on a statute by which, pending a German peace treaty, the Saar would continue to enjoy a semi-independent self-governing status under the ægis of the WEU Council of Ministers. This statute was to be presented

to the Saar electorate in a referendum to be supervised by a commission composed of representatives from the Benelux countries, Italy and the United Kingdom.

As for the Saarlanders themselves, they had generally supported the new regime since 1945, because of the economic benefits they derived from it. In the elections for the Saar Diet of 1952, in spite of strong nationalist appeals by leaders in West Germany, the supporters of autonomy and the French connection won by a substantial majority. From then on, however, the situation in the Saar began to change. With the German boom continuing, and with world conditions reasonably prosperous, the Saarlanders felt they had less reason to depend on France for their own living. Moreover, new forces then came to the fore. Until July 1954, no avowed anti-autonomy parties had been allowed. But the proposed statute stipulated free political activity before the plebiscite, though it barred outside interference. New parties emerged—the Saar Democratic Party and the German Social Democrats—which along with the Communists campaigned against the statute. Basically, their appeal was to an emotional German nationalism, and their campaign tactics tended to be rowdy. The readiness of these parties to brand their opponents, including Dr. Hoffman, the head of the Saar Government since 1947, as “bad Germans” had without doubt an effect, in spite of the fact that the Adenauer Government officially supported the Statute.

The Saar referendum was held on October 23, 1955, exactly one year after the original Franco-German agreement to Europeanize the Saar. It resulted in



a majority of over 65 per cent against the acceptance of the European Statute. Though the rejection of the Statute was a setback to the Franco-German policy of reconciliation, it was accepted calmly both in France and Germany. As a result, Dr. Hoffmann's Government resigned and an agreement was reached between the parties that new elections for the Saar Diet would be held on December 18, 1955. In these elections, the three pro-German parties, which had campaigned together as members of the Fatherland Union, polled 64 per cent of the votes cast and won 33 of 50 seats in the new Landtag.

The new Government formed under the direction of Dr. Hubert Ney as Prime Minister and of Dr. Heinrich Schneider as President of the Landtag immediately came out strongly in favour of the reunification of the Saar with Germany. They were, however, in no position to make a change in sovereignty. For one thing, the Saar Constitution could not be amended, as the pro-German representation in the new Saar Government was below the 75 per cent majority required for such amendment. Moreover, both the French and German Governments had recognized that the reunification of the Saar with Germany required the approval not only of the French Government but also of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, and that the economic regime in the Saar should remain unchanged until bilateral Franco-German negotiations following the elections would settle once for all the Saar's future.

Solution in Sight

Franco-German negotiations on the Saar opened in Paris on February 20, 1956, with a meeting of the two Foreign Ministers, and several sessions were held in the following three months. During these meetings, the French recognized that there was nothing they could do to prevent the ultimate attachment of the Saar to Germany, and the Germans recognized the French claim that on the basis of existing international agreements, any solution to the political problem should be linked with the need to safeguard French economic interests in the Saar. As a result, a number of points at issue were defined and discussed, and slowly but steadily a substantial body of agreement was reached by the two Governments; at all stages, the Saar authorities were kept informed of the progress of the negotiations.

In an all-out effort to settle the remaining difficulties, top French and German delegations headed by Prime Minister Mollet and Chancellor Adenauer, and including the French and German Foreign Ministers, met in Luxembourg last June 5. After some serious discussion marked on both sides by a sincere spirit of conciliation and of European solidarity, complete agreement was finally reached on all points concerning the future political and economic status of the Saar. The two Governments thus agreed that the Saar would be politically annexed to Germany on January 1, 1957, and economically integrated with Germany three years later, after a transition period allowing for a gradual wind-up of the existing economic and monetary union with France. In return, the French obtained German agreement to building—at a fixed shared cost—a canal connecting the Moselle and Rhine rivers, thus giving French steel producers cheaper access to Ruhr coke, which is now transported by rail. France will also get, during the next twenty years, 65 million tons of coal from the Warndt mines which are under Saar territory with pitheads in French

Lorraine, and Germany will sell France 24 million tons of coal from other sources at cost price.

Having resolved all the major issues involved in the dispute of the Saar territory, the Ministers were able to draw up the text of common directives to the experts of the two countries for the drafting of treaties on the economic and political future of the Saar. In a joint communiqué published after they met in Bonn on September 30, 1956, Chancellor Adenauer and Prime Minister Mollet announced that they approved the detailed terms of agreement prepared by the experts, and that the latter's work was practically completed. They also indicated that the Franco-German Agreement on the Saar will be signed in October, and submitted to both Parliaments, for formal ratification, before the end of the year. The two governments are now negotiating with the Government of Luxembourg to obtain the latter's agreement for the building of the Moselle River Canal, as Luxembourg borders on the Moselle. By finally reconciling the divergent views of the French and German Governments, the Franco-German agreement on the Saar can be considered a gratifying victory for Western European solidarity. As pointed out by Prime Minister Mollet and Chancellor Adenauer, this agreement constitutes an essential step in paving the way towards the implementation of the important proposals for Western European integration which are currently under discussion.



RECEIVES NATO JOURNALISTS

Prime Minister St. Laurent, centre, is seen with journalists from 11 North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries who called on him last month before beginning a three-week tour of Canada. Countries represented were Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

1956 NATO Journalists Tour of Canada

It has been the experience of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that perhaps the most effective of its information projects has been the series of journalists' tours in member countries. These tours have enabled publicists and others in NATO countries who are in a position to influence public opinion to see something of what their allies are contributing towards the combined defence of the NATO area and to learn more about their political institutions, economic development and way of life.

Last month a group of 17 leading journalists from 11 European countries spent three weeks in Canada on the third NATO "Maple Leaf" tour sponsored by the Department of External Affairs and the Department of National Defence in co-operation with other Government agencies and a number of private organizations. This year's Canadian tour was designed to give the journalists a better understanding of the particular role Canada is playing in the Atlantic Alliance and to enable them to see at first hand recent economic and industrial developments in the Canadian West and Northwest. The journalists were also given an opportunity to meet with Canadians at various points between Montreal and Victoria and to visit with families who recently emigrated from Europe to Canada.

A review of Canada's role in NATO was given the journalists in Vancouver at an interview with the Minister of Defence, Mr. R. O. Campney, and in Ottawa at briefings conducted by General C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, and by representatives of the three armed forces. As part of their study of Canadian defence, the journalists also visited service establishments at Gimli and Churchill in Manitoba, in Victoria, B.C., and in the Montreal area.

At the start of the tour the NATO party spent two days in Ottawa where they were received by Prime Minister St. Laurent and interviewed Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and Mr. Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The group also visited the Experimental Farm and the National Research Council.

After a stopover at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto and visits to the fruit belt in the Niagara Peninsula and to Niagara Falls, the journalists proceeded to Gimli, where they met airmen from their home countries who are receiving instructions under the NATO aircrew training programme.

On their way west, the journalists visited points of interest in Calgary and Banff. They then proceeded to Vancouver Island, where they inspected west coast military establishments and industrial plants and were given a demonstration of logging operations. In Vancouver, the journalists toured the Burrard Dry Dock and also visited in the homes of several families of postwar immigrants. On the return trip east the party spent two days in Edmonton, where they made a tour of the oil fields, refineries, and other industries in the area. After leaving Edmonton, the journalists visited the Giant Gold Mine at Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories and defence installations, including a rocket launching site, at Fort Churchill, Manitoba. The tour ended with a two-day stopover in Montreal, where the most important item on the programme was a tour of the St. Lawrence Seaway installations near the city.

Official Visit to Iceland

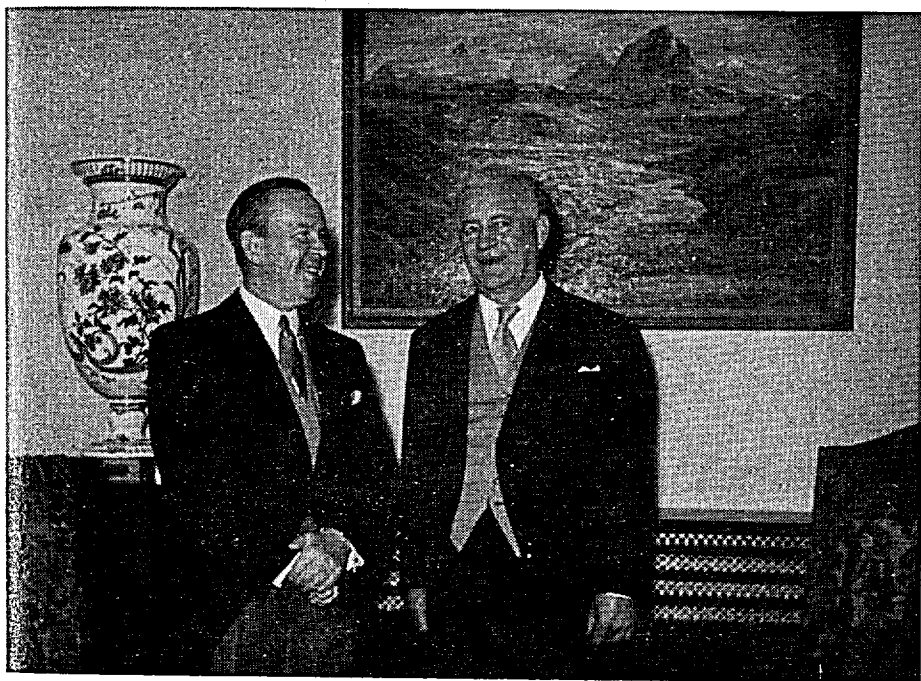
Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, was a guest of the Government of Iceland September 24-27. It was the first official visit to Iceland of a foreign minister of a member country of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since its establishment in 1949.

Iceland and Canada are closely linked by virtue of the number of Icelanders who have migrated to Canada and of the part played by Icelanders in the development of this country. Winnipeg is, indeed, the second Icelandic city in the world and Icelandic Canadians have played a prominent role in many branches of our national life. As members of the United Nations and of NATO, Canada and Iceland have both affirmed their faith in the same principles and their desire to live in peace with all people and all governments; by the same token, both countries have agreed to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area, and to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the right of law.

It was therefore among close friends that Mr. Pearson landed at Reykjavik on September 24. Heading the reception committee was the interim Foreign Minister of Iceland, Mr. Emil Jonsson. Mr. Chester Ronning, the Canadian Minister to Iceland, and several members of the diplomatic corps at Reykjavik, including its dean, Mr. Anderssen-Rysst, the Norwegian Ambassador, were also present. The Icelandic Government kindly placed at the disposal of the Canadian Foreign Minister and Mrs. Pearson the official Government guest house, where the Icelandic and Canadian flags were displayed side by side throughout the visit.

The excellent arrangements made by the Icelandic authorities enabled Mr. Pearson to have full discussions with political leaders and other leading personalities of Iceland, as well as to visit a number of districts on the island. Mr. and Mrs. Pearson were particularly touched by the kind reception given in their honour by the President of the Republic of Iceland and Mrs. Asgeir Asgeirsson, who were also hosts at a formal dinner at the President's official residence at Bessastadir, a few miles outside Reykjavik. The residence is a charming home of traditional Scandinavian style, built on the shores of one of those peaceful, mirror-like lakes so characteristic of the Icelandic scene. Beside it stands an historic chapel, which proudly displays some of the most impressive stained glass windows ever made by a Scandinavian artist. The setting truly reflects the well-known characteristics of the Icelanders—a peaceful, sturdy and industrious people. It is of interest to note that three former Prime Ministers of Iceland attended the President's dinner and that Mr. Asgeirsson is also a former Prime Minister.

A place of particular historic interest visited by the Canadian Minister and his party was Thingvellir, the scene, a thousand years ago, of the first real parliament in action. Thingvellir, which is some twenty-five miles from Reykjavik, now consists of only two or three farms, with the traditional Icelandic chapel



VISIT TO ICELAND

The President of the Republic of Iceland, Mr. Asgeir Asgeirsson, right, is seen with the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in Reykjavik, the Icelandic capital. Mr. Pearson paid an official visit to Iceland on September 24, 25 and 26.

nearby. It is surrounded by hills and crevices formed of cold lava, vestiges of what was once a highly volcanic area. Here may be seen the stony ruins of what was the central meeting place of all the communities which made up the Icelandic nation. Once a year, according to the sagas, every tribe in Iceland and practically everyone in these tribes assembled at Thingvellir, regardless of the distance which had to be travelled. The elders of the tribe elected a speaker, who became the depository of all the laws of the land, and who saw to it that everyone with the right to speak could do so freely, and that the discussion was orderly. The speaker was also in many ways the supreme arbiter of the land, responsible for ensuring that decisions of the majority were respected. The sagas also tell of other parliamentary practices followed in Thingvellir, underlining how at this very early date the principles of our modern parliamentary system were in fact evolved by these people. The Icelanders are very proud, and justly so, that what is considered the first experiment in parliamentary government took place on their island.

The ministerial party was also greatly interested in the methods used by the Icelanders to exploit the geysers which dot the Icelandic countryside. By means of insulated pipelines and special power stations, practically the whole city of Reykjavik is now heated by water from these sources. This has proved of great benefit for the Icelandic economy, eliminating the need to import considerable quantities of coal and fuel which the Icelanders cannot obtain at home.

The informal talks with Iceland's political leaders were most useful and enabled Mr. Pearson and the members of the Canadian party to gather information which will make for a still better understanding in Canada of Iceland's problems and of the aspirations of its people. Government officials expressed confidence that Iceland could, with proper development, easily take care of a population double its present size, which is now more than 150,000. The people of Iceland are anxious to develop the resources available on the island, and hope in particular to be able in the near future to expand their hydro-electric facilities, to modernize and improve their agriculture, to build a fertilizer plant, and to initiate a vast reforestation scheme. (There are now very few trees left in Iceland; although ancient documents show that at one time the country was covered by extensive forests.) The country is enjoying reasonable prosperity and, in general, the Canadian party found the Icelanders confident of its future.

Icelanders are avid readers, with one of the highest rates of literacy in the world; few countries of its size can boast as long or brilliant a literary tradition, dating from the mediaeval sagas. In 1955, the great Icelandic epic writer Halldor Kiljan Laxnes was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature for his sweeping tales of the drama and poetry in the everyday life of the 150,000 Icelanders. It is of interest to note that there are four morning daily newspapers published in Reykjavik, a city with a population of 50,000.

Mr. Pearson concluded his visit to Iceland by holding a press conference at which all the Icelandic newspapers were represented. The journalists displayed great interest in the activities of NATO and in Canadian attitudes towards it and the United Nations. In reply to questions, Mr. Pearson said that Canada believes very firmly in both organizations and that, so long as the United Nations is unable to guarantee collective security, NATO will remain of vital importance to the defence of its members. He added that he did not think there was any weakening in support for NATO by the Canadian people and parliament.

Mr. Pearson referred to the role which Icelanders have played in Canada in the following words: "The people from Iceland who have come to Canada have played a great part in our development so far. There are about 25,000 Icelandic Canadians, and of all the racial groups that have come to Canada—and I am not saying this merely to be flattering to Icelanders—none have contributed more in proportion to their numbers than Icelandic Canadians: in government, in education and in the arts and science."

A Chart For All the Oceans*

Part II

WHILE research and international co-operation are vitally important to conserve fish in certain areas, there are many countries where the most urgent need is to increase the catch and consumption of fish, and to do it quickly. Although it is estimated that total food production has more than regained the prewar level, it is still a fact that over half the people in the world live at or near the minimum subsistence level necessary to sustain life. They lack sufficient good protein in their diet to keep them strong and healthy. The situation is already serious and future prospects are still more threatening. It is estimated that, at the present rate of increase, the world's population will have doubled in fifty years' time. Every four years, that population is being increased by a number equal to the present population of the United States, every ten years by the equivalent of the population of Western Europe, and every fourteen years by a number equal to the population of China.

While the population is increasing rapidly in areas where people have the greatest need for a better diet, the greatest increase in food production is taking place in highly developed countries, which is not where it is most urgently needed. For example, nearly half the increase in agricultural production since 1938 has taken place in North America, which supports only seven per cent of the world's population. In South-East Asia and the Far East, an area which supports fifty per cent of the world's population, food production has remained almost stationary, while the population has risen probably by twenty-five per cent. In these circumstances, the need for more food is becoming extremely urgent. At present, only some ten per cent of the animal protein in the world's diet comes from the sea, while great numbers of people cannot afford to buy meat. Hence, a concerted effort is necessary to increase the consumption of fish in many countries, especially where the supply of meat is limited. Modern techniques, such as refrigeration, make it possible to preserve and distribute large quantities of fish which might otherwise be wasted, and it also enables fish to be transported for sale inland. This development makes possible a new source of protein to many people who live far from the sea. In supplying such markets, the fishing industry, too, will benefit. FAO has given much advice on refrigeration, transport and distribution of fish to various countries, including Turkey and Yugoslavia.

Popularizing Fish Products

An interesting example of FAO's work is to be found in Chile, a country where fish is beginning to play a more important part in the national diet. Although the sea coast of Chile extends for 2,600 miles and there are abundant supplies of fish and shellfish, inadequate marketing facilities have limited distribution and sale. As a result, little of the catch has reached country districts where, because of low incomes, the people have insufficient protein foods. In

*Reprinted from *United Nations Review*. Part I of this reprint appeared in the September issue of *External Affairs*.

order to relieve this situation and to reduce costly imports of meat, the Government of Chile asked FAO for the help of a fishery biologist to appraise resources and for a fishery economist to promote fish marketing improvement. The latter launched intensive sales campaigns, talks and demonstrations, organized a program in over 4,000 schools for teaching children about fish and promoted pilot projects in selected centres to popularize cheap fish products.

This assignment provided an excellent example of effective government support for international technical assistance. The Chilean Government set up a co-ordinating office to organize the work of eight ministries concerned and provided it with a budget of five million Chilean pesos. In 1953, an experimental campaign was carried out in the province of Santiago, during which supplies of fish were made available at low prices, while an educational campaign was carried on with the enthusiastic co-operation of government services, press, radio, cinemas, schools, municipal authorities, voluntary organizations, trade unions, military units and hospitals. During August-October 1953, the largest district in Santiago showed an increase of forty-five per cent in the consumption of hake over the same period a year earlier. The fisheries campaign included provisions for the welfare of fishermen. One fishermen's co-operative was established south of Valparaiso and the Government plans to establish fishermen's co-operatives in other centres. As a result of the campaign, the possibilities for an important increase in protein consumption have been demonstrated, a new source of food at reasonable prices has been recognized by large sections of the population and the fishing community will benefit by increased sales. Similar methods have been employed with success in Yugoslavia and Mexico.

CANADIAN FISHERIES PROJECT IN CEYLON

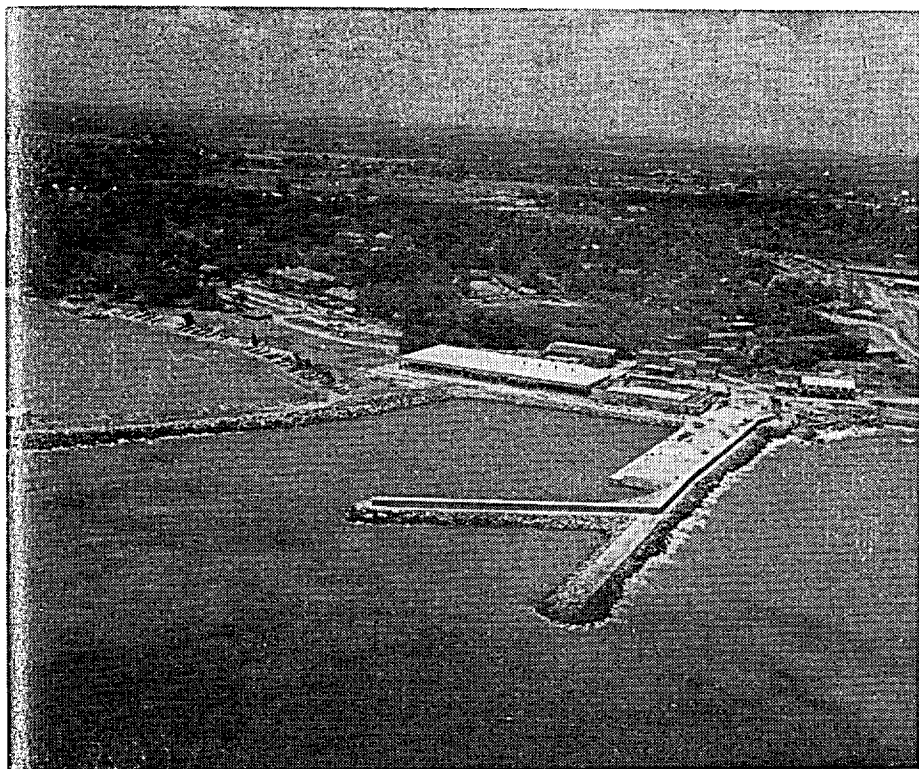
The Canadian fishing project in Ceylon provides tangible evidence of the important role played by Canada in the practical application of Colombo Plan aid to Asian countries. Purpose of the project is to determine fish population potentials in the coastal waters of Ceylon and the most efficient method of harvesting the tropical seas, to demonstrate the effectiveness of a moderate degree of mechanization in fishing, and to assist in the modernization of the fish handling and distribution methods in Ceylon.

Canada's total aid for the pilot fisheries project, for which \$1,000,000 was made available in 1952-53, has been extended to the value of \$1,407,000. This is to provide for the construction of a cold storage plant, fish reduction and ancillary pilot plants, and related fishing equipment. To help meet local costs of the fisheries harbour in Mutwal, Colombo, Canada has agreed to supply flour to the extent of \$600,000 for which a rupee counterpart

fund equivalent to the Canadian cost will be established. Canada is also supplying laboratory, machine shop, and fishing equipment, including marine diesel engines, a mechanical fish drier, and a pilot fish cannery.

Part of the Canadian aid has taken the form of a deep sea trawler, equipped with a refrigerated fish hold, which has made a valuable contribution to the Island's fish supply. Canadian aid has also provided for the supply of a 500-ton cold storage building for holding fish, and for two multi-purpose fishing vessels complete with gear.

The cold storage plant, the new fishery harbour at Mutwal, a by-product factory, and other ancillary units are nearing completion, and the inland fisheries are being developed. A Canadian consultant on Fishermen's Co-operatives has completed and reported on a survey of the fishing villages in relation to co-operative development.



Fisheries Harbour at Mutwal, Ceylon.

FAO has also helped fishermen to improve fishing techniques and the design of boats, to mechanize vessels and to introduce modern gear. An example is the work of an FAO naval architect working in Bombay, Saurashtra, Madras, Andhra and West Bengal States in India, where he has helped in a mechanizing program and has designed and built a motor surfboat which may revolutionize fishing around the hundreds of miles of surfbound coasts of the area. At present, thousands of fishermen use log raft catamarans and these may be replaced—an immense task—by the new surfboat.

Other FAO fishery engineers have been busy in Ceylon, where there are some 60,000 fishermen. In 1951, the only mechanized commercial fishing vessels in the country were two trawlers and two motorboats but today there are many mechanized boats in operation as the result of an FAO fishery engineer's demonstrating the use of such craft. The fishermen soon found that they could go out more often and much further in search of fish and could be independent of the vagaries of the wind. Mechanization is now proceeding steadily in Ceylon, aided by arrangements made under the Colombo Plan for the fishermen to buy suitable engines on easy terms.

In 1953, FAO organized the world's first International Fishing Boat Congress, one session being held in Paris and a second in Miami. As a result of this Conference, a unique book, *Fishing Boats of the World*, with 600 illustrations, has been published under the editorship of FAO experts.

We have seen that various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies have a good deal to do with the sea and the ships that sail it. Sometimes, countries have sought advice on the building of ships themselves. When a request of this kind from Ecuador was received by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, it proved to be quite difficult to comply with. Ecuador wanted to use her rich timber resources for the construction of wooden fishing boats, but the tradition of wooden boatbuilding has died out in many countries. Finally in Yugoslavia the United Nations found a craftsman whose family had long been engaged in this work and who put his knowledge at the disposal of the country in distant Latin America.

In South-East Asia

UNESCO has also provided advice on shipbuilding problems. India received from that agency a carriage, consisting of an electrically driven car built in Europe, to complete the equipment required for the first tank ever to test models of ship designs in South-East Asia. UNESCO also provided India with the services of a Danish navigation engineer, to work on the tests side by side with Indian engineers, under the direction of one of the latter who completed his scientific studies in Sweden and the United States. The installation of this tank called for a very high degree of skill, since the rails upon which the carriage runs are one and a half millimetres higher at one end than the other, to allow for the fact that water inside the 500-foot tank follows the curvature of the earth.

This Danish engineer and a Swiss colleague, also sent by UNESCO, were asked to assist in work being carried on by Indian engineers to solve various harbor problems at Madras, Calcutta and elsewhere. Indian engineers constructed models of these harbors, in which tiny cyclones tossed ships at their moorings in Madras and miniature sandbars choked the entrance to Calcutta harbor, just as in real life. The solution to harbor problems at Mangalore seemed to be the dredging of a deep-water channel, so a model was set up at the Research Station to find out whether the tides would allow this new channel to stay open and so justify the expense.

Meanwhile, a different kind of work on harbors was being carried out at the request of the Indian Government by a Dutch expert, formerly a naval officer, whose services were made available by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. His task was to give training in modern surveying methods along the coast of the State of Bombay, which owes its prosperity to Bombay's first class harbor and to a number of smaller ports in need of modernization and expansion. As a result of his mission, harbor facilities were extended and coastal traffic increased, many of the plans being drawn on the basis of work done by him and his pupils. This expert's farewell to his engineers and surveyors emphasized the way in which their common task at sea had bound them together. "The moment has come to leave you," he said. "When the United Nations asks me 'Has your mission served a useful purpose?', I can reply wholeheartedly 'Yes, it has,' for I have trained two teams so that they can now continue the work independently. A high degree of team spirit has grown, for which I am full of praise. Many did not understand each other's languages but the co-operation was splendid. Also those belonging to different religions—Brahmins, Hindus, Jains, Moslems and Christians—found that this was no

obstacle to good understanding. Indeed, often, when I was in your midst, I had a feeling that we formed a kind of United Nations of our own”

Another United Nations expert has been helping the Arab Kingdom of Jordan to transform the small harbor of Aqaba on the Red Sea into one of the best equipped seaports in the Middle East. The enlargement and modernization of Aqaba is expected to have a profound effect on the economic situation of Jordan. Since the partition of Palestine, Jordan's exports have been sent over land through Syria and Lebanon to the Mediterranean at a heavy cost to the national economy. Jordan possesses mineral resources for which a ready market will exist when she can export them directly through Aqaba on economic terms. Working with the Aqaba Port Authority, the United Nations expert has had the satisfaction of seeing more and more ocean-going ships take advantage of the transformations which are being wrought in this Red Sea harbor.

Seaports and harbors cannot be improved without capital expenditure. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has made loans for port improvement to Belgium, Turkey and Thailand. One of the most interesting examples of a seaport improved with the help of the Bank is Callao, through which passes about one third of Peru's total foreign trade, including seventy per cent of her metal exports. Although the docks and warehouses of Callao were modern, the lack of modern equipment used to mean slow and wasteful methods of handling cargo. Because of undue delays experienced by ships in this port, the European, South Pacific and Magellan Conference in 1951 ordered a twenty-five per cent surcharge on all rates between European ports and Callao. A Bank loan made it possible to import new equipment. This has speeded up the turn-around time of ships, put an end to losses of grain from spillage and effected sizeable savings in foreign exchange by the elimination of waste and by removal of the shipping surcharge.

Ships and harbors inevitably bring one back to the men who sail and work in them. Several countries have sought help from the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration in building up an efficient merchant marine. Indonesia has certain transportation problems connected with the geography of the new Republic. Her 3,000 islands are scattered over a breadth of ocean about equal to the width of the Atlantic. A merchant marine is essential both for her internal trade and for transporting the produce of the archipelago about the world. Through the United Nations, Denmark undertook to train ten selected Indonesian cadets for future service as deck officers and engineers in the Indonesian merchant marine. These young cadets are living in Denmark for two and one half to three years and will undergo training both afloat and ashore. Denmark's long experience of the sea will help to give them a sound education for their future career. This is a case where, through the United Nations, the sea has formed a link between two countries which in the past have not been intimately associated with one another

If these young Indonesians seem likely to act as personal links in the future with the distant country where they were trained, this is only a special case of the international aspect of life at sea. Sailors are natural links between continents. Their day-to-day business takes them about the world. They compete directly with, and frequently meet, "foreign" shipping and "foreign" crews. A considerable part of their time and earnings is spent far away from their own

countries. Hence it is both more important and easier to establish international standards for their conditions of work.

Until comparatively recent years, unsatisfactory conditions were typical of the seafarer's calling and since its origin in 1919 the International Labor Organization, in seeking to promote social justice, has paid special attention to the conditions of sailors. In both world wars, victory for the forces of freedom would have been impossible without the courage and self-sacrifice of merchant seamen belonging to many lands. On each occasion, when peace came it was felt that the seamen were entitled to a special degree of consideration and, also on each occasion, ILO conferences on maritime matters were held as soon as possible after the conclusion of hostilities.

Out of a total of 103 Conventions and ninety-eight Recommendations adopted by the International Labor Conference up to 1955, no fewer than twenty-five Conventions and ten Recommendations deal with various aspects of the seafarer's life. These instruments are often referred to as the "International Seafarers Code" and they have exercised a profound influence throughout the world.

Typical subjects covered by the Code are minimum age limits for entry to the seafaring profession, employment contracts, officers' certificates of competency, shipowners' liability in cases of illness, accident or death, sickness insurance, hours of work and repatriation in case of discharge abroad through illness, injury or shipwreck.

Other Conventions deal, sometimes in considerable detail, with standards of accommodation for crews, food and catering, including proper certificates for ships' cooks, pensions, paid holidays and regular medical examination. Some



NET GAINS SOUGHT

Mr. A. W. Lantz, former Director, Canadian Fisheries Project, Ceylon, examines with a group of Ceylonese one of the large nets used in fishing operations off the Island coasts. Extensive Colombo Plan aid is being furnished by Canada with a view to increasing Ceylon's annual production of fish, which now meets only about 25 per cent of national requirements.

of the Recommendations, while imposing less formal obligations on Member States than do the Conventions, have exercised a marked effect on seafarers' conditions. One of these, adopted in 1936, concerns the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports and has served as a model for the extensive developments that have taken place in this field.

Ever since 1920, the ILO has interested itself in fishermen's conditions, although the relatively local character of some fishing operations has made it impossible to treat problems in the fishing industry on the same scale as other shipping matters. A Recommendation of 1920 concerned the limitation of fishermen's working hours. The Seattle Conference in 1946 called for governments to be consulted on the possibility of establishing international standards for fishermen similar in scope to the International Seafarers Code, but there is as yet no instrument covering the life of fishermen, as the Code does that of other seafarers.

When it comes to the health of seafarers, the International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization are both concerned in the measures to be taken and in 1949 they established a Joint Committee on the Hygiene of Seafarers. This Committee has discussed such questions as medical advice by radio to ships at sea, the contents of ships' medical chests and the prevention and cure of tuberculosis and venereal disease among seafarers.

Ships and their crews and passengers carry not only the benefits of international trade, but the fatal microbes of disease. This fact has played a considerable part in shaping the fortunes and destinies of people and the World Health Organization is constantly at work on the steps required to protect mankind against this menace. "I wish it were possible to translate into some currency or other material measure what the WHO epidemiological and quarantine services mean to the countries of the world," said Dr. H. S. Gear, Assistant Director-General of WHO. "If each country acted haphazardly in applying quarantine measures today, as they did in the past, the resultant losses due to the obstruction of aircraft and shipping, and the people and goods they carry, would undoubtedly reach huge figures. That this is not so is because the countries almost without exception have agreed to use the International Sanitary Regulations (WHO Regulations No. 2)."

When the anopheles mosquito was introduced from Madagascar to Mauritius, 32,000 people died during the resultant malaria epidemic. Brazil reported 300,000 cases of the disease when the mosquito traveled there by ship from West Africa. Whole regions may be invaded by animal diseases such as rabies in dogs, equine encephalitis, brucellosis in sheep and tuberculosis in cattle. All these are animal diseases which can be communicated to man. Rats are perhaps the best known disease carriers on ships and the so-called "deratisation" of ships' holds and of warehouses is an important part of the long battle against plague. Noxious insects are more difficult to detect—they may even travel in a bunch of flowers presented to a departing passenger.

Formerly, the progress of epidemics was announced through diplomatic channels and it was not uncommon for a ship transporting a contagious disease to pass on the infection to a new country before the latter had had news of the peril. The first efforts to reach international agreement on these matters go back to 1831 but it was 1907 before the International Office of Public Health

was founded in Paris. It later co-operated with the Health Section of the League of Nations, which set up a modern office in Singapore that still collects and broadcasts information regarding epidemics in Asia. Every day, from WHO Headquarters in Geneva, a world radio bulletin gives last-minute news to port authorities, ships at sea and aircraft in flight regarding the so-called "pestilential" diseases—cholera, yellow fever, plague, small pox and typhus. At times of epidemic or threatened epidemic, reports on illnesses such as influenza or polio are broadcast daily from Geneva. With this information on the pestilential diseases at their disposal, national health authorities can avoid delay in applying or relaxing the relevant quarantine regulations, for the lifting of irksome restrictions at the right moment is no less important than their swift application when necessary.

One of the achievements of WHO was the publication of the world's first epidemiological telegraphic code. This provides, in English or French, both for the necessary discretion and for economy in transmitting official messages about the progress of epidemics. It is a result of thirty years' experience, since the League of Nations broadcasts from Singapore started in 1925.

In a sense, the epidemiological code might be regarded as an extension of the International Code of Signals which has long given seafarers a common language enabling them to communicate in code, by radio or visually, between ships of many nations. Thanks to the epidemiological code and other measures with which WHO has been associated, the danger area of scourges like plague and typhus has been definitely circumscribed. The role played by ships in transmitting disease has steadily declined, as international co-operation in quarantine and the WHO radio bulletins reach across the seas to defeat the most insidious of man's enemies.

The Sea That Unites Us

The story of the sea in modern times has thus been one of increasing international co-operation. While the oceans are themselves a natural link between the scattered settlements of mankind, co-operation across the barriers of race and language is essential if full advantage is to be taken of that link. Slowly, under the relentless pressure of experience, man is learning that only by such co-operation can some of his greatest problems be solved. He is learning that he can grow to his full stature only if he himself does something for the common welfare and, with due humility, accepts the offering of others.

In this process, the influence of the sea on man's comings and goings, and even mental attitudes, will no doubt continue to play an important part. Perhaps, on a long view, its greatest gift to man will have been that it humbled him in his individual pride and so showed him one way to outgrow prejudice and limited thinking.

In more than one sense, the divided races of mankind meet across the great waters.

Atomic Energy Agreement

THE Governments of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have entered into an agreement interchanging rights in inventions and discoveries in the atomic energy field on which patents were held or applied for by one government in one or more of the other countries as of November 15, 1955.

The agreement was signed by representatives of the three governments in Washington, September 24. The Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Arnold D. P. Heeney, signed on behalf of Canada.

The purpose of the tripartite agreement is to allow internal use of the inventions in each country by government and industry without interference of the other governments. This is done by a "cross assignment" of rights, under which each government assigns to the others the rights, title and interests owned by it in the other countries. Each assigning government retains a non-exclusive, irrevocable, paid-up licence on each invention for its own purposes and for purposes of mutual defence.

The exchange gives full rights to each government in its own country and permits it to grant licences to industry in accordance with national policy. A non-discrimination clause in the agreement binds each government to grant licences to nationals of the other governments on the same terms accorded its own nationals.

The agreement is expected to be of particular benefit to the growing private atomic energy industries in each of the signatory countries by eliminating questions of patent infringement. Firms engaging in home manufacture will need licences only from their own governments and, in view of the agreement's anti-discrimination provision, firms of one country engaging in business in one or both of the other countries cannot be discriminated against by the governments of the other countries.

All inventions and discoveries which are the subject of government-owned patents or patent applications as of November 15, 1955, are affected. These are of two classes:

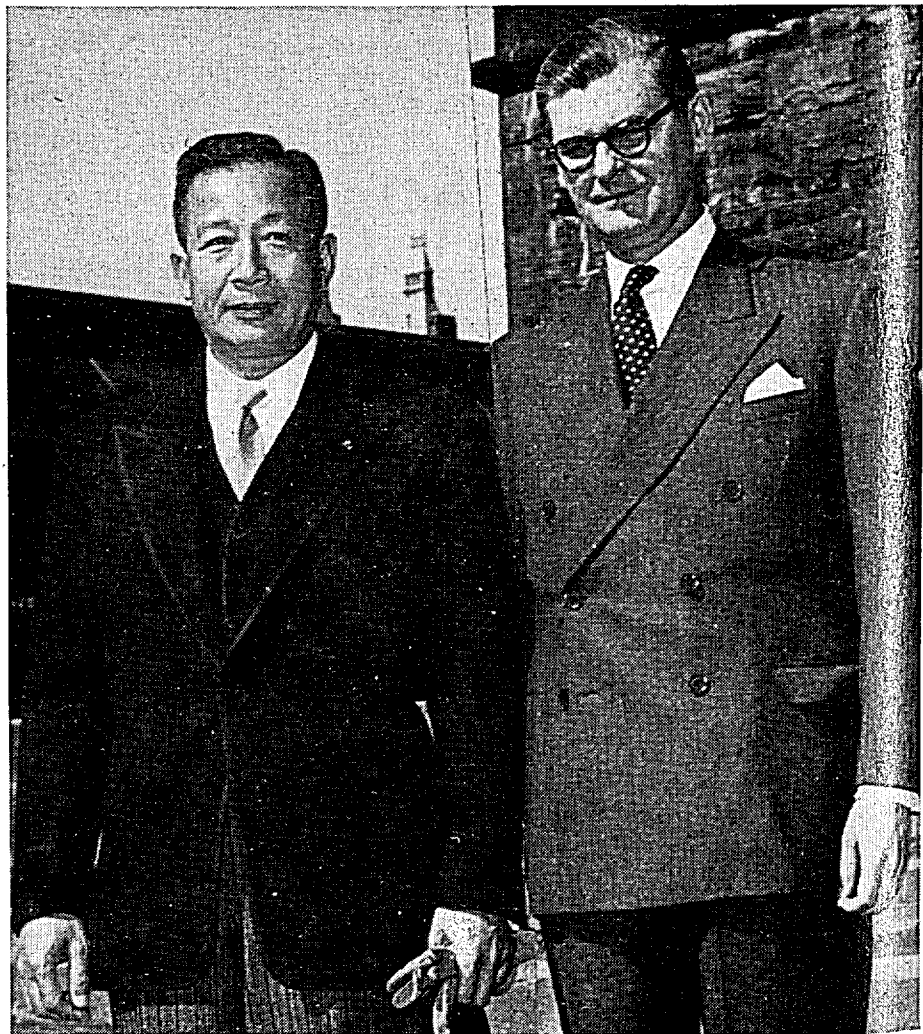
One group is made up of inventions known as "CPC" (combined policy committee) inventions which arose out of wartime collaboration among the three governments. In these cases, the inventors assigned their rights to the governments employing them and the patent rights obtained or applied for were held in trust pending settlement of the interests of the three governments.

The second affected group are inventions and discoveries which, though within the co-operative arrangement, were developed independently and are owned by one government.

The cut-off date of November 15, 1955, was selected as a matter of convenience. The intent of the agreement is that the interchange of rights shall cover the period during which atomic energy operations were largely a gov-

ernment monopoly in each of the three countries. The agreement does not commit the governments for the future.

"CPC" inventions total about 50, and patent applications have been filed on many of them in all three countries. The number of patents or patent applications relating to work carried on independently of the wartime co-operative arrangement amounts to several hundred. Many of the applications are still classified, and this consideration has limited the number of patents issued so far.



ROYAL VISITOR

HRH Prince Savang Vatthana, Crown Prince of Laos, paid his first visit to Canada September 21-23. He is seen above with Mr. Jules Léger, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Supplementary Convention on Slavery

PLENIPOTENTIARIES of 51 countries attended the conference held August 13-September 9 in Geneva to draft a Supplementary Convention on Slavery. Eight other nations were represented by observers.

The conference had been recommended by an ad hoc committee appointed in 1949 by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to report on the existence of slavery or similar institutions and practices. In its report, issued in 1951, this committee found that slavery in various forms continued to flourish in certain areas and recommended that a supplementary convention be drafted to abolish the still existing crude form of slavery and, as well, analogous practices not covered by the International Slavery Convention of 1926. (The 1926 Convention was ratified by 46 countries, including Canada. This country had also been one of the 30 countries which ratified the Protocol of 1953 transferring to the United Nations the functions exercised by the League of Nations under the 1926 Convention).

Mr. Calderon Puig, of Mexico, was President of the conference, Mr. Marc Somerhausen, of Belgium, First Vice-President, and Mr. K. V. Padmanabhan, of India, Second Vice-President.

During the course of the conference an article published in *The Times* (London) aroused some controversy. The article, using figures supplied by the United Kingdom Anti-Slavery Society, claimed that there were approximately 11,000,000 persons in the world in a state of slavery, of whom half a million were chattel slaves in the Arabian Peninsula and eight million were living in a state of serfdom in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. The principal source of contention, however, lay in two clauses contained in the draft convention (submitted in its original form by the United Kingdom) which was the basic working document considered by the conference. These clauses provided for (1) the right of search of vessels suspected of carrying slaves in the waters around the Arabian peninsula, and (2) application of the Convention in all the non-self-governing, trust, colonial, and other non-metropolitan territories for whose international relations any state is responsible, *except* where the previous consent of a non-metropolitan territory is required by the constitutional laws or practices of the Party or of the area.

Both clauses came under attack from communist, Arab, and some Asian countries which argued that the former clause was discriminatory against certain Arab states, and that the latter relieved metropolitan countries of responsibility for immediate implementation of the Convention in dependent territories. The United Kingdom and France maintained, on the other hand, that the Convention would be deprived of much of its effectiveness if the right of search was excluded, and that provision for gradual implementation was necessary since they could not arbitrarily order social reforms in states under their protection or in dependencies possessing a substantial measure of self-government in domestic affairs. In the end a compromise was reached whereby the right of search was dropped and provision was made for metro-

politan countries concerned to endeavour, within twelve months of signature of the Convention, to obtain the consent of non-metropolitan territories. The metropolitan party signing the Convention is committed to declare to which non-metropolitan areas the Convention shall apply *ipso facto* as a result of signature.

The Supplementary Convention finally adopted by the conference contains the following substantive provisions:

- 1) States Parties to the Convention shall take all "practical and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about progressively and as soon as possible" an end to such practices as debt bondage, serfdom, forced marriage, and the exploitation of adopted or quasi-adopted children;
- 2) Ratifying countries shall prescribe, where appropriate, minimum ages for marriage;
- 3) Conveying or attempting to convey slaves from one country to another shall be made a criminal offense;
- 4) Any slave taking refuge on board any vessel of a State Party to the Convention shall *ipso facto* be set free;
- 5) Branding, mutilation, and the act of enslaving another person, or of inducing another person to give himself or a person dependent upon him into slavery, shall be made criminal offences;
- 6) Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the Convention, not settled by negotiation, shall be referred to the International Court of Justice at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute.

The Supplementary Convention was signed on September 7 by plenipotentiaries representing 30 countries. Mr. R. H. Jay, of the Canadian Permanent Mission to the European Office of the United Nations, signed for Canada.

NATO Meetings

COUNCIL CONSIDERS GERMAN CONSCRIPTION

Lord Ismay, Secretary General of NATO, called the North Atlantic Council to a meeting September 28 to consider as a matter of urgency the implications of the decision by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to limit their period of conscription to 12 months.

A communiqué issued after the meeting read in part as follows:

The Council were concerned at the effects which this decision might have on the ability of the Federal Republic of Germany to meet their accepted commitments and on the military effectiveness of the Alliance as a whole. The complexity of modern weapons and the anticipated speed of modern war require trained forces continuously ready to deter aggression. The NATO military authorities have made clear the difficulty if not the impossibility of accomplishing this objective with a service period of only 12 months. The Council has always been in accord with the military authorities on this matter.

The German Representative emphasized to the Council the determination of his Government to meet their accepted commitments of forces to NATO both as to the quantity and as to quality. He explained that in order to compensate for the diminution in effectiveness which only 12 months' conscript service would entail, they intended, *inter alia*, to raise the regular content of their military forces from 230,000 to 300,000.

The Council noted that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany recognized the problem, and took cognizance of the measures by which they were attempting to meet it. They also noted the declaration of the Federal Republic that it proposes to maintain in both quantity and quality its previous commitments regarding its contribution to NATO forces. The Council therefore assume that the Federal Republic will take whatever additional action is necessary to carry out its commitments and that it will keep the Council advised of its plans. Nevertheless, they remain disturbed at the possible consequences of the action by the Federal Republic. The Council requested the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic to inform his Government at once of the concern of the Council.

COMMITTEE OF THREE PREPARING REPORT

On September 22 the Committee of Three of the NATO Council, consisting of Dr. Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway, and Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada, concluded a series of consultations with the representatives of all other NATO governments.

Following is an excerpt from a press release issued by NATO on September 24:

These consultations were one stage in the task set the Committee by the North Atlantic Council at its meeting in May 1956 when the three Ministers

were asked 'to advise the Council on ways and means to improve and extend NATO co-operation in non-military fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic community'.

The governments invited to consult with the Committee of Three, most of which were represented by their Foreign Ministers, gave most valuable assistance to the Committee and reflected in their views the serious and constructive attention which governments are giving to the work of the Committee. They were unanimous on the need to reach a broad measure of agreement on the practical means of achieving the objective set out in the Committee's terms of reference.

The Committee has also been fortunate in receiving the help and guidance of the International Staff of NATO and of a number of consultants with special knowledge of certain fields of non-military activities covered by the consultations.

On the basis of their own investigations, of the written replies from governments to the questionnaire which the Committee had circulated, and of the consultations now concluded, the Ministers have begun the preparation of a report which they expect to have completed when they meet again in New York in November, prior to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The report will then be submitted to NATO governments and the three Ministers will seek Council approval for it at the annual meeting in December.

STATEMENT ON SALE OF AIRCRAFT TO ISRAEL

The following statement was made by Prime Minister St. Laurent September 21 on the sale of 24 aircraft to Israel.

After full and useful discussion with certain friendly governments, the Canadian Government has now decided that it would not be justified in refusing the request made some time ago by the Government of Israel for permission to purchase interceptor planes from Canadian production for use in the defence of that country. The Government has been greatly influenced in this decision by the fact that Israel's neighbour has recently received large numbers of jet fighters from the Soviet Union and, even more important, a considerable number of modern jet bombers, of which Israel possesses none.

Assurances have been received from the Government of Israel that the interceptors in question will be used solely for defence against aggression.

This approval of Israel's request for 24 F86's covers a period of six months, during which the planes would normally be made available and shipped. If at any time during this period political circumstances should change in a way which would warrant a cancellation or postponement of the outstanding part of this order, such action will be taken.

Report from South Korea

by T. F. M. Newton

Canadians will be interested in this account by Mr. Newton, Minister-Counsellor at Tokyo, of a visit he and Mrs. Newton made to two orphanages and a school in South Korea. British Columbia school children contributed to the building fund for the school, and a Canadian missionary heads the staff of one of the orphanages.

Buk-han-san Orphanage

Buk-han-san Orphanage, on the outskirts of Seoul, has already gained a degree of post-war fame as a nursery for youthful musical virtuosity. In a set of modern classrooms constructed with funds donated by American units in Korea, a group of 50 to 60 lively children are given special training in three-part choral harmony and, on a somewhat tinny piano, everything from *Arirang* to Bach. A special concert was arranged for our benefit. The singing was earnest, full-throated and remarkable, and our gratitude was expressed both in remarks to teachers and students and in the form of a gift of confections.

Help From Children of Canada

Of particular Canadian interest, however, was the Song Nim Children's School on the outskirts of Inchon. Ken Marshall, the Canadian Secretary of the Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies, says of this school:

In looking for the needy projects during her trip to Korea, Dr. Lotta Hitschmanova, Executive Director of the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, decided that Song Nim was worthy of assistance and sparked the campaign back home which resulted in the children of British Columbia schools contributing \$3,500 towards the initial building costs. This was at the suggestion of the B.C. Minister of Education. Each classroom donated 50 cents.

In addition, the Public School Board of Ottawa is conducting or has conducted a campaign to raise money to help re-equip four other Korean "free schools".

The school, in a run-down section of the port, is actually operated by the Salvation Army, whose officials supervised the original construction. On Sundays, its single large room is used as an interdenominational church. Since the Republic of Korea Government imposes educational fees for all children in its own public schools, the competition for acceptance by the few "free" schools, such as Song Nim, is keen. The selection of the children for this small Inchon school, however, is made chiefly on the basis of financial need. Had the impoverished little group of children whom we visited not been accepted for Song Nim, they would probably have been unable to obtain any formal primary education.

Both Korean and foreign Salvation Army officials had been alerted for our visit and when we arrived with Captain A. Neguchi, a brilliant Canadian Nisei medical officer with the Canadian Medical Detachment at Inchon, the teacher, an earnest young man whose welcome was profuse, had arranged his charges



CANADIANS IN SOUTH KOREA

Six Canadians are shown above with a South Korean nun on the occasion of a visit to the Secul orphanage of St. Paul de Chartres paid by Mr. T. F. M. Newton, Minister-Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, Mrs. Newton, and Mr. Ken Marshall, Canadian Secretary of the Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies. The three other Canadians are missionaries serving in South Korea.

From left to right, above: the Korean nun; Rev. Sister Bernadette; Rev. Father Bellerose; Mrs. Newton; Rev. Sister Marie Pauline, and Mr. Marshall.

The Newtons are holding gifts presented to them by the children of the orphanage.

in double file in the schoolyard. After the traditional choral contribution, I expressed our pleasure, and, on behalf of the school children of British Columbia, told them that Canadian children far across the Pacific had been so anxious to help them with their education that they had contributed the money to build this school. After a Korean Salvation Army officer had translated, we inspected the interior of the deskless one-room building and queried the teacher about his work. Mrs. Newton mingled with the children preparatory to the presentation of a personal gift for their welfare. Both officials, teacher, and children seemed exceedingly grateful for our brief visit, and my wife and I were glad of the opportunity to remind them of Canadian interest in their well-being.

St. Paul de Chartres Orphanage

On a subsequent morning Marshall escorted us in his jeep on a pre-arranged visit to the Roman Catholic orphanage of St. Paul de Chartres. Here were gathered not only a large assemblage of Korean and mixed blood (i.e. children of American G.I.'s and Korean mothers) orphans, but, for this particular occasion, the only three French-Canadian missionaries in South Korea—Rev. Sister Bernadette, formerly of Beauceville, Que., who has charge of the Seoul orphanage, Rev. Sister Marie Pauline, who had made the difficult journey from Taegu, 150 miles away, and Rev. Father Bellerose, who had come from Taejon, about 100 miles from Seoul. Sister Marie Pauline, formerly of Carleton, N.B.,

has charge of another St. Paul de Chartres (France) orphanage at Taegu. Father Bellerose, formerly of St. Ambroise, Que., has a church at Taejon.

With considerable formality, Mrs. Newton, Marshall and I were led to a platform in one of the orphanage's larger classrooms to witness a special programme of songs, speeches and Korean dances by the children. Subsequently, the unexpected presentation to Mrs. Newton of flowers, of a scroll, and of a piece of Korean needlework was made by two little girls in Korean costume. Our expressions of gratitude were translated by Sister Bernadette.

In the course of a pleasant conversation with Sister Bernadette, I learned the details of an incident which redounds to the credit of the late Lt.-Col. W. R. I. Slack and the Canadian Medical Detachment. During the deep cold of last December, Father Bellerose at Taejon found himself in dire need of coal and other supplies. Learning of this, Sister Bernadette begged help from Col. Slack, who managed to secure 10 tons of coal from some unknown source, and volunteered to send officers and men on "a field exercise" which would transport the fuel through Seoul and thence to Father Bellerose at Taejon, about 100 miles farther on. Two officers and nine men manned three trucks and two jeeps one week-end before Christmas, breakfasted with Sister Bernadette and the other nuns in the Seoul orphanage, and, full of their mercy mission, persuaded Sister Bernadette to accompany them on their onward course. Although strict military protocol might have demurred at calling this expedition a "field exercise", it was a kindly humanitarian gesture on the part of Col. Slack, his officers and men, and the gratitude of Father Bellerose and Sister Bernadette glowed with Canadian pride.

Our brief stay with these children and the three devoted Canadian missionaries from scattered parts of South Korea brought us great personal satisfaction. Our reception was impressive, and the pleasure they seemed to derive from a visit by the representative of the Canadian Government made the effort very worth-while. I shall not miss paying a further call on Sister Bernadette on the occasion of some future visit to Seoul.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Lt-Gen. M. A. Pope, MC, CB., Ambassador to Spain, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service effective September 20, 1956.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective September 2, 1956.
- Mr. K. B. Williamson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective September 3, 1956.
- Mr. H. T. W. Blockley posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. J. R. McKinney posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to Ottawa, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. R. Y. Grey appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 4, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. R. S. MacLean appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. C. C. E.-Chatillon posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 4, 1956.
- Mr. V. G. Turner posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective September 7, 1956.
- Mr. d'I. H. G. Fortier posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 10, 1956.
- Mr. L. H. B. Peebles posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective September 12, 1956.
- Mr. J. A. Beesley appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 17, 1956.
- Mr. O. G. Stoner posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective September 20, 1956.
- Mr. M. P. F. Dupuy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 22, 1956.
- Mr. P. G. R. Campbell appointed Commissioner, International Supervisory Commission for Vientiane, effective September 22, 1956.
- Mr. J. R. Maybee posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 27, 1956.
- Mr. J. R. Francis posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 28, 1956.
- Mr. J. R. Cadwell posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective August 23, 1956.
- Mr. J. L. Delisle posted from the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective August 29, 1956.
- Mr. E. R. Rettic posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective August 29, 1956.
- Mr. D. C. Reece posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective August 31, 1956.
- Mr. A. D. Ross posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective August 31, 1956.

TREATY INFORMATION

Bilateral

Denmark

Agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Ottawa September 30, 1955.

Ratified at Copenhagen September 5, 1956.

Entered into force September 5, 1956.

France

Exchange of Notes concerning burial arrangements in France for members of Canadian Forces and civilian components.

Signed at Paris September 4, 1956.

Entered into force September 4, 1956.

Turkey

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Turkey respecting the waiving on a reciprocal basis of non-immigrant visa fees.

Signed at Ankara August 21, 1956.

Entered into force September 21, 1956.

Union of South Africa

Agreement for the prevention of fiscal evasion and the avoidance of double taxation with respect to income tax.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956.

Agreement for the prevention of fiscal evasion and the avoidance of double taxation with respect to succession duties.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956.

Multilateral

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America as to disposition of rights in atomic energy inventions.

Signed at Washington September 24, 1956.

Entered into force September 24, 1956.

Supplementary Convention on the abolition of slavery, the slave trade, and institutions and practices similar to slavery.

Signed at Geneva September 7, 1956.

International Wheat Agreement, 1956.

Signed May 16, 1956.

Instrument of Acceptance of Canada deposited September 26, 1956.

In force July 16, 1956 except as to Part II which entered into force on August 1, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

Printed Documents:

Budget estimates for the financial year 1957 and Information annex. A/3126. N.Y., 1956. 104 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 5.

United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. Annual report. A/3146. N.Y., 1956. 22 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 8.

Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly. A/3151. N.Y., 1956. 35 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 12.

Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. Second report to the eleventh session of the General Assembly. A/3160. N.Y., 1956. 48 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 7.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Report of the tenth session (18 April to 12 May 1955). E/2768/Rev.1, E/CN.7/303/Rev.1. 55 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twentieth Session, Supplement No. 8.

International Trade 1955. The contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Geneva, May 1956. 229 p. \$1.50. Sales No.: GATT/1956-2.

International Labour Organization:

Tenth Report of the International Labour Organization to the United Nations. Geneva, 1956. 87 p. (E/2879).

Social Aspects of European Economic Co-operation. Report by a Group of Experts. Geneva, 1956. 179 p. \$1.50. (Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 46).

Publications of the International Labour Office 1944-1955. Geneva, 1956. 48 p.

UNESCO:

Reports of Member States presented to the General Conference at its Ninth Session, New Delhi, November-December 1956. 9 C/4. Paris, September 1956. 272 p. \$7.00.

The problems of transmitting press messages. A study submitted by UNESCO to the International Telecommunications Union to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Paris, 1956. 95 p.

Sociology in the United States of America; a trend report. Edited by Hans L. Zetterberg. Paris, 1956. 156 p. (Documentation in the Social Sciences Series).

World Health Organization:

Executive Board, 18th session, Geneva, 28-30 May 1956. Resolutions, Annexes. Geneva, 1956. Official Records of the WHO, No. 73.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Canada's Position in World Crisis

IN a radio and television address November 4, Prime Minister St. Laurent made the following summation of Canada's views on the two grave world problems and reviewed actions taken up to that time in the United Nations by Canada:

Middle East

I think it my duty to speak to you tonight about the very grave events of the last two weeks. I should like first to talk about the Middle East crisis. I would like to explain to you the Government's recent actions in the context of our general policy in the Middle East. For the last few years peace has been precarious in this area, especially around the borders of Israel, whose creation as a state was recommended by the United Nations General Assembly with Canada's support in November 1947.

While the tensions arising out of the situation in the Middle East have continued, Canada has steadily encouraged efforts to secure a fair settlement based on the principle that Israel should live and prosper—but not the principle that it should expand at the expense of its Arab neighbours.

A recent communist intervention in the Middle East has contributed directly to the present crisis. By supplying offensive weapons in large quantities to Egypt the communist world threatened to upset the balance of power between Israel and its Arab neighbours. In order to help redress this potential imbalance Canada agreed a few weeks ago to authorize the export of 24 F-86 jet fighter planes to Israel over a six-month period. We realized however that a permanent settlement between Israel and its neighbours arranged by the United Nations was the only way in which peace could be preserved in the long run.

Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company increased the dangers inherent in the Middle East situation. The Egyptian action introduced a threat to the trade on which the economic life of many countries depends. It placed the control of shipping in the Canal in the hands of a government which for some years has been denying access to the Canal for Israeli ships in defiance of a Security Council resolution.

In the crisis which resulted from the nationalization of the Canal Company, the Canadian Government has followed a definite and consistent policy in public statements and in private discussions with the nations concerned. We have advocated that a settlement of the issues relating to the Canal which directly affect so many countries should be achieved under the auspices of the United Nations and that there should be no resort to force. The Canadian Government welcomed the 18-power proposals agreed to at the London Conference in August as a sound basis for negotiating a settlement. We have stated our belief that this settlement should respect the legitimate sovereign rights of Egypt. It should also safeguard the right of ships of all nations to pass through the Canal. At the same time it should protect the international waterway from arbitrary and unjustified intervention by any country, including Egypt. We have stated our belief that this settlement should be embodied in co-operative arrangements with which the United Nations should be associated in an appropriate manner.

Because we believe that a permanent settlement of Israel's relations with its neighbours and of the future of the Suez Canal should be reached by peaceful negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations, the Canadian Government regrets that Israel proceeded last week to use force against Egypt, although we recognize that Israel has been subject to grave threats and provocations during the last few years. Though we recognize the vital importance of the Canal to the economic life and international responsibilities of the United Kingdom and France, we could not but regret also that, at a time when the United Nations Security Council was seized of the matter, the United Kingdom and France felt it necessary to intervene with force on their own responsibility.

Your Government has acted promptly in this crisis. We have taken immediate steps to further the safety of Canadian civilians in the Middle East. We have suspended the shipment of jet interceptor aircraft to Israel. The Canadian Government voted for consideration of the Israeli attack at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on November 1 which was called after Security Council action was made impossible by the negative votes of two of its permanent members.

A United States resolution was introduced which called for an immediate cease-fire, the prompt withdrawal of forces and the end of military shipments to the area. On Friday morning this resolution was carried by 64 votes in favour to 5 against, including the United Kingdom and France. Canada and five other nations abstained in the vote on this resolution.

In explaining the reasons for this abstention, I should like to quote part of what Mr. Pearson said in the General Assembly.

I regret use of military force in the circumstances which we have been discussing but I regret also that there was not more time, before a vote had to be taken, for consideration of the best way to bring about that kind of cease-fire which will have enduring and beneficial results.

He later added:

I therefore would have liked to see a provision in this resolution . . . authorizing the Secretary-General to begin to make arrangements with member governments for a United Nations force large enough to keep these borders at peace while a political settlement is being worked out.

We have swiftly followed up this suggestion. At another special session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York last night Mr. Pearson introduced a resolution on behalf of Canada which requests the Secretary-General to submit within 48 hours a plan for a United Nations force to secure and to supervise the cease-fire arrangements which were referred to in the United States resolution. Mr. Pearson explained that no members of the United Nations are to be asked to provide forces without their previous consent. The Canadian Government is ready to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force if it is to be established and if it is thought that Canada could play a useful role.

The Canadian resolution was passed by the General Assembly early this morning without a single dissenting vote although there were a number of abstentions. At the same time the General Assembly passed a resolution sponsored by 19 nations; it reaffirmed the United States resolution about cease-fire arrangements and authorized the Secretary-General to arrange with the nations concerned the implementation of this resolution and asked him to report on their compliance.

The establishment of the United Nations force will be to ensure an effective cease-fire in the affected area. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have signified their willingness, under certain conditions, to suspend their military intervention if a United Nations truce force is given responsibility. According to present information, Israel and Egypt have stated their willingness to accept cease-fire arrangements provided other parties also co-operate.

We have strong reason to believe that a United Nations command will be established within the 48 hours set in the Canadian Resolution. This is only the first step toward a permanent settlement of Middle East problems. In the General Assembly last night the United States introduced two new resolutions which seek to establish United Nations committees to consider the future of Israel's relations with its neighbours and the future of the Suez Canal. We believe these resolutions represent a constructive approach to these problems. We will actively participate in efforts to make progress on the lines which the Assembly has approved.

We have spent anxious days of late and I am sure you all share our anxiety. The present crisis has strained both the Western alliance and the bonds of the Commonwealth more than any other event since the Second World War. If we can use it as the opportunity to dissipate the black cloud which has hung over the Middle East these many years, the present danger and strains may prove to have been a price worth paying.

Eastern Europe

I have spoken at length about the momentous events in the Middle East, but I must refer also to the grave and tragic events which have led to turmoil and bloodshed in Eastern Europe. For the first time since the end of the war a real hope appeared, in the last two weeks, that some at least of the countries which have contributed so much to the civilization of the world might secure some measure of independence from Moscow.

In Poland, a form of national communism has been established which appears determined to demand as a minimum the right to develop along its own lines, and not according to a Moscow pattern. Not least encouraging was the release of the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland.

We were also encouraged by a statement from Moscow which said that the Soviet leaders were prepared to negotiate their relations with Eastern Europe on the basis of equality and non-interference in their neighbour's internal affairs.

Even before this announcement, the brave Hungarian people had risen to demand the freedom so long denied them. The Hungarian revolution was a passionate and significant outburst of national feeling, both strongly anti-Russian and anti-Communist. We rejoiced in the release of Cardinal Mindszenty and other religious leaders and we shared the hopes, as well as the anxiety, of our fellow countrymen of Hungarian origin.

Today, these hopes seem to have been shattered. Soviet action has made a mockery of Soviet statements. According to the latest reports, Soviet armed might is being applied against the gallant and practically unarmed people of Hungary. Moscow has announced that it will crush the Hungarian revolt and re-impose its will on Hungary by brute force.

Last night, in an emergency session, the Security Council met in response to an appeal from the Hungarian Government and considered a U.S. resolution

condemning Soviet military interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. The resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The matter was then referred to a special session of the General Assembly which is now meeting and which provides the opportunity of condemning in the most forthright terms the callous disregard by the Soviet Union of the elementary rights of the Hungarian people.

Our aim is that the people of Eastern Europe should be free to choose their own form of government, a basic human right they have not enjoyed for years. The Soviet Union's resort to military force against a neighbouring nation is a most serious threat to the peace which we have solemnly pledged ourselves to preserve and defend in signing the Charter of the United Nations.

The one encouraging aspect of the events of the last few days has been the almost unanimous action of the nations of the world in endeavouring to implement their obligations under that Charter.

And, in conclusion, I wish to assure my listeners that all the members of their Government have been in full agreement at all times as to what should be done and what could be said and when it should be done and when it could be said. And I am sure that, if and when any action of ours requires, according to our practices, the approval by Parliament, that approval will be given in no uncertain terms.

Let us all hope that this approach to unanimity of men of good will of so many nations may help to realize that part of our daily prayer to a Power greater than any here below: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven".

PRIORITY ACCORDED HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

The following statement was issued November 6 by Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration:

With the approval of the Prime Minister and in accordance with the general policy of the Government respecting refugees, the Canadian Immigration office in Vienna has been instructed to give priority to applications from refugees from Hungary. Assisted passage loans will be available to such immigrants on the same terms as to other immigrants from Europe.

CONTRIBUTION TO UN REFUGEE FUND

Prime Minister St. Laurent announced November 7 that the Government has decided to make a special contribution of \$100,000 to the United Nations refugee fund.

The Government will also make a contribution of \$100,000 to the Canadian Red Cross to assist it in providing basic relief supplies and services to the refugees who have been crossing by the thousands into Austria since the Russians moved in to crush the Hungarian freedom fighters.

The contribution to the UN Refugee Fund, the Prime Minister's announcement said, will be in addition to the \$200,000 Canada will be giving the fund in 1957 for assisting refugees generally.

Canada last week sent a plane-load of drugs and medical supplies to Vienna for the embattled Hungarians.

CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL FORCE

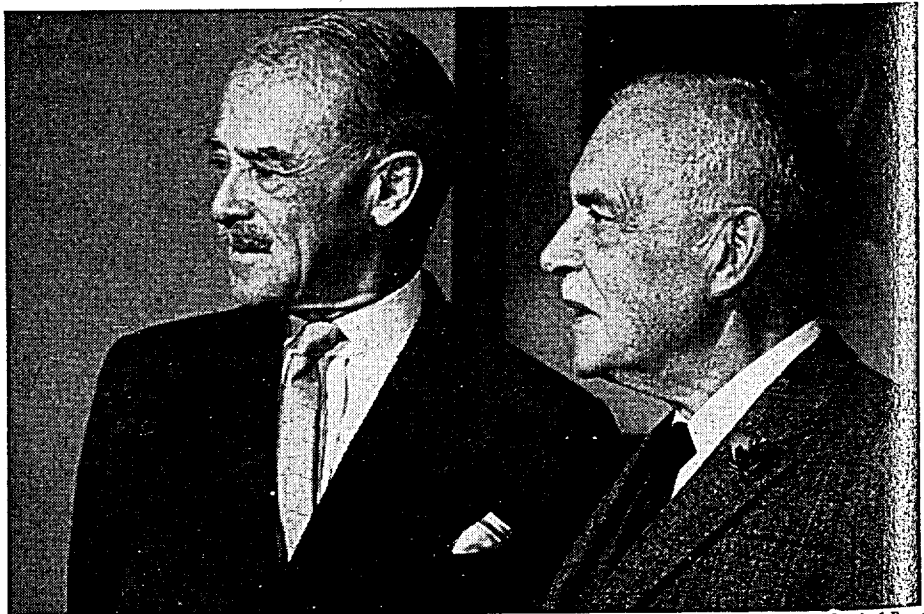
Prime Minister St. Laurent made the following announcement November 7 on Canada's participation in the United Nations force for the Middle East:

To comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, the Canadian Government has agreed to make an offer of a Canadian contingent to the Emergency International United Nations Force for the Middle East. This proposal is subject to adjustment and/or re-arrangement after consultation with the United Nations commander. Arrangements have already been made for a group of Canadian officers to be available today for consultation with the UN commander in New York as soon as he arrives.

It is proposed to offer a Canadian contingent of battalion strength, augmented by ordnance, army service corps, medical and dental detachments to ensure that the battalion group is self-contained and can operate independently from a Canadian base. The size of the contingent is expected to be over 1,000 men.

Canada will be prepared to have this force lifted by the RCAF to the Middle East.

It is proposed to provide this contingent with a temporary mobile Canadian base for the first phase of its policing operations. The Canadian Government is prepared to use HMCS Magnificent for the purpose of transporting vehicles and stores to the Middle East and for use as a temporary mobile Canadian base for rations, medical supplies, ammunition, fuel and limited accommodation stores. HMCS Magnificent will also provide a small hospital to accommodate the sick and injured in the force; accommodation for a force headquarters; and communications between the force and Canada.



—Capital Press

VISITS PRIME MINISTER

Mr. R. G. Casey, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, left, is seen with Prime Minister St. Laurent, on whom he paid an official call during a recent visit to Ottawa.

Middle East and Hungary

Emergency Session of the United Nations General Assembly

Among the most important measures approved during the session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1950 was the "Uniting for Peace" resolution which endowed the Assembly with authority to deal with threats to international peace and security in cases in which the Security Council, because of the veto of a permanent member, has been unable to act. It was this "Uniting for Peace" resolution which, six years after its adoption, made it possible to call the General Assembly into its first Special Emergency Session, convened on November 1 to consider the situation in the Middle East arising out of the Israeli invasion of Egyptian territory.

The following is a report on the main developments immediately preceding and during the Special Emergency Session which was concluded on November 10. On that date the Assembly voted to refer consideration of the Egyptian and Hungarian questions to its 11th regular session which opened in New York on November 12.

The Middle East

On October 29, Israeli forces launched a major attack against Egypt and advanced deep into the Sinai Peninsula. On October 30, Prime Minister Eden of the United Kingdom and Premier Mollet of France called upon Israel and Egypt to cease hostilities and announced that unless at the expiration of 12 hours the combatants had complied with this ultimatum and withdrawn their forces ten miles from the Suez Canal, British and French military forces would intervene "in whatever strength may be necessary to ensure compliance".

The Security Council, at the request of the United States, met on October 30 to consider steps for "the immediate cessation of the military action of Israel in Egypt". The Council had before it a United States resolution calling upon all parties involved in hostilities to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area. The resolution also urged parties to the Israel-Arab Armistice Agreement of 1949 to withdraw their forces behind the armistice lines and to observe the provisions of the Agreement. Although a majority of the Council supported this resolution, it was not adopted because of the dissenting votes of two permanent members, the United Kingdom and France.

Although unable to take effective action to halt hostilities, the Security Council adopted a resolution which led to the convocation on November 1 of the first Emergency Session of the General Assembly to be called under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1950. At this Emergency Session, the Assembly had before it a United States resolution essentially similar to the cease-fire resolution presented earlier in the Security Council. This Assembly resolution was adopted on November 2 by a vote of 64 in favour, 5 against and 6 abstentions (including Canada). Following is the

statement made by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in explaining Canada's abstention:

I rise not to take part in this debate, because the debate is over. The vote has been taken. But I do wish to explain the abstention of my delegation on that vote.

It is never easy to explain an abstention, and in this case it is particularly difficult because we are in favour of some parts of this resolution, and also because this resolution deals with such a complicated question.

Because we are in favour of some parts of the resolution, we could not vote against it, especially as, in our opinion, it is a moderate proposal couched in reasonable and objective terms, without unfair or unbalanced condemnation; and also, by referring to violations by both sides to the armistice agreements, it puts, I think, recent action by the United Kingdom and France—and rightly—against the background of those repeated violations and provocations.

We support the effort being made to bring the fighting to an end. We support it, among other reasons, because we regret that force was used in the circumstances that face us at this time. As my delegation sees it, however, this resolution which the General Assembly has thus adopted in its present form—and there was very little chance to alter that form—is inadequate to achieve the purposes which we have in mind at this Assembly. Those purposes are defined in that resolution of the United Nations under which we are meeting—resolution 377(V), uniting for peace—and peace is far more than ceasing to fire, although it certainly must include that essential factor. This is the first time that action has been taken under the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution, and I confess to a feeling of sadness, indeed even distress, at not being able to support the position taken by two countries whose ties with my country are and will remain close and intimate; two countries which have contributed so much to man's progress and freedom under law; and two countries which are Canada's mother countries.

I regret the use of military force in the circumstances which we have been discussing, but I regret also that there was not more time, before a vote had to be taken, for consideration of the best way to bring about that kind of ceasefire which would have enduring and beneficial results. I think that we were entitled to that time, for this is not only a tragic moment for the countries and peoples immediately affected, but it is an equally difficult time for the United Nations itself.

I know, of course, that the situation is of special and, indeed, poignant urgency, a human urgency, and that action could not be postponed by dragging out a discussion, as has been done so often in this Assembly. I do feel, however, that had that time, which has always, to my knowledge, in the past been permitted for adequate examination of even the most critical and urgent resolution, been available on this occasion, the result might have been a better resolution. Such a short delay would not, I think, have done harm, but, in the long run, would have helped those in the area who need help most at this time.

Why do I say this? In the first place, our resolution, though it has been adopted, is only a recommendation, and its moral effects would have been greater if it could have received a more unanimous vote in this Assembly—which might have been possible if there had been somewhat more delay.

Secondly, this recommendation which we have adopted cannot be effective without the compliance of those to whom it is addressed and who have to carry it out. I had ventured to hope that, by a short delay and in informal talks, we

might have made some headway, or at least have tried to make some headway, in securing a favourable response, before vote was taken, from those governments and delegations which will be responsible for carrying it out.

Resolution Inadequate

I consider that there is one great omission from this resolution, which has already been pointed out by previous speakers—more particularly by the representative of New Zealand, who has preceded me. This resolution does provide for a cease-fire, and I admit that that is of first importance and urgency. But, alongside a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops, it does not provide for any steps to be taken by the United Nations for a peace settlement, without which a cease-fire will be only of temporary value at best. Surely we should have used this opportunity to link a cease-fire to the absolute necessity of a political settlement in Palestine and for the Suez, and perhaps we might also have been able to recommend a procedure by which this absolutely essential process might begin.

Today we are facing a feeling of almost despairing crisis for the United Nations and for peace. Surely that feeling might have been harnessed to action or at least to a formal resolve to act at long last and to do something effective about the underlying causes of this crisis which has brought us to the very edge of a tragedy even greater than that which has already taken place. We should then, I think, have recognized the necessity for political settlement in this resolution and done something about it. And I do not think that, if we had done that, it would have postponed action very long on the other clauses of the resolution. Without such a settlement, which we might have pushed forward under the incentive of fear, our resolution, as I see it, may not make for an enduring and real peace. We need action, then, not only to end the fighting but to make the peace.

I believe that there is another omission from this resolution, to which attention has also already been directed. The armed forces of Israel and of Egypt are to withdraw, or if you like, to return to the armistice lines, where presumably, if this is done, they will once again face each other in fear and hatred. What then? What then, six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? are we to return to the *status quo*? Such a return would not be to a position of security, or even a tolerable position, but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges and counter-charges, and ultimately another explosion which the United Nations Armistice Commission would be powerless to prevent and possibly even to investigate.

I therefore would have liked to see a provision in this resolution—and this has been mentioned by previous speakers—authorizing the Secretary-General to begin to make arrangements with member governments for a United Nations force large enough to keep these borders at peace while a political settlement is being worked out. I regret exceedingly that time has not been given to follow up this idea, which was mentioned also by the representative of the United Kingdom in his first speech, and I hope that even now, when action on the resolution has been completed, it may not be too late to give consideration to this matter. My own government would be glad to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force, a truly international peace and police force.

We have a duty here. We also have—or, should I say, we had—an opportunity. Our resolution may deal with one aspect of our duty—an urgent, a terribly urgent, aspect. But, as I see it, it does nothing to seize that opportunity which, if it had been seized, might have brought some real peace and a decent

existence, or hope for such, to the people of that part of the world. There was no time on this occasion for us to seize this opportunity in this resolution. My delegation therefore felt, because of the inadequacy of the resolution in this respect, that we had no alternative in the circumstances but to abstain in the voting.

I hope that our inability to deal with these essential matters at this time will very soon be removed and that we can come to grips with the basic core of this problem.



—UN Photo

EXCHANGING VIEWS

Sir Pierson Dixon, left, United Kingdom Permanent Representative at the United Nations, and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, chat prior to a special emergency session of the General Assembly on the Middle East situation.

On November 3, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, reported to the General Assembly that information concerning compliance with the resolution had been received from Egypt and the United Kingdom. The Egyptian Mission to the United Nations reported that their government accepted the General Assembly's resolution "on the condition, of course, that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression". The Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom informed the Secretary-General that the Governments of France and the United Kingdom continued to:

Maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a definite settlement of the Arab-Israel war which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries. They would most willingly stop military action as soon as the following conditions could be satisfied:

- (1) Both the Egyptian and the Israeli Governments agree to accept a United Nations force to keep the peace;
- (2) The United Nations decides to constitute and maintain such a force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements have been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal, both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations;
- (3) In the meantime until the United Nations force is constituted, both combatants agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants.

Canadian Proposal

The Secretary-General's report was considered at another meeting of the Emergency Session on the night of November 3-4 at which the Assembly adopted without a dissenting vote (although there were 19 abstentions) a Canadian proposal that Mr. Hammarskjöld should submit within 48 hours a plan for the establishment of an international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. In introducing this resolution, Mr. Pearson said:

The immediate purpose of our meeting tonight is to bring about as soon as possible a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces, in the area which we are considering, from contact and from conflict with each other. Our longer-range purpose, which has already been referred to tonight and which may ultimately, in its implications, be even more important, is to find solutions for the problems which, because we have left them unsolved over the years, have finally exploded into this fighting and conflict.

So far as the first and immediate purpose is concerned, a short time ago the Assembly passed, by a very large majority, a resolution which is now a recommendation of the United Nations Assembly. And so we must ask ourselves how the United Nations can assist in securing compliance with the terms of that resolution from those who are most immediately concerned and whose compliance is essential if that resolution is to be carried out. How can we get from them the support and co-operation which is required, and how can we do this quickly?

The representative of India has just read to us, on behalf of a number of delegations, a very important resolution which deals with this matter. In operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution, certain specific proposals are made with a view to setting up machinery to facilitate compliance with the resolution. I ask myself the question whether that machinery is adequate for the complicated and difficult task which is before us. I am not in any way opposing this resolution which we have just heard read. I appreciate its importance and the spirit in which it has been put forward. But I do suggest that the Secretary-General be given another and supplementary—not conflicting, but supplementary—responsibility: to work out at once a plan for an international force to bring about and supervise the cease-fire visualized in the Assembly resolution which has already been passed.

For that purpose my delegation would like to submit to the Assembly a very short draft resolution which I venture to read at this time. It is as follows:

The General Assembly, bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with the resolution (A/3256) of 2 November, request, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the above resolution.

I would assume that during this short period the Secretary-General would get into touch with, and endeavour to secure co-operation in the carrying out of the earlier resolution from the parties immediately concerned—whose co-operation, I venture to repeat, is essential—as well as endeavoring to secure help and co-operation from any others whom he thinks might assist him in this vitally important task.

This draft resolution which I have just read out, and which will be circulated shortly, has an added purpose of facilitating and making effective compliance with the resolution which we have already passed on the part of those whose compliance is absolutely essential. It has also the purpose of providing for international supervision of that compliance through the United Nations, and finally, it has as its purpose the bringing to an end of the fighting and bloodshed at once, even while the Secretary-General is examining this question and reporting back in forty-eight hours.

If this draft resolution commended itself to the General Assembly—and I suggest that it is not in conflict with the draft resolution which has just been read to us by our Indian colleague—and if it were accepted quickly, the Secretary-General could at once begin the important task which the draft resolution gives him. I apologize for adding to his burdens in this way, because they have already been added to in the immediately preceding draft resolution, but we know that he can carry burdens of this kind both unselfishly and efficiently.

Meanwhile, during this period of forty-eight hours we can get on with our consideration of and decision on the United States draft resolutions before the General Assembly which deal with this grave and dangerous situation which confronts us both in relation to its immediate as well as its wider and perhaps even more far-reaching aspects.

At this meeting the Assembly also adopted a resolution proposed by 19 Asian and African delegations authorizing the Secretary-General to arrange a cease-fire and to report within 12 hours on compliance. The vote on this resolution was 59 in favour (including Canada), 5 against and 12 abstentions.

Plan for Force Endorsed

On November 4, the Emergency Session was convened again and approved, by a vote of 57 in favour, none against and 19 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by Canada, Colombia and Norway which endorsed the Secretary-General's plan for a United Nations police force and appointed Major General E. L. M. Burns as Chief of the United Nations Command with authority to take steps to organize an international force.

On November 7, in explaining to the Assembly Canada's vote in favour of another resolution proposed by 19 Asian-African delegations which affirmed

the Assembly's determination to implement its previous resolutions and called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian territory, Mr. Pearson said:

I merely wish to speak for a minute in order to explain the vote of my Delegation on Draft Resolution A/3309. In this connection, my Delegation supports the view which has been expressed by the representative of Peru and others as to the interconnection between the two resolutions which are before us—the close relationship between the two of them—and the impossibility of separating one in its implementation from the other. In that sense we give an interpretation to the word "immediately" which has been given by others as meaning as quickly as possible. In our minds, there is a relationship bearing on this word "immediately" between the withdrawal of the forces referred to in the resolution and the arrival and the functioning of the United Nations force.

At the same meeting of the Emergency Session on November 7 the Assembly considered a second report by the Secretary-General on the plan for the international United Nations force. Expressing its approval of Mr. Hammarskjöld's recommendations regarding the principles on which the United Nations emergency force should be based, the Assembly established an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of Brazil, Canada, Colombia, India, Iran, Norway and Pakistan, with the Secretary-General as Chairman, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the force and which are not within the area of responsibility of the Chief of Command. The relevant resolution which had been sponsored by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden, was adopted by a vote of 64 in favour, none against, and 12 abstentions. Following is the text of a statement made by Mr. Pearson prior to the vote:

I wish to give the full support of our Delegation and the Canadian Government to this resolution setting up the United Nations emergency force, and to endorse the report of the Secretary-General, which is related to it. I would like also to echo the appreciation and gratitude expressed by the Danish Delegate to the Secretary-General for his tireless energy and skill, without which we would not have this resolution before us.

My Government has been proud to offer a contribution to this force and steps are now being taken by us to organize it as a matter of urgency.*

With the acceptance of this resolution—and surely it can be unanimously approved—the ending of hostilities can be confirmed and safeguarded and work of peace-making begun on a solid United Nations foundation. Indeed, it has begun, but much remains to be done before it is finished. This is a moment for sober satisfaction, but certainly not for premature rejoicing. Yet it is hard not to rejoice at the thought that we may have been saved from the very edge of catastrophe—and saved, let us not forget, not by threats or blusters, but by the action of the United Nations. If we draw the necessary conclusions from the manner of our escape and act on them, perhaps we will not in the future have to get so perilously close again.

I repeat, however, that much remains to be done, even in the first stage which is now underway. The organization of a United Nations force from other than permanent members of the Security Council is bound to be a task of great

*On November 7, Prime Minister St. Laurent announced in Ottawa that the Canadian Government had agreed to offer a Canadian contingent of battalion strength to the international United Nations force for the Middle East.

complexity and difficulty. We are breaking new ground, we are pioneering for peace, but if we take full advantage of this opportunity, I feel sure we can reap a rich harvest from that ground in terms of peace and security in the area concerned and, indeed, in wider terms as well.

We must now press on with the greater and perhaps even more difficult task of a political settlement; which will be honourable and just, and provide hope for security and progress for millions in this part of the world who have not known them in these troublous and distracting years. This is implicit in the resolution before us and that of November 3, (A/3276), which establish the conditions within which the United Nations force must operate. Until we have succeeded in this task of a political settlement, our work today, and the ceasefire of yesterday—though they give us reason for hope and encouragement—remain uncompleted.

Nevertheless, the fighting has ceased, the process of restoration is to follow, and the work of peaceful settlement pursued in one part of this distracted and dangerous world. We cannot fail to be relieved and pleased about this, and to rejoice in the fact that the United Nations has made the essential contribution to such a good result.

If we had not acted swiftly and, I think, effectively here, we might have been facing today a conflict which perhaps would have engulfed us all.

I hope that we can pass this resolution quickly so that the United Nations force can be organized promptly and effectively and moved to the spot without delay.

Surely that is the most urgent and immediate duty for us to discharge at this moment, and I hope that we can do it without delay.

The Special Emergency Session was concluded on November 10 when the Assembly voted to refer consideration of the Middle East question to its 11th regular session beginning November 12.

Hungary

On October 28, the Security Council debated a protest filed the previous day by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom—and supported by Canada—against Soviet military intervention in Hungary.

On November 3, the Security Council was again convened in response to an appeal from the Nagy Government in Hungary to consider a resolution condemning Soviet military interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. The resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The matter was then referred to the Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly, where, on November 4, the United States delegation put forward a resolution condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to re-assert their rights, and requesting the Secretary-General to investigate the situation and to report as soon as possible to the Assembly. Following is the text of Mr. Pearson's statement in support of this resolution:

Mr. President, notwithstanding the words of the Soviet delegate, in the past twenty-four hours we have witnessed in Hungary one of the greatest and grimmest betrayals in history. This is a sad and desolate moment for all who have been striving for the extension of freedom and justice throughout the world.

It is, first of all, and above all, the people of Hungary who have been betrayed—the students, the peasants, the workers, whom the Soviet Union so frequently professes to champion. For ten years all the resources of a great empire were used to weaken and destroy all feeling for national and personal freedom in Hungary and the other countries of Eastern Europe on whom communist regimes had been imposed after World War II by foreign forces. But events in Hungary—and elsewhere—have dramatically revealed the results of these ten years of suppression and indoctrination to be failure—often concealed behind a smiling facade of propaganda, but failure. In Hungary the mask of a “people’s democracy” was stripped away; the myth of the monolithic unity of the communist empire was destroyed. With incredible courage the Hungarian people proved once again that man, once free, will never finally accept oppression and slavery, even though he may be forced to submit to it for long periods. Armed at first only with burning patriotism and a dauntless spirit the plain people of Hungary rose against the oppressor. And the world watched their struggle hopefully, as the new head of the government, Mr. Nagy, promised free elections, the abolition of the secret police, and negotiations for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Hungary. It seemed only a few days ago that the resolution and the sacrifices of these men and women would yield them freedom at last and bring them a government of their own choice. It was the dawn of a new day—the people had risen and their will would prevail, or so it appeared.

The Great Betrayal

Then came the great betrayal. At the very time that, we have been told, negotiations were beginning between Soviet and Hungarian military leaders on a withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary, the Soviet Union was moving large new forces into position in Hungary where they could stamp out the rising flame of freedom and re-impose a ruthless and savage oppression. As the Soviet representative put it, the Nagy Government “fell apart”. The Soviet Union’s shameless disregard of its obligations under the Charter by its armed intervention has done more than kill Hungarians. It has betrayed the principles and ideals of our United Nations.

We have heard a great deal from the representative of the Soviet Union in the past few days about the iniquities of aggression, the unpardonable sin of force exerted by large countries upon small countries in order to bend them to the “imperialist” will, as he put it. There is no need for me to dwell now on the hypocrisy of the Soviet concern for one small nation when its own tanks and bombers are compelling an even smaller nation, which had briefly but gloriously raised its head, to put on the chains again. The Soviet delegate has made the parallel between the situation in Egypt and the situation in Hungary. I would reply first, that the United Nations should judge each situation on its merits; but also, that there is no parallel between the intentions of free democratic nations with a long history of respect for the rights of other nations and those of a dictatorial regime which has not shown the slightest understanding of international collaboration or consideration for the rights of others. That difference is, I think, very clearly revealed in the present situation. The Governments of the United Kingdom and of France have stated firmly and publicly that they are prepared to hand over what they claim to be solely their police role to a United Nations force; a force which we are now trying to organize. It is quite true that there remain differences between the British and the French on the one hand, and a majority of this Assembly on the other, on the conditions in which this transfer can take place. Nevertheless, a transfer has been accepted as necessary and desirable and a promise has been given that it will take place.

Will the Soviet Union give us the same promise with respect to the military operations against Hungary. I put this question directly to the Soviet representative. He has told us that his government has intervened in Hungary for a purpose, and that this purpose is ostensibly to protect the interests of the Hungarian people, so he says, from a reactionary fascist clique. No one in this Assembly has any desire whatsoever to see the long-suffering Hungarian people delivered from the tyranny of one clique into that of another. All we ask in this resolution which is before us is to let them form the kind of free national government they want. How can this best be done? Surely by an impartial and disinterested international authority which can hold the ring and enable all the Hungarian people, without fear or reprisal, to establish a free and democratic government of their own choice. We have before us a proposal that the Secretary-General investigate the situation. Where else can such an authority come from than the United Nations? Will the Soviet Government recognize that? If not, why not?

Asks UN Mission

Yesterday my government proposed the intervention of a United Nations force for peaceful purposes in the Middle East, and that proposal secured the overwhelming support of this Assembly; no single vote was cast against it. Why should we not now establish a United Nations mission or United Nations supervisory machinery of an appropriate kind for the situation in Hungary? I ask the Soviet Union to accept this chance, perhaps this last chance, to prove its good faith to the world. It is not only the Hungarian people who will be the victims of a refusal. It is a Soviet claim—very often repeated—to be the only true champion of peaceful co-existence; the only real foe of imperialism; the opponent of colonialism. If they refuse this United Nations investigation and examination into conditions in Hungary, never again will they be able to talk about colonial oppression or imperialism except in terms of the most blatant hypocrisy, recognized by everyone as such.

This is also the last chance of the USSR to show that their collective security system in Eastern Europe is something more than a collection of master and satellites. In this respect, what a contrast it is to an association of free states banded together on a basis of free co-operation, any one of which may withdraw if it wishes. Their system, if they persist in this aggressive intervention, stands exposed for all the world to see, resting on nothing but brute force and despotic control.

Mr. President, we owe it to the people of Hungary, we owe it to the United Nations, we owe it to freedom to condemn in the strongest terms what we know has happened and to investigate through the United Nations what is happening now.

Surely Mr. President, no single member of this Assembly will refuse to join in that condemnation, and in the request for this investigation.

Perhaps at this moment we cannot do more than this, but we surely cannot do less.

The United States resolution was adopted by 50 in favour, 8 against (the Soviet bloc) and 15 abstentions (Libya, India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Jordan, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Finland).

The Hungarian situation was again taken up in the Emergency Session on November 8 when the United States representative reported that the attempts

of the Red Cross to send relief supplies to Hungary had been blocked by the Soviet Union.

On November 9, the General Assembly considered a resolution submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru which again called on the Soviet Union to withdraw her forces, requested free elections under UN supervision and the appointment of a UN investigating committee. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 48 in favour, 11 against (the Soviet bloc, India and Yugoslavia) and 16 abstentions (Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen). On the same day, the General Assembly debated a resolution proposed by the U.S.A. calling upon the Soviet Union to cease its actions against Hungary and to co-operate in facilitating the supply of food and medical aid to the Hungarians, and requesting the member countries' assistance to Hungarian refugees. This resolution was adopted by 53 in favour, 9 against (Soviet bloc) and 13 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen and Yugoslavia). The representative of the Hungarian Kadar government and other Soviet bloc delegations opposed these resolutions on the usual grounds that they dealt with a matter of domestic jurisdiction.

Before the vote was taken on these two resolutions, Dr. R. A. MacKay, Canada's Permanent Representative at the UN, explained as follows the Canadian attitude:

My intervention will be very brief.

Within the past two days this Assembly has been heartened by the replies received from the governments recently engaged in military operations in the Near East. A cease-fire and withdrawal have been agreed to by all concerned. They have agreed to the entry of a UN force, pending a general settlement. What a contrast to the situation in Hungary. Not all the facts of the situation in Hungary are available, but more than enough to prove the continued brutal interference by force of arms of one great country in the internal affairs of a small neighbour. I would ask once again the questions asked of the Soviet Delegation by my Minister, the Honourable L. B. Pearson, earlier in this debate. For obvious reasons I address these questions to the Soviet Delegation rather than to the delegation which purports to represent Hungary.

Will the Soviet Union give similar undertakings for a cease-fire and withdrawal, I repeat and withdrawal, with respect to Hungary?

Second, will the Soviet Government and the Hungarian Government admit a UN mission of observers to report back to the Assembly as approved in the resolution of this Assembly of 4 November?

Further, United Nations machinery appropriate to the situation in Hungary is no less required than is United Nations machinery in the Middle East. Where, except from the United Nations, can an impartial and disinterested authority be obtained to hold the ring and thus enable the Hungarian people to form the kind of free national government they desire, without fear of reprisal? Is the Soviet Government prepared to accept any such solution for Hungary? Here is its chance, perhaps its last chance, to prove its good faith.

I regret that I can find no evidence in the statement of the representative of the U.S.S.R. in this morning's debate that his government has any intention

of permitting the Hungarian people any freedom of choice or that it has any intention of withdrawing its forces from Hungarian territory. This from the government that has made such loud protestations these last few days about intervention by other governments in the Middle East.

With respect to the draft resolution put forward by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru (Document A/3316) my delegation can do no other than vote in favour.

We shall also support the resolution just now introduced by the representatives of the U.S.A. (Document A/3319).

This resolution is solely concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the situation in Hungary. Surely this purpose, and this resolution, can be supported by all delegations genuinely interested in human welfare and the relief of suffering.

Announcing the Canadian Government's desire to provide humanitarian assistance to the Hungarians, Dr. MacKay added:

In this connection, I have been authorized to state that Canada is ready to give priority to applications for immigration from Hungarian refugees; to contribute an additional \$100,000 to the High Commissioner for Refugees, specifically for the aid of Hungarian refugees; and to contribute a further \$100,000 to the Canadian Red Cross for Hungarian relief.

On the same date the Assembly adopted by 67 votes, none against and 8 abstentions (Soviet bloc countries) another resolution proposed by Austria urgently requesting member countries to provide humanitarian assistance to Hungary. Hungary later on agreed to accept assistance and it was reported on November 14 that Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld might possibly go to Budapest for discussions with the Hungarian authorities on this matter.

In pursuance of the above mentioned resolutions, the Secretary-General created on November 12 two ad hoc United Nations groups, one to make a full study at the United Nations on the Hungarian political situation, the other one to proceed to Hungary and carry out a similar investigation on the spot. Two messages from the Secretary-General to the Hungarian Government asking it to admit into Hungary the latter United Nations group were rejected by the Kadar government on the grounds that circumstances did not warrant an investigation by United Nations political observers. Nevertheless the Secretary-General sent his official request a third time and urged the Hungarian Government to revise its negative decision. The Kadar government's reply to Mr. Hammarskjöld's third message had not been received as of November 15. A similar communication was addressed to the Soviet Government requesting its support and assistance; the Soviet Government replied that the admission of, and extension of facilities to, United Nations observers was a matter within the sole competence of the Hungarian Government.

Eye Witness Story from Hungary

by A. F. Hart

Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Belgrade

On Tuesday, October 23, my wife and I, in our car, crossed the Hungarian border just beyond Subotica. It was an afternoon of bright, warm sunshine and the golden brown tints of autumn gave the countryside a peaceful, tranquil appearance. All appeared to be well in this part of the world. A comment to this effect to the Hungarian Customs officer drew, however, only a short pessimistic reply.

Fifteen minutes after completing the frontier formalities, we passed through Szeged, one of the larger industrial towns on the road to Budapest. Here on the streets there was nothing to excite our curiosity, and good-natured students, wandering aimlessly on the streets, cheerfully directed us on to the Budapest road.

By the time we entered Budapest, or rather the Pest section of the town, darkness had descended. The initial impression of the city, which the poor lighting accentuated, was one of gloominess and depression. As we got closer to the heart of Pest, traffic became thicker and dense crowds spilled over on to the road itself. Finally in the centre, we ran into complete confusion: large bodies of students were marching in chaotic fashion here, there and everywhere. We attempted to cross over into Buda only to meet other marching groups on the bridges, all converging upon Pest.

As each succeeding group of students surrounded our car, our licence plates instantly became the focus of attention. The red star on the plates drew prompt criticism but our "YU" plate on the back of the car softened the blow. Yugoslavia, after all, was synonymous with anti-Stalinism and we were allowed to turn round and escape further inspection. As they marched, the students shouted slogans which it was impossible for us to understand. Motorcyclists were distributing mimeographed student manifestos. These remained unintelligible to us until we obtained a translation the next day. They embodied demands for the reorganization of the Government and Party; the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; freedom of opinion, press and radio; a multi-party parliamentary system based on free elections; recognition of the right of workers to go on strike; rehabilitation of all political prisoners wrongfully condemned and the repatriation of all Hungarians deported to the Soviet Union.

Towards eight o'clock in the evening, we were passed by one group of very determined-looking young men who were shouting words which sounded like "radio hoz". A passerby informed us that this meant "on to the radio station"! At this point we found ourselves outside the British Legation and went inside to make enquiries. There was still apparently no feeling that any unusual developments were in store. Hungarian soldiers, we were informed, had associated themselves with the student demonstrations in the demands which they were presenting to the Government and nothing more unusual than the present manifestations of ebullience was expected. Since we had now spent

several hours trying to find our hotel on Margaret Island, we gladly accepted an offer from a member of the Legation to guide us to the hotel. Once installed there weariness induced us to leave further sightseeing of Budapest to the morning.

Full-Scale Battle

Next morning we awoke to the noise of full-scale battle from the direction of Pest. A state of martial law had already been declared, a curfew was in force and we were told that we could not venture out on the streets. We were thus more or less isolated on the island which lies in the river between Buda and Pest and extends from the Margaret Bridge near the centre of the city to the Stalin Bridge further along the river. From the island we could hear and see something of the general turmoil but not distinguish clearly what was going on. Part of the Margaret Bridge was under fire occasionally because it lay close to AVO, the political police headquarters. Over the nearby Stalin Bridge traffic consisted only of military vehicles and urgent screaming caravans of Red Cross ambulances.

From various sources we gathered that the developments of late Tuesday night and Wednesday morning had unfolded as follows: the students marched first to the Polish Embassy to demonstrate their solidarity with the trend of events in Poland. They then went to pay their respects at the foot of the statue of General Bem, the Polish hero whose struggle in Poland had made the Kossuth rising possible in Hungary in 1848. From there they went on to the Parliament Buildings, where they presented their demands to the Government. Gero, the First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, who had just returned from Yugoslavia, chose somewhat arrogantly to ignore these demands. In an evening broadcast he attacked the demonstrators and defended Hungary's ties with the Soviet Union. These rejoinders served only to inflame the demonstrators and they headed off in the direction of Stalin's statue which, through the efforts of a number of trucks and great masses of students, was toppled over and dragged a couple of blocks to one of the main squares. There it reposed in crumpled ignominy in the following days undergoing repeated acts of desecration on the part of the irate inhabitants of Budapest. A group of students next broke into military barracks and with the soldiers looking on helped themselves to arms and ammunition. This enabled hostilities to begin in earnest with an attack first on the radio station which lies near Rakoczi Street. This area in which the newspaper offices and National Museum are also located was to be the scene of the most bitter fighting throughout succeeding days.

In the early hours of Wednesday morning, the brunt of the opposition to the insurgents was borne by the political police. A little later, Hungarian troops were brought in, followed by Soviet tank components. These forces we learned had been stationed just on the outskirts of Budapest the evening before in preparation for any trouble. A Dutch traveller at our hotel, a Mr. deLange, who had attempted to reach Budapest from Vienna on Tuesday evening, had been turned back by troops and told to return to Vienna. Instead, he took a detour along the Danube and entered the city from that direction.

During the course of Wednesday, the noise of battle in Pest continued without much interruption. On the island we were dependent for precise

information on events on telephone calls to the various Embassies in town and to the news being broadcast every few minutes over Budapest radio. On two occasions small groups of Red Cross workers and youths armed with revolvers, who were passing by, gave us their version of the campaign.

Radio transmissions, telephone and power facilities continued to operate fairly continuously but all other phases of the normal life of the city were suspended while we were there. Radio Budapest transmissions remained under Government control but the studio building itself was largely demolished in the course of the fighting. Broadcasts were made, we were informed, from the cellar of the Parliament Building and were transmitted from technical facilities in Government hands outside the city.

Throughout the night the Government and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party sat in emergency session in the Parliament Building. With the deterioration in the situation they remained indefinitely in session, assuring inviolability for their deliberations by posting a cordon of Soviet tanks around the building.

Soviet Tanks in City

Among Wednesday's early-morning announcements over Radio Budapest was the news of the admission of Nagy to the Government as Prime Minister. This was the only change made at this stage and Gero was still First Secretary. Since announcements about martial law and the request to the Soviet Union for military help were made about the same time it looked as though Nagy had assumed responsibility for these unpleasant and drastic measures. In fact, Soviet tanks had already started fighting within the city several hours before the request was announced. A telephone conversation with the U.S. Embassy reported that fighting was going on outside the Embassy and one badly-wounded Soviet tank crew member had been brought inside the Embassy. From eye-witness accounts, it appeared that the Soviet tanks were being used against the strongholds of armed groups of insurgents and for protecting the main Government buildings such as AVO, the large political police building near the Margaret Bridge. One report indicated that some Soviet crews had abandoned their tanks and were fraternizing with the civilians. Eye-witness accounts have subsequently become available to indicate that on one occasion on Wednesday Soviet tanks fired into an unarmed crowd of demonstrators outside the Parliament Building. The number of dead resulting from this incident was estimated officially at about 200 persons.

During the day Radio Budapest kept broadcasting appeals to the insurgents to lay down their arms. An ultimatum set two o'clock in the afternoon as the deadline for compliance and also as the end of the curfew. The Government's hopes, however, proved unavailing and in both cases new deadlines had to be set as control over the situation continued to elude the Government's grasp. From these broadcasts in the afternoon, it was clear that large numbers of workers had joined the students and were holding out in factories in one industrial section of the town.

Thursday opened fairly quietly in the morning and, although the curfew was still in effect, deLange, our Dutch friend, accompanied by an American decided to drive into the town to obtain petrol coupons from the auto club

in preparation for the drive to Vienna. Shortly afterwards some others of us were about to set off on foot into town. But these intentions were dissipated by the early return of deLange and his passenger, both looking visibly pale and shaken. Two automobiles in front of them, they said, had been shot up and their occupants killed in a tank sortie just beyond the Margaret Bridge. Abandoning their car, they temporarily sought shelter in a nearby doorway and, when the tanks had passed by, they got back quickly into their automobile which fortunately had escaped undamaged.

Mass demonstrations, we learned through our telephone contacts, continued throughout the day in the town. Members of the American Embassy brought us reports of large crowds appearing outside their Embassy to appeal for military assistance against their Soviet masters.

Alarming Picture

Towards noon on Thursday only sporadic outbursts of machine gun fire could be heard and it appeared that the uprising was almost over. Various events immediately conspired, however, to render this conclusion premature. Mr. ——— presented us with an alarming picture of the situation at that point. He said in effect that the uprising was just in its early stage and would probably soon assume wider proportions. Hungarian Army units and even some Soviet tank crews had abandoned voluntarily their equipment to the insurgents; the city was now ringed by Soviet forces and, as the Hungarian Army was extremely restive, it was possible that pitched battles might take place between the two armies. It was expected that the Soviet Air Force would bombard Budapest in the afternoon. (A squadron of jet fighters did fly over according to schedule but nothing happened.) This information was conveyed to us in a way which left no doubt as to the sympathies of the young man himself. It was ———'s impression, after some weeks in Hungary, that the presence of Soviet forces was bitterly resented and the Communist regime itself heartily and generally disliked.

After Mr. ———'s stimulating remarks, we went outside to salute the arrival of a young French journalist from Pest. She brought a story of bloody fighting around the railway station and also the lamentable news that the political police had just fired into a massed crowd of demonstrators causing casualties which were later set officially at 300 dead. She also seemed to think that the battle was far from over. Indeed her remarks were punctuated by an outburst of firing for the first time in the Buda section nearby.

In the early afternoon Radio Budapest gave the significant news of Gero's replacement by Kadar as First Secretary of the Party. A further concession to the insurgents was contained in the announcement that the Government intended to open negotiations with the Soviet Union on a basis of equality and to have Soviet forces withdrawn once order was restored. The impact of these statements was weakened, however, by complimentary references to the fraternal Soviet Army units, and, in a disappointing inaugural address which followed, Kadar chose to dwell largely on the need to restore order.

These evidences of the Government's weakness and vacillation encouraged the insurgents to stiffen their demands. A new manifesto was distributed on Thursday evening which confirmed both that a prolongation of the struggle

was anticipated and that the insurgents were developing an organization. The manifesto, a translation of which has already been sent on from Vienna, repeated previous demands and went on to call for the formation of a new temporary revolutionary national government. The insurgents were prepared to accept Nagy and Kadar in this new government. They demanded also the ending of martial law, the cancellation of the Warsaw Pact, a general amnesty, the disarming of the AVO (political police) and the establishment of Hungarian socialism on real democratic foundations. On Friday morning early heavy fighting broke out. The Margaret Bridge was under fire again and over the Stalin Bridge more tanks were pouring in from out of town to take part in the battle. For the next few hours there was a full complement of sound effects from machine guns, cannons and mortars. Although this all seemed to be going on very close at hand, we learned subsequently that the major battle was taking place in the ninth *rejon*, an industrial sector lying just beyond the area in which are found the Parliament Building, main squares and radio and newspaper offices.

The increased intensity of the fighting induced a number of foreigners in the hotel to think about getting out in spite of the curfew and a total of fifteen cars were quickly enrolled for a convoy. There were fortunately enough vacant seats for those without their own cars. In our car we were able to accommodate an Indian engineer, an Israeli diplomat, and a Canadian of Hungarian origin. Petrol coupons, however, were required and here our Dutch friend volunteered to make another attempt to reach the auto club. This time he was successful. On his return he described the centre of the town as a scene of complete shambles and desolation with overturned carts, buses and trams lying on the streets, buildings on fire—the National Museum was gutted—and bonfires which people were stoking with the contents of Communist literature from the bookshops.

At noon our convoy headed slowly out towards Buda by way of the Stalin Bridge. This bridge was now fully occupied by Soviet tanks but no attempt was made to stop us and, as we passed, each tank seemed to be the scene of a curious crowd of Hungarian people.

Normal Activity Paralysed

The paralysis of all normal activity which was noticeable in Budapest also characterized the areas through which we passed en route to Vienna. People seemed to be out en masse on the streets aimlessly wandering around or queued up before closed food shops. Some were avid for news of the progress of the fighting in Budapest; others begged us to get help to them from the West in their struggle for freedom. Flags were much in evidence, the Hungarian tricolour alternating at times with a solid black flag. In their lapels, people were also wearing ribbons of the Hungarian colours surmounted by a black patch. Nowhere did we see any of the symbols of Sovietization and Communism. All had been torn down, including the Communist centrepiece from the Hungarian tricolour. The Hungarian Army barracks which we passed flew only the unadorned Hungarian tricolour with the telltale off-colour patch in the centre where the Communist centrepiece had formerly reposed.

As we had heard that the main Vienna road for some distance from Budapest was clogged with tank components, we took a detour for the first 100

kilometres along the Danube River. We passed innumerable truckloads of men headed in the direction of Budapest obviously with the intention of joining the struggle. All along the road it was clear that the normal organs of authority had abandoned their functions. There were no police officers to be seen at any point. Occasionally we had to stop to identify ourselves to groups of insurgents who were obviously conducting themselves without interference from the normal authorities, if indeed these still existed. At one of these points just fifteen kilometres outside of Budapest we were stopped by insurgents who were exercising their supervisory powers on traffic in front of military barracks from which the soldiers, apparently Hungarians, looked on either with apathy or approval. The red star on the licence plates of my car was promptly noticed and in the next few uneasy moments we faced the distinct prospect of being heaved into the ditch by irate Hungarians. Fortunately our fellow refugees were able to intercede successfully on our behalf and we were allowed to proceed. Before we approached the next town, however, I took the precaution of covering over the red stars with sticking plaster.

The most sensitive area we had to pass through before reaching the border was the large industrial town of Győr. About a kilometre before reaching the town, units of the Hungarian Army including artillery, tanks, and infantry were drawn up in full battle array on a small ridge commanding the approaches to the town. Artillery and tanks were both deployed in the direction of Budapest. This deployment might have been devised for fleeing groups of insurgents from Budapest but, on the other hand, since Győr was clearly in the hands of anti-Government groups which were not being molested by the troops, another explanation offered was that these were anti-Government Army units drawn up to protect the town against possible intervention from Soviet forces.

As I look back on our Budapest sojourn, the predominant emotions which remain apart from well-remembered feelings of anxiety and concern, are astonishment and admiration—astonishment that an uprising of such proportions could take place in a Communist-controlled state occupied by Soviet forces, and admiration at the remarkable heroism of the people who participated in the insurrection. A full explanation of the failure of the Communist regime in Hungary to cope with the situation must await the efforts of people who are better-informed on Hungarian politics than I am. On the surface, it appeared that the Government badly misjudged the temper of the people on that fateful Tuesday evening. The early arrival of Soviet forces which had been conveniently stationed in readiness nearby suggests, however, that Hungarian leaders were not too sure of themselves. Perhaps what they did not expect was the remarkable unity and courage of the people in the crisis. In the face of such staunch opposition, the Government clearly lost its nerve and continued in the following days to fumble its way towards some kind of solution which would enable the Stalinists in its midst to retain power.

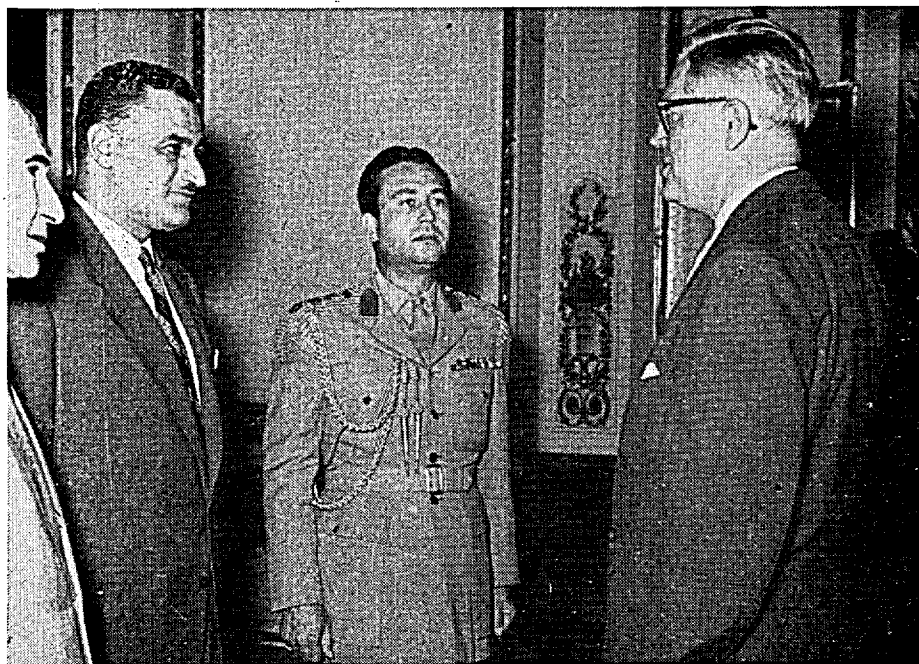
“Liberty and Independence”

In Budapest and in the countryside generally, the rising was both anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. People obviously did not differentiate between the two evils. The predominant theme was “Liberty and Independence” and these words were inscribed on the flags which covered the bodies of those who had fallen in one of the main squares. The manifestos which the insurgents issued

also laid the stress heavily on objectives which were basically nationalist: equality in relations with the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the use of the Kossuth symbols and the restoration of traditional Hungarian Army uniforms. They brought out clearly that, in the eyes of the Hungarian people, the leadership of the Communist Party was completely discredited. Demands for a multi-party parliamentary system and socialism based on real democratic foundations were put forward as avenues of escape from the all-embracing monolithism of Communism.

My impression, however, was that the insurgents were realistic enough to appreciate that they could not eradicate Communism immediately. Acceptance of Nagy and Kadar, in the absence of other less offensive Communist leaders, was put forward in their manifestos, providing of course that they were not merely stooges of the Stalinists and that other demands were conceded. But these two men, I am sure, are merely regarded as stopgaps. They will undoubtedly in the future have to answer to the Hungarian people for their share of responsibility in the use of Soviet forces against the people of Budapest.

It was impossible to say when we left Budapest on Friday what the outcome of the struggle would be. All that we could take away definitely with us from this tragic event was the conviction that if the Hungarian people could be freed of Soviet forces and the hated political police they would probably then seek to go further and discard all traces of Communism.



AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT

Dr. E. H. Norman called recently on President Gamal Abdal Nasser, of Egypt, to present his letters of credence as Canadian Ambassador to Egypt.

Seen left to right above are Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Foreign Minister of Egypt; President Nasser; a military aide to the President; and Dr. Norman.

International Atomic Energy Agency Statute



Mr. M. H. Wershof

THE Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was brought to a formal close on October 26 when the representatives of 70 countries signed the Statute providing for the establishment of the Agency. (Other countries whose constitutional processes required some delay are expected to sign in due course.) The Conference was convened at United Nations Headquarters in New York on September 20 by a group of 12 powers (Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Portugal, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United

States) which had prepared a draft statute at a "Working Level Meeting" held in Washington during the spring of 1956.*

Canada was represented at the Conference by Mr. M. H. Wershof, Q.C., Assistant Under-Secretary of State and Legal Adviser in the Department of External Affairs, and Mr. W. J. Bennett, O.B.E., President of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. and of Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd. Mr. Wershof acted as Chief Delegate.

The Statute of the Atomic Energy Agency is now subject to ratification by governments and will come into effect when instruments of ratification have been deposited with the Government of the United States by 18 countries, of which three must be drawn from among Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. Signature of the Statute at New York brought into being a Preparatory Commission consisting of the 12 powers which had drafted the Statute together with six others (Argentina, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan and Peru), elected by the Conference, which will carry on preliminary arrangements for the establishment of the Agency. The Preparatory Commission began organizational meetings on October 26 in New York. In accordance with the recommendation of the Conference the Agency is likely to select Vienna as the site of its permanent headquarters and no doubt the Preparatory Commission will transfer its work to that city at an appropriate time.

Background*

Canada has been actively associated with the proposal for the establishment of the Agency from the beginning, at first as one of eight powers (Aus-

*Background information on negotiations leading up to the Conference and on the draft statute are given in Volume 8, No. 7, of "External Affairs" (July 1956).

tralia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) which carried out preliminary negotiations. Upon the addition to this group of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the Soviet Union it developed that Brazil's position was similar to that of the eight while the other three differed from these nine on a number of points. Nevertheless, Canada co-operated closely and fruitfully with India as well as with the other eight, and indeed the entire group of twelve sponsoring powers worked effectively together despite the differences of approach which have been mentioned.

During the general debate Mr. Wershof, the Chief Delegate of Canada, gave the following explanation why the Canadian Government believes that the proposal to create the International Atomic Energy Agency is so important. Mr. Wershof said:

It is probable that the benefits to be derived from atomic energy have only begun to be comprehended by the peoples of the world. The application of this new source of energy holds out hopes for economic development and social progress on a scale and variety undreamed of only a few years ago. History has shown that almost any scientific discovery of importance to mankind will sooner or later become available throughout the world, and no doubt this is true of atomic energy. The benefits to which I have referred can be expected ultimately to reach all corners of the world whether or not the Agency which we propose is established.

But this is not the whole question. The importance of bringing these benefits as rapidly as possible and as widely as possible to the service of national economies and of individual human beings, not in one country, not in a few countries but in all countries, is so great that the process of gradual diffusion is too slow and at least initially too inequitable. Means should be found of avoiding the delay, extending perhaps to generations, which would be involved if we were to rely only upon that process. At the same time we should try to ensure that the benefits we look for will in fact be accessible to all

The genuine and effective collaboration of all governments, which can be fully realized only in a formal treaty partnership, is necessary if the potential benefits of atomic energy are to be rapidly and fully realized. Such a partnership, with its acceptance by all of explicit obligations, can alone provide an environment in which those things necessary to the exploitation of atomic energy will be available to all nations. In the absence of such full multilateral collaboration, countries will tend to go their separate ways, having at their disposal only the limited knowledge and resources directly available to themselves or their close friends; the result is bound to be duplication of effort, and consequent waste and delay. Without real collaboration, and the acceptance by all nations of obligations and commitments in the common interest, the spread of knowledge and resources will be hindered and diminished by the lack of agreed objectives, standards and safeguards.

The kind of partnership we have in mind would be provided by an Agency having the particular features proposed in the draft Statute. The draft Statute recognizes the complexity and the importance of atomic development and makes effective and flexible arrangements to facilitate co-operation between countries with widely divergent requirements and in varying economic circumstances. It recognizes that some countries are more advanced industrially and technologically than others and are in a position to make a greater contribution in skills, materials and equipment. At the same time other countries with more limited resources will necessarily look to the Agency for advice, information and direct assistance. Whether a country is a net contributor or a net beneficiary

under Agency programmes, all members will share a common desire to contribute to the extent of their abilities and to see the affairs of the Agency conducted on a basis which will ensure responsible and effective utilization of resources. Without sound direction and satisfactory Agency policies, countries proposing to undertake worthwhile projects may be unable to obtain needed assistance; countries capable of providing assistance may lose confidence and fail to make the fullest use of the Agency as a channel for helping atomic development. Under the Statute heavy responsibilities for sound direction will be delegated to the Board of Governors subject to the general guidance of the membership as a whole as expressed through the General Conference. On a Board entrusted with these responsibilities those countries on whom the Agency must mainly depend for assistance must exert sufficient influence to retain their continuing confidence and support which will be essential to the achievement of the Agency's high purposes.

At the same time those countries likely to be net beneficiaries must be satisfied in their turn that in establishing its programmes the Agency will take full and informed account of their interests, requirements and problems. These countries also must have adequate representation on the Board, and the General Conference in which their influence is likely to be widely felt must fill a role of effective expression and discussion, without, however, implying unduly on the executive responsibilities of the Board of Governors.

Plenary Session

Following the unanimous election of Ambassador Muniz of Brazil as President and Ambassador Winkler of Czechoslovakia as Vice-President, the Conference in plenary session debated in some detail the general concepts underlying the Agency and the broad implications of the provisions of the draft Statute.*

At the outset, the Soviet bloc, firmly supported by India, Yugoslavia and many of the Asian countries, argued at length that the Conference would suffer from the exclusion of Communist China and that the Agency would be incomplete and not fully effective until Communist China should be admitted to membership and to a seat on the Board of Governors. India led the same group of countries in criticizing the control provisions of the draft Statute, alleging in particular that they would give the Agency far too great power to interfere in the atomic programmes and hence in the economic development of countries receiving assistance from the Agency. The argument was advanced that the imposition of unduly burdensome or offensive controls would impede or even defeat the primary purpose of the Agency by forcing the countries most in need of assistance from it to refrain from accepting such assistance.

A number of representatives from a variety of countries opposed the provisions of the draft Statute concerning the composition of the Board of Governors and the relative powers to be assigned to the Board and to the General Conference, but the great majority recognized to a greater or lesser extent the force of the argument put forward by the twelve powers that on these points a delicate balance had with great difficulty been achieved at the working meetings earlier this year and that regardless of its merits the success of the Conference would be greatly threatened if that balance were to be disturbed.

*Volume 8, No. 7, of "External Affairs".

Functions of the Agency

When the Conference moved into committee to examine the individual articles of the draft Statute, the first main debate, and the first significant amendment, arose in connection with Article III dealing with the functions of the Agency. The general lines of debate reflected the points of view expressed in the plenary discussions of which mention has been made above. An important amendment to Article III, proposed by Thailand and adopted in committee, was one designed to permit the extension of Agency safeguards not only to bilateral or multilateral transactions outside the Agency but, at the request of the country concerned, to individual national programmes. While it was not expected that it would have immediate application, this amendment was generally regarded as valuable in providing an opportunity for the eventual evolution of the Agency system of safeguards into a universal system which could contribute to or possibly be the vehicle for a future general agreement on the control or elimination of atomic weapons.

The Canadian views on the role of the Agency were expressed by Mr. Wershof in the following words:

. . . the main purpose of the Agency shall be to facilitate, encourage and assist in the development and application of peaceful uses of atomic energy in all countries . . . In carrying out this task the Agency shall take the appropriate steps to ensure that the assistance which it will provide to individual countries or groups of countries shall in fact be used for the beneficent peaceful purposes intended, and *not* diverted to other purposes which the collective membership of the Agency would be unwilling to support. The Agency will require certain powers and rights to ensure against such diversion, but these powers will be limited to those necessary for the purpose. While the achievement of this purpose will no doubt help to ensure the observance of any agreement concerning atomic weapons, that is not a task for this Agency. Its role in this field will be restricted, in relation to all member countries, to the activities necessary to the fulfilment of the Agency's functions in connection with assistance given by it.

It is, I think, obvious that all members of the Agency ought to have equal rights within it; perhaps it is not so obvious that the *functional* role of all members should in principle also be equal. Thus my Government considers that *all* members should enter the Agency expecting both to make contributions to it in one form or another and to derive benefits from it. In some cases no doubt the contributions will be greater than the direct benefits received, and in other cases the reverse will be true. Nevertheless, these will be differences of degree; the Agency should not operate in such a way that certain members are considered solely as contributors (whether of material resources or of experience and information), and other countries solely as recipients. We submit that the Agency should work on a co-operative basis, as a partnership to which each member brings something and from which each member derives something.

Safeguards and Controls

It was evident from the outset that the problem of safeguards (Article XII of the draft Statute) was by far the most important and difficult facing the Conference, since it necessarily raised in sharp form conflicts between differing objectives and points of view, all of which were deserving of sympathy and consideration.

At a meeting of the main Committee on October 12, Mr. Wershof set forth the Canadian view that it was not only desirable but essential to have safeguards against the diversion to military purposes of fissionable materials. Mr. Wershof said:

We believe that the export of equipment or materials for military purposes, if that takes place, must be treated as an export of arms and regulated as such. We think it is highly desirable that the export of equipment and materials for peaceful purposes should not be mixed up with this difficult question of the export of arms. Indeed, if it is so mixed up, we are quite sure that such equipment and materials will move less freely among nations.

I should like for a moment to mention this question of military uses, since the question must be in our minds when we consider the problem of safeguards. Surely, the widespread availability of atomic weapons is highly undesirable. If any countries *are* to produce or have atomic weapons, it is the view of my Government that they should be *known* to have them, and should not acquire them clandestinely with the aid of international transactions that appear to be for peaceful uses.

If the peaceful development of atomic energy to which we all look forward is to be as rapid and widespread as it should be, the Agency in the opinion of the Canadian Government must provide a mechanism whereby all countries will be in a position to obtain what they need for peaceful atomic programmes with assurance for all that resources or assistance so obtained will be used only for peaceful purposes. We believe that the control provisions in the draft Statute are well designed to meet this purpose, and we also believe that they would not serve the purpose effectively if their scope should be reduced . . . We all recognize that these measures cannot of themselves prevent individual nations from obtaining nuclear weapons. We recognize, moreover, that if the control measures were applied unreasonably they might force countries to turn away from the Agency. But we should also look carefully at the reverse of the coin—the situation which exists now and could continue indefinitely in the absence of a generally acceptable system of adequate Agency safeguards.

Because the Agency and its safeguards do not now exist, countries having resources and information to dispose of are necessarily selective in making them available. The criteria they use differ from one country to another. Some nations requiring material, equipment and assistance have difficulty in obtaining suppliers. When assistance is given it is, naturally enough, often channeled in accordance with political judgments which, although quite understandable under the circumstances, unquestionably tend to distort normal patterns of trade and impede the equitable development of atomic power.

It seems to us that the indefinite continuation of this situation would have several bad effects. Firstly, it would reduce the amount of resources furnished by exporting countries to the many countries needing to import them for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, because the risks in this field are too serious to accept even for worthy reasons. Secondly, it will result in continued discrimination based upon judgments of the political alignments or attitudes of countries wishing to import atomic resources, discrimination which could be avoided if there were proper safeguards. Thirdly, we are almost certain to see, as attempts to overcome these two effects, bilateral systems of safeguards created by *ad hoc* agreements which are more likely to be discriminatory in effect and more of an affront to the sovereignty and dignity of nations than are safeguards worked out and carried out by an independent international agency. In the creation and operation of this Agency we will all have a hand,

and in it proper international scrutiny can be applied to see that the safeguards are administered as it was intended that they should be.

The two features of the safeguards article which were attacked by those who considered them too extensive were, respectively, the requirement that controls should apply without formal distinction to both "special fissionable materials" (in practice plutonium and uranium 235) and "source materials" (natural uranium and thorium) and the assignment to the Agency of authority to control the future use of special fissionable materials produced in Agency projects. Of these two points, the one which most concerned delegations in opposition to the draft Article was that relating to disposition of fissionable materials produced. Their original position was that the Agency should not have any authority to control such future use, although they admitted from the outset that the Agency should be in a position to control the utilization of special fissionable materials which it might supply to a country.

There was considerable discussion and negotiation on the safeguards Article and at one stage it appeared that agreement on a suitable text could not be reached. However, the deadlock was broken after the Swiss and French representatives presented a compromise text which found general acceptance. Agreement was reached on a formula which, while providing for Agency control of fissionable materials produced in an Agency project, established the right of the country concerned:

- (a) To determine for itself the peaceful uses to which such products might be put;
- (b) To withdraw such materials for uses which it might determine following their initial deposit with the Agency.

Financial Arrangements

The financial arrangements proposed in the draft Statute submitted to the Conference owed much to the efforts of Canadian representatives during the drafting conference in Washington. They were designed to ensure prudent and responsible financial administration on the one hand, while on the other hand providing sufficient flexibility and adequate revenues for the Agency to be able to carry out an effective programme in fulfilment of its principal objective of assisting countries to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy. These features, and the means whereby they are to be achieved, were completely retained in substance in the Statute as adopted by the Conference.

From the Canadian point of view the Conference was a noteworthy success in that the Statute as approved provides a Charter for the new Atomic Energy Agency conceived in a spirit of compromise and co-operation and one which commands world-wide support.

The Statute was signed on October 26, 1956 on behalf of Canada by Mr. Wershof, Mr. Bennett and Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations. The question of its ratification now becomes a matter for consideration by the Government.

Aspects of Canada-United States Relations

IN addresses delivered October 15 at Chicago and October 16 at Milwaukee, Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, urged United States business corporations to treat branch plants in Canada as thoroughly Canadian enterprises, and to remind themselves more often that Canada is a separate nation, not a state of the Union.

Speaking at a meeting of the Canadian Club of Chicago, Illinois, on the topic "American Investments in Canada", Mr. Howe said that because of Canada's closeness to the United States, and the similarity of institutions and ways of life in the two countries, Americans often treat Canada, for business purposes, almost as a part of the United States. This, he said, has its dangers if it leads American businessmen to treat branch plants in Canada just as if they were located in the United States.

At a meeting of the Milwaukee Association of Commerce, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mr. Howe said that his views on the operations of United States controlled plants in Canada could be applied to other aspects of economic relations between the two countries.

In his Chicago speech, the Minister pointed out that Canada welcomes the inflow of capital from south of the border, and that he had a number of suggestions to make to United States businessmen with a view to underpinning the friendly and harmonious economic relations that now exist between Canada and the United States.

Partial text of Mr. Howe's address at Chicago follows:

... I suggest to you a very simple rule. Other things being equal, it is good business for a Canadian subsidiary of a foreign company to become as Canadian as it can, without losing the benefits of association with the parent company. In many countries, of course, there are rigid laws applying to foreign controlled companies, requiring them, for example, to give local inhabitants a share in the enterprise and requiring them to employ a minimum proportion of local labour and so forth.

There are no such laws in Canada. I hope there never will be. I believe that those who are prepared to share with Canadians in the risks of developing our country should be as free as Canadians themselves in deciding how to conduct their enterprise.

Nevertheless, anyone who does business in Canada should reckon with the pride and the legitimate pride of Canadians in their country. In other words, they should reckon with the normal feelings of nationalism which is present in Canada, just as it is in the United States. Canadians do not like to be excluded from an opportunity of participating in the fortunes, good or bad, of large-scale enterprise incorporated in Canada but owned abroad. They may not buy many shares, but they resent the exclusion. They do not like to see large-scale Canadian enterprises entirely dependent upon foreign parents for their research and top management. They do not like to see the financial results of large-scale

Canadian enterprises treated as if they were the exclusive concern of the foreign owners.

I make bold therefore to offer three suggestions for the consideration of United States corporations establishing branch plants in Canada or searching for and developing Canadian natural resources:

(1) Provide opportunities for financial participation by Canadians as minority shareholders in the equities of such corporations operating in Canada;

(2) Provide greater opportunities for advancement in U.S. controlled corporations for Canadians technically competent to hold executive and professional positions;

(3) Provide more and regular information about the operations of such corporations in Canada.

I am pleased to say that an increasing number of American companies are now giving Canadians an opportunity to participate in the equity holdings of Canadian-operated enterprises. This is an encouraging trend. Canadians welcome this development, not just because it is in Canada's national interest, but also because we think it makes good business sense from the point of view of the American parent corporation.

Obstacle Removed

I was told that Canadian taxation discouraged Canadian participation in Canadian subsidiaries. If it did, that particular obstacle has been removed, at least insofar as Canadian law is concerned.

The agreement for the avoidance of double taxation between the United States and Canada provided for certain tax advantages for parent companies controlling 95 per cent or more of the equity of the subsidiary corporation in the other country. Last summer the United States and Canada reached an agreement, subject to ratification by your Congress and our Parliament, whereby the percentage of share ownership, entitling the parent company to a reduced rate of 5 per cent on dividends from its subsidiary operating in the other country, has been reduced from 95 per cent to 51 per cent. This amendment of our taxation agreement with the United States has since become law in Canada. It is still awaiting ratification by the U.S. Congress. Our Government made it quite clear, in proposing this amendment to the Canadian Parliament, that the new tax arrangement was designed to encourage U.S. parent corporations to give Canadian investors opportunities to buy share ownership in their subsidiary companies in Canada. Hence, as far as Canada is concerned, the tax disadvantage that used to exist for a U.S. corporation offering Canadian minority equity holdings in U.S. branch plants has been removed.

Undoubtedly, there are other difficulties, difficulties about exchange of research between parent and partially-owned subsidiaries, difficulties of control of subsidiaries with minority shareholders. That these are very real difficulties, I would be the first to admit. I ask only that they be weighed in the balance against the advantages in terms of goodwill of giving Canadians a sense of identity with the United States-controlled enterprises.

My second suggestion is that Canadians should be given greater opportunities for advancement in subsidiary enterprise controlled by United States parents. I am pleased to report that more and more U.S. corporations operating in Canada are hiring Canadians for responsible positions, when well-qualified people can be found; and that young Canadians are being advanced as rapidly as their ability and experience will warrant. Responsible Canadians are being

invited to sit on Boards of Directors. If this trend continues, there will be little for Canadians to complain about.

Inform Canadian Public

My third suggestion is that U.S. corporations should report the results of operations of their subsidiaries in Canada. As you are aware, the S.E.C. requires regular reporting by all the large corporations in the United States. We do not have similar regulations in Canada. Nevertheless, the Canadian public is interested in knowing how these large Canadian corporations are getting on in Canada. Since many of our large corporations are U.S.-controlled, the demand for the release of such information at regular intervals, say in the form of annual reports, has been increasing.

One U.S. corporation, with a 100 per cent controlled subsidiary operation in Canada, added a supplement to its last annual report outlining the extent of its operations and its achievements in Canada. This endeavour to let Canadians know how this company is doing with respect to operations in Canada was well received. It could serve as a useful guide to those who feel as I do that it is good business to treat branch plants in Canada as thoroughly Canadian enterprises.

These are my three specific recommendations. I believe they are worth careful consideration. I believe their adoption will be in the interests of United States corporations with subsidiaries in Canada. There may be other ideas equally good which serve the same purpose. Be assured of one thing, that my purpose is to improve business relations between the United States and Canada by giving Canadians a greater interest and a greater stake in the success of United States companies operating branch plants across the border.

Before leaving this subject, there is one other point very close to my heart as Minister of Trade and Commerce which I put before you for consideration. Branch plants are usually established to do business in the area they serve. But I ask you again to bear in mind that a branch plant in Canada is not the same thing as a branch plant in California or Louisiana. A Canadian branch plant is situated in a country that depends for its very existence upon international trade. It is situated in a country which maintains an external trade service which others tell us is second to none and which is ready to serve any Canadian enterprise, whoever owns it.

Too often, I regret to say, our trade representatives abroad turn up export opportunities for a subsidiary company operating in Canada only to find that the United States parent does not permit the export business to be done from the Canadian plant. Mind you, we do not object to doing occasional export promotion for United States corporations, but you will agree that it is rather difficult to justify the expense to the Canadian taxpayer!

Asks Re-examination

Once again I recognize that there are problems. But I do plead for a careful re-examination of export policies affecting Canadian branch plants. Canada as a nation is an efficient producer. Given sufficient volume, Canadian plants can often produce as cheaply as United States plants. Sometimes, too, Canada has an advantage in duty in supplying goods to countries of the British Commonwealth; indeed, many plants have been established in Canada just to take advantage of this preference. I am not suggesting that United States corporations should act contrary to their interests. I am suggesting that they may be overlooking a good bet by not allowing their Canadian plants to take on more export business. By being prepared to accept export business United States-controlled subsidiaries will also act more like good, solid Canadian enterprises.

Excerpts from Mr. Howe's remarks at Milwaukee follow:

... What I have been saying about the operations of United States controlled plants in Canada is capable of application to other aspects of our economic relationships. Consider, for a moment, trade between Canada and the United States. Canada is the best customer of the United States. The United States is the best customer of Canada. Trade between our two countries is greater than between any other two countries, amounting last year to \$6 billion.

But, too often, or so it seems to us in Canada, Americans take it all for granted. They take it for granted, for example, that Canada will continue to buy every year a billion dollars more from the United States than the United States buys from Canada. Americans apparently take it for granted that they will continue to be able to bring raw materials from Canada while placing high tariffs against imports of Canadian manufactures and threatening still further restrictions.

Now I am not saying that Canada is about to retaliate against the United States by raising barriers to imports from this country. I belong to a Government that has moved steadily in the direction of freer trade, which we believe to be in the Canadian interest, and in the interests of a peaceful world. Nor do I overlook the progress that has been made by the United States in the same direction in recent years.

A Separate Nation

It is just that I am convinced that Americans who sell goods to Canada and appreciate the value of the Canadian market would do well to remind themselves more often that Canada is a separate nation, not a state of the Union, a nation which in the long run can import only as much as it exports. If Americans think more often of their Canadian market in that sense, there will, I am confident, be greater support in this country for the kind of trade policies that will put United States-Canadian trade on an even more secure footing, and that will at the same time result in greater markets for United States goods in Canada.

When I think of how Americans and Canadians can work together as citizens of separate countries, living side by side, each respecting the legitimate interests of the other, I think immediately of the St. Lawrence Seaway which is of such vital interest to the city of Milwaukee. For many, many years Canada tried in vain to get the agreement of the United States to proceed with that great project. Finally, Canadian patience was exhausted. If the United States was not prepared to join in an international navigation project, Canada stood ready to do it alone.

Fortunately, that did not become necessary. Thanks to the unflinching support from communities such as your own, the opposition was overcome, and our two countries reached agreement and began work. I take this occasion to congratulate you on the success of your efforts.

Only a comparatively short time ago, the idea of Canada building the deep waterway by herself would have seemed absurd. But not today. This is a measure of the advance in recent years. That Canada stood ready to go it alone is another instance of the growing confidence of the Canadian people in their own capacity.

An international project was greatly to be desired, however, and Canadians have joined with enthusiasm in the construction of both the power and navigation aspects of the work. In fact, most of the navigation improvements are in Canada and will be paid for by Canada. We look forward, as you do, to an

immense development following upon the completion of the improvements that will bring the ocean to the heart of the Continent.

I have been most interested to learn about and now to see at first hand the enterprise in preparing for the Seaway that is being shown at American ports along the Great Lakes such as right here at Milwaukee. Thanks to the foresight and perseverance shown by the authorities of your city, Milwaukee is in a unique position to reap the full benefits to be derived from the completion of the Seaway. Your port is generally conceded to be the best equipped of all lake ports to handle Seaway traffic as the result of almost thirty years of preparation for the day the Seaway would be a reality.

Our ports along the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence are preparing, too, to handle a greater volume of business, some of which will come from the United States. As far as Canada is concerned, we hope that the Seaway not only means a new era for us, but that it more than justifies the hopes of those in the United States who supported it. We know that in this project, as in so many others, what is truly in the interest of the United States is also good for Canada.

Large ocean going ships will, of course, use the Seaway connecting inland United States and Canadian ports directly with ports in overseas countries. This in itself will be a great step forward in the history of both countries. I am inclined to think, however, that the really outstanding benefits of the Seaway will arise from large lake freighters being able to traverse the Seaway all the way from ports like Milwaukee, Chicago and Duluth and Fort William and Port Arthur at the one end to Montreal at the other, without having to trans-ship from larger to smaller freighters which can navigate the present channels. The benefits will come partly from this saving in trans-shipment costs and partly from the economies which are inherent in the use of large lake freighters, one of the most economical methods of transportation in the modern world. We can look forward, I believe, to substantial reductions in freight costs between lake ports and the Atlantic Ocean.

I have sought today to plant a few ideas that will help you to understand perhaps a little better what is happening in Canada and what Canadians think about their economic relations with you here in the United States. They are simple, not profound ideas. They may be summed up in a few words. If you operate a business in Canada, give Canadians an interest and a stake in its success. If you export to Canada, remember that Canadians can buy only if they have an equal opportunity to sell.

Most of all, I suggest that in your business dealings you do not take Canada for granted. Much better results are obtainable if Canadians are treated as people with as much pride in their country as you have in this great country of which you are citizens.

United Nations Day

ON October 24, Canada celebrated the eleventh anniversary of the ratification of the United Nations Charter. In Ottawa and in communities throughout the country appropriate ceremonies were held, and press, radio, and television programmes were arranged for the occasion.

Prime Minister St. Laurent issued a special United Nations Day message in which he reiterated Canada's resolve to realize the ideals of the United Nations Charter and stated that the United Nations is being welded into an instrument of progress for the whole of mankind.

Canadian non-governmental organizations, such as the United Nations Association in Canada and several other national associations, collaborated in the preparation of non-official celebrations. Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, served as honorary chairman of a special United Nations Day Committee formed by the United Nations Association.



—Capital Press

ACCEPTS INVITATION

Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, left, shown with Mr. Marvin Gelber, President of the United Nations Association of Canada, upon whose invitation Mr. Pearson agreed to act as Honorary Chairman of the National UN Day Committee.

In Ottawa, the United Nations flag flew atop the Peace Tower, and the flags of the 76 member countries were displayed in front of the Parliament

Building. The anthems of several member countries whose nationals are officers of the principal organs of the United Nations were played on the Peace Tower carillon during a special afternoon concert.

Text of the Prime Minister's message follows:

October 24 will mark this year the 11th anniversary of the ratification of the United Nations Charter.

Although it may have become a commonplace for member countries to express on United Nations Day their loyalty to and support for the principles and purposes of the world organization, it remains as important as ever to reiterate our faith in the ideals of its charter and our resolve to realize these ideals. Developments during the last year or so have only strengthened my belief that the United Nations and all that it stands for in the way of peace and good relations between peoples must remain an important basis for Canadian foreign policy.

Recent developments provide evidence of the usefulness of the Organization. The cumulative experience derived from the mediation of political disputes, and from the formulation and implementation of economic and social programmes, is welding the United Nations into an instrument of progress for the whole of mankind which, we must hope, will become more effective as the years go by.

During the past year, Canada has continued to work towards the attainment of the goals of the United Nations. In one of the more significant events of the 10th session of the General Assembly, Canada joined other countries in sponsoring a resolution which resulted in the admission of sixteen new members and made the Organization more broadly representative. Following our election to the Economic and Social Council, we sent delegations which participated actively in the two regular sessions of the Council. We also continued our active participation in the work of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programmes.

Impatience and wishful thinking must not be allowed to obscure the need for a reasoned, practical approach to complicated issues. The United Nations is not a universal panacea for the troubles of mankind, nor should it be expected to supersede all other means of mediation, conciliation and resolution of the problems which confront the world in which we are living. If it is to render even greater service in the future, the United Nations must continue to lay emphasis on what is feasible and necessary rather than on what may look ideally desirable. The foundations of this advance have been established, in the first eleven years of its existence. Today, therefore, let us renew our pledge of support for the United Nations and our determination to do all we can to foster and strengthen its development to the end that the nations of the world may, with God's grace, move forward in unity of purpose towards the realization of peace and freedom for all.

Open Consulate at Hamburg

THE Department of External Affairs and the Department of Trade and Commerce announced on November 15 the opening of a Canadian Consulate at Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany, and the appointment of Mr. E. H. Maguire as Consul. Mr. Maguire will be assisted by a Vice-Consul, Miss Olive Hobbs.

A Canadian office was originally opened in Hamburg in 1913, but it was transferred to Berlin in 1937. The Consulate will have responsibility in the provinces of Hamburg, Bremen, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony for promoting trade between the two countries and for rendering assistance to Canadian citizens.

Canadian trade with the Federal Republic of Germany has increased steadily within recent years and that country is now Canada's fourth largest market, after the United States, the United Kingdom and Japan. Exports to the Federal Republic last year reached \$91,000,000. The Federal Republic has been Canada's fourth ranking supplier, being surpassed only by the United States, the United Kingdom and Venezuela. Imports from there to Canada amounted to \$51,000,000.

Canadian exports to the Federal Republic include wheat and grain, non-ferrous metals, synthetic rubber and other chemical products, newsprint, pulp and other wood products, asbestos, hides, liquors and a variety of manufactured products of iron and steel. Imports include machinery, iron and steel products, textiles, chemicals, optical apparatus and jewellery.

German import controls have been relaxed to the point where they are no longer a serious barrier to the sale of most Canadian industrial products, although restrictions on many agricultural products remain in force. With a high and rising purchasing power, together with strong foreign reserves and earnings, the Federal Republic is likely to become an increasingly important market for Canadian exports.

In 1955, the Federal Republic achieved the highest rate of production and trade ever reached by that country and a rate of expansion unsurpassed in Europe. Her foreign trade was at an unprecedented level during the year, with exports valued at \$6.1 billion and imports of \$5.8 billion, a rise over the 1954 figures of 16 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. Returns for recent months indicate that this record may well be surpassed in the current year. In volume, the foreign trade of the Federal Republic is now far in excess of the trade of the larger pre-war Reich. Hamburg, and its surrounding area, forms the most important merchandising, importing and shipping region in Western Germany and should prove an ideal centre for the promotion of Canadian export trade by the Consulate.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. S. MacDonald, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Austria. Proceeded to Austria October 13, 1956.

Mr. M. D. Copithorne appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 1, 1956.

Mr. R. Maybank appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 1, 1956.

Mr. R. A. S. MacNeil, O.B.E., appointed to the Department of External Affairs as an Administrative Officer 3, effective October 1, 1956.

Mr. S. F. Rae posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective October 2, 1956.

Mr. A. de W. Mathewson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective October 5, 1956.

Mr. A. R. Potvin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 9, 1956.

Mr. J. J. McCardle posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective October 15, 1956.

Mr. J. C. J. Cousineau posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective October 16, 1956.

Mr. G. P. de T. Glazebrook posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective October 19, 1956.

Mr. P. A. Bridle posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective October 19, 1956.

Mr. E. G. Drake posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective October 20, 1956.

Mr. V. G. Turner posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 25, 1956.

Mr. C. F. W. Hooper posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to Ottawa, effective September 27, 1956.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and Abroad:

- No. 56/16—*International Co-operation and a new NATO*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Commencement Exercises, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 3, 1956.
- No. 56/17 — *Recent Developments in Disarmament*, excerpts from an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made to the Annual Convention of the Ontario Retail Pharmacists Association, Windsor, Ontario, June 18, 1956.
- No. 56/18—*Some Aspects of Canadian Foreign Policy*, excerpts from a speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in the House of Commons, August 1, 1956.
- No. 56/19—*Survey of World Economy*, a statement given July 18 by Mr. Lucien Cardin, M.P., Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the 22nd session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in plenary meeting in Geneva. Mr. Cardin spoke on Agenda Item 2(A), "Survey of the Question of Full Employment and the Expansion of World Trade".
- No. 56/20 — *American Investments in Canada*, excerpts from an address by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, to the Canadian Club of Chicago, October 15, 1956.
- No. 56/21—*Canadian-U.S. Economic Relations*, excerpts from an address by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, to The Milwaukee Association of Commerce, Milwaukee, October 16, 1956.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

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Special Session of Parliament

World Crisis Debated

As stated in the Speech from the Throne given by the Governor General, the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, C.H., Members of the Senate and House of Commons were summoned to Ottawa for a special session, which opened November 26, "because of the serious international situation arising out of hostilities in the Middle East and the events in Hungary".

The Throne Speech informed the members of the House of Commons that they would be "asked to provide expressly that the provision for defence expenditures in the Appropriation Act No. 6, 1956 be used for the purpose of Canada's participation in the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East in fulfilment of our country's obligations to the United Nations Organization under the Charter", and in addition, "to authorize the provision of relief for the victims of the recent tragic events in Hungary".

The debate, which opened on November 26 with a motion of non-confidence in the Government moved by the Hon. W. Earl Rowe, Acting Leader of the Opposition, continued until November 29, when the motion was defeated by a vote of 171 to 36. The House then approved without discussion the expenditure of \$1,000,000 for the relief of Hungarian refugees and, finally, the financing of Canada's contribution to the United Nations Emergency Force from appropriations of the Department of National Defence. Parliament was then adjourned until January 8.

The following are excerpts from the addresses of the leaders of the three opposition parties, Prime Minister St. Laurent and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs:

Hon. W. Earl Rowe (*Acting Leader of the Official Opposition*)

... I know that the people of this country and hon. members of this House, especially members of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, were shocked over the last week-end on two different counts. The first was the strange attitude taken by the United States of America in the United Nations when despite the rather vigorous attitude of Canada's representatives the week before we had the almost embarrassing silence on Saturday night in connection with the issue then before the United Nations. As has been mentioned by the hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Weselak), some of the British and French troops have been moved from the Near East, but I understood that when the cease-fire agreement was concluded the one main and fundamental condition of that agreement was that there was to be an effective police force in the Near East before the British and French troops would move. Yet now they are asked to move forthwith ...

Right Hon. Mr. Eden, Prime Minister of Great Britain, has said that the British-French invasion of Egypt has blocked a communist plot in the Middle East, a plot which would have led to "the loss of countless lives and more other evils than we can even estimate". The record of the last few years truly gives us more reason to trust the Prime Minister of Britain than President Nasser of Egypt.

We are of course committed now to the United Nations and all its wide areas of operation. While there are grave differences of opinion in the United Nations Organization, nevertheless all who are honestly striving and struggling for world peace are earnestly hoping that the worthy intentions and aspirations of that Organization may not be sacrificed by abandoning the basic principles behind its creation. The fundamental and most important of these principles to prevent aggression and preserve peace was the principle of collective action. The United Nations

Organization of today seems at times to be united in name only . . .

If our Canadian troops are to be used as part of UN police forces, it is our duty to see that they are given a possible function toward a sound objective. We must never ask them merely to clear a course and police a route for Colonel Nasser and his Russian comrades to pursue quietly and cunningly toward the diabolical purpose they have so boldly emphasized.

During the last session of Parliament repeated requests were made by the Opposition for information on Canada's interest in the Mediterranean crisis . . .

At that date, as evidence that the Government had certainly not given careful consideration to the policy to be followed if the Suez Canal crisis increased, there is the statement made by the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Campney) on August 3 in Vancouver:

This is primarily a European matter. It is not a matter which particularly concerns Canada. We have no oil there. We don't use the canal for shipping.

. . . If our Government had been following the course of events in the Middle East, as we would expect it to do, it would surely not have been as "distressed and dismayed" as the Secretary of State for External Affairs said it was when he gave his press conference on October 31. An ostrich raising its head from the sand might have felt the regret and shocked surprise which apparently rent our Cabinet. I do not think a well-informed government, conscious of the implications of Soviet strength in the Middle East, would have been so surprised.

Whatever the division of opinion within the Cabinet as a result of the British and French ultimatum to Egypt and Israel on October 30, the idea put forward by the Opposition through the hon. member for Prince Albert ten months ago in this House was hastily revived at last in the proposal to send an international emergency force to the danger area, even though it was merely scoffed off ten months ago. I submit it might have been better to organize it ten months ago than to wait until after the trouble had occurred.

I believe there is no disagreement among us regarding the desirability of forming a UN police force to police the Suez Canal area pending a final settlement both between Egypt and Israel and also concerning the international status of the Suez Canal. This party has over and over again emphasized the importance of the underlying and fundamental principle of the League of Nations as

well as the United Nations. We have been on record to that effect time and time again. In the United Nations we need more than platitudes or bluffing. We need more action . . .

When it was finally announced 10 days ago that Canada was sending an administrative staff to the United Nations force, there was considerable surprise throughout Canada. This surprise turned into anger and dismay when it became clear that the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, was allowing the Egyptian President Nasser to dictate or at least to exercise a veto over the exact composition of the United Nations Emergency Force. Surely the realization that Colonel Nasser was specifying what we might or might not contribute to the United Nations must have brought a feeling of humiliation and embarrassment to the members of this Government . . .

Whole Story Wanted

I believe it is the solemn duty of the Opposition in this House to insist that the whole story of Canada's participation in the United Nations Emergency Force be told. Canada's pride has been wounded by pretense and evasion. Surely we have not stumbled and blundered into a position in which our contribution to the United Nations Emergency Force is no longer dependent upon our own generous instincts and desire to preserve peace in the world . . .

I have mentioned the dangers which the free world is facing in the Middle East through Soviet aggression there. I know I need not remind the House that Soviet activities in the Middle East are all part of a pattern with the tragic events which have been taking place in Hungary during the past few weeks. Soviet domination of all its satellite countries is maintained only by force. Those at the head of affairs in the Kremlin are following the practices of Stalin's regime to dominate and extend the Soviet empire . . .

We have joined with the great majority of members of the United Nations in condemning Soviet aggression in Hungary, and particularly the removal by Soviet troops of thousands of Hungarians who had dared to fight for the freedom and independence of their country from foreign rule. It may be that the expression of strong United Nations disapproval of Soviet acts in Hungary will produce an ameliorating effect on the men in the Kremlin, but so far the Soviet Union does not seem to have been much impressed by the United Nations condemnation of its actions. No matter how strongly we have talked against them they have not even listened, and have only laughed at the suggestion.

I notice that our Government has not been claiming very great credit for its role in helping Hungary through the United Nations. I do not know how it could. Having regard to the principles governing our security throughout the world in the past, surely we should realize that the interests of Canada in the Middle East and in Hungary are closely tied together. The attempt by the United Kingdom and France to limit Soviet expansion in the Middle East was crippled through what I believe to be the inept diplomacy of the United States in the role it played in the Suez Canal crisis . . .

I hope that voices will be raised in this House to urge the Government to take a substantial bloc of refugees as our contribution toward the relief of the great sufferings of the Hungarian people in their noble struggle to free their ancient country. Anything less than this would be an insult to the people of Hungary and an embarrassment to people all across this dominion, because people from that country have contributed greatly to the development of this young country of Canada.

Many thousands of these brave people are today flooding Austria, those who are not shot and chopped down by the Russian army along the border, no doubt emphasizing the tragedy in that district. All one has to do is read the papers, and the contents of those papers are too terrible to repeat here. It should be within the knowledge of everyone here . . .

It is not my intention to delay this debate by speaking at great length. I do not look upon this as an issue concerning which we can come to Parliament and rush in and rush out for the convenience of the Government. This is a vital issue which touches the heart

Prime Minister St. Laurent

. . . There has been some suggestion that Canada has been humiliated by Colonel Nasser. Canada has had no dealings whatsoever with Colonel Nasser. Canada has dealt with the United Nations and the United Nations in this instance have been represented by the Secretary-General and by another gentleman who is a very distinguished Canadian in whose patriotism as well as in whose wisdom this government has practically unlimited confidence. I refer to General Burns.

Originally there was this motion proposed which has been construed, and I think rightly so, as placing some blame on the Israelis, some blame on the French and some blame on the British for having taken the law into their own hands when what had to be dealt with was already before the Security Council of the United Nations. These gentlemen who

of every Canadian. It concerns the lives and hopes of these people and their children and their children yet unborn. I do not look upon this as a political issue, but Canada is disturbed, Canada is alarmed and Canada is shocked at the vacillation and complacency of this Government in relation to this as well as many other matters. It is useless to hide behind the great shield of the United Nations. The United Nations is no stronger than the countries it embraces. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. Canada has failed dismally in its representation at the United Nations . . .

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I move on behalf of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, seconded by the hon. member for Vancouver-Quadra (Mr. Green):

That the following be added to the address.

That this House regrets that Your Excellency's advisers

(1) have followed a course of gratuitous condemnation of the action of the United Kingdom and France which was designed to prevent a major war in the Suez area;

(2) have meekly followed the unrealistic policies of the United States of America and have thereby encouraged a truculent and defiant attitude on the part of the Egyptian dictator;

(3) have placed Canada in the humiliating position of accepting dictation from President Nasser;

(4) have failed to take swift and adequate action to extend refuge to the patriots of Hungary and other lands under the cruel Russian yoke.

utter these high-flown phrases seem to forget that the nations of the world signed the Charter of the United Nations and thereby undertook to use peaceful means to settle possible disputes and not to resort to the use of force.

I have been scandalized more than once by the attitude of the larger powers, the big powers as we call them, who have all too frequently treated the Charter of the United Nations as an instrument with which to regiment smaller nations and as an instrument which did not have to be considered when their own so-called vital interests were at stake. I have been told, with respect to the veto, that if the Russians had not insisted upon it the United States and the United Kingdom would have insisted upon it, because they could not allow this crowd of smaller nations

to deal decisively with questions which concerned their vital interests.

An Hon. Member: Why should they?

Mr. St. Laurent (Quebec East): Because the members of the smaller nations are human beings just as are their people; because the era when the supermen of Europe could govern the whole world has and is coming pretty close to an end . . .

United Nations Force

It has been said that Canada has been humiliated by the action of Colonel Nasser and has been made to submit to the requirements of Colonel Nasser. That is just one of those wild assertions for which there is absolutely no foundation in fact. The original resolution provided that the United Nations in its efforts to make peace in the world would not start their efforts to make peace by making war. It was going to introduce a police force to supervise the observance of the cessation of hostilities, but it was going to do that with the consent of the country in which those forces were going to operate. It was not going to fight its way into that country. That was the resolution which was adopted without any opposition, although with a certain number of abstentions.

At that time the Secretary-General of the United Nations gave us the chance to participate in this force, and gave it to those who were willing and anxious, as we have been willing and anxious since 1945, to have a United Nations force ready to deal with recalcitrants in the fulfilment of their obligations under the Charter. The suggestion was made that each nation should supply something like a battalion or other self-contained unit.

We consider that every battalion in the Canadian forces would feel it an honour to be called upon to perform this duty, but there was one battalion which was next in line in the rotation of service in connection with the Canadian contingent to the NATO forces in Europe, and that was the Queen's Own. It seemed to us that all the other battalions would recognize that that battalion, having been groomed and being on the point of being called upon to replace another battalion in Europe, would naturally be the one which we would consider and which we would think of first to take on this new duty in pursuit of the objectives of the United Nations. That battalion happened to be the Queen's Own Rifles. It was suggested, I am told, although we were not present at the negotiations, that Colonel Nasser said that that would be regarded by the Egyptians as being a battalion of the Queen of England.

An Hon. Member: What is wrong with that?

Mr. Green: What about the Queen of Canada?

Mr. St. Laurent (Quebec East): In my view nothing is wrong with it except it is the Queen of Canada's Own Rifles. No Colonel Nasser nor anything that is said here, unless it amounts to a successful vote of no confidence in this Government, nor anything published in the papers which are trying to belittle the actions of Canada in this instance, is going to persuade us that we have no right to have that glorious battalion continue to be called the Queen's Own Rifles . . .

Now, we felt that the sending of a battalion over into the Sinai desert was not just the right thing to do for men who had the training and who were anxious to perform the service for which we were sending them there. We did not think we should dump 900 or 1,000 men into a desert and think they were going to be looked after properly and were going to be kept in fit condition to perform the services for which they were going there. So we decided at once that in readying the Queen's Own Rifles for that expedition there would be added supplementary forces that could ensure for them the establishment that would be necessary for them to carry out their functions properly and, to make assurance doubly sure, we said we would have the *Magnificent* loaded with provisions; that we would have a hospital unit on it and that it would serve as a floating base so our men would be sure that until proper army services were organized on a land base in Egypt there would be the possibility for them to get the right kind of treatment, the treatment necessary in order to enable them to fulfil their mission. It was pretty effectively demonstrated, in spite of what has been said by hon. gentlemen in some parts of the House about a lot of money having been spent on our forces with nothing to show for it, that within a very short time we were able to move everything required to put a battalion in the field, and indeed, we could put several battalions in the field if it were necessary to do so.

Whether that turned out to be the ultimate requirement of the commander of the United Nations force, we felt that something of that kind would be just as effective and as good an exercise as some of these simulated exercises that are constantly taking place to keep men in readiness to take the field if the occasion should require, because in this case there was something real for which the need for activity was being undertaken.

During that time there were negotiations going on, and there was some suggestion with

regard to the placing of infantrymen. This again is something we have by way of hearsay concerning Mr. Hammarskjold's discussion with the Egyptian authorities when he went over there to secure their consent to the operation of this police force in their territory. It was suggested that the only place infantrymen could go at that time would be to Port Said; that there they would be coming to a place where there were large numbers of United Kingdom troops wearing the same uniform worn by our men; that our men might be taken for reinforcements being brought in for the British troops there instead of a part of the police force of the United Nations, and that this might give rise to incidents which would, at the outset of this operation, be an unfortunate occurrence.

That was something that had to be considered by the Secretary-General and by the commander of the United Nations force, and when he arrived in New York we were immediately informed that he felt he did not have in Egypt a proper base to administer at once any considerably increased number of infantrymen, and that what would be most useful to him at first would be a group of 250 to 300 engineers and signallers whom he could use in organizing and establishing his base. He also said that another thing that was urgently required was air transport. He had only three civilian planes chartered from Swiss owners, and they had thought they could make two round trips per day but had found they could only make one. He said that was holding up the organization of the effective force that should be and that will be on Egyptian territory. We did have the air transports.

Again I say that, even had the commanding officer not been a Canadian we might have said as others might have said, "Here is our contribution. Make the best possible use you can of it." But it so happens that the man who is going to have the responsibility of command is of course a United Nations officer but is nevertheless a Canadian, a great Canadian who is regarded as such by the majority of our people, and we felt that it was our moral duty, in addition to our general duty to the United Nations, not to let that great Canadian down. We felt that if there were requirements he was not getting from others and which he needed to put himself in a position where he felt he could carry out the responsibilities he was taking on, we should assist him in every way.

May I say here that he did not have to accept this responsibility. He has been working for the United Nations under pressure for quite a long time and did not have to accept this new responsibility, but he is not a man

who has ever shirked anything put up to him as a duty that would be of service to his own countrymen and to the free nations of the world. He accepted the responsibility and we felt that we should do our best to see that he got everything required to enable him to discharge his responsibilities in the manner in which he felt they should be discharged.

The original resolution provided that there had to be consent of the government of the country where the United Nations force was going to operate. But that is all that requires the consent of the government of the country where the force is to operate. It is a United Nations operation. It is the United Nations that is going to determine the composition of the force going there. It is the United Nations that will determine where in that country the force will be stationed and when and how long it will be there.

Having accepted the condition in the resolution, it is our view, and I think the view of practically everyone at the United Nations, that the other modalities of the operation of this force are things to be determined, independently of Colonel Nasser or of anyone else in Egypt, by the United Nations on its responsibility to discharge the undertaking it has assumed in the interests of peace in the world.

The amendment before us reads in part as follows:

... this House regrets that Your Excellency's advisers have followed a course of gratuitous condemnation of the action of the United Kingdom and France which was designed to prevent a major war in the Suez area ...

No Gratuitous Condemnation

There has been no gratuitous condemnation of the action of the United Kingdom. On the first resolution that was introduced by the United States and supported by a very large number of members of the United Nations, the Canadian Delegation abstained and declared it was abstaining because it was an insufficient resolution. It provided merely for a cease-fire and nothing more. That was not good enough, because just as soon as that might become spent we would be back in the same position we were in before. There was abstention by the Canadian Delegation because there was applied there something which hon. gentlemen opposite have very violently resented when it was applied here in a very modified form. The United Nations Assembly applied closure and determined that there would be three speakers supporting the resolution, three speakers opposing the resolution and that the vote would then be taken. As we were neither supporting nor opposing the resolution, we could not be one of those

three; and there was no move to amend the resolution . . .

On that resolution there was no gratuitous or other condemnation by Canada but there has been an expression of regret that certain members of the United Nations had felt it necessary to take the law into their own hands when the matter was before the Security Council; and there was an expression of regret that what took place in the Middle East was used as a screen to obscure the horrible actions, the horrible international crimes, that were being committed in mid-Europe at the same time. Events in the Middle East made it more difficult to marshal world opinion in unanimous and vigorous condemnation of what was taking place in Hungary at that very moment.

That is what we regretted. We feel that there can come out of this situation one that will be better than that which existed previously. It is our hope and it has been our objective to get all those in the Western alliance to which my hon. friend referred working together toward the common objective of a settlement of the mid-Eastern situation that will be lasting and that will involve the recognition of the existence of Israel as a state set up by the United Nations and something which the United Nations is in honour bound to defend and to see maintained. It is our hope that there will be some kind of a lasting settlement—I will not say a permanent one because permanence is rarely found in any human activities or human achievements—though it is difficult to find with whom in all those Arab nations a settlement could be made that would take into account the real interests of the population of each of those countries. It is difficult to find anyone who can form the kind of government which would take the over-all broad view of the interests of the whole population and not the interests of a small group of the population.

But difficult as it may be, we cannot expect that the North African nations or some of the Asiatic nations will achieve in a decade the kind of democracy that it took many centuries for the United Kingdom, France and the other western democracies to achieve. You cannot bring about in that short order that which has been the product of not always successful and wise efforts, but of a process of trial and error that went on over a long period of time and brought about an attitude that changed the form of administration of the European countries from medieval feudalism to popular democracy; and it is not going to be easy to bring that about in any short time, though we possibly now move faster, especially in moving from one physical place to another, than we ever moved previously . . .

The next paragraph of the amendment reads:

have meekly followed the unrealistic policies of the United States of America and have thereby encouraged a truculent and defiant attitude on the part of the Egyptian dictator.

Well, on two occasions resolutions supported by the United States Delegation have failed to get our support. If that is meekly following the unrealistic policies of the United States, then my understanding of words is not the same as the understanding of those who wrote this paragraph of the amendment to the motion for an address in reply.

The third paragraph reads:

have placed Canada in the humiliating position of accepting dictation from President Nasser.

I believe I have dealt sufficiently with that to show that this is not a statement founded on fact, and whether there has been dictation to anybody from President Nasser there certainly has been none to us and there will certainly be none to us. The representations that have been made to our diplomatic representative in Egypt, whether they be sincere representations or not, are that Colonel Nasser was most anxious to maintain good will with the Canadian Government and was most appreciative of the suggestions the Canadian Government had made to deal with this situation. Whether or not that be true I do not know, but that is what he has said to our representative, who is not quite as gullible as this laughter from the other side of the House when I mention it would indicate.

Hungary

The next paragraph reads:

have failed to take swift and adequate action to extend refuge to the patriots of Hungary and other lands under the cruel Russian yoke.

I am now going to disclose some correspondence that was not confidential correspondence. When these events in Hungary were at their unfortunate height I asked to have the Russian Ambassador call upon me. I had a message conveyed to him that I thought it would be in the interests of his country as well as in the interests of this country that he come and see me. He did. I told him what I thought of what was going on. I said relations had been improving, you know, with your country. I had not met the two of your Ministers who were over here but I had met one of them and I got a very favourable impression of the kind of man that

your Minister of Fisheries, who came over here to repay the visit by our Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Sinclair), last year, happened to be. After all, I said, it is none of our business what kind of government you have in your country if that is the kind of government your people want, and it is none of your business to determine what kind of government there should be in any other country if that does not happen to be the kind of government the people of that country want.

I said I would be glad if he would convey the following message from me to Mr. Bulganin. It was dated November 13, and I make it public at the present time because it was only yesterday that an answer came from Mr. Bulganin. You will hear the answer in a moment and you will see, with that kind of answer, there is no reason for me not to disclose the representations with which I had attempted to have him comply. This is dated Ottawa, November 13, 1956:

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I consider it my urgent duty to let you know that the people and the Government of Canada have been profoundly shocked by the reports we have received of the actions your Government has taken in Hungary during the last few weeks. We have made our attitude clear in the position taken by Canada in voting for the United Nations resolutions on this subject. I wish to add my plea not only for rapid compliance on the part of the Soviet Government with these resolutions, but for a display even at this late date of moderation towards the unfortunate victims of these tragic events.

I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, that I speak for the whole people of Canada in expressing our horror at the suffering of the Hungarian people as a result of their efforts to obtain the freedom to choose their own type of government. It is not, however, my present purpose to attempt to pass judgment on the actions that have been taken but to ask you, in the name of humanity, to use your influence to alleviate the sufferings of the Hungarian people and to permit competent international agencies and organizations to help in the urgent work of distributing food and caring for the sick. In this humanitarian work the Canadian Government and people are already giving material support wherever it is within their power to do so.

The Government and people of Canada have no desire to influence the form of government chosen by the peoples of Eastern Europe. Our only aim is that they should be free to do so, and that the governments so

chosen should steer their own independent courses, respecting the equal rights of all their neighbours and bearing in mind only the needs and wishes of their own people in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) Louis S. St. Laurent.

Later I got this answer, dated November 24. This, of course, is a translation which, I am told, is an official translation.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have received your letter of November 13. The contents of your letter and also of your recent statements and of speeches of Canadian officials about situation in Hungary show that the Canadian Government seem to have one-sided, tendentious and unobjective information about developments in Hungary and about position of Soviet Union on this question.

I would like to note that revolutionary workers peasants Government of Hungary have shown in their statements that reactionary forces inside Hungary with active support of certain circles outside tried to overturn peoples' democratic regime in the country and establish a Horthy-fascist regime. The inner patriotic forces of Hungary came out in defence of peoples' democratic regime asking for help of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty.

As concerning position of the Soviet Government on question of relations of Soviet Union with Hungary this has been fully set forth in "Declaration of Soviet Government on foundation for development and further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between Soviet Union and other Socialist States", published October 31, 1956.

In your letter Mr. Prime Minister you raise the question of Soviet Government giving assistance to international organizations to make it possible for them to render assistance and help to Hungarian people in food and medicine. This question is fully within competence of Hungarian Government. As far as we know Government of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic has already positively solved this question and Hungarian Government has formally informed Secretary-General of United Nations about this.

Yours sincerely,
N. A. Bulganin.

This last statement has been, I think, verified by representatives of the United Nations, who have recently informed us that repre-

sentatives of the Red Cross would now be admitted within Hungary to distribute food and medical supplies to those in need of such food and medical supplies.

That answers this other matter raised by the hon. gentleman now leading the Official Opposition. He says that \$200,000 was a paltry sum and that we have raised it from \$200,000 to \$1 million. The original recommendation was for \$1 million, of which \$100,000 was to go to the Red Cross and \$100,000 to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be used in the alleviation of the sufferings of refugees once they became refugees outside of Hungary. But at that time we were not disposed to ask Parliament to appropriate any of the taxpayers' money to be placed in the hands and under the control of any communist-controlled Hungarian Government to be used for the support of whatever democratic qualifications they choose to give themselves. We have had some experience, but not much, in seeing how supplies from other countries have been used in communist countries as propaganda for the regime that was bringing about the misery that we and other free nations were seeking to alleviate. As soon as we heard that supplies could be distributed under proper auspices, we went back to the original sum of \$1 million. The estimate that has been distributed, and that is now before the House, is for \$1 million to be applied, subject to the decisions of Treasury Board, and that is so Treasury Board will be able to make absolutely sure that everything coming from the use of that \$800,000—because \$100,000 is going to the Red Cross for the use of refugees outside of Hungary and \$100,000 is going to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—will be expended either by the Red Cross or by a United Nations agency that will have our full confidence in its desire and its ability to see

that the assistance goes to those who have really been the victims of the horrible crimes that have been perpetrated against that nation in the last few weeks, and to no others.

That is why the item reads:

To provide, subject to the approval of the Treasury Board, assistance to the victims of the recent tragic events in Hungary, \$1 million.

Well, I have dealt at greater length with this matter than I expected and at greater length than either the hon. gentleman who spoke before I did or I expected would be appropriate on this occasion. But since we have found that it was not agreeable to some hon. members to proceed at once to have all this discussion on the estimates where questions could be put and answers given, well, it probably has to be at this time; but whether it be now, or whether it be on the estimates, I hope it will be a decision of which the majority of the people in Canada would say that those who took part in it were able to rise above political partisanship in dealing with this question which is one of interest not only to our own free people but to the people of the whole free world.

I expect that there will be criticism as to the manner we have felt, in our lack of wisdom, to be the best way to do these things; but I hope there will be agreement that it is proper that we should discharge this obligation to the United Nations by an appropriate participation in the United Nations force and that it is proper that we should do our best to see that the Canadian who has been chosen by the United Nations to be the commander of that force is not let down, if we can prevent him from being let down by supplying him with what he thinks he requires and that he is not apt to get from other contributors to this United Nations force.

Mr. M. J. Coldwell (*Leader of the C.C.F. Party*)

Mr. Speaker, I think we are all aware that Parliament is meeting today under the shadow of a great international crisis, perhaps a greater crisis than the world has witnessed since September 1939. The issues involved today are of such a nature that they might bring about even a third world war and therefore one is constrained to ask oneself, what does the country expect of this Parliament at the present time?

I think the people of this country expect that we should give unanimous and speedy approval to the further supplementary estimates that have been introduced this afternoon, and that this shall be done in order to meet the needs of our armed forces which are

proceeding overseas and to meet the dreadful situation from which the refugees from Soviet terror in Hungary have fled . . .

I do not think I have ever felt more sorrowful than I felt as I watched the events following the adventure in the Suez area. There was not only the question of African and Asian opinion, there was the danger to the Commonwealth. I was relieved when I read a few days ago that Nehru had refused in the Indian Parliament to agree to a proposal that India should leave the Commonwealth. I think it would have been a tragedy if India left the Commonwealth, or if Pakistan or Ceylon withdrew.

This action has undermined the United

Nations. As I have said on a number of occasions, it was with the deepest regret that I saw this action being undertaken in the manner in which it was. Certainly there was provocation, but that provocation should have been taken to the United Nations and pressed there. It is true also that the United States has some responsibility. I am not going into that at any length tonight because there is not sufficient time to do so. The changing and tortuous policies of the United States certainly contributed to what has happened in the Middle East.

It will be said that the genesis of the recent moves on the part of Britain and France was the attacks made by Israel on Egypt. As one who has been interested in following the chain of circumstances in Israel over the last several years I for one can understand the position in which that country found itself on October 29. As we know, this was the culmination of a long dispute. Israel had suffered considerable provocation, as we all know. None the less I am sorry that the action was taken because it did bring about a situation that today is causing grave concern all over the world . . .

Suggestions for UN

There are certain constructive suggestions that I think Canada should now be endeavouring to place before the United Nations in order that the Middle Eastern situation may be cleaned up once and for all, over a period of time, of course, and peace established in that area. If there is, as we have, a cease-fire and a United Nations force there, then we should endeavour to suggest ways and means to prevent an outbreak in the future.

In the first place, we feel that the unstable conditions which led to the outbreak of fighting between Egypt and Israel are not confined to that section on the borders of Israel. The dangers of a similar outbreak occurring can be found on the frontiers with Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. We believe that some action should be taken now by the United Nations to extend police force action to those areas to provide an effective guarantee against the violation of peace there while a general settlement of the outstanding problems of the

area is being arrived at. Let us not again be in the position of sending in a police force to stop the fighting after it has started.

That is the weak position in which we are today. If we had had a United Nations police force as was envisaged under the Charter of the United Nations, that police force could have stepped in at any time there appeared to be the possibility of war in any area. We have not that force. We are building up a force now through the Assembly instead of through the Security Council because the Security Council failed to act.

But, we believe that this police force must be followed by some comprehensive economic settlement. A settlement must provide first of all for the recognition by the Arab States, including Egypt, of the State of Israel, and for the signing of a peace treaty with Israel under which Israel's borders will be guaranteed. The blockade of Israel should be lifted and free passage through the canal, when passage is restored, should be available to Israeli shipping. We feel that no solution to the Suez Canal problem can be achieved unless this is done.

We also realize that there are a good many other aspects of the economic situation in the Middle East. Egypt herself, with a population which is under-fed and under-privileged, requires help in the irrigation of that area. As a matter of fact, I believe that the United Nations might consider setting up an international authority in agreement with the countries involved such as the Sudan and right down through Ethiopia, Egypt and so on, comparable to the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States, in order to use the waters of that area for watering the desert and feeding the people of Egypt and the adjacent countryside just in the same way as I believe that, once peace is attained among Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, a similar authority might be set up to utilize the waters of the Jordan. Those of us who have seen the waters of the Jordan and know how they could be utilized if only an agreement could be reached among the nations along the river know perfectly well that the waters could be used to bring food, prosperity and so on to the people of that general area. These are some of the things that need to be done.

Mr. Solon E. Low (*Leader of the Social Credit Party*)

Mr. Speaker, I consider this to be one of the most serious matters that has ever come before this Assembly. I look upon the present situation as one that is fraught with grave danger, not only to our own country but to the other countries of the world. Because of the fact that this is a most serious time, I

approach the present assignment with some diffidence. I would not want anything that I say to complicate matters, either for our own country or for the United Nations in the tremendous task that faces it at the present time . . .

Although there are many vexatious domes-

tic problems that face our Canadian people, problems demanding early solution, yet uppermost in their minds is the Middle East problem; the rape of Hungary and the bestiality of Russia; the about-face that we have seen that country make in these last few weeks. The people in all parts of Canada expected Parliament, without delay, to get down to the business of taking action that is carefully calculated to bring peace to the Middle East, to provide the much-needed assistance to the oppressed and persecuted people of Hungary, and to do our utmost to relieve the suffering and uncertainties that have been heaped upon so many of these Hungarian patriots who have demonstrated that they love liberty more than they love life.

World Watching Canada

I contend that the eyes of the world are upon Canada today, and upon this Parliament. . . . As the nation that took the lead in moving the resolution in the United Nations to set up an international police force, the actions of this Parliament are being watched with more than common interest and expectation. Under the circumstances, Mr. Speaker, it would seem to me to have been better for this Parliament to show by actions, not by millions of meaningless words, that we do indeed want fast, effective action to provide a solid foundation for peace and security in the years ahead. I think this is no time for playing politics. This is a time for statesman-like soul searching and truth seeking of the most intensive kind. In my judgment we ought to be setting party politics aside in an effort to find the maximum of common ground for swift action in the interests of our own country and of all mankind.

My colleagues and I firmly believe that the only way out of the present confused, dangerous and complicated set of circumstances is to seek earnestly for God's guidance to enable us, the Parliament of Canada, to find what is right; and then to have the courage to do it when we find it. If ever there was a time in man's knowledge when vision and understanding have to be buttressed by faith and humility, I think that time is now. So Mr. Speaker, it is not our intention at this session to carp or to be unduly critical or to strain to find fault. We want to be critical where that is required in the interests of good government and good business, but certainly we are not going to inject party political manoeuvring into these proceedings, because this is not the time for it.

Some criticism has been levelled at the Government regarding the calling of Parliament. . . . My own judgment is that there can be little criticism levelled at the Government

on the ground of not having called Parliament earlier than it did.

There are some criticisms that can be levelled at the Government in connection with their actions to date. I think it would be unwise for us to withhold them. As I said before, it is not political criticism that I want to level. I think it is a pity that the Government did not find it possible to provide Britain and France with moral backing when they intervened in the Middle East. I said so on the very day that Britain and France intervened. . . .

Well, this afternoon the Prime Minister said that his Government was critical of Britain and France. I am not sure he used the word "critical", but at any rate it amounted to that. It amounted to criticism of Britain, France and Israel because, he said, they had signed the Charter of the United Nations agreeing not to take the law into their own hands. I think that is true. Is it not also true that the United Nations signatories pledged themselves to speedy intervention to stop aggression wherever it raised its head? Have they done it? When there seemed to be no hope whatever that they would do so or were equipped to do so, then under the circumstances the question arose what other alternative was left to Britain and France? I think we have to keep that in our minds as we proceed.

What has the United Nations done to clear away the problems and the provocations, indeed the aggressions, in the Middle East, Mr. Speaker? I remind the members of this Assembly that the United Nations did nothing until Britain and France moved to protect their interests and to keep Israel and Egypt apart. It seemed to take a shock to move the United Nations to take any action that was worth while. I would not brand Britain and France as aggressors . . . as many have done.

Rather than blame those countries I believe we should seek for the fundamental causes of deterioration in the world situation, and in the Middle Eastern situation that is our immediate concern now, in the weaknesses and the frailties of the United Nations. The Prime Minister said this afternoon that he believed what was happening in the Middle East was used as a shield by Russia to cover its horrible rape of Hungary. I remind the Prime Minister that the Russian turn-about from her decision to remove her troops from Hungary came only when Western solidarity was shattered by the bitter and angry rebuke of Britain and France, first by the United States, followed by the United Nations. It was only when Russia saw that solidarity had broken down that she decided to move in and to take advantage

of it. She has always done so.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs has warned us time and again that that is exactly what Russia will do, and he has appealed to us, therefore, to work for the solidarity of the Western nations in the hope that through strength we could stop Russia's advance. That is the only thing she understands. But here Canada was rebuking Britain and France, placing ourselves on the side of Russia and following a very foolish United States when she was locked in the throes of an election, when she could not do anything effective. We allowed ourselves to help the U.S. shatter Western solidarity, the very thing we ought to have been buttressing and bolstering with all our strength.

I repeat, the weaknesses and the vacillations of the United Nations have caused the free world, step by step, year after year, to retreat steadily before a completely aggressive Russian imperialism, one that will not be stopped except by a show of solid force . . .

Well, where do we stand with regard to the proposal of the Government of Canada to provide a unit of approximately battalion strength to the emergency police force for the Middle East? I think, Mr. Speaker, it was the only alternative that could be found to action by individual nations, and I have to give the Secretary of State for External Affairs credit for having suggested that the United Nations set up a police force for emergency action in the Middle East . . .

That is the attitude we have toward the police force, but there is one thing I do want to say in regard to such a force. I would warn the Government of Canada never to part with the right to commit or to withdraw such forces, according to their discretion; never to grant to the United Nations the actual sovereignty over this force, and as long as you do that you are going to have our support . . .

We would like to see bolder action. We do not want to see this debate extended too long. We would like to see the thing done and get the force committed when the United Nations Commander wants to have them . . .

So far as Mr. Nasser is concerned, I want to warn the Secretary of State for External Affairs and his colleague the Minister of National Defence, that Mr. Nasser should not be allowed to dictate the terms, not by any means. I think Mr. Hammarskjöld should be stiffened up in that regard. I am just a little bit afraid, from what I have read about his negotiations thus far, that he has been a little too timorously diffident about dealing with Mr. Nasser.

Views on Force

If the United Nations is going to set up a police force in Egypt, then they ought to set it up and get it in there at once. They should say "This is the way it is going to be handled", and it should be stationed along the entire length of the canal. It should stay there until the difficulties over the canal have been settled and some international supervision has been settled that will be satisfactory to the shipping nations of the world. Until such time as a right good start has been made on a complete solution of the outstanding problems between Israel and the Arab nations in the East, I say it should not be withdrawn.

But there is one other thing, Mr. Speaker, that we should be careful about. The United Nations should be prepared to allow Britain and France to retain their forces in Egypt until such time as the United Nations police force has been completely established there and put in full possession of the Canal Zone. Nothing else can possibly solve the difficulty. Whether or not Mr. Nasser likes it completely, we have to remember that about all the United Nations has done thus far has been to buttress Nasser's threatening position. That is about all, and he is coming off the victor and he is beginning to feel that he is the victor. Therefore let us be mighty careful about it. I am not satisfied that 6,000 men, as has been suggested, is a large enough force. My own feeling is that it would require not less than 18,000 or 20,000 men to do the job as it ought to be done, so let us not be thinking in terms of a mere 6,000.

May I suggest that Canada as a member of the United Nations must bear some responsibility for allowing the Middle East situation to drift along as it has, with no really serious effort being made to solve the outstanding problems between Israel and the Arab countries. May I remind the House, Mr. Speaker, that in 1947 Canada went along with an insistent United States leading a half-reluctant United Nations. I use the word "reluctant" for the reason that about half of them were taking a stand against the establishment of Israel under the circumstances which then existed and half of them were more or less willing to go along. It was a difficult situation, I know, but Canada went along with an insistent United States in 1947 in establishing Israel without granting the people in that area the right to self-determination. I would also remind the House that the right to self-determination is the very cornerstone upon which the principles of the United Nations are based.

When Israel was established Canada went along with it and, of course, we angered the Arab states right then and there and they determined they were going to destroy Israel. When we did go along with the establishment of Israel I say it was the responsibility of the United Nations to see the thing through, and when I say that I mean this. When trouble arose between Israel and Egypt and the other Arab nations in 1948 and the war of extermination, from the point of view of the Arabs, was visited upon Israel, the United Nations left the problems hanging straight in the air, left them dangling. Nothing whatever was done to bring to a sensible conclusion the outstanding problems and points of dispute between those nations.

Points of Dispute

There were four main points of dispute, and I think they have been mentioned here today. You will remember that in 1947 Egypt took the position that Israel should never be allowed to have a vessel pass through the Suez Canal, and they never have since that time. That was a direct violation of the international convention of 1888. Although it was not right, nothing was done about it. What did the other nations do to see that Israel had a fair chance to use the canal? They did nothing. This situation drifted from bad to worse.

What did they do concerning the question of the armistice lines? Some of the silliest lines were drawn by the armistice commission of that day, and they have just been allowed to stand there. For instance, armistice lines were drawn that divided the city of Jerusalem into two parts in such a fashion that the Jewish University on Mount Scopus was included in Jordan. I could name a score of other very foolish things that were done in connection with armistice lines, but nothing has been done to settle these outstanding problems and they have been a source of irritation since 1947.

What has been done about finding a solution to the refugee problem? Originally approximately 700,000 or 750,000 Arabs were either thrown out of Israel or went out because of fear, or were urged to go out because of propaganda. They found themselves in refugee camps on the site of the ancient city of Jericho and in the Gaza strip. They have just been sitting there demoralized for all these years. Nothing has been done to settle these people permanently.

Finally, what has been done about the necessary economic build-up of the Arab states where the standard of living is so low? What has been done about finding a solution to the Jordan waters problem? All these prob-

lems need to be given very careful consideration, and until they are settled there can be no hope for peace in the Middle East . . .

It was fortunate, in my judgment, that something happened to shock the United Nations into action at the time these events occurred, because since that time we have discovered a terrific Russian build-up in the area. We know what are her long-range ideas. Russia needs oil. Russia's vast industrialization programme makes her need imperative. She wants the oil in the Middle East. The oil in Baku and other areas accessible to her is not going to be sufficient for her needs. At the same time Russia wants to weaken NATO and destroy it if possible. One of the best ways to accomplish this is to cut off the oil supply from the Middle East . . . I think there is no question about that at all.

It was fortunate in the extreme that the intelligence of Israel, Great Britain and France indicated the fact of the Russian build-up; and something has happened, it seems to me, which in the long run will be of great benefit to the world.

Let me say very quickly a few words about Hungary. I think we ought to be doing everything we possibly can to relieve the suffering of those Hungarian people who have been dislocated and driven from their homes, and who are suffering for want of food and medical supplies. I think Canada should open her doors wide to these people.

This is one thing—and I address my remarks to the attention of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration—that could have been handled more effectively. I think we should have sent into the areas around the borders of Hungary receiving teams that could have quickly given help to any of these refugees who found their way across the borders of Hungary. They should have been brought into this country, as the hon. member for Rose-town-Biggar mentioned, under a completely open-door policy. These people are patriots and in the eyes of the world they have given a demonstration such as few people in the world have given. We should move to their aid as quickly as we possibly can.

As has already been said, the million dollar appropriation for assistance to Hungary is a good start. I think we should be prepared to give much more when it is required . . .

In conclusion I would like to sum up how I view the situation at the present time and in doing so I cannot find better words than those which were used by Selwyn Lloyd. These are the words he used:

British American differences over the Middle East should not be taken too tragically.

I think that is right.

On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to minimize them and pretend that there is not a job to be done in restoring the intimacy of our alliance.

The crisis may have created a situation of great opportunity which may not recur again. A war has been rapidly stopped: an international force has been created: the Russian penetration has been unmasked. The situation can be turned to good account by the free world. Whatever may be the thought of the past let us, the United States and the countries of the Common-

wealth, now press forward with firmness together and with resolution, to use that opportunity and to preserve the gains. Thus our friendship and co-operation will once more prove the great hope of the world.

The history of Britain and France has been one of a long succession of demonstrations of sacrifice and noble ideals devoted to the achievement of justice and freedom in this world. I have not lost faith in those countries as yet, and I think we ought to be doing everything we can to bolster their determination once more to re-establish the solidarity of the free world wherever we possibly can.

Mr. L. B. Pearson

... We are facing today a situation of gravity and danger, far too serious a situation to be dealt with from a purely partisan point of view. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat talked about Canada being the chore boy of the United States. Our record over the last years, Mr. Speaker, gives us the right to say we have performed and will perform no such role. It is bad to be a chore boy of the United States. It is equally bad to be a colonial chore boy running around shouting "Ready, aye, ready". A well-known Conservative newspaper, the *Ottawa Journal*, in commenting on the policy of the Government at the United Nations in recent days, a policy of care and restraint as it was characterized, a policy of consideration for its friends, ended an editorial on this subject on October 31 as follows:

At best, we are going to be in very great danger of all-out war for some time now. We must learn to think before we chatter.

Chattering instead of thinking—if we fail because of idle chatter and not enough thought in our efforts to resolve the problems that face us today in this country and in the world, it will not make much difference who has the halos or who has been humiliated.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have an amendment to the motion. I might as well say at once—and this will be no surprise to the House—that I think it is an amendment worthy of no support at all. It is inaccurate in its facts, as I shall hope to prove, and it is wrong in its conclusions.

Hungary

Before I deal with the matters referred to in the Speech and in the amendment on the Middle East, may I say just one word about Hungary. The Canadian Government has already expressed its views in Ottawa and at the United Nations Assembly on this matter. We have witnessed as brutal and as grim a betrayal of a people as history has ever seen,

a people who were asking only for freedom from communist colonial domination and the right to run their own affairs. The recent actions of the Soviet Union in Hungary throw a lurid light on the protestations we have heard that Stalinism is now dead and peaceful coexistence is here. But there has been no more significant exposure of the underlying, and I am afraid enduring, purpose and methods of Soviet power. Soviet tanks and Soviet guns have killed Hungarian freedom fighters, but they did not and they cannot kill Hungarian freedom.

What can we do here in Canada and at the United Nations? Well, we can help the victims of this terror, and we learned last night of what we are doing in that regard. We can keep, through the United Nations as we are trying to do, the spotlight of world public opinion, the conscience of the world, the moral force of world opinion, on the savage actions of the Soviet Union. We can do our best to help Hungarians in that way and to bring the United Nations into Hungary in the role of observers and investigators. We must continue our efforts toward that end; but we would not be helping the Hungarian people—I think we might be hurting them—if we held out promises of liberation by force which at this time we would not be able to fulfil. There is, however, I think, some hope in the growing evidence that Eastern Europe is now beginning to free itself from the shackles of Russian slavery and oppression, and that development is expressing itself at the United Nations Assembly at this time.

The Middle East

Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to the Middle East. The debate in this House—and we have been meeting for only a few hours—has already shown that a very real difference on policy has developed between the Government and the Official Opposition. The speeches of the Acting Leader of the Oppo-

sition and the hon. member for Vancouver-Quadra, who has just preceded me, have made that quite clear. The Official Opposition—and I think we can assume that the speakers in question had the support of all the members of the Official Opposition; they should have to judge from the applause they received from their colleagues—now apparently support every move made by the United Kingdom and France in their intervention in Egypt after the attack on Egypt by Israel, an intervention brought about with army, navy and air forces after a 12-hour ultimatum. They claim, I have the right to conclude, that we as a government should have approved of those moves at once and should have backed up the United Kingdom and France at the United Nations even on those matters and on those resolutions where not a single member of the United Nations supported the resolutions in question . . .

Now, Mr. Speaker, we did not follow that particular line of policy in this matter, and I shall try to explain why. To do so it is, I think, relevant to give, as other speakers have given, some background which may help us to understand recent events. It is, for instance, important in order to keep things in perspective to understand the policy of the Egyptian Government in recent months. That policy has been unfriendly to the Western powers. It was arbitrary and was denounced in this House as arbitrary in the seizure of the Suez Canal Company. That policy has witnessed a gradual increase of Russian influence in Egypt and the Middle East, and it did culminate in the seizure of the canal. We recall that after weeks of effort and frustrations to bring about an international solution by international means no such solution was brought about.

It is quite obvious—it was quite obvious by the summer—that there was no meeting of minds between Washington and London and Paris in these matters. And of course, the fault was not by any means entirely on the side of London and Paris, and no one on this side of the House has ever tried to take a one-sided view of this situation. The vital importance of the Suez to Western Europe is perhaps not appreciated in Washington, and it might have been better appreciated there if this situation could have been related by them to the Panama Canal.

Now, our own attitude in this matter was—and we expressed this attitude in the House of Commons and in a good many messages to the United Kingdom Government during the summer—that we did not stand aloof and indifferent, and we did appreciate the importance of this development not only to Western Europe but to Canada itself. Our attitude

was that this question should be brought as quickly as possible to the United Nations and a solution attempted there; that at all costs there should be no division of opinion, no division of policy, between Washington and London and Paris on a matter of such vital importance, and that there should be no action taken by anybody which could not be justified under the United Nations Charter; otherwise the country taking that action, no matter how friendly to us, would be hauled before the United Nations and charged by the country against which the action had been taken. That is something that has happened, and it is something we tried to talk over with our friends before it happened.

It will be recalled that eventually the matter was taken to the Security Council of the United Nations, and it will also be recalled that not long before the use of force by Israel against Egypt certain principles for a settlement of the Suez question had been agreed on at the Security Council. One of those principles which had been accepted by Egypt at that time, was that the canal should be insulated from the policies of any one nation, including Egypt. Therefore at that particular moment, through those conversations at the Security Council, and what is more important through conversations going on in the Secretary-General's office, we had some hope that an international solution might be reached which might be satisfactory to all concerned.

At that time, and I am speaking now of a period of only a week or two before the attack by Israel took place, we had no knowledge conveyed to us of any acute deterioration of the situation, nor did we have any knowledge or information about anything which could be called a Russian plot to seize Egypt and take over the Middle East. At that moment, and against that background, the Israeli Government moved against Egypt.

The Threat to Israel

Here also, to put the matter in perspective, it is necessary to understand the background. The people of Israel have lived for years in a state of unrest and insecurity against this threat of extermination by their neighbours. With that unrest on their borders, with no stability of any kind, with a military balance changing against them, and in the face of those continued threats on October 29—and it is interesting to realize that that was less than a month ago; events have moved with such bewildering and dramatic speed—the Israeli Government took the situation and the law in its own hands and moved against Egypt for reasons which seemed very good to it at the time.

I admit—and I am sure all members in this House must admit—the provocation which may have prompted this move. We in the Government tried to understand that provocation; nevertheless we did at that time, and do now, regret that the attack was made at that time and under those circumstances. Then, as the House knows, the United Kingdom Government and France intervened in the matter on the ground, so they claimed, that it was necessary to keep the fighting away from the Suez Canal and thereby keep the canal open. They wished, so they said in Paris and in London, to keep a shield between the opposing forces.

That was the only purpose they put forward at that time, or indeed have put forward formally since, to explain their intervention—to stop the fighting and put a shield between the opposing forces. No other purpose was alleged; and when the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations spoke at the first emergency meeting of the General Assembly on Thursday, November 1, he explained the purpose of the United Kingdom and French action in these words:

The first urgent task is to separate Israel and Egypt and to stabilize the position. That is our purpose. If the United Nations were willing to take over the physical task of maintaining peace in that area, no one would be better pleased than we. But police action there must be, to separate the belligerents and to stop the hostilities.

That was their purpose, merely to separate the belligerents and to stop the hostilities.

Well, to carry out that purpose, as we know, the French and British Governments sent an ultimatum to Egypt and to Israel, a 12-hour ultimatum that was accepted by Israel whose forces at that time had come within ten miles of the Suez Canal, but was rejected by Egypt which had been asked to withdraw its forces beyond the Suez Canal; and following that rejection the United Kingdom and French forces intervened by air and later on the ground.

At that time, far from gratuitously condemning the action, the Canadian Government said through the Prime Minister and indeed through myself, that we regretted the necessity for the use of force in these circumstances; and these circumstances, I confess, included an element of complete surprise on our part at the action taken.

There was no consultation—and this has been pointed out—with other members of the Commonwealth and no advance information that this very important action, for better or for worse, was about to be taken. In that sense consultation had broken down between

London and Paris on the one hand, the Commonwealth capitals and—even more important, possibly—Washington on the other.

Nevertheless, instead of indulging then or since in gratuitous condemnation we expressed our regret and we began to pursue a policy, both here by diplomatic talks and diplomatic correspondence, and later at the United Nations, which would bring us together again inside the Western Alliance and which would bring about peace in the area on terms which everybody could accept.

Canadian Policy

Our policy, then, in carrying out these principles, was to get the United Nations into the matter at once; to seek through the United Nations a solution which would be satisfactory to all sides. In adopting that policy it was obviously impossible for us to act at the United Nations Assembly in any way which we could not justify under our obligation as signatories to the United Nations Charter . . .

Our policy with regard to this matter as a member of the United Nations was to try to stop the fighting through the United Nations. How could we follow any other course without betraying our obligations under the Charter? But we were also anxious, as were many other delegates to the United Nations although not all of them, to avoid the creation of a vacuum of chaos in that part of the world after the fighting had stopped; and we realized if that test as well as the test of stopping the fighting could not be met, the United Nations would have failed.

Also at the United Nations we were anxious to make sure—we mentioned this in our statements down there—that the situation leading up to the aggression should be given due consideration, and that constructive action should be taken to prevent such a situation recurring again, that we should go deeper into this matter than merely into the facts of military action. I hope that will be done quickly at the United Nations Assembly. There are already two resolutions on the order paper for that purpose.

And then, Mr. Speaker, we were also anxious to do everything we could down there to prevent any formal condemnation of the United Kingdom and France as aggressors under the Charter, any demand that sanctions be imposed against them, and also to do what we could to help repair the lines of communication and contact between Washington, London and Paris and restore some form of continuous friendly diplomatic consultation between the Western Allies on these matters after its breakdown last October.

It was certainly a matter of urgent and distressing importance, especially to a Canadian,

and I expressed this also in public at the United Nations, that the United States should be on one side of this issue and the United Kingdom and France, our two mother countries, on the other. We were especially distressed at this because there were people down in New York, and they are still there, who are gleefully exploiting this division.

Having mentioned the breakdown of consultation, I think it would only be fair to add that this breakdown of consultation and agreement was not the fault exclusively of the United Kingdom and France over the preceding months. No other member, indeed no member of the Western Alliance, is free of some responsibilities and particularly the United States of America, which is the major and most powerful member of that group. Therefore we felt and we still feel that this is no time nor is this an occasion on which to adopt an attitude of superior virtue or smug complacency over the righteousness of our own position. We felt and we still feel that the thing to do is to get out of this crisis without a war and without violating the United Nations principles and Charter, and then to draw the necessary conclusions from the crisis so that the Western coalition will not collapse again in the days ahead when other problems will arise, as they are bound to do.

Strain on the Commonwealth

Then also, and this was a matter which was very much on our minds, we were anxious to do what we could to hold the Commonwealth together in this very serious test. It was badly and dangerously split. At one stage after the fighting on land began it was on the verge of dissolution, and that is not an exaggerated observation. The hon. member for Kamloops (Mr. Fulton) is reported, as having said on November 17 that Canadian leaders should bend their efforts toward restoring and preserving the moral and physical unity of the Commonwealth which, he went on to say, should have a common point of view on these matters. I could not agree with him more; but if we had followed at the United Nations the policy advocated by the Official Opposition we would have gone a long way not toward restoring and preserving the moral and physical unity of the Commonwealth but toward breaking it up. I am quite sure this is a purpose which no one in this House wishes to achieve.

In trying to follow those principles of policy how were we, as delegates to the United Nations and as the Government in Ottawa, to react to the critical situation which arose? We tried to maintain as objective an attitude as possible having regard to our Charter obligations and we certainly did try to maintain as

close and as friendly contact as was possible with the United Kingdom and French delegations. We did not automatically support the United States in every move. We thought the United States was wrong at the very beginning of the Assembly in rushing a resolution on the record at the outbreak of hostilities recommending that they should be ended at once. We thought they were wrong in trying to rush that through without sufficient consideration. We did not vote for it; we abstained, as I will explain later.

We thought the United States was wrong last Saturday, at the last session of the Assembly which I attended and which in some respects was a depressing session. A resolution was before the Assembly at that time which, with a Belgian amendment, should have received the unanimous support of every member of the Assembly. With that amendment the resolution would have received the support of the United Kingdom, but the amendment was defeated and the United States was one of those who voted against it.

As I have pointed out, we were not able to support the United Kingdom in all the moves it had taken, in all the attitudes it had adopted at the United Nations Assembly. Distressed though we were, we could not support the United Kingdom and French stand on this matter although we did try, as Canadians should and as a Canadian delegation should, to give the most friendly consideration to the United Kingdom and French position.

As to the charge that we have been lining up with the Russians, that is just nonsensical chatter. If a resolution is right down there we vote for it whoever may be among our companions in the voting. That seems to me to be the only possible course for a Canadian delegation to follow.

There are those in this country and there are some whose views have been expressed in this House who feel that we should have automatically supported the United Kingdom and France, either because of the ties of friendship, indeed of kinship with the countries concerned, or because they were convinced the United Kingdom and France were right in the course adopted and in the methods followed. Those who feel that way will be disappointed at the action we have taken. We thought it was the right action for a Canadian delegation to take.

It was an objective attitude, it was a Canadian and an independent attitude. Believe me, the Arab and Asian countries, including the Asian members of the Commonwealth, were watching us as they were watching others very carefully to see if our policy was

based on those considerations I have mentioned or whether we were just following automatically any other power. If we had given any evidence that would have justified the impression that we were supporting without reservation the United Kingdom and France in all their tactics and attitudes toward this matter we would not have been of any help to our friends subsequently, nor would we have been able to play the part which we at least tried to play and which I shall refer to later.

If, for instance, we had voted at the first meeting of the special Assembly against the proposal to put this item on the agenda when no other member of the Assembly voted against it except the United Kingdom and France I think we would have lost any influence which we had at that time and which we may have hoped to use later on for constructive purposes.

Our purpose was to be as helpful to the United Kingdom and France as we possibly could be. Believe me, that attitude has been appreciated in London even if it has not been appreciated by my hon. friends opposite. Far from criticizing us in private or in public in London or Paris for our gratuitous condemnation of their course we have had many expressions of appreciation for the line we have been trying to follow, and which has been helpful in the circumstances to the United Kingdom and France.

Sequence of Events in the General Assembly

The sequence of events at the Assembly and our relation to those events will show what we tried to do, and why. I should like to give that sequence, if I may, because I feel it will be useful to the House to know exactly what happened and the attitude we took in regard to every stage of development at the Assembly.

We met on Thursday, November 1, in the first emergency session of the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution which had been passed in 1950 and which was designed to get around the veto in the Security Council by transferring to the Assembly matters on which the Security Council could not agree, because of the veto. When this Assembly was called and this item was put on the agenda it was objected to on legal grounds by the United Kingdom and France, legal grounds which we did not think had very much validity, and so we voted for the Assembly meeting.

That was the occasion on which we were attacked by my hon. friend as lining up with the Russians. We lined up with 62 members of the United Nations in agreeing to the

proposition that the United Nations should try to deal with this matter. Immediately after that resolution the United States, without very much consultation or very much opportunity for consideration, introduced the cease-fire resolution.

We felt, as I have already said, that this had two defects. Of course it was designed to bring the fighting to an end at once and it was designed to prevent military aid going to either side in the conflict. It was designed, in one of its clauses, to restore freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal for all governments. These purposes we, of course, supported; but we felt that there had not been sufficient time for consideration to force a vote through before others who wished to speak could speak. We also felt that it was inadequate for the purpose which we had in mind because it did not recognize the background, the previous problems which had brought about this situation, and made no provision for the absolute necessity of a peace settlement. Nor did it make any provision for a United Nations police force to supervise and secure the cessation of hostilities. We were anxious not to give our support at that first meeting of the Assembly to a resolution which might seem to bring the fighting to an end but to do nothing else, or even to recognize the importance of doing something else. We expressed that feeling in the first statement the Canadian delegate made . . .

In the first statement we made in New York around 2 a.m. that morning I ventured to suggest that we would not be completing our work at the Assembly if we did nothing about the prevention of a recurrence of the violence which had preceded this outbreak and if we did nothing about the establishment of a United Nations force in this crisis.

This was an idea, Mr. Speaker, that we had discussed in Ottawa before I went to the Assembly that afternoon. Indeed, it had been previously mentioned by the United Kingdom representative in his statement as something that might be desirable in the circumstances, and immediately after I made reference to it the United States Secretary of State took up the matter and asked our delegation if they would put this idea in the form of a resolution. I returned to Ottawa the next day to discuss with my colleagues whether this would be a desirable thing to do, having first had the opportunity of discussing the matter in New York with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

We were anxious to keep in close touch with our friends in Washington and our friends in London on this matter, and as soon as it was decided here the next morning that

this might be a useful and helpful Canadian initiative under certain circumstances we cabled London and Washington at once and asked them what they thought about the idea; because, while a good many of these things are desirable in principle, there is not much point putting them forward at the United Nations if they are going to be opposed at once by all of our friends or some of our friends. Therefore we were anxious to get the views of both London and Washington in respect of this particular matter . . .

Then on Saturday, November 3, Mr. Speaker, after consultation with my colleagues in Ottawa I returned to New York where the Assembly was to meet at 8 p.m. that evening. On that occasion I did produce a Canadian resolution for the setting up of a United Nations Emergency Force for this particular situation. It may be interesting, though it does take a little time, to go into the background of this idea of the United Nations force. Of course there was nothing new in either this idea or in its proposal, and no one on this side of the House, I am sure, wants to take any credit for having put forward a novel and valuable proposal. I hope it was valuable but it certainly was not novel; except in the sense that it was adopted, but in no other respect.

Security Measures Since 1946

As far back as October 1946, the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent), at the very first Assembly of the United Nations, made a plea for the organization of enforcement procedures under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter which provides for such enforcement procedures through the Security Council. Nothing was done, as we know, and nothing could be done in the Security Council under Article 43 because of the disunity among the big powers.

Then four years later came Korea, and the Canadian response to this challenge to peace and security in 1950 reflected our desire to bring about something more permanent than merely collecting forces for an emergency. As hon. members who were here at the time will recall, a Canadian infantry brigade was made available for United Nations service generally, and I think it was the only force in the United Nations at that time which was offered in those terms, for general United Nations service and not merely for Korea. I do not think any other member of the United Nations went as far as we did at that time. Certainly no one went farther. As I said in the House of Commons when explaining our action in September 1950:

We hope that other countries will make their contributions to the Korean force in

that form (that is, for use anywhere subject to constitutional procedures), so that next time this kind of aggression takes place there will be forces in being to deal with it.

On October 11 of the same year I said before the General Assembly:

The action of the Security Council in June showed how unprepared most members of this organization were to implement quickly the recommendations which they accepted. We were frankly not organized for this purpose. We had to improvise. We hope that next time we may not have to improvise.

No progress was made in bringing about this kind of organization for security. The Security Council frustrated all efforts to that end, and that was why in 1950 we passed a Uniting for Peace Resolution which could transfer to the Assembly the responsibility for collective security in these circumstances of frustration and failure in the Security Council. On that Uniting for Peace resolution we had this to say at the United Nations Assembly on November 3, 1950:

It will not be enough for a few countries to take action. We must all, within measure of our capacities, contribute to implementation of this resolution.

Certain other smaller governments took the same stand but over the years nothing was done, and there was no real organization in being when we were faced with this most recent crisis. A collective measures committee was set up by the Assembly but its activities were not very effective.

Then on January 31, 1956 the hon. member for Prince Albert (Mr. Diefenbaker) brought up in this House the question of an international police force, and it was a very pertinent question.

Mr. Diefenbaker: Just for the Israeli-Arab situation.

Mr. Pearson: Yes, he was limiting the value of this force at this time to a particular situation on the Israeli-Egyptian border. In response to this intervention—I had just come back a few months previously from the discussions in Egypt—I said this in the House as reported at page 777 of *Hansard* of February 1, 1956:

As I said the other day, I have had talks with the leaders of the Arab Governments and the Israel Government, and I had talks with General Burns when I was out there and at the United Nations. I think there is a great deal to be said for trying to bring that kind of police force into existence in this disturbed area at this time as a pro-

visional measure to keep the armies apart while peace can be secured. If that proposal were made—and I know the Secretary-General has been considering it, and from press reports to which my hon. friend has referred I understand that it has been discussed in Washington in the last few days—and if it became a matter for United Nations consideration, I am sure this country as well as other countries would want to do what they could to carry it into effect.

And following that—

Mr. Rowe: In view of that fact, as our representative, did the minister not bring it before the United Nations for consideration?

Mr. Pearson: That is just what I was coming to, Mr. Speaker. I have been looking up the record in the last day or two in order to see what we had been able to do in this matter. We did follow it up. We followed it up with the governments most particularly concerned, namely the Israel Government, the British Government, the French Government and the United States Government and with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and again with General Burns, the truce commissioner.

Mr. Diefenbaker: What date was that?

Mr. Pearson: This began in February and went on for the next two or three months. These were ordinary diplomatic discussions to see whether it could be useful initiative on our part at that time to put forward a proposal for a United Nations force, not a truce commission, to patrol the boundary between Israel and her Arab neighbours in order to try to prevent the incidents which were building up and which had a great deal to do with the ultimate explosion last October. We were discouraged by the response given to this proposal. We received very little support for it from any governments concerned. Indeed, we received no active support from any of the governments concerned, because they felt it was not timely to introduce a United Nations force of that character into Palestine when the boundaries had not been determined, when a political settlement had not been reached and when the parties to the conflict—and it was a conflict—were opposed to such a force.

Mr. Diefenbaker: What countries raised that objection?

Mr. Pearson: There was not a country with which we discussed the matter that actively supported the idea. When we get into committee I will be able to give more details, I hope, with regard to this matter. Certainly in our view it was important to have a police force of that kind operate with the consent

and the active co-operation of the governments most concerned.

That then was the situation, Mr. Speaker, when our United Nations force resolution was introduced, and that is the background to our initiative in this matter. At the time our resolution was introduced the 19-power Asian-Arab resolution had already been introduced, which reaffirmed the earlier United States resolution which had been carried by this time and which insisted on a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops, and which asked the Secretary-General to report within 12 hours on the compliance with that injunction. That night of November 3 and 4—and the session went on all night—tempers were rather high. The talk was strong and the danger of a rash—as we would have thought it—condemnation of the United Kingdom and France as aggressors was very real. The situation was deteriorating and the communists were working feverishly and destructively to exploit it.

In these circumstances and having, as I have said, canvassed the situation carefully with our friends and having studied Sir Anthony Eden's speech, we moved this resolution concurrently with the 19-power Asian-Arab resolution which was an attempt to get British, French and Israeli forces out of Egypt...

It was a very short resolution, and it asked the Secretary-General merely to submit, within 48 hours, something we had been unable to do anything about for ten years, namely, a plan for setting up an emergency international United Nations police force with the consent of the governments concerned. If we had not put in that phrase "with the consent of the governments concerned" we might not have been able to secure a majority for our resolution. As it was, the resolution passed unanimously, as hon. members know. Steps were taken immediately by the Secretary-General to report back what he was able to do in 48 hours in the setting up of this force to supervise and secure a cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the earlier resolution of November 2, one of which was to ensure freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal.

We obtained 57 votes as sponsors for the resolution. There were 19 abstentions. Nobody voted against us. The United Kingdom and France did not find it possible to vote for that resolution at that time but they have indicated, both privately and publicly, their great appreciation of the initiative which resulted in its being adopted and they have also stated their support for it since then. At the same time—and this is related to the first resolution—the Asian-Arab resolution was put to

the vote and carried by a large majority, 59 to 5 opposed.

Mr. Churchill: How did Canada vote?

Mr. Pearson: Canada voted for that resolution asking for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of the forces from Egypt. There were 5 opposed. There were 59 in favour, including Canada. Then on November 4 we started to work, and we had something to do with this because we were the sponsors of the resolution and had a certain obligation in connection with helping the Secretary-General carry it out. We started to work on organizing a United Nations police force or at least to form the basis of the organization and report back in 48 hours.

As it happened the Secretary-General, who has played a magnificent part throughout all these difficult days, was able to make a first report within 24 hours. Offers of contributions to the force began to come in within that 24-hour period. That Sunday night when we were working on the establishment of the force the United Kingdom and French ground forces landed at Port Said. The situation at the United Nations immediately began to deteriorate. Things became very tense. The Security Council was called into emergency session and refused to consider a Soviet proposal for Soviet and United States intervention because the matter was before the United Nations Assembly. Then in the midst of rumours of Russian intervention, rumours that there would be a determined demand by the Arab and Asian members of the Assembly to brand the United Kingdom and France formally as aggressors under the Charter and to invoke sanctions against them, the Assembly met on Tuesday morning, November 6. It had before it the Secretary-General's final report on the organization of the United Nations force. At that time he was able to report progress with regard to the composition of the force. He was able to lay down certain principles and functions for that force but not to go into detail, for two reasons. He did not have enough time, in the first place; and in the second place if we had attempted to do it in detail, we would still be arguing about what those functions should be. There was however one important detail, namely that the force should exclude contingents from the permanent members of the Security Council. The significance of that detail is obvious.

A draft resolution was drawn up supporting this report and authorizing the Secretary-General to go ahead on that basis to discuss participation with other governments. It set up also an Advisory Committee of seven members of the Assembly to help him in this

task. Canada is one of the members of that committee. It is interesting to note in passing that four members of that committee are members of the Commonwealth of Nations. While we were trying to get this resolution through and get it through quickly and with a big majority—it was finally passed unanimously—another resolution, in the atmosphere of the fighting that was going on at that time in Suez, was introduced demanding the immediate withdrawal of forces, and that the Secretary-General should report that this had been done in 24 hours. Both these resolutions were being considered together.

Advisory Committee

In so far as the force was concerned, as I said, the resolution passed unanimously after we had managed to vote down—and it was a very important vote indeed—an amendment to put Czechoslovakia on the advisory committee of seven. The resolution was then passed by 64 to 0, with 10 abstentions.

Mr. Churchill: Would you name the advisory committee?

Mr. Pearson: The advisory committee in this matter consists of Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Colombo, Norway and Canada, with the Secretary-General as the chairman of the committee . . .

The same evening, Mr. Speaker, a 19-power resolution demanding immediate withdrawal was passed by a vote of 65 with only one opposed, Israel, and with 10 abstentions. The United Kingdom and France did not oppose that resolution, they abstained on it. We voted for that resolution after having stated our interpretation, which was accepted by a good many other delegations, of the word "immediate". If that interpretation had not been stated and accepted by many we would not have voted for it. By "immediate" we said we had in mind that the United Kingdom and French forces would withdraw from Egypt as soon as the United Nations forces had been moved there and were operating satisfactorily. By getting our United Nations force resolution through and by accepting this Arab-Asian resolution of withdrawal, which had in it no element of sanctions, we were able to reject extreme demands which are being made, and which would have led us into grave danger indeed.

We think that the resolutions that night were a wise move, and we think also that they helped the United Kingdom and French in accepting the cease-fire, which they did either just before or shortly afterwards.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal of talk, though not very much in this

House as yet, as to whether the United Kingdom and French Governments were pressed into the acceptance of this cease-fire by United Nations action, and whether we should not have let them go ahead, not pressed them and resisted moves to press them in respect of this resolution on cease-fire and withdrawal. If we had done that, and the United Nations had kept out of this at that particular moment, it is said the British and French forces would have been able to complete the military job of clearing the canal of Egyptian forces from Port Said to Port Suez.

I suggest with diffidence, because this is a matter which is of primary concern to the United Kingdom and French Governments, that they were very wise indeed in stopping military operations at the time they did. After all, they had indicated that they were going into that area to stop the fighting at the canal and to prevent the conflict continuing between Israel and Egypt in such a way that it would interfere with the operation of the canal.

By this time both Israel and Egypt had accepted the cease-fire. Therefore the original reason given by the United Kingdom and French forces for intervening had been removed. If the United Kingdom and French forces had continued fighting at that time, after the Egyptian and Israeli Governments had accepted the cease-fire, I suggest that the Commonwealth might not have been able to stand the strain; that the Asian members of the Commonwealth might not have been able to remain in it in those circumstances. There is evidence from New Delhi, Karachi and Colombo to support that statement. I suggest also that continuation of the fighting, even if it had had immediately successful military results, would have created even a deeper and more permanent split between the Western European and Arab world. It might well have led to the occupation of Egypt, which was not an original objective of British-French intervention. It would have been a standing invitation to the Egyptian Government to invite in at that time, when the fighting was going on, Soviet volunteers. Whatever the reasons may have been, and I think they were good ones, the United Kingdom and French Governments did accept the cease-fire and we entered a new stage of developments.

There were only two more resolutions subsequent to the one I have just mentioned. The one last Saturday asked for withdrawal once again. We did not support it because we felt that the withdrawal had begun. We had confidence in the good faith of the British and French when they told us that the withdrawal would be completed. We felt at that time that

to support another resolution of withdrawal would be to assimilate the position of the British, French and Israelis to that of the Russians in Hungary . . .

Then the final resolution carried Saturday night approved an aide memoire which gave the Secretary-General further authority to organize the United Nations police force. By a very important paragraph in that resolution he was told to get ahead with the clearing of the Suez Canal. In spite of efforts by Soviet and certain Arab-Asian countries to hold up the work on political grounds, he has now authority to go ahead with the vitally important work.

Functions of UN Force

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have the United Nations force in being and I am sure the House would like me to say something about the functions, operations and composition of that force, and Canada's contribution to it . . .

The function of this force which is now in being is to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities, as I pointed out this morning, and carry out its task in accordance with directions received from the United Nations, not from any one member of the United Nations. The force—and it is interesting to recall that the resolution authorizing this force was passed not much more than three weeks ago—is now in being in Egypt where it will be stationed, or any place else where the United Nations considers it necessary to be stationed, in order to carry out the functions which I have just mentioned. The most important function is, of course, the policing of the zone between opposing forces in Egypt in order to prevent the recurrence, if possible, of the fighting. At the present time the headquarters of the force is along the Suez, but it may of course be moved.

It is not a fighting force in the sense that it is a force operating under, say, Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, which deals with enforcement procedures. It is not a United Nations fighting force in the sense that the force in Korea was; it is operating under a different chapter of the Charter dealing with conciliation procedures. Therefore the alarmist interpretation, the alarmist possibility, mentioned last night by the hon. member for Vancouver-Quadra, that Canadian elements in this force might find themselves in conflict with British soldiers is, I suggest, merely a figment of his imagination. It is not the purpose of this force to be used in fighting operations against anybody. It is not that kind of force. If the hon. member had read the United Nations document concerning the function and organization of this force, which have already been agreed on, he would, I think, have understood that.



CONFERENCE ON UN FORCE

Major-General E. L. M. Burns, of Canada, Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East, confers on organizational problems with (left) Major-General A. E. Martola, of Finland, a military adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General, and Mr. Ralph Bunche, Under-Secretary of the United Nations.

This force will stay in Egypt until the United Nations decides that its functions are discharged, or, of course, until the governments participating in the force withdraw their contingents. It must, of course, not infringe on the sovereignty of the government of the territory in which it is operating. That is obvious. But the exercise of that sovereignty in the case of the Government of Egypt where the force is operating now must be qualified by the acceptance by Egypt of the resolution of the United Nations concerning the force. Egypt has already agreed to the admission of this United Nations force to its territory; and it seems to me to be obvious, because it is not an enforcement action of the United Nations under Chapter 7 of the Charter, that every effort should be made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and by the United Nations itself, to secure and maintain the co-operation of the Egyptian Government in the functioning of this force, and the co-operation of the other governments concerned, including the Government of Israel.

But that does not mean, as I understand it—and I assure you, Mr. Speaker, this has been made very clear in meetings of the advisory committee—that Egypt or any other government can determine by its own decision where the force is to operate, how it is to operate or when it must leave. Furthermore, the right of Egypt to consent to the admission of a United Nations force to its territory does not imply the necessity of consent to the admis-

sion of, or the right to reject, separate units or elements of that force. That is a stand, Mr. Speaker, which the Canadian representative on the advisory committee has taken. I have already made it clear to the other members of the Committee and to the Secretary-General, and the Secretary-General has agreed to this statement. I said at the second meeting of the committee—I was referring to the Government of Egypt—

If their position is that they at any time could decide that the United Nations force had finished its work and should leave, that, I think, would be quite intolerable; and there is also an interpretation of the United Nations resolution which says that the force must be sent to Egypt only with the consent of the Egyptian Government, which means that the Egyptian Government would exercise a veto over every contingent in that force. That, I think, would be equally intolerable, because what kind of a United Nations force would you have? What principle would you be acting on in the United Nations if that country—

I was referring to Egypt.

—which the United Nations was trying to assist in organizing and sending forward this force should decide who would take part in it? That is something, of course, that has to be worked out between the Assembly and yourself—

I was referring to the chairman of the committee.

—as the representative of the Assembly, and the Egyptian Government, but to admit for a minute that the Egyptian Government will decide that a force from country A is admissible and a force from country B is not is something, of course, that I could not accept.

We have made that stand clear at other meetings of the committee of seven. That, Mr. Speaker, brings me to the negotiations undertaken by the Secretary-General in regard to the composition of the force and particularly in regard to Canadian participation in it.

The Canadian Contribution

The first resolution dealing with this force was passed in the United Nations Assembly on November 4. We had already said by the time that resolution was passed—and by “we” I mean the Government in Ottawa—that we were in favour of it and that we would recommend a contribution to it. The day after the resolution was passed I met the Secretary-General as the sponsor of the resolutions and discussed with him the question of putting some United Nations troops into the area at once. He considered it to be a matter of the most immediate urgency. So I said I was authorized to state that the Canadian Government was willing to participate, and later in the day I wrote a formal communication to him to that effect, saying that we had decided to make an appropriate contribution subject to the required constitutional action being taken in Canada.

The next day I also talked with the Secretary-General about the force and he was then also emphatic, for the obvious reason that the situation seemed to be deteriorating, that we must proceed quickly. We discussed the nature of our contribution that afternoon, I by telephone with my colleagues in Ottawa, when the question of a battalion came up. Meanwhile General Burns had been appointed as commander of the force and he will do a distinguished job in that position, I am sure, as he has been doing so in that area in the last two years in the face of very great difficulties indeed.

General Burns was asked to come to New York, and those countries that had already announced their desire to contribute were asked to send military advisers to New York to discuss the problem with the Secretary-General, his staff and General Burns. The Canadian Department of National Defence sent three officers down immediately and the next day, Tuesday, November 6, the Prime Minister announced that Canada would offer, and I quote:

Subject to adjustment and/or rearrange-

ment after consultation with the United Nations commander—

—a self-contained battalion group with HMCS *Magnificent* as a temporary mobile base.

The consultations which we had had in New York up to that time led us to believe that would be a most welcome contribution, and we were urged to press ahead with it. The Secretary-General told me he was most anxious for us to get our battalion to a place where it could be embarked without delay.

General Burns reached New York a little later than we expected because he had to go to Cairo en route. The possibility then was mentioned that one country might provide all the administrative and air support at least in the initial stages. General Burns had found that difficulties were already developing because the infantry that had arrived, mostly from the Scandinavian countries and also from Colombia, were reaching the base without the necessary services and there was no headquarters organized to receive them.

These reports were sent by me to Ottawa. I returned to discuss them with my colleagues over the week-end, and while I was in Ottawa the Secretary-General through his executive assistant phoned me on Saturday, November 10, about another difficulty that was developing and which has been referred to already in this discussion, namely that the Egyptian authorities were concerned about the possibility of Canadian troops being mistaken for United Kingdom troops and that incidents might take place especially if the proportion of Canadian troops to the total force were high, as would be the case if the Canadian infantry battalion had arrived at that time.

We in New York, and indeed in Ottawa on advice from New York, felt that these difficulties would be overcome, and in discussing them with the Secretary-General he once again asked us to make no changes in our plans pending further discussions and he hoped satisfactory arrangements could be made. So the Government went ahead with the arrangements as originally contemplated.

Composition of Force

These difficulties I have been talking about, difficulties of administration and difficulties of composition, were not unique to Canada. Indeed they were not surprising considering the fact that the United Nations was starting from nothing in organizing this force; with the political situation so difficult both at the United Nations and in Egypt, and considering also the fact that under the resolution au-

thorizing the Secretary-General to organize this force he was instructed to work out—the phrase that was used was a “balanced force”—a balanced force militarily for police work and a balanced force, as he interpreted it, geographically and politically if possible.

Perhaps I should interject at this point, in connection with this particular difficulty, that among the countries that have offered contributions are Roumania and Czechoslovakia. Countries other than Canada have made offers of contributions which have not been dealt with, and they are waiting to hear from the Secretary-General also. The problem now was a very difficult and complicated one, all the more so as the greatest need at that time was to get more people to the spot.

Well, then, I think it was on Tuesday, November 13 when back in New York from Ottawa, that I had another talk with the Secretary-General in relation to the new difficulties which had occurred. I emphasized to him at that time that we felt it absolutely essential to the success of this effort that neither Egypt nor any other country should impose conditions regarding the composition of this force. I told him that on this matter we would negotiate only with him, the Secretary-General, although we recognized, of course, that it was right and proper that he should discuss these matters with Egypt in order to avoid, if possible, subsequent difficulties.

Nevertheless, on that Tuesday I asked him again about composition in view of the developing difficulties, and whether we should proceed with our plans for moving the regiment. The Secretary-General said—this was Tuesday, November 13, and I quote from his statement to me which I took down—that he hoped we would go right ahead with our plans.

He also discussed with me the question of composition on the next day, Wednesday. Then later we had a meeting of the advisory committee on the matter and I have already read from the minutes of that meeting. Following that the Secretary-General flew to Cairo. He left New York in the hope that these difficulties would all be cleared up before he had returned. As we were having diplomatic discussions about them and as it seemed that these discussions might end in a satisfactory way, we did our best, I quite admit, to discourage any premature publicity about difficulties which might be settled and concerning which, if the publicity were inaccurate, we would have even greater trouble in clearing up. Therefore on Thursday, November 15 the Prime Minister said at Toronto:

Units of Canadian contribution to the UN force are ready and the order in council placing them on active service under UN command will be passed and Parliament summoned as soon as we can ascertain from General Burns what elements he needs and cannot get from other countries.

During that week-end when General Burns reached New York and the Secretary-General was in Cairo I was in touch with the Secretary-General by telephone and cable through our Embassy. I stated to him that I had heard word about his discussions with the Egyptians; and while I appreciated the difficulties which had arisen and while naturally we wanted to help the Secretary-General, already so overburdened with problems, in any way possible, nevertheless we could not accept the principle that any one government could determine what contribution or whether any contribution would be made by a member state in connection with the United Nations force. I am glad to say that the Secretary-General has taken the same position.

Then we discussed the difficulty on the Secretary-General's return. I know my hon. friends want to have all the facts in connection with this matter. We have had wild rumours and exaggerations which have appeared in the press about Nasser's farce, as the Acting Leader of the Opposition called it yesterday . . .

As a result of these discussions the Secretary-General had sent a communication to me from Cairo which I shall put on the record:

The question of when and where ground troops shall be used—

That is Canadian ground troops.

—can best be considered when the UNEF can assess its needs at the armistice lines. The present situation seems to be one where it is not a lack of troops for the immediate task but of possibilities to bring them over and maintain their lines of communications.

That was a message from the Secretary-General, not from the Egyptian Government. He also emphasized that in sending it neither he nor anyone else was laying down conditions for Canadian participation because he felt that that would be improper. On his return and after further discussion with General Burns it was agreed that for the time being we should concentrate on getting these other forces to Egypt and hold the infantry battalion in reserve. General Burns himself said he agreed that it was even more important at the present moment to have an air transport headquarters, administration units, signals, engineers, army service, medical units and forces

of that type; which were later to be sneered at by some excitable persons as constituting a typewriter army, something that will not I think commend itself to the members of these very gallant Canadian regiments.

We agreed then to this change in plans, although regretting it—it is indeed our desire to fit in our plans with those agreed upon by General Burns and the Secretary-General and keep the rest of our forces available for transmission to the area—and on Tuesday, November 20 the order in council was passed to that end. I ask whether we could or should have proceeded otherwise. I am sure that most members of the House will agree that we would have been wrong if we had not made the offer we did in the first instance without delay, an offer which at that time seemed most appropriate and was considered as such by the Secretary-General.

To have made no offers or to have made no plans; to have held back our offer until everything was cleared up; to have permitted no movement of troops of any kind, would I think have left us open to criticism, to the charge that we were dragging our feet in connection with a proposal which we ourselves had put forward. I think also that we would have been wrong to have interfered with our plans until we were certain that their implementation or the timing thereof was to be changed.

When we were asked to make that change, not by Colonel Nasser but by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the commanding general of the United Nations forces, we could have either accepted or rejected the request. The latter would have meant delaying any action or, as has been suggested in a few extreme quarters, we could have withdrawn from the United Nations force completely. I am confident that if we had taken either of those courses, if we had delayed taking any action or withdrawn from the force, in view of the developments we would have been open to grave criticism and we would have got most of it from some hon. gentlemen opposite who have spoken already in this debate. I think the course we took was the right course, and it was considered the right course by the United Nations officials concerned.

It did not seem to me to be the time—I am talking now about the time we were confronted with the necessity of changing our plans, at least temporarily—or the occasion for national pique or peevishness or sneering at this new United Nations force as being Nasser's farce. It seemed to me that the situation was far too serious for that. What was required from every member of the

United Nations was to back up the United Nations force to the best of its ability after receiving the best advice it could. After receiving such advice from the United Nations itself we took that course, and as a result there is now a United Nations force which within between three and four weeks of the resolution authorizing it now includes on the spot—at least this was two days ago and there have been additions since that time—1,700 troops of which 20 per cent or 350 are Canadians. There will be soon more Canadians on the spot. Twenty-three nations have offered contributions to that force and eight of them, including Canada, have seen their contributions embodied in the formations on the spot which are now working together under the United Nations blue flag of peace.

Immediate and Long-term Objectives

May this force succeed in its task. If it does we may have started something of immense value for the future. We may have taken a step to put force behind the collective will of the international community under the law. That is our immediate task, to make this force work, to prevent fighting in the area and to establish conditions there through the operation of this force so that the United Nations itself can work out speedily an enduring and honourable settlement for that area, including relations between Israel and her neighbours and the international supervision and control, if that can be done, of the Suez Canal.

While that is our immediate objective we have another objective which is just as important and I suggest just as immediate, and that is to restore unity among the allies. The Western coalition, which is essential for peace in these disturbed times and which requires close consultation and co-operation among its members if it is to succeed, especially among London, Washington and Paris, has been subjected to strains and stresses in recent months. This has caused all lovers of peace in the free world great anxiety.

May I in conclusion repeat something I said on this point the other night to the American Assembly of Columbia University, when I said:

The inability to bring about a reconciliation of interests inside a coalition has resulted in a collapse of Western co-operation in the Middle East; a collapse which has brought distress to everyone except those who see in such co-operation the strongest barrier to the attainment of their own imperialist and reactionary power objectives. This collapse is, I am convinced, only temporary; but temporary is too long.

It must be a primary obligation on all of us to speed and make effective the work of repair and restoration. Indeed, we must do more than this. We must strengthen and deepen the foundation for such co-operation so that a collapse will not take place again in the face of the pull between the requirements of national and international policy. At the moment that is the primary task and responsibility of all who believe in freedom and security.

Then I went on to say:

It is less important at the present moment to dwell on the difficulties of the task than on ways and means of avoiding them in the future. A Canadian may, I think, be pardoned for emphasizing that this is particularly true in the case of consultation and co-operation between Washington and London and Paris. It is imperative, in our dangerous and disturbed world, that the lines of contact between these three capitals be repaired and renewed and reinvigorated.

Apart from the actual preservation of the peace, and indeed, related to it, there is no more important objective for Western policy than this, and every possible effort must now be devoted, with understanding, with good will and with energy, to its achievement.

Jordan and Syria

Mr. Diefenbaker: Would my hon. friend allow a question at this time? I have mentioned the matter to him in advance. It has to do with the grave situation that arose today in Jordan and also the even graver situation in Syria. Would he, before concluding, say something with respect to the situation over there which today has become so critical, and also whether in view of what is taking place there the United Nations force will have to be increased over and above the numbers provided for under the present arrangements?

Mr. Pearson: Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend was good enough to tell me before I came into the House that this matter was very much on his mind and that he proposed to say a question about it. I am anxious not to say anything, without pretty careful consideration, about a matter which is of immediate gravity because, as I understand the reports we have received, this is a matter of immediate gravity. I do not want to be panicky or unnecessarily alarming about it, but there are reports that Russian penetration is going on in Syria to an alarming extent and that there are moves inside Syria which might result in the domestic control of that country by a

group which seems quite willing to work with the Soviets in this matter. That is not a prospect that can cause anything but alarm. There are the same elements in other Arab countries, but we must hope that these countries themselves will take some steps to prevent that kind of development.

As for the other part of his question, whether the United Nations force should be increased to take care of a situation of this kind, the numbers of that force are not yet determined. I suspect that before long we will find it very greatly increased over its present number, but it has been set up to deal with a situation arising out of a cessation of hostilities between Israel on the one side and the United Kingdom and France and Egypt on the other, and its present terms of reference would not authorize it to intervene in any other dispute between any other two countries. But the United Nations Assembly is in session, and if we can set up a United Nations force for one purpose surely we can extend its functions and activities for another desirable purpose. I would hope that if the situation began to deteriorate beyond the point which required that kind of extension it would be done at this Assembly very quickly.

All I wish to say in my closing words is that the question of strengthening co-operation among the Western democracies, especially among the United States, the United Kingdom, France and, of course, Canada, is one which must be kept in our minds behind all the present emergencies that have strained and weakened that co-operation. We must do what we can without recrimination to bring it back.

It is in that spirit, Mr. Speaker, that we shall continue our efforts at the United Nations to find solutions to problems which remain difficult and dangerous and have created situations which, if they are allowed to persist, can indeed be a very real threat to peace . . .

Mr. Nesbitt: Is the Secretary of State for External Affairs in a position to give us any idea as to the extent to which Russian arms were accepted by Egypt prior to the immediate trouble, and also by Syria?

Mr. Pearson: Mr. Speaker, I assume that when we get in committee I will have the opportunity of trying to answer a number of questions of this kind, but on the direct question I might say that we knew, of course, as was mentioned in the House last summer, that Russian arms and Russian equipment were going into Egypt. That was well-known. It was also known they were going into Syria, though not in the quantities in which they have been going there in recent weeks. It was our impression at that time that the Russian

arms going into Egypt were for the purpose of strengthening the Egyptian Army. It is probably also true that Russian technicians went in with those arms. We did not know

and we had no reason to believe that these arms were going into Egypt for any other purpose at that time than to strengthen the Egyptian Army for use in military operations.

Mr. L. B. Pearson (November 29)

... During the earlier discussion of this subject I was asked to enlighten the House in respect to several matters. One matter was the reason we had not previously taken action in regard to a United Nations police force in this particular area. Another was—and this has been brought up again by the hon. member for Greenwood—the relationship of our action to Commonwealth unity...

The hon. member for Prince Albert asked particularly for enlightenment, as he put it, in regard to our previous attitude toward a United Nations emergency force for this particular area. I think he is satisfied with what I said earlier about our general attitude toward putting forces under the United Nations for general purposes and the difficulty of doing that under the Security Council organization as it is at present. I am sorry he is not able to be here this afternoon to decide whether or not what I am going to say about this matter is enlightenment. I would point out, and I have made a pretty careful survey of our record in this regard, that it was as early as 1953 that we discussed, with representatives of the United Kingdom Government in the course of our diplomatic exchange of views, the possibility of replacing the truce supervisory organization in the Palestine area with a police force which would have greater powers, and greater authority, and be able to do things which the truce organization could not possibly do, thereby making the situation easier and making war more difficult.

At that time, in 1953, the matter also came up, though not in public discussion, at the General Assembly of the United Nations. We had previous discussions with the British and took the matter up with the Secretary-General, who had himself been considering it. We were told at that time that in his opinion it would not be a desirable move to make publicly at the United Nations General Assembly.

That was in 1953. Then later, in 1955, when I happened to be in Cairo, I discussed this question with General Burns who came over from Jerusalem to see me, and we went over the question of the advisability of making a proposal at the next Assembly—that would have been the Assembly we are at now—for a United Nations force to patrol the boundary not only between Egypt and Israel, but be-

tween Jordan and Syria and Lebanon and Israel. On my return to Ottawa we brought this question up again when Sir Anthony Eden and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd visited us here, I think in January 1956. We also took the question up in Paris with the French Government. At that time the governments which I have mentioned, the British Government and the French Government, did not feel that this was a practicable proposition.

One reason they did not feel that way was that they themselves had been discussing it with the United States and the United States was hesitant about the wisdom at that time of trying to introduce a police force on the borders, with a demilitarized zone. Behind all this hesitation and objection, if you like, was the fact that—neither the Government of Israel nor the Government of any one of the Arab states was in favour of that kind of force. I can assure the Committee we have received arguments from the Government of Israel which indicate why they did not favour that kind of force.

What it was thought might be done at that time was to increase the truce observation organization. That was done, and Canada did send additional officers to it. It was with that background that the discussion was introduced in the House here last January or February—I forget the exact date—by the hon. member for Prince Albert, and it was with that background that I expressed some hesitation as to whether it was a wise move to make at that time. But I did mention the matter again in the Committee on External Affairs... on April 17, 1956:

The idea of an international force for Palestine—which a few weeks ago got a good deal of attention—

I was referring to the debate in the House.—does not appear now to be regarded on either side, the Jewish side or the Arab side, or by the others most concerned—
—as practicable.

I meant the United Kingdom, the United States and the French Governments,

That was my statement to the Committee, and no reference was made by any member of the Committee to that matter subsequently. Therefore I assumed that they accepted that statement of the impracticability of this move at that time.

As I think I said on an other occasion, what the three countries most concerned, the United Kingdom, the United States and France, apart from Israel and the Arab states, desired to do was to use the tripartite agreement for the purpose of preventing an outbreak in that area. And it is one of the unhappy aspects of this tragedy that this agreement fell by the wayside in the events of last summer.

So much, then, for the origin of the idea of the United Nations force. There was an occasion, however, a few weeks ago, when a resolution of this kind, under the circumstances which then existed, could be taken up and made effective by the United Nations Assembly, and that was done. But I would point out to my hon. friends opposite who have all, I think, without exception expressed themselves as being in favour of the idea of a United Nations force and even felt that it should have been in existence long before the crisis, that if the Canadian Delegation had taken the action at the first meeting of the United Nations Special Assembly which some of them have suggested we should have taken, to support the United Kingdom and France in their efforts to prevent the consideration of this question at the United Nations Assembly in that action, and if that support and that of other members of the Assembly had been effective, there could have been no consideration of any United Nations force at this time, or possibly at any other time in the future.

I think that is a valid point to make, because when the Canadian Delegation voted against the United Kingdom and France on that first measure before the Assembly I was charged by some hon. members opposite as lining up with Russia and the United States. But if we had not defeated that move we would never have been able to introduce a resolution for a United Nations force, and when that resolution was first introduced it got—

Mr. Brooks: Did not Great Britain and France ask for a United Nations force?

Mr. Pearson: Well, I shall try to explain that. What I am talking about now is the first session of the Special Assembly of the United Nations after everything had collapsed in the Security Council. When that Assembly met the first item before it was the putting of this Middle Eastern question from the Security Council on the agenda of the Assembly. If it had not been put on the agenda we could not have discussed the question at all, and the Special Assembly would have dissolved and there would have been no opportunity to bring up the United Nations

force proposal at that time. The United Kingdom and France, for reasons which they thought were quite good, did attempt to keep this matter off the agenda. A few days later, when the proposal was made for a United Nations force, it got a very large vote and no member of the Assembly voted against it. But the United Kingdom and France again—and I am not criticizing, because they felt this to be the proper course for them to follow—abstained with regard to the proposal for a United Nations force which they have subsequently found, I think, to be very helpful to them in the solution of the difficulties we are all in now. That abstention on their part, from their point of view, was a perfectly reasonable one, just as abstention on our part under certain circumstances seems to us also to be perfectly reasonable.

United Nations Control

The hon. member for St. Paul's and others have asked me a good many questions about the functions of this Force, how it is going to operate, what is the chain of command, and what is the relationship of this Force to the government of the country in which it is operating. It is not easy to answer all these questions at the present time because the organization, the function and the principles under which the Force is to operate, its relationship not only to the government of the country in which it is operating but to the governments which have sent troops to the Force—all these things we are now trying to work out. I assure my hon. friend that that work is certainly not completed. The Force is operating under the resolution to which I referred earlier, which is now in effect and which authorizes it to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of a previous resolution, the resolution which was passed two or three days before, and which in general does lay down the functions of the Force.

Those functions under that earlier resolution were to bring about a cease-fire, and that has been done; to bring about the withdrawal of forces behind the armistice line; to desist from raids across the armistice line into neighbouring territory; to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreement, and to take steps to re-open the Suez Canal and to restore and secure freedom of navigation.

The Assembly has ordered all these things to be done, and the Force itself is to police the doing of them. In line with certain principles and functions which have been approved by the Assembly and which are put

out in detail in a United Nations document which has been tabled (A-3302 of November 6) this is the final report of the Secretary-General on the plans for this Emergency Force, and especially paragraphs 6 to 12 which outline his idea of how it should function.

Now, it is of cardinal importance that in this functioning the Force should be under United Nations control and not under the control or dictation of any one member of the United Nations, including Egypt. I tried to make it as clear as I could the other day, and I have tried to make it clear at the United Nations General Assembly, that we would not accept any other interpretation of the functions, the tasks and the duties of this Force.

I know that in this debate some very hard and harsh words have been used against the dictator of Egypt, and I certainly am not here to defend him. But I think it is also well to remember there is a relationship between this Force and the Arab peoples, and we certainly do not want to divide ourselves completely from the Arab peoples in these matters. Therefore we have to recognize, I think, that those peoples, especially the people in Egypt as represented for better or for worse by their government, do have a special relationship with a force which is operating in their territory. I can assure the Committee again, however, if assurance is needed, that we would not accept any principle of action at the United Nations, or participate for long in any force, if that force is in danger of being controlled and dominated by the leader of the Government of Egypt. That has already come up in the advisory committee of seven and it will come up again. I can give the Committee an assurance that that is the stand we will take, and I am quite sure we will have the support of practically all the members of the Committee in that stand and the support of the Secretary-General himself.

I have listened in previous discussions, Mr. Chairman, to a good many statements to the effect that the action of the United Kingdom and France has saved the world from Russian domination and control of the Middle East. Well, I am not going to go into that at this time, but there is another side to this question. We should also ask ourselves in considering all sides of the question whether the action that has been taken has weakened or strengthened the position of the U.S.S.R. in this area by giving the U.S.S.R. a special relationship to Egypt and to the Arab and Asian states, which has been illustrated by some of the alignments in the United Nations at this time. I do not for one minute criticize the motives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France in intervening

in Egypt at this time. I may have thought their intervention was not wise, but I do not criticize their purposes.

It has been suggested, and this is one of the questions that was asked me in the previous debate, whether by our own actions in not aligning ourselves on all occasions at the United Nations with the United Kingdom and France we had not contributed to the weakening and division of the Commonwealth and the weakening and division of the Western Coalition.

Commonwealth Division

Mr. Chairman, I have just one thing to say about that. That division within the Commonwealth resulting from the British action would have occurred whether or not we had voted on every occasion with the British delegation down there. We did not create the division. It certainly would have existed between the Asian members of the Commonwealth and the other members whether or not we had lined up with those other members, and I think we have to be very careful when we talk about the unity of the Commonwealth and co-operation within the Commonwealth—and it is something we should not only talk about but should do what we can to bring about—never to forget there are three Asian members of that Commonwealth. However, our efforts to bring them into closer association with the Commonwealth and to keep them there surely should not mean that even within this association we have not got a very special relationship of intimacy and friendship with the old members of the Commonwealth including above all our mother country in the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom.

All I am trying to point out now is that our actions at the United Nations, criticize them if you like, did not bring about a division in the Commonwealth. Indeed I am compelled to say that our actions and the attitude we adopted did help and are still helping to heal the divisions which are within the Commonwealth at this time. If we had not taken the position we did take on these matters at the United Nations we would not have been in the position where we could have performed what I think to be a constructive role by bringing not only the members of the Commonwealth closer together again, but, and this in some respects under the present circumstances is even more important, by bringing the United States, the British and the French closer together again.

No Canadian at the United Nations who has to get up and declare the policy of his Government can feel anything but an agoniz-

ing regret when he finds himself on the other side of an issue from the representative of the United Kingdom. Over the years since we have had to take charge of our own foreign affairs we have had ample reason to respect and be grateful for the wisdom and experience of the United Kingdom at international conferences and in international matters, and over the years we have nearly always found ourselves in substantial agreement with the United Kingdom. At times we have been in agreement with the United Kingdom but not in agreement with the United States, but on this occasion in some of these measures before the United Nations and indeed in respect of the original cause of this meeting of the United Nations we could not support 100 per cent the actions of the United Kingdom and France.

Believe me, Mr. Chairman, that does not mean we are weakening in any respect in our feeling of admiration, respect and affection for the mother country of the Commonwealth. It was in that spirit, even when we disagreed at the United Nations, that we tried to be as helpful and constructive as possible, and to bring about a situation where disagreement would not be necessary in the future; I think, Mr. Chairman, that has happened. I am optimistic enough to believe that in so far as co-operation within the Commonwealth and co-operation within the Western coalition is concerned we have gone through the hardest of our experiences in the last two or three weeks, that the situation is changing and that we will come closer together again. The speech made this afternoon in the House of Commons in London by the Foreign Secretary of the Government of the United Kingdom gives some indication, I believe, that this is true. We must all devoutly hope, and I am sure all hon. members of this House do hope, that it will be true. If there is anything any of us can do to bring about this work of restoration and reinvigoration within the Commonwealth and within the Western coalition all of us, I know, will be very proud indeed to do it.

The hon. member for Prince Albert said this morning when he made the interesting proposal that there should be a high level conference in Quebec to pursue this objective that Canada was in an enviable position in these matters, and that because of that position we have special privileges and special responsibilities.

I agree that we have in many respects an enviable position, but it is also a position of some responsibility. If it is enviable I venture to suggest that our actions at the United Nations in the last three weeks have not made it less enviable.

Leaving these controversial aspects of the question aside for the moment, I know I am speaking for every hon. member in the House when I say we can now look forward to the time when there will be a closer and more intimate relationship in the Commonwealth, which includes three great nations of Asia, and in a Western coalition which must have as its core the closest kind of co-operation and intimacy among the United States, the United Kingdom and France. That is the job for us to do from now on, and I hope we will all be able to pursue it so that we will bring about a better state of affairs in the world than we have been experiencing in these last months.

Mr. Hansell: On page 64 of *Hansard* of November 27 the Minister is reported as having said:

Twenty-three nations have offered contributions to that force and eight of them including Canada, have seen their contributions embodied in the formations on the spot which are now working together under the United Nations blue flag of peace.

Could the Minister enumerate the 23 nations and also indicate who the 8 are so that we can be brought up to date? I am interested in knowing how many of what are usually called the Russian satellite states are interested in this force.

Mr. Pearson: The following eight countries have offered contributions which are now embodied in the United Nations Emergency Force in one form or another: Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, India, Norway, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

There are 15 countries which have offered contributions which have not yet been taken up, though they have not been rejected. If hon. members will follow this list carefully they will realize that the Secretary-General has a delicate and difficult task in bringing about what he called a balanced composition in the Force. This may help to understand the delicacy of his relationship to the Government of Egypt. In connection with the composition of this Force, he is the man who with the advice of the advisory council and in the last analysis the full Assembly determines the composition. He is trying to bring that about in a way which will secure the maximum co-operation from the government of the country in which the force is operating. The following are the countries which have not yet been asked by him to send forward contingents to this force: Afghanistan, Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iran, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines and Roumania.

Mr. Bandaranaike Visits Ottawa



DISTINGUISHED VISITOR

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, spent several days in Ottawa early this month. He was met on his arrival in the capital by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, with whom he is seen above.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Honourable S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, arrived in Ottawa on Monday, November 26, for a short visit as the guest of the Government of Canada. The Prime Minister and his party, including the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. Gunasena de Soyza, and his private secretary, Mr. Duncan de Alwis, landed at Uplands Airport and were met by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

His Excellency the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, C. H., invited the Prime Minister and his party to be his guests at Government House and entertained on Monday evening at dinner in honour of the visitors. Mr. Bandaranaike called on Prime Minister Louis S. St. Laurent on Tuesday morning and was the guest of the Prime Minister later at luncheon in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister of Ceylon also called on the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

While in Ottawa, Mr. Bandaranaike attended the opening of Parliament on Monday afternoon and the morning session the next day.

Canada and the United Nations

ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THE Eleventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations opened in New York on November 12.

The composition of the Canadian Delegation is as follows: *Representatives*—Mr. Lester B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation); Mr. Roch Pinard, M.P., Secretary of State (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation); Mr. Lucien Cardin, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Senator D. A. Croll, Toronto, Ontario; R. A. MacKay, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York; *Alternate Representatives*—Mrs. M. A. Shipley, Member of Parliament for Temiskaming; Mr. Gérard Legaré, Member of Parliament for Rimouski; Mr. John Holmes, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. F. H. Soward, Associate Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of British Columbia; Mr. S. Pollock, Department of Finance; *Special Adviser*—Miss Kathleen E. Bowlby, National Secretary, United Nations Association in Canada.

Advisers for the Delegation are drawn from the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Finance and the Canadian Permanent Mission to United Nations in New York.

Elections

Prince Wan Waithayakon, of Thailand, was unanimously elected President of the Assembly, succeeding José Maza, of Chile. Representatives of El Salvador, the United States, United Kingdom, India, France, the U.S.S.R., China and Italy were elected Vice-Presidents.

The following were named Chairmen of Committees: First Committee—Political and Security, Mr. Victor Andres Belaunde, (Peru); Ad Hoc Political Committee, Mr. Selim Sarper, (Turkey); Second Committee—Economic and Financial, Mr. Mir Khan, (Pakistan); Third Committee—Social, Humanitarian and Cultural, Mr. Hermod Lannung, (Denmark); Fourth Committee—Trusteeship, Mr. Enrique de Marchena, (Dominican Republic); Fifth Committee—Administrative and Budgetary, Mr. Omar Loutfi, (Egypt); Sixth Committee—Legal, Mr. Karel Petrzelka, (Czechoslovakia).

Admission of New Members

Immediately after his election, the President brought before the Assembly the applications for membership of three new states, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco, whose admission had previously been unanimously recommended by the Security Council. Resolutions endorsing the Security Council action, and sponsored by twenty-two countries, were promptly introduced and passed unanimously, whereupon the delegates of the new members took their seats in the Assembly Hall. The admission of these three states brought to a total of 79 the number of member countries of the United Nations.

Adoption of the Agenda

On November 13, the General Assembly endorsed a recommendation by the General Committee that the Assembly take up in plenary, without reference to a Committee, the questions of the Middle East and Hungary which had been referred to it at the conclusion of the Special Emergency Session of the Assembly on November 10.¹ Thereafter, the course of the General Debate, which opened on November 16, was interrupted from time to time to allow discussion of these two subjects. The Canadian statement in the general debate² was delivered on December 5 by the Secretary of State, the Hon. Roch Pinard. (The text is given below).

Consideration of the rest of the agenda was completed by the General Committee on November 14 and on the following day the General Assembly accepted its recommendation to consider a total of 69 items, including the controversial questions of Cyprus, Algeria, West Irian and two items relating to South Africa. The General Assembly also endorsed a recommendation by the General Committee to change the name of the Ad Hoc Political Committee to the Special Political Committee, and decided to recess on December 23, to reconvene on January 2, 1957 and to set February 15, 1957 as the target closing date of the Session.

Partial Boycott by South Africa

Canada voted in favour of the inscription of both the item on the treatment of Indians in South Africa (No. 24) and the item on Apartheid (No. 61). Mr. Louw, the South African Minister for External Affairs and leader of the South African Delegation, vigorously opposed inscription of these items and in the course of his intervention in the General Assembly asserted that this would be the last occasion on which a South African Delegation would state its objections to the inscription of these items on the agenda.

In the general debate on November 27, Mr. Louw stated that, as a result of the inscription of the South African items, his country would maintain a partial boycott of the United Nations, including a reduction of the staff of its Permanent Delegation, until the world organization stopped what he alleged to be interference in South African internal affairs. Mr. Louw indicated that his government's decision was based on the contention that, with respect to the two South African items, the United Nations had eleven times violated Article 2 (7) of the Charter on matters of purely domestic jurisdiction. He concluded: "We are not willing any longer to be even an unwilling party to the continued interference in the Union's domestic affairs."

Chinese Representation

After lengthy debate the General Assembly decided by a roll-call vote of 47 to 24 with 8 abstentions not to include in its agenda the item proposed by India on the "representation of China in the United Nations." The vote was a resolution recommended by the General Committee, and originally proposed by the United States, under the terms of which the Assembly decided not to

¹"External Affairs", November 1956.

²A report on the Middle Eastern and Hungarian items will be included in the January issue of the Bulletin.

consider, at this Session, "any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central Peoples Government of the Peoples Republic of China".

Following is the text of Mr Pinard's statement on December 5 in the general debate:

Mr. President, in the brief but turbulent history of the United Nations, there was surely never a time when we stood in more obvious need of the humane and objective viewpoint represented, if I may say so, Mr. President, by your own qualities of calm intelligence and broad understanding. The Assembly is fortunate indeed to have you as our President as we seek the rational and peaceful solutions which we must find if we are all to avoid the "universal disaster" you spoke of in your address of welcome to the new members.

I should like to add my own word of sincere welcome to our new members. We can rejoice that our organization now more faithfully represents the world as it is in all its diversity. We look forward to the early admission of those who have not yet taken their rightful place among us—notably Japan, whom we confidently expect to welcome before this session is ended—a welcome too long delayed. Nor can we be satisfied until the German people are properly represented here—and the unhappily divided nations of Korea and Vietnam. Then we hope soon to have among us new states like Ghana, the former Gold Coast, which, thanks to the energy and initiative of its people and enlightened colonial policy, are now taking their place as stable members of the world community.

This expansion of our organization does, however, present us with some new problems. There is danger that we might dissipate our energies in the confusion of voices and stagger under our own weight into anarchy. We cannot continue to act as we did when, though certainly never streamlined, we were a smaller company. We shall require enormous self-discipline if we are to meet the increasing necessity for swift, effective and above all, responsible action.

Increasingly, also, we are dividing ourselves as members of the United Nations into smaller groups. I think that this is in many respects a healthy phenomenon. It can be a partial solution to the problem of size I have just mentioned. When there is not time to hear every voice, there is a good deal to be said for choirs. Most of our groups, moreover are not hard blocs. They are flexible and they are fortunately not exclusive. It is natural and fitting that like-minded countries should work together; but it is neither natural nor fitting

when a group is forced to become so superficially at least united that it automatically votes as one, on even the most unimportant procedural issues. Fortunately for the work of our organization, there is only one such bloc—and even here there have of late been hopeful signs of a restless intelligence at work. May the rest of us refuse to move backwards, because the only result of the ossification of blocs will be that the United Nations will grind to a stagnant halt; with the veto of the single state in the Security Council replaced by the veto of the voting bloc in the Assembly.

Perhaps some will say, Mr. President, that this is today more than ever a Great Power world—a world of the super-powers—in which the freedom of action and influence of the lesser, the non-atomic powers is circumscribed as never before. While the greatest powers have the obligation to do what they can to see that the big issues are dealt with through the United Nations, and not only when it suits them, we of the smaller powers have the no less direct imperative to make it possible, by our actions and attitudes in the United Nations, for the great powers to have no excuse for bypassing it. If we lesser powers act with discretion and a recognition of our responsibilities, we are not powerless. If we do not, if we concern ourselves only with our own national, or group or racial interests, then the United Nations will soon cease to be a place where the bigger powers co-operate with us and with themselves for any common purpose.

At this late stage in our general debate, Mr. President, there are only two or three topics on which I should like to comment. The Chairman of my Delegation has already outlined the position of the Canadian Government on developments in the Middle East and in Hungary.

About the Middle East I wish only to state my belief that the success or failure of the experiment which we have set in motion here may well determine whether in our lifetime the influence of the United Nations will grow or wither. Nothing remains static for long. New challenges arise in new forms; and if we cannot meet the central challenge of organizing—as the distinguished Foreign Minister of Norway put it the other day—peace with justice through the United Nations, that

attempt will be made outside the United Nations and with less and less regard for the common standard to which we have all subscribed in the Charter. It is my conviction, and that of my Government, that our best hope for attaining peace with justice is to work through the United Nations. In the long run this will be possible in practical terms to the extent that we can organize ourselves within the United Nations in order to be able to do more than pass resolutions calling for cease-fires or condemning aggressions.

Now, I would not for a moment underrate the enormous moral effect which such resolutions of the General Assembly have in mobilizing public opinion, at least in the countries where such pressures act directly upon governments. But can we not go further? I feel that the time may be ripe for taking the next step in international co-operation to secure the peace.

The distinguished representative of Iran, whose long experience and wise judgment are respected by every member of this Assembly, pointed out to us on November 29 that the force which the United Nations has placed in Egypt is not an international army as those who framed the Charter intended the United Nations to have. Mr. Entezam went on:

Nonetheless, the establishment of this international police force represents a great step forward and it is such as to facilitate at a later stage the organization of this international army without which, despite the moral influence of our Organization, the implementation of its decisions could never be fully assured.

Experiment Must Succeed

The United Nations is a collectivity of fully sovereign states. We must recognize that up to the present time we have not been successful in organizing in advance a United Nations police force ready for action anywhere at any time. Since the Korean experience, we have tried through the Assembly to have member governments earmark units of their armed forces for United Nations police action. Although I think the Canadian Government went at least as far as any others in this respect, no government was prepared without any qualification to place its forces at the disposal of the United Nations in advance for such a purpose.

If, for the time being, we must accept this as a fact, we need not, I think, be thrown back wholly on the moral effect of what we say here and the resolutions which we adopt. As the Middle Eastern experiment has already shown, we have the possibility of using an

intermediate technique between merely passing resolutions and fighting a war. The United Nations Emergency Force is not so much a fighting force as a police contingent endowed with international authority which the United Nations has interposed between forces which have themselves accepted a cease-fire and the obligation to withdraw on the understanding that the United Nations would put its own independent forces into the area to secure and supervise the cease-fire. This experiment must succeed because we all recognized in this Assembly that it would be much too dangerous to allow it to fail. It is our hope and expectation that no country, large or small, would withhold co-operation either in making contributions, if requested, to this international Force, or in letting it operate in its own territory, for the alternative would be to risk a local conflict developing into something more general and dangerous.

If our experiment works—and that is, of course, the first prerequisite—it may be that the United Nations might usefully consider some means of having units of armed forces of the smaller countries made available at short notice for such supervisory duties, on the call of the United Nations. The United Nations might also think of a permanent organization available to the appropriate United Nations authority to provide the necessary central machinery which would organize their contributions and put their forces effectively into operation when the need arises. I want to make it clear that I am not hinting necessarily that the present United Nations Emergency Force be made into a permanent force, although we should build upon the experience of that experiment. Shall we go back once again to the situation in which the United Nations found itself both in June 1950 and in November 1956, when everything had to be improvised, when there were no units, and no financial and administrative procedures to which the Secretary-General could turn in the task given him by the Assembly of putting a United Nations force into a dangerous and delicate situation.

If the Secretary-General had had such an organization available in September and ready for use in our time of emergency many of the difficulties and delays which arose might have been avoided. The Secretary-General's truly amazing energy and devotion brought something together out of nothing with remarkable speed. But we have not the right, in all prudence, to expect the same miracle to be accomplished next time with the same success and speed. And next time—if there is one—we would wish to make sure that a cease-fire would be sustained and the United Nations forces would arrive in time, so that there

would be no danger of a local outbreak of fighting growing into a general conflagration. That is the nub of our problem for the future. If we do not begin to think about a longer term solution of this problem, we may miss the psychological moment when national governments may perhaps be prepared, under the impact of recent events, to commit themselves to such procedures in advance for the sake of increasing the collective authority of our organization.

Even while considering how we can best organize collective security through the United Nations within the limitations of our situation, we must not neglect, Mr. President, the parallel efforts which have to be made to reach solutions of the points of most acute friction and danger. We must not imagine, needless to say, that the creation of this or any other international force will solve the acute problems we face. Such a force is a most useful instrument for ensuring a negative kind of peace. But peace to be lasting must be positive.

As Israeli, French and United Kingdom forces are withdrawn in accordance with the General Assembly's cease-fire resolution, and as the United Nations Emergency Force is moved into the area, a momentum for peace is created which should not stop short of a political settlement of both the Palestine and Suez questions. A cease-fire is better than fighting; but it is precarious at best and must be used to begin work here and now on a political settlement which will provide an honourable and secure basis for the lasting peace of the area. This is not a settlement which can be imposed by the international force. It must be a settlement on which all interested parties agree. The Force is the instrument of the settlement, not its creator. An international force to hold the ring can be useful, and in the short term necessary; but it is no substitute for grappling with the more intractable political problems before the sense of urgency and danger has gone out of them, leaving the same old tinder exposed for the next explosion. The world, the United Nations, cannot afford another such explosion.

It might be asserted by some that in the present circumstances of increased international tension there is little point in expecting serious discussion of disarmament at this session of the General Assembly. While it is true that progress towards agreement on disarmament cannot be divorced from the international situation in general, nevertheless the need to make a start, however modest, towards disarmament grows steadily more urgent. The rate of scientific development, particularly in the field of nuclear and thermo-

nuclear armaments, and in the means of delivering them, and the growing realization of the terrible consequences of the use of such weapons compel us all to continue the effort to agree at least on the beginnings of a disarmament programme.

Soviet Proposals

Two weeks ago the U.S.S.R. made public proposals on disarmament and on methods of negotiation. This move was made in sinister circumstances indeed. It came at a time when almost all governments in the world were condemning Soviet savagery in Hungary. The Soviet Government statement was followed within a few hours by the cynical announcement of a large-scale nuclear explosion, and their proposals were also accompanied by boasts about the vast military might of the U.S.S.R. In such circumstances we must consider carefully how much credence we can put in the assertions of the same Soviet leaders of their peaceful intentions. As prudent men who have a responsibility to our several peoples we must make certain that our desire for peace does not expose those who have given us office to the same dark power of tyranny which stalks Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless the Canadian Government are prepared to show their faith in the United Nations by approaching these proposals of the U.S.S.R. for an examination of their merits as though they had been put forward in less equivocal circumstances.

Some of the proposals are quite familiar. Indeed the general framework appears to us to be the same as recent Soviet plans. The main new element is an apparent readiness to accept the principle of aerial inspection. If this acceptance proves to be real it will represent an advance which we could regard with satisfaction. It would be the one spark of hopefulness to come from Moscow in these gloomy weeks of crisis. But although the value of aerial inspection appears to be gaining acceptance among the Soviet leaders they seemingly have yet to grasp its principal merit. It would be an advantage if the secret manoeuvres of the Red Army could no longer be executed threateningly right on the borders of the Western world. But the greatest danger to mankind lies in the massive surprise assault with all the modern apparatus of mass destruction. The Soviet proposals still would afford no means of gaining assurance that forces of destruction were not being prepared in the vast regions of the Soviet Union.

Having said this, I would repeat that we are prepared to join in the examination of the Soviet proposals. It has always been our view that the United Nations offers the proper

framework for achieving disarmament. But we have never thought that the substance of the problem could be brought nearer solution by increasing the number of the negotiators. We therefore look with scepticism on the Soviet suggestion for a conference based upon the participation of the NATO and Warsaw Pact powers. And while we in Canada would welcome any advance which might be initiated by exchanges between the great powers, we are doubtful that in the present tense situation any helpful results could be hoped for. It is no use pretending that confidence has not been severely shaken and that an improved political context has not become necessary.

Insofar as we may draw conclusions for the general terms in which the Soviet proposals are presented, we fear that these proposals, like too many of their predecessors, may be aimed simply at the weakening of the non-communist world, particularly by the disruption of NATO, and at continuing the division of Germany and of all Europe. We shall continue to hope, however, that there is some more constructive approach to the problem of Germany and of Europe involved. On the crucial question of control the proposals give no sign of readiness to clarify the Soviet attitude, which has never come from behind its veil of obscurity. Nor do they reflect the difficulties, which the Russians acknowledge to exist, of detecting concealed stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, we will study these Soviet proposals with great care. We will never refuse any opportunity to seek after even the germ of an agreement on disarmament.

Nuclear Tests

My Delegation was much impressed, as I am sure others were, by the suggestion of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Norway last week that there should be some kind of United Nations registration of nuclear test explosions. In my opinion, it is neither necessary nor realistic to contemplate an immediate ban on all such tests. That is our conclusion after weighing the best scientific evidence which we have. But the scientists are the first ones to admit that their evidence is by no means complete or conclusive. They are somewhat reassuring about the present level of radiation in our atmosphere but while the averages appear to be comforting, an overdose in one small locality might occur. Therefore, while we can take limited comfort from the absence of alarming conclusions—or indeed any conclusions—in the interim report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation, it does not seem to me that we would be justified in looking

into the future with equanimity. My view is the United Nations should give close attention to the question of nuclear tests and I can assure you that we will support the Norwegian proposal for early and serious consideration of the whole matter.

It seems to me that any agreement on nuclear tests is likely to be in the nature of a compromise. We must be guided by two considerations: we must try to meet whatever may be competently estimated as the requirements of the objective scientific situation and we must enable the needs of defence in a dangerously divided world to be given reasonable satisfaction. Because both of these are indefinite quantities there can for the present time be no facile and final solution, and I do not think we can hope to find a satisfactory arrangement, even of a temporary character, which fails to take into account either consideration. So long as the nuclear powers continue to conduct tests at their own discretion there will be widespread agitation to change the situation, but so long as the proposed solutions exaggerate the importance of one of these two factors and wholly neglect the other they are unlikely to provide an acceptable basis for negotiation.

If we consider what we may hope to achieve in present circumstances, I think we may all conclude that we should try to help the nuclear powers in the first instance to agree that they should set, as a self-denying ordinance, some annual or other periodic limit on the volume of radiation to be generated by test explosions. There would have to be some agreed method of allocating quantities between the powers concerned. To maintain confidence there would also have to be some arrangements for notification of the proposed tests and for their verification—and this need not in my view give rise to insuperable difficulties. A system along these lines might serve for the near future during which it might be reviewed from time to time in the light of the data on radiation hazards which the UN Scientific Committee will be gathering. It would be my hope that in due course this interim measure would be supplanted by a disarmament agreement which would deal in a more definite way with nuclear weapons as well as other aspects of disarmament.

Mr. President, although our efforts these past few weeks have necessarily been directed toward a search for lasting solutions to the critical political issues which beset the international community, we must not permit our preoccupation with these problems to divert our attention from the need for increasing co-operation in pursuit of the economic and other objectives of the Charter. It has been suggested that the political problems with

which we are confronted are so serious that useful initiatives in other fields should not be attempted. However, it is the belief of my Delegation that, as the members of the international community demonstrate their ability and willingness to co-operate in finding constructive solutions in the political field, so our capacity and our responsibility for finding better and more dynamic methods for strengthening the international economic fabric are enhanced.

I believe also that we should consider the best methods for assisting the countries of the Middle East to restore their normal economic life following the present crisis and to make plans for continuing economic progress and growth. The United Nations should ensure that any political settlements in the Middle East crisis take account of the need for solution of the pressing economic problems of that area.

I believe also that the United Nations should continue to improve and strengthen the programmes which have been initiated to assist the economic development of the underdeveloped countries. To this end, my Delegation will propose in the Second Com-

mittee that the United Nations undertake a study of existing programmes of bilateral and multilateral economic aid in the expectation that such a study will result in better understanding of the scope and nature of the problems still to be resolved. This suggestion will be designed to promote, through an exchange of information, co-ordination of the economic aid programmes which are now being conducted under the United Nations' umbrella or outside it. A better understanding of the scope of existing programmes and of the experience acquired in implementing them would undoubtedly pave the way to more informed and realistic consideration of SUNFED and other programmes which will be under consideration.

In conclusion, may I say that although we may find this session somewhat frightening and discouraging, it has nevertheless accomplished useful work. Our concrete realizations as yet are few, but we do see the hope of progress which could change for the better the great experiment of this Assembly in international co-operation. We have all learned a great deal in the past few weeks, and the experience should make us wiser in the future.



—UN Photo

PLEDGING CONFERENCE

Dr. R. A. Mackay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, signs the Final Act of the 7th Technical Assistance Conference at which 63 countries pledged an amount equivalent to \$29,245,772 to the 1957 Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. Subject to the approval of Parliament, Canada will contribute \$2,000,000.

Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation

THE latest report of the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation released November 1 records continued progress in the provision of technical assistance to the countries of South and South-East Asia and indicates the extent of Canadian participation in this co-operative undertaking.

CONTRIBUTION OF \$34,400,000 TO COLOMBO PLAN

Subject to Parliamentary approval, a Canadian contribution of an amount of \$34,400,000 will be made in the fiscal year 1957-58 to assist countries in South and South-East Asia participating in the Colombo Plan. The announcement was made at Wellington, New Zealand, December 6 by Mr. Paul Martin, leader of the Canadian delegation to the annual meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Plan. A similar amount for assistance to Colombo Plan countries has been made available during the present fiscal year, 1956-57. This will mean that since the beginning of the Colombo Plan in 1950 Canada will have contributed by March 31, 1958 a total of \$198,800,000 to the Colombo Plan.

As in the past, Canada's 1957-58 contribution will continue to assist economic development projects in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Part of the Canadian contribution will also be devoted to economic development projects in other member countries. In addition to the capital aid provided, a percentage of the money will be devoted to the technical assistance programme.

Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan has been to a large extent concentrated on power developments, on building up transport and communication systems and on surveys of natural resources.

The technical assistance has been in three forms: equipment for training and research; supply of experts to member governments to advise on the implementation of projects requiring technical skill and knowledge; and training of young men and women from South and South-East Asia in science and technology to enable them to undertake development programmes in their own countries. Up to June 1956, the total number of experts provided was 572; training facilities arranged were 4,227 and the value of research equipment supplied exceeded £2 million. The table below gives the number of experts and training facilities provided by the donor countries:

<i>Supplying Country</i>	<i>Experts provided</i>	<i>Training facilities provided</i>
Australia	175	1,610
Canada	101	504
Ceylon	2	23
India	20	462
Japan	23	17
New Zealand	53	307
Pakistan	—	30
United Kingdom	198	1,274

The Government of the United States of America and the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies had also supplied to the countries of the region 4,397 experts and 5,933 training places or fellowships during the period.

Symbol of This Age

These figures, however, the Report points out, are an inadequate index of the actual extent of international co-operation in technology that is evident in the area. Essentially, the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo Plan is "not entirely a matter of business" and cannot be covered by any verbal formula or statistical compilation. "Like some other institutions," the Report says, "that had made a mark on the world by moral force rather than by material strength alone, by unspoken understandings rather than by defined powers, the Colombo Plan has attained a greatness incommensurate with any formal constitution that its founders might have given it. In seven years it has become one of the sturdiest symbols of this age: a symbol of aspiration and hope".

This enthusiasm for the Colombo Plan in the member countries, the Report points out, is mainly because in the Plan there is "an implied recognition of nationalism, a movement never stronger anywhere than in Asia today". Observing that capital accumulation in its early stages has been preceded everywhere by hard work, hard thinking and real sacrifice, the Report says that "fine examples of this work and sacrifice are now to be seen in South Asia and in every instance they are inspired, mobilized and aimed towards a common end by the impulse to bring a nation into existence, or to make it great once it has been born".

Technical Co-operation Scheme

The Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo Plan is supervised by a Council with its headquarters in Colombo. The Council derives its authority from the Consultative Committee consisting of ministers of the member governments. The Scheme started with an initial provision of £8 million assured by the participating governments. At the last meeting of the Consultative Committee held at Singapore, the Scheme and the Plan which are co-terminous were extended to June 1961. Apart from the initial £8 million promised, the United Kingdom announced at the Singapore meeting a technical assistance commitment of £7 million over the seven years beginning April 1956. Australia, Canada and New Zealand also pledged strong continuing participation.

By June 1956 the total expenditure incurred on technical assistance under the Scheme amounted to £5,616,511. Assistance took the form of provision of training facilities and experts and supplies of equipment. The statement below indicates the number of experts and training facilities *received* by the countries of the area from the inception of the Scheme up to June 30, 1956:

<i>Receiving country</i>	<i>Training facilities received</i>	<i>Experts received</i>
Brunei	6	—
Burma	247	11
Cambodia	10	7
Ceylon	710	211
India	765	110
Indonesia	578	31
Japan	3	—
Laos	2	3
Malaya	262	63
Nepal	303	—
North Borneo	61	13
Pakistan	792	101
Philippines	170	—
Sarawak	50	4
Singapore	102	12
Thailand	96	2
Viet Nam	70	4
	<u>4,227</u>	<u>572</u>

Of the total number of 4,227 training facilities provided till June 30, 1956 engineering (641) accounted for the largest number of trainees, followed by food and agriculture (638), administration (595), education (574), medicine and health (524), industry and trade (343), transport and communications (276) and power and fuel (163). Places were also provided in broadcasting, co-operatives, journalism, social services, fisheries, statistics, insurance, banking, accountancy, taxation, printing, photography, factory and labour inspection.

The training facilities availed of by the receiving countries also indicate the fields in which they are short of trained personnel at present. Pakistan, for example, had sent more trainees for administration than in any other field, India and Ceylon in agriculture, Federation of Malaya in medicine, health and education, Indonesia in engineering and Burma in industry and trade.

With the progress of the training programmes, new lines of training have also developed. Establishment of training institutions inside the area, greater exchange of training facilities among the countries of the region and organization of study groups of trainees covering more than one country are some of the special features recorded in the Report.

New Institutions

The countries of South and South-East Asia are increasing their efforts to build training institutions. The Canadian offer to establish an atomic research centre in India to further the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Report points out, is a spectacular instance to fight the Asian economic battle under the Plan. It also states that the United States recently sent a mission to tour the Colombo Plan area in connection with their proposal to establish an atomic training centre in the Philippines. Other centres are being established in Burma and Pakistan.

The institutions, however, which are being increased in the area in large numbers are not the atomic research centres, important though they might be, but the numerous schools of technology and scientific and research laboratories which have already started producing technicians to man the development projects that have been launched. The Report gives a number of instances of such activities in a special section devoted to the subject.

As regards experts, of the total number of 572 provided up to the middle of the year, 156 were in the field of medicine and health, followed by engineering (88), education (70), food, agriculture and forestry (67), transport and communications (65), industry and trade (46) and fisheries (29).

Special Equipment

Training of students or advice of experts will not be complete unless they are accompanied by the equipment necessary for demonstration or for actual work. Requests for equipment made under the Scheme include three broad categories, namely, laboratory equipment, training equipment and research equipment. Over £2 million worth of equipment has already been supplied or is on order or offer, by the Governments of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and United Kingdom. Of this over £600,000 has been for laboratory equipment, £1,300,000 on training equipment and £375,000 on research equipment.

Growth of Mutual Aid

Mutual aid by the countries of South and South-East Asia with a view to promoting national development is a remarkable feature in the progress of the Colombo Plan during the last five years. Out of a total amount of £5,616,511 spent under the Technical Co-operation Scheme from the inception of the Colombo Plan to June 30, 1956, the assistance given by the countries of the area to each other amounted to £376,182 or about 7% of the total assistance, the Report shows.

When the Colombo Plan started in 1950 technical assistance for economic development of the area was provided by the advanced countries outside the region, namely Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. The progress of development in the countries of the region has now brought about a welcome change in this pattern of assistance, namely that while assistance from the original donors is continuing some of the countries of the area have come forward with assistance to the others. Among such donors are Ceylon, India, Indonesia, the Federation of Malaya, Pakistan and Singapore. As of June 30, 1956 Ceylon had provided 23 training places and 2 experts to the countries of South and South-East Asia; India 462 training places and 20 experts and Pakistan 30 training places.

Ceylon has assisted Nepal in training nurses for Nepal's tuberculosis control programme. Burma and the Federation of Malaya have been assisted in the field of co-operatives, while India is being assisted by a Ceylonese zoologist to set up a National Zoological Park in New Delhi.

Of the 462 training places that India provided, 273 were filled by the nominees of Nepal, 99 went to Ceylon, while the rest went to Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand. Training facilities provided to Nepal cover civil, electrical and mechanical engineering, pure and applied sciences, medical,

education, veterinary training, aviation and ground engineering, telephone industry and geology. A Technical Aid Mission from India, functioning in Nepal, tenders advice on the implementation of development projects and assists in the co-ordination of Indian aid to Nepal.

For Ceylon, the facilities provided by India include assistance for cement, brick and tile industries, training in the manufacture of DDT, caustic soda and chlorine and study of India's co-operative institutions. North Borneo is being assisted by an agricultural officer from India who is to train personnel at the Central Agricultural Station at Tuaran. Singapore has been helped by an Indian officer in the establishment of an Organization and Methods Section in the Singapore Secretariat.

The International Statistical Education Centre in Calcutta, jointly sponsored by the International Statistical Institute, the Indian Statistical Institute and UNESCO, has been providing courses in statistical methods and their application to the trainees from South and South-East Asia. This Centre had by June 30, 1956 held nine semesters and provided 86 places to trainees of the region.

Indonesia has assisted Ceylon by providing training to the Honorary Secretary of the Council for Crippled Welfare in Ceylon at the Surakata Rehabilitation Centre.

The Federation of Malaya has helped Burma to implement the recommendations made by a firm of consultants for the production of industrial charcoal by offering training to forest officers from Burma in the management of forests. She has also provided training facilities to Ceylon for rubber research and canning work.

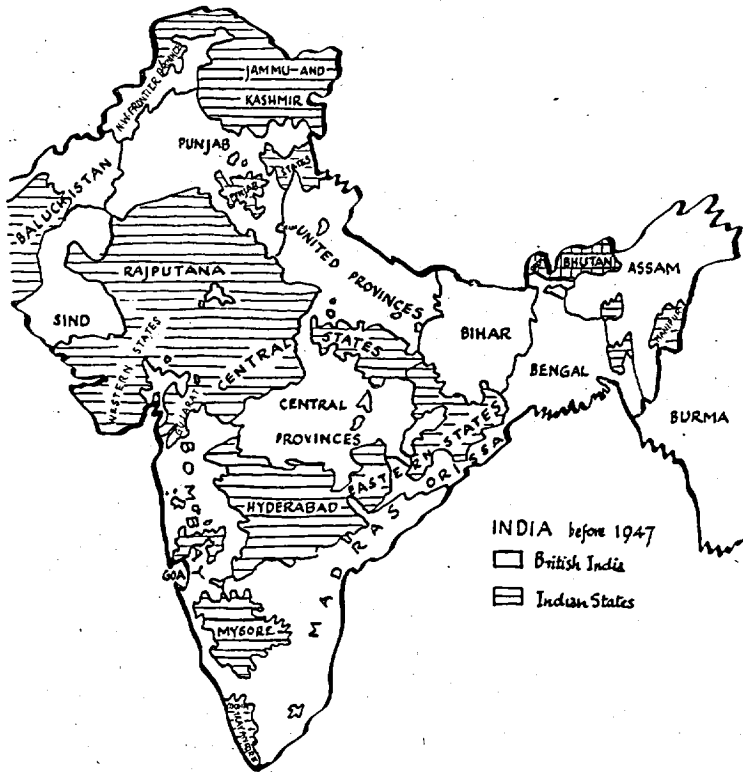
Pakistan has assisted Burma by offering training in port administration and Ceylon by providing facilities to the Ceylon Land Commission to study land tenure system and colonization work in Pakistan.

A Regional Railway Training Centre was established in Lahore in 1954 with the assistance of UNTAA, the United Kingdom, Japan and a number of European Governments for training junior executive officers from Asian countries in modern methods of railway signalling and operation. The Centre has facilities for training 25 to 30 students from other countries and has so far provided 9 training places to Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan and the Federation of Malaya. Pakistan has also assisted some countries of the region by providing training facilities in air traffic control.

Singapore has assisted India by offering training to two Indian customs officers in the detection and control of traffic in dangerous drugs and in smuggling. She has assisted Pakistan by providing training in road construction techniques, structural engineering and utilization of timber.

The New Map of India

UP to the time India and Pakistan attained their independence in August 1947, hundreds of political units of every shape and dimension were included in the territory which is now the Republic of India. Prior to 1947 there were in British India 12 governors' provinces ruled from the vice-regal capital of Delhi, although with some degree of popular local government; of these the United Provinces with over 60 million people had the largest population. In "Indian" India there existed a complex of 554 princely states and territories, some of great extent and population, others simply scattered parcels of land. The largest princely state was Hyderabad with a population of 17 million people living in an area of more than 80,000 square miles; a typical small state was Pataudi, with a population of only 22,000 people living in 53 square miles.



On November 1, 1956, only nine years after Independence, the number of political units in India had been reduced to thirteen states* and six small centrally-administered territories. In place of the old haphazard political fragmentation, India has been divided on primarily linguistic lines. Hindi, the

*The state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is in a special category, is excluded from this article.

official language of India, is the sole official language of four states. Two states are bilingual, Bombay (Marathi and Gujarati) and the Punjab (Punjabi and Hindi). In seven of the new states, one of the number of languages recognized by the constitution is the mother tongue of the large majority of the people and the official language of the state.

Reorganization—First Stage

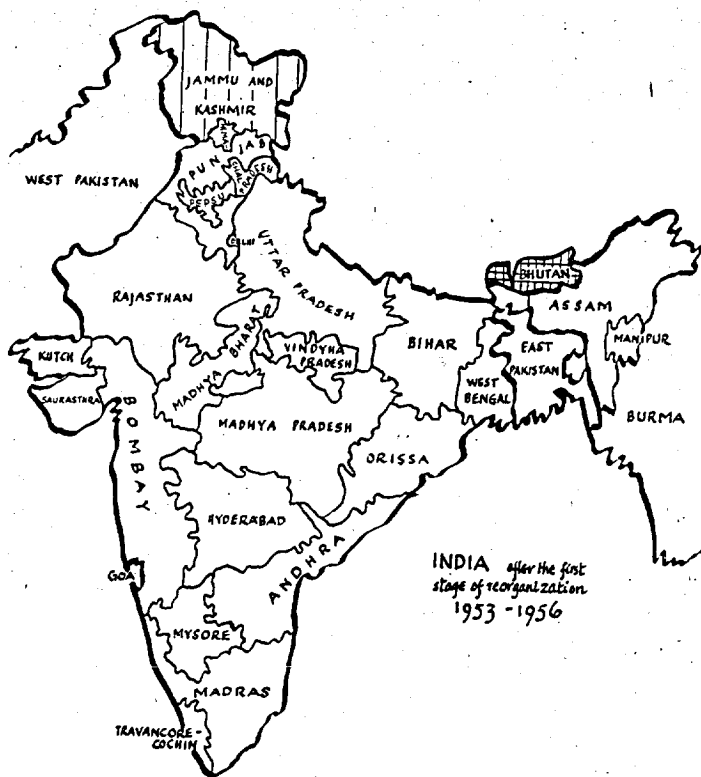
The Indian Government created these tidy compartments of administration in two stages. The first steps were taken at the time of and shortly after the partition of India in August 1947, with the accession of princely states to the Indian Union and their integration into the framework of the new country. Although most of the Indian States acceded shortly after Independence, integration was not completed until 1950, when Hyderabad came into the Union. Some princely states merged with former provinces of British India; others, such as the states which became Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin, united to form a larger unit; still others—Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal and Coorg—remained as separate entities.

The complicated process of accession and integration was carried through under the direct and vigorous leadership of the late Sardar Patel, then Deputy Prime Minister of India. The resulting twenty-eight states were divided into four categories, "A", "B", "C" and "D". The "A" states were the old governors' provinces of the pre-independence period. The "B" states were composed of territories ruled at the time of partition by the Indian princes, who now performed the functions of governors with the title of "Rajpramukhs". (For example, the Maharaja of Patiala became the Rajpramukh of PEPSU—Patiala and East Punjab States Union—an amalgam of princely states scattered like a picturesque ink blot across the Punjab plains). The "B" states had popular government, with local cabinets and elected legislatures. The "C" states were placed under the direct control of the central government represented in each state by a chief commissioner. The capital city of Delhi and a few miles surrounding it became one of these part "C" states, with a state government and legislature of limited scope. There was one "D" state, also under the direct control of the central government.

State governments were given responsibility for the administration of justice, public order, police, health and sanitation, prisons, education and forests and fisheries, and the power to tax agricultural incomes, professions, trades, luxuries and entertainment. The state governments also share with the central government responsibility for criminal law and procedure, marriage and divorce, contracts, pure food laws, trade unions, labour, social security, electricity, economic and social planning, price control, factories, newspapers, books and printing presses. The central government is responsible for defense, foreign affairs, transportation, posts and telegraphs, currency, coinage and external trade and commerce, and also has residuary powers in fields not specifically allocated to the states.

Reorganization—Second Stage

The second stage of reorganization began with the creation on October 1, 1953 of the new state of Andhra, which was formed out of the north-eastern segment of Madras State and has a largely Telugu-speaking population. At the



end of 1953 the Government created a states reorganization commission to consider further re-drawing of state boundaries. The Commission was composed of Mr. S. Fazl Ali, the then Governor of Orissa, as Chairman; Mr. K. M. Panikkar, former Indian Ambassador to China, who was then Ambassador to Egypt, and Mr. H. N. Kunzru, a member of the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and a prominent liberal.

After an exhaustive programme of interviewing witnesses, studying briefs and touring the country, the Commissioners presented their 250-page report in October 1955. As a work of scholarship this document ranks high and its comprehensiveness and erudition will make it a standard text book in Indian political science for many years to come. It is a major state paper equivalent in importance to the Rowell-Sirois Report in Canada. By applying a mainly linguistic measure the Commissioners pared down the twenty-eight states set up in the post-partition period to sixteen states of equal status and seven centrally-administered "Union Territories". After some months of negotiations with political groups and consultations with state governments and legislatures, the Government accepted most of the Commission's recommendations and implemented them by legislation and constitutional amendments during the Monsoon Session of Parliament in 1956.

The Government made two major changes, affecting the States of Andhra and Bombay which had not been included in the Commission's recommendations. Instead of creating a separate state of Telengana for the Telugu-speaking portion of the former princely state of Hyderabad, as the Commission had recommended, the Government merged this portion of Hyderabad with the

existing state of Andhra, where the same language is spoken. The Commission had also recommended the creation of a new Marathi-speaking state of Vidharba; the Government finally decided to include Vidharba in an enlarged bilingual Bombay State with Marathi and Gujerati as the official languages.

With these exceptions, the Government accepted the main recommendations of the Commission, including one proposing the abolition of the distinctions in powers and status between "A" and "B" states. The Governors of the "A" states are now appointed by the central government in the same way the Canadian Government appoints the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces. In the "B" states the former princes of Rajpramukhs, now shorn of their former power but retaining some of their privileges, have been designated as governors. Thus, all states now have governors and equal powers. What were formerly "C" states were stripped of the few powers they had and became centrally-administered territories. With the abolition of the office of Rajpramukhs the last remnant of the princely power and office has disappeared.

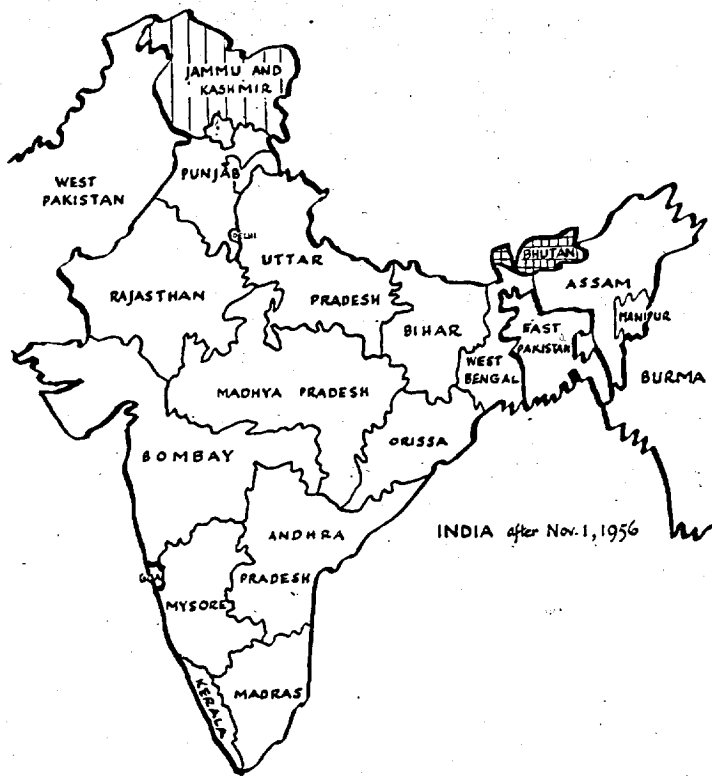
The state of Hyderabad has now been dissolved into its linguistic components. A large new State of Madhya Pradesh, occupying the plains, hills and forests of Central India, has welded together the former states of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal. The states of Uttar Pradesh and Bombay have populations comparable to those of the larger European nations while Bombay and Madhya Pradesh are about one-half the size of Ontario.

Following are the new states:

<i>State</i>	<i>Population</i> (estimate for 1956) <i>Millions</i>	<i>Size</i> <i>Sq. Miles</i>	<i>Language</i>
Andhra Pradesh	34	110,000	Telugu
Assam	10	89,000	Assamese
Bihar	41	64,000	Hindi
Bombay	51	188,000	Gujerati and Marathi
Kerala	14	15,000	Malayalam
Madhya Pradesh	28	177,000	Hindi
Madras	32	50,000	Tamil
Mysore	20	33,000	Kannada
Orissa	16	60,000	Oriya
Punjab	17	47,000	Punjabi and Hindi
Rajasthan	17	132,000	Hindi
Uttar Pradesh	67	113,000	Hindi
West Bengal	28	38,000	Bengali
	<u>375</u>	<u>1,116,000</u>	

The six centrally-administered Union Territories are: Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Delhi; Himachal Pradesh; Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands; Manipur; Tripura. The total population of these territories is about 4 million.

Between the central government of the Indian Union and the state governments a further tier of administration has been inserted. The states have been



grouped in five zonal councils, which are advisory in character and deal with matters of common concern to the various states within the zones. It is hoped that these councils will be particularly useful in co-ordinating the planning and administration of development projects which cross state boundaries. In Punjab State another layer of government, also of an advisory nature, is composed of two regional councils, one for the Hindi and one for the Punjabi-speaking areas; this system was not introduced in any other state.

Before November 1 a formidable administrative task faced the state authorities. Midnight oil was burned in the secretariats primarily affected by reorganization, as civil servants, themselves soon to be divided and parcelled out, separated files and split assets. The wine of old administrations was poured into new bottles. After November 1 a delimitation commission rapidly drew new constituency boundaries for the next general elections.

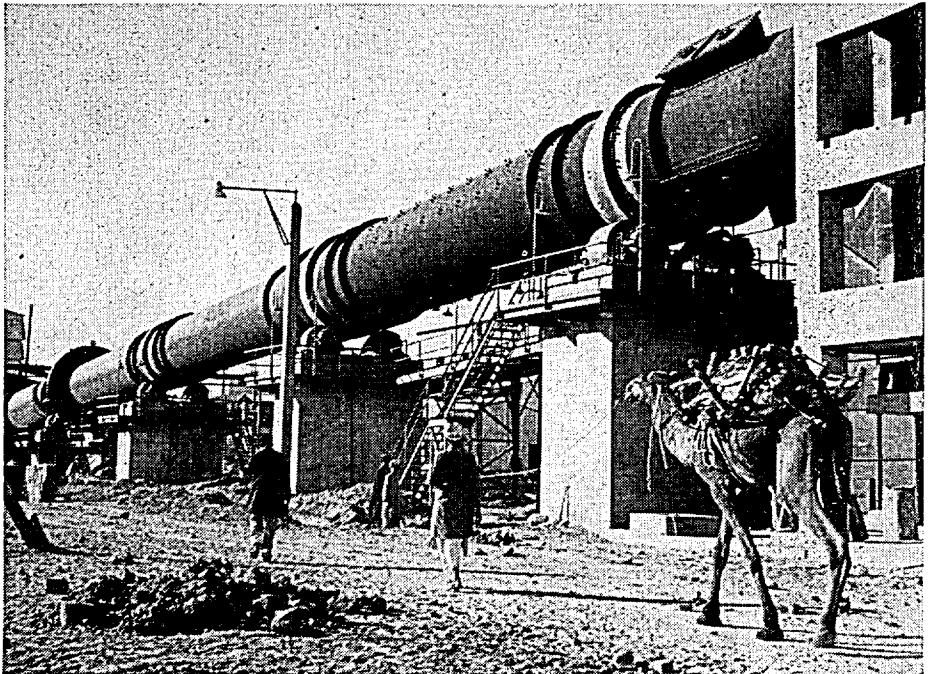
A comparison of the three maps which illustrate this article reveals the enormous task which the Indian Government has successfully completed in creating large and viable administrative units for the modern Indian Union. Sardar Patel's work has been finished. The job has not been done without much difficulty. Passions of linguistic nationalism were stirred to the depths, and violence broke out in some areas. From now on, however, the benefits of the convenient new framework should become increasingly apparent. The Government has cleared its administrative decks for action in the vital task of economic development.

Maple Leaf Cement Plant

BUILT by Canadians and financed jointly by Canada and Pakistan under the Colombo Plan, the Maple Leaf Cement Plant in north-west Pakistan is now in full operation.

First of the large capital projects undertaken by Canada in Pakistan to reach completion, the plant has a capacity of 300,000 tons of high quality cement per year. Pakistan paid for all internal costs, including labour, with Canada contributing \$6,750,000 toward the external costs, including design and equipment, and sending out technicians to supervise construction work.

In the early years of Pakistan's existence the country's economic and industrial planners realized that projected developments in irrigation, housing, communications, in hydro-electricity and many other fields would require cement in quantities far exceeding that produced in Pakistan. In consequence, one of the first requests for aid under the Colombo Plan which was placed before Canada was for assistance in building a cement plant. Included in the group of Pakistan officials who visited Ottawa to discuss the request was Syed Amjad Ali, now Pakistan's Finance Minister, then Minister at the Pakistan Embassy in Washington.



MAPLE LEAF CEMENT PLANT

First of the large capital projects undertaken by Canada in Pakistan under the Colombo Plan to reach completion, the Maple Leaf Cement Plant in northwest Pakistan will speed the economic and industrial development of that Commonwealth country.

This request created problems since Canadian defence and industrial requirements made it difficult to allocate the substantial amount of iron and steel required in the face of domestic and international shortages at that time. However, because of the importance of the scheme to Pakistan it was agreed that the iron and steel could be spared. Consultants were chosen to design the plant and to survey possible sites in Pakistan, in conjunction with Pakistan officials and engineers.

The site chosen was in the north-west section of what was then called the Province of West Punjab; close to where the Indus River comes rushing out of the Salt Range Mountains into the Plains of the Punjab and to the north of a large, semi-desert, but potentially cultivable area called the Thal. Plans had been made and carried out to some extent for the irrigating of this large area for the increased production of food grains, the settlement of refugees from India, and for the establishment of planned towns and secondary industry throughout the area. All this meant that cement would be needed to build canals, roads, houses and factory buildings as well as barns and other agricultural buildings.

The plant site was conveniently close to the Indus River, where sufficient water was assured; it was also adjacent to the Salt Range, massive craggy, barren hills rising 3,000 feet above the plain, which contained ample supplies of gypsum, limestone and coal, all necessary for the production of cement.

An internationally-known Danish firm was commissioned to design the cement plant while fabrication and supervision of construction and erection were placed in the hands of Canadian Overseas Projects Limited, a newly-formed consortium of Canadian companies established to facilitate the undertaking by Canada of large-scale industrial projects abroad. The members of this consortium were The Dominion Bridge Company, Canadian General Electric Company Limited, H. G. Acres and Company Limited, and Fraser Brace Limited.

In the late summer of 1953, the first Canadian engineers, technicians and their families moved from Canada to the remote and arid site in the Punjab where the cement plant was to be built, near the small village of Daudkhel. They were joined by a larger group of Pakistan engineers, technicians, clerical staff and skilled and semi-skilled labour. An Italian contractor was appointed by the Pakistan Government to be responsible for construction. The group took on an international aspect, comprising Pakistanis, Canadians, Danes and Italians. A housing colony for the future workers at the cement plant was built under the direction of a German architect employed by the Pakistan Government. The Canadian supervisory staff of C.O.P.L. has been working in close conjunction with officials of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, the autonomous agency of the Pakistan Government under which the plant was built. Because of the difficulty of finding experienced technicians in Pakistan to run the plant completely, it is expected that two or three experts from Canada will be employed for a short time under the technical assistance scheme of the Colombo Plan to assist in the operation of the plant and to supervise the training of the necessary Pakistani staff.

In November 1955, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, visited the plant while it was under construction. He was shown

around the site and discussed the project with the Canadian and Pakistani engineers.

In tribute to the donor country the factory has been called the Maple Leaf Cement Plant and a large red maple leaf adorns all bags of cement produced by this industrial unit. The Maple Leaf Cement Plant has been in full production since March of this year, producing cement of a high quality.

Some technical difficulties were inevitably experienced in the construction of the plant but the Pakistani and Canadian engineers, and technicians working in close co-operation, were able to overcome all obstacles.

Since the cement plant was started, the P.I.D.C. have begun the construction of a large ammonium sulphate factory in an adjacent area which will go into production in 1957. A penicillin factory is also being built nearby. In three years, therefore, what was arid and unpromising ground has become the centre of an active industrial enterprise dedicated to the improvement of the Pakistan economy and the welfare of its people. Nearby the little village of Daudkhel (in translation, Village of David) has remained unchanged for many generations.

The Maple Leaf Cement Plant is an example of the type of project to which Canada is contributing under the Colombo Plan. Of the approximately \$163 million voted by Parliament for the Canadian contribution to the plan since its inception in 1950, more than \$146 million has already been allocated to projects in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. More than \$3,000,000, in addition, has been allocated to cover the costs of providing experts to give technical assistance in South and South-East Asia and to bring trainees from those countries to be trained in Canada. The balance of the sums voted by Parliament will be used for specific projects in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and other countries in the Colombo Plan area.

IMMEDIATE AID FOR HUNGARIANS

It was announced December 6 that the Government had decided to allocate immediately \$250,000 to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and \$250,000 to the Canadian Red Cross Society, for assistance to the victims of the recent tragic events in Hungary. Both sums will be charged against the vote of \$1,000,000 recently approved for this purpose by the special session of Parliament. This allocation of half of the money voted by Parliament is without prejudice to the exact distribution of the remaining \$500,000, on which it was expected that a decision would be taken shortly.

In effect, this increases the amounts at present being made available to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the Canadian Red Cross Society to \$250,000 each instead of the amount of \$100,000 each originally announced by the Prime Minister last November 7.

The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, had announced in the House of Commons November 28 that free passage to Canada would be extended to Hungarian refugees who wished to come to Canada. This policy, he said, would apply to those who had already arrived and to those en route.

Canada and ICAO

THE International Civil Aviation Organization is one of ten inter-governmental organizations which are linked with the United Nations through special agreements arranged by the Economic and Social Council and approved by the General Assembly and by the organizations concerned. The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations are expert in their respective fields: labour, health, education, food and agriculture, finance and banking, civil aviation, postal matters, telecommunications and meteorology.

Need for International Action

Civil Aviation offers to the world a means of moving people and goods at great speed and over long distances but it is an activity which has a peculiar need for international collaboration. Not only are aircraft themselves most complex machines but the equipment and services they require on the ground—for communications, weather forecasting, air traffic control, radio navigation and landing aids—are also complex and together form a tightly integrated system which requires experience and skill to operate. This characteristic of complexity would not of itself impose a need for inter-governmental collaboration, if it were not that civil aviation, in its present state at least, is predominantly a means of long-range transport; in most parts of the world air routes to be economically sound must cross international borders. Air services must be both safe and regular. Safety and regularity require that ground services be of a high order and that high standards be established in such matters as qualifications for pilot licences and airworthiness specifications for aircraft. All these matters require close international co-operation and standardization.

History

These facts of life for civil aviation received recognition as early as 1919 when a number of nations attending the Peace Conference at Versailles established the International Commission for Aerial Navigation. This body operated mainly in Europe where rapid progress in aviation and a multiplicity of national frontiers combined to make the need most great. Until 1939 there was no serious need for organization on a world-wide basis because the great oceans imposed formidable barriers to the largest aircraft of the day and made inter-continental air services uneconomic if not impossible.

The Second World War changed that situation. Within two or three years after 1939 streams of large aircraft were flying shuttle services across the Atlantic and Pacific, while tremendous technical advances were made under the stimulus of war. Chains of ground facilities were set up by the Allied forces to serve the main trans-oceanic routes and new routes into areas not previously served. At the end of the war all this technical development was available to the civil air operators. The kind of service they could offer was superior to their best pre-war efforts, and there was a vastly increased demand for their services. In 1946, the first full post-war year, world-wide air traffic was fully nine times greater than it had been in 1938. It has continued to

expand at a sensational rate, and in 1955 amounted to about four times the figure for 1946.

Before the war ended, the Allied governments realized that air transport had moved to a new plane of effectiveness and that aviation's new capabilities created additional requirements for inter-governmental co-operation. To deal with the whole complex of new problems and to create an environment in which civil aviation could make the maximum contribution in the post-war world, the Allied governments met in conference in Chicago in 1944.

The major results of the Chicago Conference were the signature of the International Civil Aviation Convention and the establishment of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which is founded on the Convention. The Convention is an international charter for the control, regulation and peaceful exploitation of the air. It establishes the sovereignty of each government over its own air space, lists certain basic rights which its signatories accord to each other, governs the provision of the facilities needed for international air operations, provides for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and establishes the International Civil Aviation Organization as machinery for the promotion and negotiation of the international agreement needed by civil aviation over a great range of legal, economic and technical problems. ICAO met first as a provisional body in Montreal in 1945. By 1947, when ratifications to the Convention brought it formally into being, it had already gone far in the achievement of its objectives.

Objectives

"The aims and objectives of the Organization are to develop the principles and techniques of international air navigation and to foster the planning and development of international air transport so as to:

- (a) Ensure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;
- (b) Encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;
- (c) Encourage the development of airways, airports and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation;
- (d) Meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport;
- (e) Prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;
- (f) Ensure that the rights of contracting states are fully respected and that every contracting state has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;
- (g) Avoid discrimination between contracting states;
- (h) Promote safety of flight in international air navigation;
- (i) Promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics."

Structure

Sixty-nine governments are now members of ICAO. The machinery of the Organization consists of:

- (a) the Assembly, in which all member states participate, and which establishes the general policy of the Organization and approves its budgets;

- (b) the Council, consisting of 21 member states elected by the Assembly every third year. It has a permanent president who is the senior official of the Organization, and it sits in more or less permanent session at the Organization's headquarters in Montreal. The Council, the executive body of ICAO, carries on the day-to-day work of the Organization, supervises its administration and develops the ways and means of pursuing its objectives;
- (c) the Secretariat, headed by a Secretary General, which is the permanent staff of ICAO. It numbers about 400 employees, most of whom are at headquarters in Montreal but almost 50 of whom comprise the staffs of four regional offices established in other parts of the world.

The Council is assisted in its work by three subordinate bodies: the Air Navigation Commission for technical, the Air Transport Committee for economic, and the Legal Committee for legal matters. ICAO's work falls mainly within the three fields covered by these bodies. In the technical field it seeks international agreement on the requirements of international civil aviation for facilities and services, on the means of providing them and on standardization of equipment and procedures wherever standardization is necessary for safety and regularity. (In some important instances when international action was necessary to provide certain facilities and services ICAO had been concerned with negotiating and later with administering international agreements). The Organization also collects, analyzes and makes available to states a vast amount of information on technical aspects of civil aviation and provides assistance to member states in the training of personnel.

The Organization has not been involved directly in negotiations between member states of agreements to exchange rights for the operation of commercial air services, but it studies and seeks agreement on other questions of an economic nature whenever such agreement will facilitate the international operations of airlines. Similarly it deals with legal questions in cases in which the differing positions of national codes of law are likely to handicap air operations. The results of its legal work usually appear in the form of international conventions open for acceptance by all member states.

In addition to its own various kinds of assistance to member states, ICAO administers that part of the United Nation's Technical Assistance Programme which applies to civil aviation. Its missions to receiving countries have provided training in almost every branch of civil aviation and often have assisted temporarily in the administration of civil aviation affairs.

Canadian Participation

From the time they became usable commercially, aircraft have been of great value in developing the more remote parts of Canada and in bringing the various regions closer together. The size of the country provided unusual opportunities for the development of domestic services. At the same time Canada as a major trading nation has had to be interested in the development of fast international transportation, while her geographical position astride important air routes created considerable responsibilities. In consequence the Canadian Government was much interested in developments leading up to the Chicago Conference and took a significant part in its proceedings. The selection of Montreal as the permanent site for ICAO's Headquarters was partly in recognition of Canada's contribution at Chicago.

Since 1945 Canada has been a member of the Council and there has always been a Canadian member on the Air Navigation Commission. Our interest, as a major trading nation, in international air transport has been reinforced by the development within Canada of a large aeronautical engineering industry, and the development of international services by Canadian airlines. Canadian airlines now fly across the Pacific to Japan, Hong Kong and Australasia, across the Atlantic to the United Kingdom and points in Europe, and to points in South America. The recent opening of routes from North America to Europe across the polar regions offers new opportunities for Canadian airlines as well as new responsibilities for the Government.

Canada as host state to ICAO has undertaken a number of responsibilities vis-à-vis the Organization, including the granting of certain legal and fiscal immunities to foreign Council representatives and members of the Secretariat, and subsidizes the rent paid for office accommodation in Montreal so as to bring it into line with that paid by U.N. Specialized Agencies elsewhere. In addition Canada contributes on the same basis as other member states to the regular budget of ICAO which in 1957 will amount for assessment purposes to \$3,066,727; Canada's contribution will be 4.2 per cent of this amount.



—Capital Press Service

AGREEMENT ON TRAINEES

His Excellency Francis Lacoste, Ambassador of France, and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, are shown October 4 signing an agreement between France and Canada for reciprocal employment of trainees.

The trainees of each country will be graduate apprentices in industrial, commercial, agricultural or professional fields taking training-employment in the other country for a limited time.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Miss D. E. Osborne appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 4, effective November 1, 1956.
- Mr. H. A. Scott, Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, appointed Consul General in New York. Proceeded to New York November 9, 1956.
- Mr. R. A. S. MacNeil posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective November 10, 1956.
- Mr. B. A. S. Crane posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Ottawa, effective November 10, 1956.
- Mr. H. B. O. Robinson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective November 19, 1956.
- Mr. W. H. Barton posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, effective November 26, 1956.
- Miss M. A. Macpherson posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective November 30, 1956.

TREATY INFORMATION Current Action

Bilateral

France

Agreement on the admission of trainees to Canada.
Signed at Ottawa October 4, 1956.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes concerning the relocation of that part of the Roosevelt Bridge which crosses the Cornwall south channel.
Signed at Washington October 24, 1956.

Multilateral

Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency.
Signed at New York October 26, 1956.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

- a) Printed document:
- Introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization*, 16 June 1955 - 15 June 1956. A/3137/Add.1. N.Y., 1956. 8 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 1A.
- United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency*. Financial report and accounts for the year ended 30 June 1956 and report of the board of auditors. A/3206. N.Y., 1956. 22 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 6C.
- Everyman's United Nations 1945-1955*. Fifth edition. N.Y., Department of Public Information, 1956. 444 p. U.N. publications. 1956.I.13. \$1.50.
- The institutional care of children*. ST/SOA/31. N.Y., U.N. Department of Social Affairs, 1956. 70 p. Sales No.: 1956.IV.6.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

a) Printed Documents:

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A/3123/Rev.1. N.Y., 1956. 70 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 11.

Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 6 August 1955 to 9 August 1956. A/3154. N.Y., 1956. 98 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 3.

Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1955 to 15 July 1956. A/3157. N.Y., 1956. 52 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 2.

Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its eighth session, 23 April-4 July 1956. A/3159. N.Y., 1956. 48 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 9.

Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the period from 23 July 1955 to 14 August 1956. A/3170. N.Y., 1956. 364 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report of the United Nations Commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea. A/3172. N.Y., 1956. 16 p. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 13.

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Resolutions of the Twenty-second Session (9 July-9 August 1956) of the Economic and Social Council. E/2929. Geneva, 1956. 24 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 1.

Pollution of the sea by oil. Results of an inquiry made by the United Nations Secretariat. ST/ECA/41. N.Y., August 1956. 235 p. \$1.50.

Comparative analysis of adoption laws. ST/ SOA/31. 27 June 1956. 28 p. Sales No.: 1956.IV.5.

Trusteeship Council Official Records: Eighteenth Session (7 June - 14 August 1956). Resolutions. Supplement No. 1. T/1276. N.Y., Sept. 1956. 65 p.

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tion; together with related documents. T/ 1239. N.Y., 1956. 62 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

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Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara. (Tensions and Technology Series). Paris, 1956. 743 p. \$11.00.

Travel Abroad. Frontier formalities. (A joint publication by UNESCO and The International Union of Official Travel Organizations).

Wind and solar energy. Proceedings of the New Delhi Symposium. (Arid Zone Research-VII). Paris 1956. 238 p. (English-French-Spanish). \$7.00.

WHO

Proceedings and reports relating to *International Quarantine* (Supplement of Official Records No. 71: Ninth World Health Assembly). Geneva, October 1956. 87 p. Official Records of the WHO, No. 72.

b) Mimeographed Documents:

Interim report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the question of the establishment of Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). A/3134 (E/2896), 8 June 1956. 101 p. and Annex.

Report of the Third Session of the United Nations Refugees Emergency Fund (UNREF) Executive Committee (Geneva, 28 May-1 June 1956). A/AC/79/41. 12 June 1956. 33 p. and Annex.

The expanded programme of technical assistance. The programme for 1957. E/TAC/L.112. 29 October 1956. 248 p.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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