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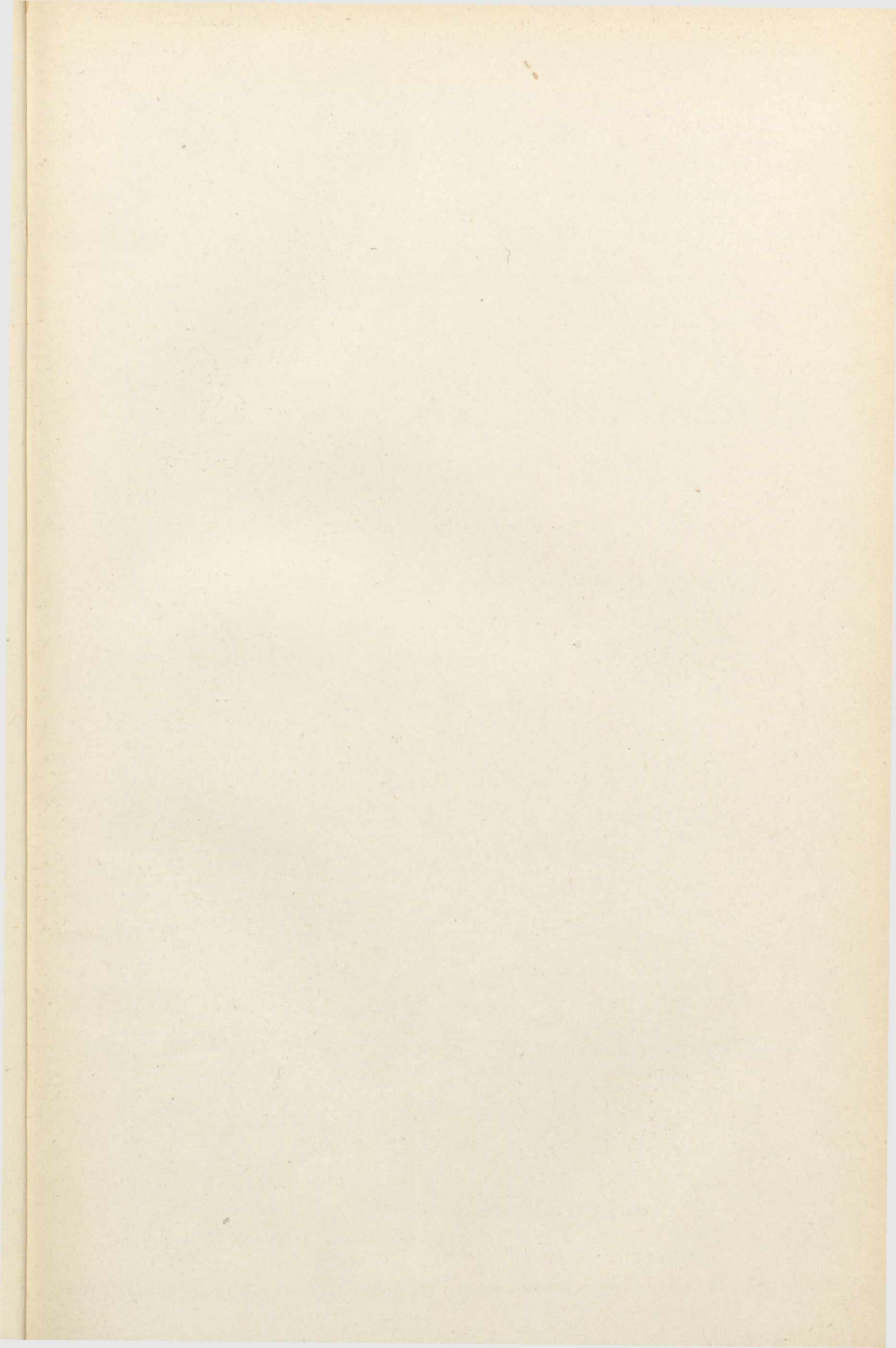
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SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE
No. 1

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1946
WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1946
TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

SESSION 1906
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 1

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1906

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22, 1906

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1906

WITNESSES

Mr. H. H. Wilson, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

PRINTED BY THE KING'S BOOK-BINDING MANUFACTURERS

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

FRIDAY, March 29, 1946.

Resolved,—That the following members do compose the External Affairs Committee:

Messieurs

Beaudoin,	Green,	Marquis,
Benidickson,	Hackett,	Mayhew,
Boucher,	Jackman,	Mellraith,
Bradette,	Jaenicke,	Mutch,
Claxton,	Jaques,	Picard,
Coldwell,	Kidd,	Raymond (<i>Beauharnois-</i>
Coté	Knowles,	<i>Lapairie</i>),
(<i>Matapedia-Matane</i>),	Lapointe,	Reid,
Croll,	Leger,	Sinclair (<i>Ontario</i>),
Diefenbaker,	Low,	Tremblay,
Fleming,	Macdonald (<i>Halifax</i>),	Winkler—35.
Fraser,	MacInnis,	
Graydon,	MacLean,	

Attest

(Quorum 10)

Ordered,—That the Standing Committee on External Affairs be empowered to examine and inquire into all such matters and things as may be referred to them by the House; and to report from time to time their observations and opinions thereon, with power to send for persons, papers and records.

Attest

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE

Clerk of the House.

FRIDAY, May 10, 1946.

Ordered,—That Votes Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55 and 56, dealing with External Affairs and referred to the Committee of Supply on March 26, 1946, be withdrawn from that Committee and referred to the Standing Committee on External Affairs.

WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1946.

Ordered,—That the said Committee be empowered to print from day to day 500 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its minutes of proceedings and evidence and that Standing Order 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

Ordered,—That the said Committee be authorized to sit while the House is sitting.

Attest

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE,

Clerk of the House.

REPORT TO HOUSE

WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs begs leave to present the following as its

FIRST REPORT

Your Committee recommends

1. That it be empowered to print from day to day 500 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its minutes of proceedings and evidence and that Standing Order 64 be suspended in relation thereto.
2. That it be authorized to sit while the House is sitting.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE,
Chairman.

(Concurred in May 17, 1946).

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, May 14, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at two o'clock for organization. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Coldwell, Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Jaques, Kidd, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Mutch, Sinclair (*Ontario*), Tremblay and Winkler. (21).

In acknowledging the honour of having been again elected chairman of the Committee, Mr. Bradette reiterated the good sentiments of the members to Messrs. Graydon Knowles, Picard and Winkler who were delegates to London, England at the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization.

The Chairman referred to the sickness of Messrs. Knowles and Jaenicke and voiced the wishes of the members for their prompt recovery.

On motion of Mr. Winkler, Mr. G. Graydon was elected vice-chairman.

The Chairman read the Orders of reference under date of March 29 and May 10. (*Printed herein*).

The Committee decided to ask permission to print and to sit while the House is sitting.

On motion of Mr. Mutch,—

Resolved:—That the Committee asks leave to print from day to day 500 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its minutes of proceedings and evidence.

On motion of Mr. Leger,—

Resolved:—That the Committee be empowered to sit while the House is sitting.

It was agreed to appoint an Agenda Committee at the next sitting.

The chairman thereupon invited the members present to express their views and offer suggestions regarding the business of the Committee.

The Committee adjourned until Wednesday, May 15 at two o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs held an executive meeting at two o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Boucher, Bradette, Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Jackman, Jaques, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean and Sinclair (*Ontario*). (13).

An informal discussion took place on procedure.

It was agreed that the Chairman appoint an Agenda Committee.

The Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

Antonio Plouffe,
Clerk of the Committee.

TUESDAY, May 21, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at ten o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (*Matapedia-Matane*), Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaques, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Mutch, Sinclair (*Ontario*) and Winkler. (18).

In attendance: Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs; H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary for External Affairs; S. D. Hemsley, Assistant Administrative Officer, department of External Affairs and L. C. Audette, legal division, department of External Affairs.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he had appointed Messrs. Graydon, Leger, Low, MacInnis and Winkler to act with himself as an *Agenda Committee*. One informal meeting was held.

Pursuant to the orders of Reference, the Committee proceeded to the consideration of the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. *Item 41, departmental administration, was called.*

Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent made a statement and was questioned thereon.

After discussion on procedure, Mr. H. H. Wrong was called.

The witness gave an outline of the establishment of the Department of External Affairs both at Ottawa and abroad. He was examined thereon and retired.

The Committee agreed to call Mr. Antoine Monette, departmental architect. The Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

Antonio Plouffe,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 21, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the members of the committee for coming so early in the morning to our first regular meeting. As you gave me the power to do, I have appointed our steering committee consisting of Messrs. Low, MacInnis, Graydon, Leger and Winkler. We had a meeting, of which we did not keep a record because it was a preliminary one. It was decided on that occasion to invite the Right Honourable the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs. I had seen him before that meeting, and he graciously and readily accepted the invitation, although we all realize that he is very busy, to speak at our first meeting. I also got in touch with Mr. Wrong who accepted the invitation to come here, although we all know that he is very busy in his department. The meeting this morning is practically a preliminary one at which, after hearing the Right Honourable Mr. St. Laurent, we will be finding our bearings for our future activities. I know that for the officials of the department in many instances, if not in all, it will be a strange experience to appear before a permanent committee of the House of Commons. However, I know that they will soon find out that every member of this committee is not only in a receptive mood but also in a mood of absolute co-operation. So without any further preliminaries, I will call on the Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent. However, before I do that, I believe it would be more in order to call the first item in the estimates which have been referred to us, which is No. 41, departmental administration, \$767,000. I will now call upon Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent who so kindly accepted the invitation to address our first meeting.

Rt. Hon. L. S. ST. LAURENT (Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs): Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, as you all know, I am just pinch-hitting for the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and I must confess that I do not know very much about this first item of the estimates, departmental administration. I am sure, however, that the officers of the department will be at your disposal at any time and most anxious to secure for you any information which you may require in that connection. As I understand it, the reference of the estimates to the Committee on External Affairs was thought to be a convenient method of making a reference to the committee that would allow it to engage in any activities connected with external affairs that it might see fit to study and to report upon. We all know that the Department of External Affairs has been growing with almost extreme rapidity and, like all things that proceed in that fashion, has been experiencing some growing pains.

Mr. Wrong called by attention to a fact which may be of interest to the members of the committee. In the course of the year the services of an architect, Mr. Antione Monette of Montreal, were retained by the department with a view to having him visit the South American countries. And the intention is to have him also visit European countries for the purpose of investigating the situation and determining what it might be advisable to do, in view of the policy of Canada and the department, to maintain foreign representation in those countries on a sort of permanent basis. It has been found extremely difficult to get proper quarters for these Canadian representatives abroad, and the question arose as to

whether it would not be advisable, instead of paying out what sometimes appear to be almost extravagant rentals for premises more or less well suited to our purpose, to consider the investment in permanent quarters for our representatives. That would seem to be in line with our general trade policy of making Canadian dollars available to prospective purchasers, to extend our exports. We have been making very substantial loans to prospective customers, and it has been felt advisable to thus make Canadian dollars available to them. But if there are purposes for which Canadian dollars could be usefully expended for permanent investment, that would assist in the same process of making the means available for the extension of our foreign trade. I thought it might be of interest to the committee to bring to its attention the fact that this architect has toured the South American countries and would be able to describe to you, if you are interested, the conditions he found there and give you some indication of the kind of report he was going to submit; and if it is found desirable to make expenditures for permanent establishments in foreign countries, I think it will be very desirable to have all the facts bearing upon the project known to the committee and to the House, so that the public may feel assured that Canadian funds are not being used outside of the country except for good reasons. This committee will certainly be a more convenient forum in which to go into the details of those things than would be the House of Commons itself.

That is one aspect about which I am sure investigation by the committee would be extremely helpful and useful. I am not suggesting that there are not other fields as well. The officers of the department will be prepared to make available to the committee all information that can be disclosed on foreign affairs. Of course, there are certain international rules of etiquette that have to be observed while negotiations are in progress; but I feel confident that the committee will not find any resistance among the officials to making available all such information as might be of value for the purpose of helping the House of Commons in the decisions it will have to come to about any of these problems confronting Canada and the Department of External Affairs for the implementation of Canadian policy.

If there are any questions which any member of the committee feels that I might be in a position to answer now, I shall be only too happy to do so, but I do not want to uselessly take up your time. There are many matters that it will be of value to the body politic to have looked into, considered and reported upon by the committee.

MR. FRASER: Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask a question of Hon. Mr. St. Laurent. Is it the intention of the government, when they put up a building in, say, the Argentine or in Chile, to put it up as a Canadian building? What I mean by that is will it be of Canadian architectural design or will it conform with the South American design?

RT. HON. MR. ST. LAURENT: There has been no policy determined. There has not yet even been a determination that we will go into the field of expending Canadian money abroad for permanent establishments; but the aspect that has been under consideration is to try to have the material things advertise Canada as well as have the men occupying the premises advertise Canada. There has been discussion about the possibility of having not only the architectural features of the buildings representative of Canada but of having typical Canadian furnishings, even to the extent of having for the use of ambassadors Canadian plate; having for decorative purposes things of Canadian manufacture; having in the office of the ambassador Canadian furnishings of perhaps some rather striking design, something that would be noticed by anyone coming in as out of the ordinary in the locality where the premises would be situated. Each one of us has, I think, experienced the fact that if you go into an office and there

is something that strikes your eye, it at once creates an atmosphere. I am just mentioning that because there has been no even tentative decision about it. But the possible advantages of something of that kind have been thought about, and it is the intention in putting some such scheme forward for consideration, to weigh the advantages and costs. Personally, I think that Canadian premises in Buenos Aires, for instance, could be completely supplied with things from Canada. I do not think there are many things that would be required that could not be of Canadian origin and of an appearance that would cause one to enquire "Where is that from?"—something that would arrest attention at once.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Chairman, I suppose if we were proceeding with these estimates in the committee of the whole and not in this committee, we would open with some general discussion of policy probably on the first item. I take it from Mr. St. Laurent's statement this morning that he contemplated that the committee would be dealing perhaps with details at the present time. I do not know what the committee's view is about the desirability of general discussion at the outset, but I take it that if it does not occur in the committee, it will have to occur in the House. We actually have not had any discussion in the House on general external policy since last December. I offer this suggestion, Mr. Chairman, that it would be useful now, before we begin a detailed discussion of the several items in the estimates of the Department of External Affairs, if we had a statement—and perhaps discussion following it—from the government as to the general external policy. If Mr. St. Laurent did not come in the expectation of making such a statement this morning, I do not think we would press for any discussion of that kind now; but I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it would be helpful to the committee and might in the long run save time both here and in the House if we had a general, but perhaps not too general, statement on behalf of the government as to the policy of the government in relation to external affairs. That would include our relations, I take it, with U.N.O., with the United States, and such matters as the extension of diplomatic representation throughout the world. I mention those as only a few of the matters that might be discussed in the course of a statement which would relate to general policy.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Chairman, dealing with that point, I think it is very important, because it will decide what form our committee work will take. My own opinion is that this is not really the place to discuss the broad aspects of foreign policy. By the reference of the estimates to us, I think we should be limited, or that we should limit ourselves, to the discussion of those estimates. When we report back to the House, I do not think we can avoid a debate on general foreign policy; and I think we would really be not making good use of our time by having a general debate on foreign policy now and then having another one in the House. I do not think if we do that it would be serving the purpose for which it was ostensibly set up, to give us a more detailed idea of the estimates of the Department of External Affairs and expedite the business of the House. I have, of course, no objection to the minister or anyone else making a statement, but I think we would be following the better course if we deal with the estimates and then have the policy emerge as we go along.

Mr. MUTCH: Following what Mr. MacInnis has just said I should think that if any general policy were debated in this committee that rather than shortening the discussion there would be a duplication. I should think it is essential and in fact, it is inevitable that we will get a statement of policy arising out of the discussion of particular estimates. I should hope that as a result of what happens in this committee some members of the committee will be able to give a clear enough indication to the Commons as a whole as to what the specific policies are and the general reaction at any rate, of this committee to them in a way which would perhaps satisfy the House and to some degree

eliminate duplication, but I am quite sure that if we were to have the general policy debated here under the circumstances with the minutes being read we would perhaps be precipitating a general and lengthy discussion in the committee of the whole. It is desirable, of course, and we all have that same desire, to get as much information as is possible, but I do not think myself—and I am subject to the opinion of the Minister of Justice—that he could in any general discussion either delimit our discussion on the estimates or foresee what may come up. I should hope that as a result of the information we will receive as we look at these estimates we will either be satisfied or be in a position to carry our dissatisfaction to the general committee where the discussion has to be. I am afraid there would be duplication.

Mr. FLEMING: May I clarify one point? I agree we are not going to have a full debate on external policy here but I do think it may assist us in our approach to the detailed examination of the estimates if we have a statement on behalf of the government as to policy. That statement can be debated further in the House, but I think it would assist us in our approach to the consideration of the estimates. For instance, in matters of departmental administration I think there must be many questions which would be bound to arise in which a statement as to policy would be helpful to the committee.

Mr. CROLL: It occurs to me that any statement that might be made at this time by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs might in the light of events have to be completely changed. I think our policy at the present time might well be called formative and fluid. It seems to me that even the American policy is changing from day to day, and other policies are changing constantly. Consequently if we let conditions look after themselves for the time being perhaps by the time our sittings are well on the minister will be able to give us some idea. I am sure that he cannot until such time as the Prime Minister returns and takes the cabinet into his confidence. He cannot decide what Canadian policy is likely to be. At this time it would be premature and might give a misleading tone which is not the desire of the minister at all. I think we ought to get on with our estimates for the time being until such time as the policy crystallizes.

Rt. Hon. Mr. ST. LAURENT: If I might make this observation, I do not think that any of the members of the committee want to make any definite determination of what future external policy is to be because as Mr. Croll has pointed out that is subject to almost hourly changes in view of the developments that take place. Probably the committee would wish to have some information about what has been taking place and what has been the attitude taken by Canada in international discussions so as to form its own opinion as to whether that was proper or not, and what it seems to indicate as a general trend.

I would not care to take the time of the committee to attempt to make a report of the international meetings at which we have been represented. I think the press has fairly well covered the ground of what was done at the preparatory commission for the United Nations, at the general assembly of the United Nations, at the Security Council, although we were not a member of that, at the Food and Agriculture International Conference, at the preparatory commission of the United Nations on educational, scientific and cultural organization. Mr. Wrong attended on behalf of Canada the closing meeting of the League of Nations. We are a member of the Combined Food Board. Those are things that have been taking place and I am sure that the officers of the department will be only too glad to fill in any gaps that members of the committee may feel were left in the reports that have been published about the happenings in these organizations.

I think as a general policy that of the Department of External Affairs is to try to do its best so that the world may keep out of war. I think that is putting it as broadly as it can be put. Our endeavours have tended in all these international meetings to co-operate in doing the things that appear to be apt to stabilize the very troubled world situation and to avoid the arising of causes that might interfere with the purposes of the United Nations. Mr. Wrong attended the meeting of the United Nations in London during the whole of the period. He attended the meeting following of the League of Nations in Geneva to wind up its activities and to integrate its records and its performances in the past with the future hoped-for performances of the United Nations. Canada was represented at the preparatory commission of the United Nations for the establishment of an educational, scientific and cultural organization. A charter was drawn up there and is now submitted to all the members of the United Nations for their consideration. The Food and Agriculture Conference took place in Quebec. The Canadian ambassador at Washington was conscripted into further service as chairman of that organization. Then there are these less formal, or perhaps less broad organizations, dealing with the collecting of as much food as possible throughout the world for the purpose of having it distributed where it is most needed. In all its activities the very earnest and helpful endeavours of the Canadian representatives have been put forward. There are probably some aspects of those negotiations, discussions and tentative agreements that may not have been fully reported by the press in such a manner as to satisfy every member of the committee that there is not something more about them that he might ascertain from some of those who were there.

It seems to me that might be really more helpful than an academic discussion consisting of set speeches as we sometimes have in international gatherings. They are necessary as a background but I think here that we have most of the background and can proceed constructively.

Mr. JACQUES: I understood at our first meeting that this committee was to be used mainly, for the present anyway, for purposes of gaining information on various questions of external affairs. If the opposition is to be in a position to criticize the policies of the government then we must be in a position to know the facts. There are two sides to every question. You do not get the facts out of the press. You only get those facts that we are supposed to know. As far as the officials of the Department of External Affairs naturally their views coincide with those of the government.

I can think of half a dozen questions that are of world importance today, and I would venture to say that in this parliament there is practically nobody knows the truth about them. I suggested at our first meeting that the most useful thing for this committee to do after we have heard the officials of the Department of External Affairs would be to call witnesses from outside. Let us question them. I can mention several matters. There are the questions of Yugoslavia, Spain, Greece. These questions are important for this reason, in my opinion, not so much that Canada is powerful enough to control or even to influence to any great extent, but in external affairs these questions do have a great bearing on our internal affairs. As we judge them so we judge our own affairs. That is to say, if we take sides on any one of these questions then that is apt to influence the thinking of our own people on our own affairs. After we have the workings of the Department of External Affairs explained to us I should be more than disappointed if we are not allowed or if we do not permit ourselves to call in witnesses from both sides of these questions. Let us get at the truth, and then we must assume the responsibility of forming our own opinions. We cannot take them second-hand and made for us. If we cannot do that then we have no business to call ourselves members of parliament or members of the External Affairs Committee.

Mr. LEGER: I believe that the government has given us a direction. The direction was that we were to investigate the estimates of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. JAQUES: Do you think that is all we should do?

Mr. LEGER: I do not think we should go much beyond that. I think we should start with them, and if we want any information on any item then we have the departmental officials to give us any explanation that we may desire. I think that should be our procedure.

Mr. MARQUIS: The order of reference provides only for the items mentioned. We have items 41 to 56. We cannot discuss the policy at large and try to establish a program for External Affairs at the moment. What I would like to do is, as Mr. Leger has said, to discuss these items. I do not want to discuss the other matter now. Perhaps later we may be given another order of reference, but we cannot go further for the moment.

Mr. Low: With respect to the opinions of my colleague to my right I must disagree. That is a narrow view to take of the study of the estimates. Actually the practice always has been to allow the closest possible discussion and latitude when item 1 is called, and so far as I am concerned I hope the committee will take the fullest possible advantage of that latitude and do whatever they think is wise with respect to the discussion of policy or anything else that may come within the confines of this department.

Mr. COLDWELL: It seems to me there are two items here which open up the whole discussion if we want to do so: administration and representation abroad. To endeavour to limit our discussion merely to the internal workers of the department and the salaries of the people overseas I do not believe is correct procedure; I do not think we would have any difficulty at all in getting all the information we want as we go over these items.

Mr. JAQUES: Where do we get it from?

The CHAIRMAN: From the officials of the department.

Mr. COLDWELL: We can question the officials of the department. We can question the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs on the policies he is following. When he returns to Canada I should think that the Prime Minister, who has been the Secretary of State for External Affairs for a long time, would be accessible for inquiry. If we feel that there is someone we would like to call other than the departmental officials we have within this order the right to call them.

Mr. JAQUES: Last year in this committee we investigated the Extradition Treaty. We did not limit ourselves to calling officials of the Department of Justice, we sent out for witnesses. We called witnesses on both sides. If we do that we can formulate our own opinion. I do not want second-hand opinions. We have responsibilities to assume.

The CHAIRMAN: I am glad Mr. Fleming brought up this matter. Personally I am very glad that we have received this order of reference which is almost unlimited in its scope, and as far as I am personally concerned I am not going to remain satisfied to remain within the orbit of the items themselves, because they open up the whole horizon of External Affairs policy. It is the duty of the members of this committee actively to express their own views on External Affairs. We all remember what a wonderful discussion we had on the San Francisco Conference when fine speeches were made, but most of them were academic; we were dealing in abstract things. But we can all see that this is going to be different when we are dealing with External Affairs which is in a somewhat fluid state at the present time. I agree with Mr. Jaques that

we may have to call witnesses. Of course, we have no money at our disposal, but if some men have to come here at our expense they should be allowed to come; there is no doubt about that.

In dealing with the Extradition Bill last year we did call witnesses but they did not cost the government a cent. Our order of reference last year was not so broad and we were limited in the scope of our activities, but we can go ahead now and bring up any matter we wish to deal with in connection with External Affairs. I am positive that we are in a happy position today.

Mr. MUTCH: We are creating our own difficulties. We have everything we need to go ahead, so let us go ahead.

Mr. FRASER: Mr. Chairman, I understand that Mr. Wrong has a statement to make, so why not hear his statement? Some of the officials want to get back to their offices, and if we want to hear them later we can call them. Mr. St. Laurent has mentioned a few things which we might want to take up later, and Mr. Wrong might drop something which would give us a lead.

Mr. Low: Mr. Chairman, may I express the thanks of the committee to Mr. St. Laurent for coming here this morning and giving his time.

Right Hon. Mr. ST. LAURENT: If at any time I can be of any further assistance to the committee I wish you would let me know through the chairman and I shall be pleased to attend.

The CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, it is our pleasure to have with us this morning Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. We have also with us Mr. L. C. Audette, of the legal division, and Mr. S. D. Hemsley of the administration office.

Mr. H. H. Wrong Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, called:

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I was summoned to one of the first meetings of this committee after its organization last year, and today, as on that occasion, I have no prepared statement to make. I understood from the chairman, when he requested me to attend this meeting, that the main purpose of the meeting to-day was to set the program for the committee's work during this session and to determine what order of priority you wish to follow in having information brought to your attention. The department will, of course, do its best to meet your requests and requirements for information, but in a good many instances it will require advance notice so that we shall be sure that we are giving you accurate and up-to-date statements of facts in response to any inquiries made by members of the committee. At the present moment I may say that we are a bit hard pressed. My colleague, the Under Secretary, is, of course, in London with the Prime Minister, and it so happens that there are this week no fewer than four different meetings of international bodies going on simultaneously apart from the commonwealth consultations in London at which senior officials of the Department of External Affairs are represented. For example, there is the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization which is opening this morning in Montreal; there is the Food and Agricultural Organization which is holding a special conference of the member states which are most interested in the international traffic in food, both as consumers and producers, and that also is opening this morning in Washington. In addition to those, the governing body of the International Labour Office is meeting currently in Montreal, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations begins its second formal session in New York, on Friday, with preliminary committee meetings in

advance of that session. I mention these facts to show the range of activities which we have to provide for and the problems which the department has to face in seeing that we have suitable delegations. Of course, most of the members of these delegations to these technical bodies do not come from my department, but we have to be represented on them all; we have to see that the requisite preparations are made, the physical and technical arrangements, and that the information is available to the various delegations.

I do not know, Mr. Chairman, whether I can enter into any very general discussion, but if it suits the convenience of the committee I shall try to deal with questions which members of the committee might wish to raise.

Mr. FRASER: I had a return tabled yesterday which showed that during the last six months there were 101 people added to your department. Perhaps you could give us a little idea of why these people were added and to what sections of the department they were added, and what work they are doing. That would give us a kind of outline.

Mr. COLDWELL: Could you give us something of the organization of the department?

Mr. FRASER: Yes, that is the idea. Let us find out what is what and why it is.

The WITNESS: I shall refer to the department itself, first, perhaps, to clear away any possible ambiguity. After all, when the department is referred to the reference is to the departmental establishment in Ottawa, and then there is the whole establishment of the department which includes its missions abroad. I have some figures here on the whole establishment of the department.

Mr. COLDWELL: Could you give us both: the departmental administrative end here and then tell us something about the external end?

The WITNESS: I am afraid I did not come with the figures set out exactly in that way. The actual figures on which the estimates were based for the department itself show a total of 303 employees.

Mr. FRASER: That is a little more than last year. How many more than 1945?

The WITNESS: I have not got the figures broken down as between the department and the missions abroad on a comparative basis as yet. I can get that information, but I would have to have notice of it.

Mr. COTE: Could Mr. Wrong give us a picture of the organization, showing the position of Canada on these various bodies concerning international affairs?

The CHAIRMAN: Before Mr. Wrong answers may I say that we should be fair to Mr. Wrong. As he told you when he started, I asked him if he would come to our first meeting just to give us a direction as to the possibility of getting some of his officials to come here and enlighten us on the way we should get started in our activities—just a matter of procedure for calling witnesses rather than for asking questions. If it is satisfactory to Mr. Wrong to answer these questions that is quite all right.

The WITNESS: I can give the information of the breakdown between those stationed in Ottawa and those stationed abroad, but I do not know how far back you wish to go. I could start with August, 1939, on a comparative basis.

Mr. COTE: May I make a suggestion? Could we have a graph made with a note explaining the position of Canada in the setting of these various international bodies? That could be made available to the members and would show the general broad view with regard to Canada in international affairs.

Mr. COLDWELL: Are we not discussing two different things? What I had in mind was to get some information with regard to administration in Ottawa and our representation abroad, after which we would get down to the point you have in mind which has to do with our representation on various international organizations.

Mr. COTE: Do you not think we would be in a better position with regard to these various bodies on which we are sitting if we had a graph of some kind, a general picture?

Mr. COLDWELL: We need all that information: the administration at Ottawa and the various embassies and so on, and we could probably have that shown graphically, but I believe that Mr. Wrong is not prepared to do that this morning, and we might as well have what information he has.

Mr. FLEMING: Would it not be better to give Mr. Wrong the opportunity of preparing a graph? I think that will save time and we will get more information than we will by asking questions, and we will be proceeding in a more systematic manner. We could ask Mr. Wrong to prepare for us in due course a graph which will mean more to us and we will always have it before us, and we can ask questions based upon that graph.

The CHAIRMAN: To be fair to Mr. Wrong, may I say that I did not ask him to come here this morning to answer questions.

The WITNESS: I can deal certainly with the departmental establishment. I must say, Mr. Chairman, that the prospect of seeking to reduce the Canadian relationship and the international activities to a graph or chart fills me with trepidation. It is somewhat of a technical matter to make a graphical representation to show in any way that would be illuminating to the committee the relationship of Canada to such adverse bodies as International Labour Office, the Economic and Social Council, the International Provisional Civil Aviation Organization and so on. I think it would be much easier for us to start simply by going over a list rather than trying to put the information in graphical form.

Mr. COLDWELL: Suppose we get the list and see afterwards if it can be put in graphical form?

The WITNESS: I think if the committee could find an easier way of doing it it would be of interest to the department.

Mr. FLEMING: On the matter of the administrative establishments of the department, I think it would be helpful, if it is not going to be too big an undertaking, if Mr. Wrong could start with the war, because I imagine we will see a tremendous increase commencing with the war and continuing right through.

The WITNESS: I can begin with the personnel employed in Ottawa. I can start from 1939 and give you the information for each year up to 1945 and in March, 1946. I can also give figures for the missions abroad later, if that is desirable. These figures I am going to give include both permanent and temporary employees of the department, and they include those employed in the Passport Office. The figure in August, 1939, was 68; in August, 1940, it was 202; in August, 1941, it was 203; in August, 1942, it was 206; in 1943 the figure was 209; in 1944 it was 223; in August, 1945, the figure was 238, and in March, 1946, it was 287.

Mr. FLEMING: Is that a breakdown as between permanent and temporary employees?

The WITNESS: For all those years.

Mr. FLEMING: As between permanent and temporary?

The WITNESS: The figures are as follows:

Year	Permanent	Temporary
1939	51	17
1940	54	148
1941	54	149
1942	52	154
1943	54	155
1944	54	169
1945	54	184
1946 (March)	58	229

Mr. COLDWELL: There was not very much increase in the permanent staff?

Mr. JACKMAN: Does that include the clerical staff?

The WITNESS: That is everybody from girl messengers up.

Mr. JACKMAN: Why have you not given some of the temporary help who have given perfect satisfaction over a two or three-year period permanent appointments?

The WITNESS: We are in the process of doing that as quickly as we can do it. I believe that course has proved satisfactory.

Mr. COLDWELL: How many of those temporary employees in 1939 have been employed for more than, we will say, one year?

The WITNESS: I have not got that information with me.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Have you people on the staff who have been temporary employees for any considerable length of time?—A. I believe we have some, yes, operating under a class in connection with establishments which were embassies during the war.

Q. Particularly before the war?—A. The first figure I have given is for August 1939, and it has been difficult to make people who were temporaries at that time permanent during the war.

Q. In 1939. I am talking now of the department, and the large number of people who are temporary employees and who have been on the staff for a number of years. I am wondering if that situation exists in the Department of External Affairs.—A. To some extent, I believe so. We only had 17 temporary employees at that time.

Q. I notice that. I was wondering how long they had been temporary employees?—A. I cannot answer that at the moment.

Q. Most of us are interested in this temporary employee category.

Mr. FLEMING: These figures that Mr. Wrong has given us are figures which are inclusive of the administrative staff at Ottawa and the offices abroad, are they?

The WITNESS: Entirely at Ottawa.

Mr. FLEMING: I understand that Mr. Wrong will supply the other figures.

The WITNESS: Yes, I have them here. I can give them to you now. These are the figures for the missions abroad. This covers the total establishment of missions abroad. It includes certain local employees who are not of Canadian nationality—people such as messengers. We have to engage them locally, in some cases, although our general policy has been, certainly as regards positions such as confidential employees, always to employ Canadians.

Mr. FLEMING: These are all Canadian nationals, are they?

The WITNESS: No, this is a gross figure of those employed at Canadian missions abroad. I will give the gross figures first as to permanent employees

Date	Permanent	Temporary	Total
August, 1939	60	46	106
" 1940	56	55	111
" 1941	50	98	148
" 1942	44	98	142
" 1943	55	198	163
" 1944	74	125	199
" 1945	82	178	260
March, 1946	85	230	315

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Isn't that a mistake there? You said 230?—A. 230 temporaries and 85 permanents.

Q. There are many more temporaries than permanents?—A. Yes, that is inevitable abroad because we have a certain amount of locally engaged labour which must be temporary.

Mr. LEGER: I presume that the increase is caused by having opened new embassies?

The WITNESS: The biggest jump we have comes between August 1944 and August 1945 when we added 61 to our strength abroad, and that is, as you suggest, caused by the liberation of Europe and the beginnings or opening of missions on the continent of Europe as well as certain establishments which are now missions in other countries.

Mr. COLDWELL: Would they include high commissioners?

The WITNESS: All the offices there: embassies, legations, consulates, etc.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel that the majority of the members expected that this meeting would last about an hour, I think we can get through in a few minutes; because I would like to get some advice from Mr. Wrong as to the calling of the officials. What would be the best way to proceed?

The WITNESS: Much really depends on which particular facets of departmental activities the committee wishes to go into.

Mr. COLDWELL: Could you give us the subdivisions of the department and perhaps name the head of the subdivision, and in that way we will get an idea of the people who are there, and some of those we will want to call.

Mr. COTE: He could give us a general picture of the set-up from memory.

The CHAIRMAN: We will need that, but at the moment I would like to get some help from Mr. Wrong so that we will understand the situation which confronts us.

Mr. COTE: He could give us a clear-cut picture of the whole organization.

The CHAIRMAN: That is what I am trying to get from Mr. Wrong now.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Wrong would want to do that himself; he did it last year.

The WITNESS: I think to give a complete picture of the whole organization will be the responsibility of either Mr. Robertson, who is away in London, or myself. Mr. Hemsley, who is the assistant administrative officer, has not been with the department long. Unfortunately, Mr. Matthews, the chief administrative officer, has been ill since last autumn, and while he prepared these estimates under Mr. Robertson's supervision, he is unable to appear before the committee or indeed to take any part in departmental work for

several months longer. I am at a handicap because I had nothing to do with the estimates in their present form, nor had Mr. Hemsley, but I think we can meet any requirements of the committee.

Mr. COLDWELL: In order to get the idea of the establishment of the department would it not be wise now to get the subdivisions of the department?

The WITNESS: Well, we have subdivided the department, but I must say it is not a fixed or permanent division, because it changes according to the pressure of work which shifts rather constantly and has shifted a great deal in recent months. We have the department divided into eight operative divisions. The administrative division, in addition to the Under Secretary's office—the administrative division contains the largest proportion of all personnel, because the accounts, records, code and cipher branch and so on are all in that division. In mentioning the other divisions I would like to say that in respect of the officers at the present time the arrangement that governs that division in the department is on an experimental basis and subject to constant alteration. We have stuck to the divisions, and I will give you them pretty accurately for the last year or so, but we may change them. They are simply called by numbers, 1st, 2nd and 3rd.

The responsibilities of the divisions are that the 1st division is concerned with general questions affecting international organizations and with the conclusion of peace treaties and so on which concern several countries and several other departments. It is largely a clearing group, although it does a certain amount of initiation. The United Nations Organization provides it with its largest segment of work at the present time. The 2nd political division is on a geographical basis, and it has rather a large territory which includes the continents of North and South America; that is the United States, Newfoundland and the Latin American countries, and the Far East. By the way, that is the 3rd division; I said it was the 2nd. Now, the 2nd political division deals with European affairs and also with the affairs of the British Commonwealth and takes in African affairs, which did not give rise to a great deal of work in the department. These are the three political divisions.

Then there is the legal division.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Will you define for the record what you mean by a political division?—

A. It is rather a difficult definition and one which has taxed the ingenuity of political scientists since the time of Aristotle to define.

Q. What is your understanding of it?—A. I cannot give a definition; I can indicate the functions of these divisions in a negative way, but I cannot give a positive definition. These which clearly do not fall within the scope of the legal division, the economic division, are handled by the political division concerned; it deals with political affairs; it is concerned with following the course of events in countries and keeping our missions up to the mark, and of course keeping them continuously informed on political happenings in the territory covered.

The CHAIRMAN: It has nothing to do with actual politics?

The WITNESS: Not Canadian politics, Mr. Chairman; but it has a great deal to do with politics in foreign countries.

Mr. GRAYDON: Anything that falls into the residue is called political?

The WITNESS: I would not like to endorse that statement, Mr. Graydon.

Mr. COLDWELL: Almost anything except those matters which are legal or economic?

The WITNESS: That is how it operates in practice. An economic matter goes to the legal-economic division, and there are certainly technical matters to which

I will refer which go to them. Obviously there is no clear dividing line. You can divide a legal or an economic matter from a political matter, and they have to operate in different channels through internal liaison. We have weekly meetings of the chiefs of the divisions for this very purpose of ensuring free and adequate internal liaison between the divisions.

I mentioned the legal division and economic division as the technical divisions. In addition, there is the diplomatic division which concerns itself with questions of a diplomatic character in Ottawa, with the formal questions connected with the opening and accrediting of our representations abroad. That is what is known in the trade as protocol. It also has under its general supervision the passport offices, and handles a great many questions relating to travel and matters of immigration and so on, in as far as they are the concern of the Department of External Affairs.

Then there is the treaty division which is concerned with the registration and publication of treaties and international agreements; it is a small division.

And then there is the information division which is one of the more recent creations and which is largely concerned with meeting the needs of our missions abroad for information about Canada, and also it is our direct means of constant contact and cooperation with Canadian Information Services.

Those are what you might call, outside of the administrative branch, the operating divisions of the department at the present time.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Could you give us these others?—A. Economic is the other, and then administrative is another division.

Q. I do not know whether you want at this point to go into the details of this breakdown. I would be interested in hearing further about the last division, that is information, with relation to Canadian Information Services. I do not know whether this is the point at which to do this.—A. I suggest it might be desirable, Mr. Chairman, if that were left for the present, and perhaps some member of the information division could appear before the committee.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How many overseas representatives have you; how many are high commissioners and how many are ambassadors and how many are charge d'affaires?—A. We have six high commissioners' offices. We have no office called charge d'affaires. Even if he is not an ambassador or minister the person in charge is a charge d'affaires. There are six high commissioners' offices. There are fourteen ambassadors and legations. We have them lumped together; three legations and eleven embassies. In addition there is what you might call a semi-diplomatic office, a military mission in Berlin in which members of my department serve and are accredited to the control council in Berlin; and we have a consul general in New York and a consulate in Lisbon, and there is a small office which we are about to close, which was set up in war time, in Greenland.

Q. Where are the six high commissioners' offices?—A. The commissioners' offices are in the United Kingdom, in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, in Ireland and in Newfoundland.

Mr. COTE: How many consulates have you got?

The WITNESS: The consul general in New York is the only large consular office which we have. We have recently established a consulate in Lisbon, and we have a small office in Greenland. We shall probably open shortly some Latin American offices in countries in which we have no diplomatic missions. Usually a trade commissioner is appointed consul.

Mr. COLDWELL: We have nothing on the Pacific coast of the United States around Los Angeles and San Francisco?

The WITNESS: No. Diplomatic missions: The embassies are in the Argentine, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Greece, Mexico and Peru. The legations are in Cuba, Netherlands and Norway. I left out the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in connection with the last list—two of the most important of the embassies.

Mr. GRAYDON: I do not know whether this is the right time to ask this question; it may be that you would want someone else to deal with it. We have a new citizenship in Canada, and I would like to ask if the British consular services in various parts of the world will give service in the same way now to Canadian citizens as they would in ordinary times to British subjects? The situation is changed now and it may be that you do not want to answer that question at the moment. I think it is a matter which is giving some concern as to our position in connection with the consular services, because prior to this we were all lumped under the term "British subject". Now we have adopted a Canadian citizenship. What I would like to know is whether the British consular service will give now the service to Canadian citizens that it did to Canadian-British subjects in previous times?

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, there is a prophetic element in that, but I have no doubt myself whatsoever that they will.

Mr. COLDWELL: Under section 26 of the new Act a Canadian citizen is a British subject.

Mr. GRAYDON: That is so. The only thing is that we have not got the right in Canada by simply putting in our statute that a Canadian citizen is a British subject to say that the British consular service shall do so and so except by agreement between this country and the British.

Mr. COLDWELL: That is why some of us thought we should define a Canadian national as a subject of the King.

Mr. FRASER: Mr. Read answered that question last year.

The WITNESS: There is no suggestion from any British experience that there will be any change in the situation. I am quite positive that it will continue.

Mr. GRAYDON: A rather keen student of international affairs wrote to me in that regard.

The WITNESS: I think you can say that if the British government had chosen to change its entire policy it could instruct its consular offices not to do this, but I think there is no chance of them doing it.

Mr. JAKUES: May I ask whether it has been the custom for the American consular officials in England to fingerprint Canadian citizens returning from England to Canada through New York?

Mr. COLDWELL: Is that done?

Mr. JAKUES: I am asking Mr. Wrong.

The WITNESS: I cannot give you a definite answer. I think the answer is—but I must say that I do not know—that the American visa requirements do now impose a regulation of fingerprinting before the issuance of a visa. That is their own general rule. They require a fingerprinted visa for someone returning from overseas to Canada via an American port. The transit visa has been in force for a long time. The fingerprint was a wartime measure.

Mr. COLDWELL: It was not effective in 1941 because we came from England and we were not fingerprinted.

The WITNESS: It started after Pearl Harbour when they were checking more closely.

Mr. FRASER: If you get a visa in Canada from the United States you have to be fingerprinted.

The WITNESS: You do not need a visa to go to the United States unless you want to stay there for a long time.

Mr. LEGER: In 1941 I went to the United States and I was not fingerprinted.

Mr. JAUQUES: I would like to be sure of this because two years ago I spent the winter in England, and I was coming back through Halifax, but at the last moment in Liverpool the ship was transferred to New York, and I had to spend a day getting my identifications of all kinds, and I had to go to the American consul in Liverpool, and I think I covered enough paper to spread over this table with my fingerprints. I did not even sleep in New York. I was there only long enough to catch a train. Last week-end I spent Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday in Detroit and there were no inquiries. I went there and back again.

Mr. FRASER: Mr. Chairman, this last visit to the States was less than twenty-nine days, but if you are staying in the United States over twenty-nine days you have to have a visa with the fingerprints.

Mr. JAUQUES: When I came back from England my stay in the United States was not more than three or four hours.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: Mr. Chairman Mr. Wrong stated that his department has eight operating divisions. Is it the intention of the committee to have the heads of those divisions appear before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN: That will be left to the steering committee of the committee to decide and on the advice from Mr. Wrong; because I must repeat in fairness to Mr. Wrong that we should try to see what our procedure will be for the subsequent meetings.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I make this suggestion? We are dealing with the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. As we come to each item on the estimates it will probably be essential that the head of each particular division should be here, but we should not bring them all here to start with in the general scheme. I think Mr. Wrong, who has a thorough understanding of the department, will be sufficient for us in the general sense, but as we come to the various items concerning the department the other heads can be brought before us. I believe that would be a practical way of handling this matter.

Mr. COLDWELL: As I understand the matter, the trade commissioners are entirely separate and apart from the embassies?

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. COLDWELL: And the high commissioners and so on?

The WITNESS: A general policy which has been agreed upon in the department is that where a trade commissioner is established in the same capital as the Canadian high commissioner's office or embassy or legation, the trade commissioner becomes commercial consul, attache, or secretary of the staff of the high commissioner. That does not prevent him corresponding with his own department. I think we have a technical arrangement for the division of responsibilities. The chief of the diplomatic mission is really, under international law, responsible for the activities of the officials of his government in the country concerned—the general responsibility—and if things go wrong he can be blamed by the government of the country to which he is accredited. They are not always housed in the same offices because, as Mr. St. Laurent said in his opening remarks, one of our most acute problems is housing, and it is a problem which, I think, is causing us almost as many headaches as any other branch of administration. I would follow that up for a moment and point out the nature of the administration imposed on the Department of External

Affairs in comparison with other civil departments whose operations are confined wholly or almost wholly to Canada itself—we are not a large department, but the task of administering missions in twenty or more countries under present conditions of extreme congestion in every capital, together with the constant variation in cost of living in most capitals, is a very difficult one.

Mr. GRAYDON: Brussels, for example.

The WITNESS: Yes, the cost of living in Belgium is high. I was reading a report on the rise in the last six weeks in Brussels, and Brussels is not the worst by any means. That gives us an administrative task of peculiar complexity and really makes absolutely necessary a good deal of flexibility—perhaps more than in the case of most departments—in regard to questions of allowances and so on to see that our people are able to operate.

Mr. JAUQUES: Would not the increase in the cost of living be offset by the increase in the rate of exchange in Canadian funds?

The WITNESS: Not under present conditions in most countries. In a great many countries at the present time the official rate of exchange undervalues the Canadian dollar.

Mr. COLDWELL: What staff have you in these commissioners' offices?

The WITNESS: We haven't got it all sorted out in a convenient table, but I could answer questions about particular missions. The staff in London in March was 78 all told.

Mr. FLEMING: Does that include Canada House staff?

The WITNESS: That is Canada House staff. They are all employed in Canada House. In Australia it was 11; New Zealand 6; South Africa 7; Ireland 7; Newfoundland 6. That covers the high commissioners' offices.

Mr. FLEMING: Probably you could go over the embassies and legations and give us the corresponding information there.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. The trade commissioners are in close touch with the high commissioners. Trade commissioners are not included in that?—A. No, it does not include other people on the high commissioner's staff where there are attaches who are not shown on our estimates but on the estimates of the Department of National Defence. Some of them, as a matter of fact, are from other departments.

Q. These are your own?—A. These are all people on our own payroll. In Washington there are 33. In Rio de Janeiro there are 12 and in Moscow there are 13 and in China there are 14.

Mr. GRAYDON: How does that 13 correspond to the Soviet representation here in Canada? I take it it is somewhat larger here?

The WITNESS: Yes, it is somewhat larger. In Moscow it is 13; in Peru, 8; in Chile, 8; in France, 27; in Belgium, 16; in the Argentine, 10; in Greece, 5; in the Netherlands, 12; in Norway where we have recently opened our mission, 5; in Cuba, 7.

As regards consulates: New York, 9; Greenland, 1. This is an office we are about to close; it was established in war time; in Portugal, 2. By the way, I should add that it does not appear in the official list, but the latest legation is in Denmark, because Mr. Kearney, who is the minister in Oslo, has also been accredited to Denmark, although he has not got a separate establishment in Copenhagen as yet.

Mr. COLDWELL: How are the employees recruited?

The WITNESS: One has really to make some distinction between the diplomatic staff and the clerical and administrative staff. We have an inter-

changeable service between the department and the missions abroad. We are constantly moving people from Ottawa to the field and from the field back to Ottawa, and barring those who have been taken on temporarily during the war and have not been made permanent, they are recruited by open competition through the Civil Service Commission for the permanent members of the staff. That covers practically the entire staff of the diplomatic mission except that in certain cases the heads of the mission, several of the chiefs are members of the permanent service.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I ask a question with regard to missions of other countries in Canada? Has the Department of External Affairs any information as to the numbers attached to the various missions of other countries in Ottawa—for instance, the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia and other countries?

The WITNESS: Yes, if they employ a foreign person there are various means of getting that information. We have to know when he comes here, when to record him as a member of the mission, and to secure for him the requisite—the immunities which he has as an accredited member of the mission. If they employ Canadians we have not got that means. We also require from time to time in every mission in Ottawa that they give to us a numerical roll of all their employees, anybody who is not a Canadian national, showing also the wives and children.

Mr. COTE: Are there employees of the Department of Justice in our missions abroad who do not appear in your estimates?

The WITNESS: I do not think there are any employees of the Department of Justice attached to our missions, no.

Mr. Low: What do the diplomatic immunities consist of?

The WITNESS: Under international law the immunities of diplomatic missions are extensive indeed: immunity from all forms of direct taxation, and indeed some forms of indirect taxation such as customs privileges and the right of free importation; then there are the immunities from either criminal or civil processes in the country concerned. I cannot give offhand a complete list of the immunities. They are covered by widely and universally recognized rules of international law, although, as in all questions of law which rest on what is customary, the right to use codes and ciphers and freedom from censorship are covered.

Mr. COLDWELL: What classes of personnel in these missions are given these immunities? Our own nationals employed by embassies would not be given diplomatic immunity; is that right?

The WITNESS: That is one of the moot points, as to how far the immunity of an embassy covers the members of the staff even if they are members of the nationality concerned. There was one act in Ottawa having regard to diplomatic immunity over a small civil suit for a Canadian employee who was a furnace man.

Mr. COLDWELL: Was that successful?

The WITNESS: I do not recall it now. It is not a matter of great importance except as a curiosity.

Mr. GRAYDON: Coming back to the question of positions belonging to a mission in Canada, is there any limit placed upon the numbers that any mission can send in to be attached to their embassies?

The WITNESS: No, there is no limit. One could complain if one felt an excessive number of people were being brought in in view of the functions of the mission—one could take it up with the government concerned. There is no way of establishing an automatic limit.

Mr. FLEMING: May I ask if any such complaint has ever been made by the government of this country?

The WITNESS: Not as far as I know.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wrong indicated that there is, perhaps, a record kept from time to time as to the personnel of the staffs of the various missions in Ottawa, and could he indicate when the last one was made, and if it would be possible to furnish the committee with the numbers—I do not say the names?

The WITNESS: I am not quite certain how recently the list was made. We do it periodically—I think about every two months we request a list; the last one would have been made in 1946.

Mr. FLEMING: I think it would be interesting for us to know the numbers.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: When was the last international conference at which this rule of immunity was discussed?

The WITNESS: We discussed it at London at the first assembly of the United Nations. Indeed a draft convention was adopted at that time for submission to every government to try to place on a comparative basis the immunities granted, not so much to diplomatic missions as to international organizations throughout the whole field. The two things are overlapping and synchronized to a certain degree. We have that under examination now in Ottawa to see how it fits in with our practice and to see whether it is possible for us to submit it to parliament for approval. I am not sure that it is because of the question of provincial jurisdiction.

Mr. FLEMING: Nothing has been finalized yet?

The WITNESS: No. This was simply a draft submitted to the government for consideration.

Mr. GRAYDON: This is simply a draft agreement?

The WITNESS: There are two draft agreements. One would really be an agreement between the United States of America as the country in which the headquarters of the United Nations is situated and the United Nations Organization which require obviously special consideration. There was a similar agreement between Switzerland and the League of Nations. The other is a multilateral convention between the members of the organization concerning privileges and immunities to be given to the organization as such.

Mr. GRAYDON: I was not very clear whether we were going to get the information that Mr. Fleming asked for as to the numbers of those attached to each of the missions in Canada of the various foreign powers.

The WITNESS: We can furnish that, I think; yes.

Mr. COLDWELL: We will have to have Mr. Wrong come here again.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wrong, will you be able to come back at our next meeting?

The WITNESS: It will depend upon when your next meeting is.

Mr. FLEMING: In view of the pressure of work this week I do not think we ought to attempt to hold a meeting this week, but it seems to me that we should carry on with Mr. Wrong at our next meeting. There is certain further information which Mr. Wrong is going to give us, and I think, therefore, it would be helpful to carry on with Mr. Wrong when he has completed the information which he is going to furnish the committee. We can then go on with some of the other officials if we require detailed information.

The WITNESS: I would like to commend to the committee the suggestion of Mr. St. Laurent that Mr. Monette, the departmental architect, appear before the committee. As Mr. St. Laurent indicated, the housing problems are extremely acute. We do not own many premises abroad at the present time,

and we have to rent premises and often pay inflated rentals, and the problem is what we should buy when costs are reasonable—and costs are inflated sometimes—with a view to saving public funds over a long term, as well as assuring our representatives that they have a place to live. Mr. Monette has been in London and in Washington and he can speak with some assurance with regard to conditions. In the estimates we only have the sum of \$150,000, which probably would not buy one embassy or high commissioner's office in any capital—that is an exaggeration—but in most capitals; and if we spend it all in one place it would not provide us with premises owned by the Canadian government.

Mr. FRASER: You feel that the committee should deal with the matter in case you want to put something else in the supplementary estimates?

The WITNESS: The economical thing would be to have a fund available which could be drawn on over a period of years rather than to have an annual estimate, and opportunities could be taken advantage of as they arise. One may find oneself with a good opportunity to buy, when there are no funds available, in the latter part of the year. I am speaking as a departmental official. I believe that if the committee could bring in some recommendation on the question of purchases it would be in the long run very helpful to the department and to our representatives abroad.

Mr. Low: Would that come under the Department of Public Works—the purchase?

The WITNESS: No, except in the case of Canada House in London which has for many years been under the supervision of the Department of Public Works; otherwise, all buildings are directly under the supervision of the Department of External Affairs. We have very few buildings.

Mr. Low: Suppose you had set about to obtain buildings would you have the title vested in the Department of External Affairs?

The WITNESS: Vested in the Crown, not in any department. The purchase would be made on the recommendation of the Department of External Affairs; the Crown would own the property.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Wrong gave us a figure of 78 as the number of employees in London, including Canada House.

The WITNESS: The total, not the permanents.

Mr. FLEMING: There are no employees of the Department of Public Works at Canada House, are there?

The WITNESS: There are, I think, a couple of employees of the Public Works Department.

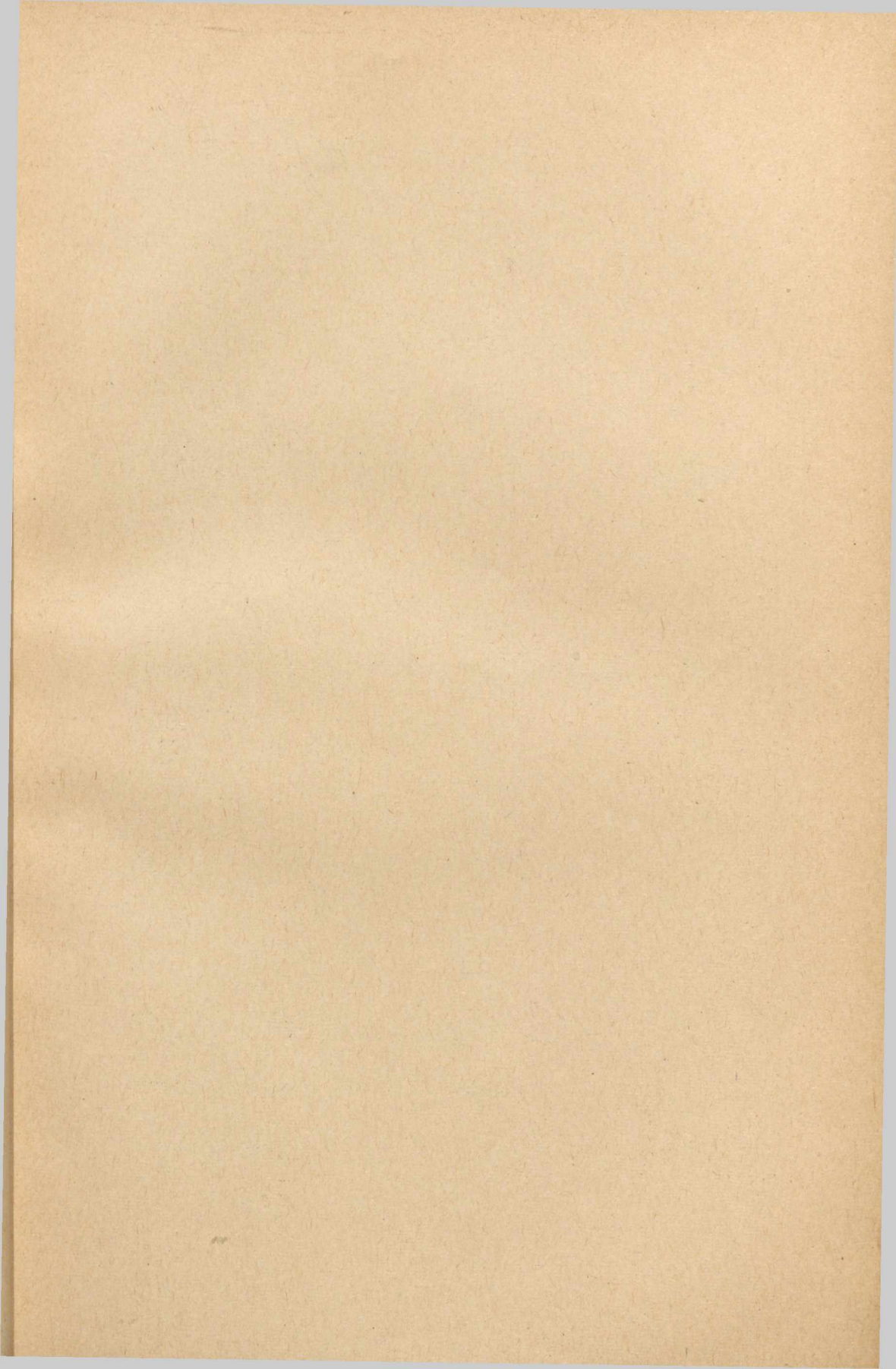
Mr. COTE: Many questions were asked this morning and many more will be asked. I return to my initial argument as to whether Mr. Wrong or somebody in the department could draft a graph and prepare a sheet showing the whole structure of the department which would save us a great deal of time and would simplify the matter of questioning.

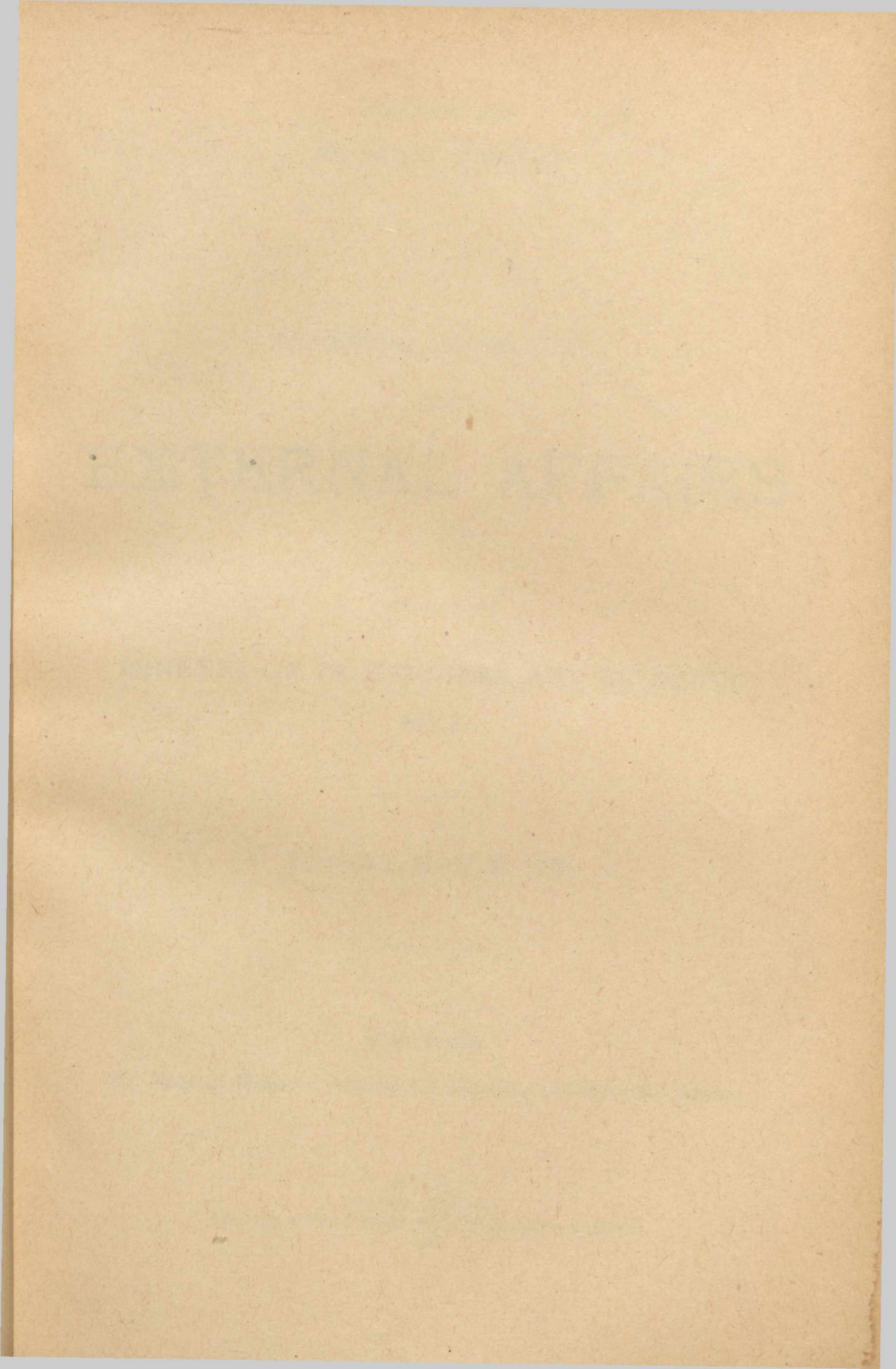
Mr. BEAUDOIN: In the statement which you will prepare for us will it be possible to indicate the liaison which exists between your department and the Department of Trade and Commerce, both in the country and outside?

The WITNESS: I think there is an agreement in writing, how comprehensive it is I am not sure. These matters are dealt with largely in meetings dealing with special problems. As far as the Department of Trade and Commerce and the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa are concerned there is, I believe, a definition of the relationship of the trade commissioners and the heads of missions.

The CHAIRMAN: Tentatively we will call our meeting for Friday.

The Committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chair.





SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 2

FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. Antoine Monette, Architect, Department of External Affairs

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, May 24, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met as eleven o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Côté (*Matapédia-Matane*), Diefenbaker, Graydon, Hackett, Jaques, Kidd, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Mutch, Raymond (*Beauharnois-Laprairie*) and Winkler. (18).

In attendance: Mr. S. D. Hemsley and Mr. L. C. Audette of the Department of External Affairs.

The Committee resumed consideration of *item 41* of the estimates referred, being departmental administration.

Mr. Antoine Monette, architect of the Department of External Affairs was called.

The witness made a statement respecting Canadian Embassies in South America which he visited on behalf of the Department of External Affairs. He referred particularly to those which are in rented quarters. He mentioned Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima and Mexico.

Mr. S. D. Hemsley assisted the witness in supplying some statistics.

After discussion on procedure and on motion of Mr. Low, the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

Antonio Plouffe,
Clerk of the Committee.

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 24, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call the meeting to order and I thank you very much indeed for your coming early and in such numbers, because I was afraid, for a while, that we would not get a quorum to-day.

Mr. COLDWELL: Oh well, you know this is the External Affairs Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I confess that I am an offender myself along the following lines, but I have been told that the reporters sometimes find it difficult to get a full record of our deliberations. There are so many expressions used in External Affairs that are peculiar that we may have to be a little more definite and careful in our statements and in our questioning.

To-day we are resuming our consideration of item No. 41 which is the first item before the committee, and we have with us this morning Mr. Antoine Monette, who is the architect of the Department of External Affairs. He will be our only witness to-day. I now call upon Mr. Monette.

Mr. Antoine Monette, Architect of the Department of External Affairs, called:

The WITNESS: Well, Mr. Chairman, as you know, I have been through our capitals in South America and the first city I would like to talk about to-day is Rio.

In Rio de Janeiro there is quite a program of construction going on and the cost of construction there is very very high. I looked around to see if there were any possible properties to be acquired, but there were none.

Actually, the Canadian Embassy is in rented quarters. It is situated on the top of a hill called Sainte Theresa, in the centre of the city, within about 15 minutes drive from the business centre where the chancellory is situated. This house is of medium size and the design is colonial Portuguese. The view from the terrace and gardens is simply magnificent. From there you can see all the harbour and the different bays and, I would say, about half the city.

I met the owner of the house and he has no intention, of course, of selling this house. He showed us a letter in which he was offered about \$750,000 United States, and he said: I am not willing to sell this house, but I am willing to rent it to the Canadian Ambassador at the rate of about \$200 a month.

By Mr. Low:

Q. How much was that again?—A. For about \$200 a month; but he does not want to sell the house because he was born and raised there, and he wants to keep it.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. You say he had an offer?—A. Yes, he had an offer of \$750,000 United States dollars. He, himself, is a coffee grower and a multi-millionaire.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. I suppose his property would escape taxation when it is put into the diplomatic service?—A. I do not know; but the price is about one-quarter of

what we would have to pay. There are possibilities of renting this house on a long-term lease, say, for 10 years, if we should make some repairs on this house.

Q. Do you know if we have to pay the taxes?—A. Not on rented quarters; I do not know.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Would the property be subject to sale when rented?

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Have you got it on a lease?—A. I think the lease has expired now.

Q. Can you renew the lease for a long period?

Mr. HACKETT: Would the sale of the property break the lease?

Mr. MARQUIS: It depends upon the law.

Mr. HACKETT: That is what he is asking.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the committee would prefer that Mr. Monette go ahead with his statement and the members could make notes and question the witness when he is through with his brief.

The WITNESS: Nothing definite came out of this interview. As I said, the owner seemed perfectly happy to have the Canadian Ambassador occupy his property; he seemed to be flattered about it. There was no immediate proposal. We just talked about possibilities. No agreement was made or anything of that sort.

I inspected a few houses which could have been bought but none of them were suitable; the prices were either too high or they were not suitable for an embassy. The chancellory is very well situated on one of the main streets and it is very well furnished with paintings, Canadian paintings, and it gives one the impression of being a Canadian office.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Mr. Desy is the Canadian Ambassador?—A. Yes, Mr. Jean Desy is the Canadian Ambassador.

The WITNESS: Then, my next stop was at Buenos Aires and there I visited about 20 houses and I would say that none were suitable as an embassy. There were practically no houses to rent at the time; they were all offered for sale. All the houses I visited were either too big or badly planned. In fact, many of them had no gardens. The only possible house that could have been used as an embassy was offered at a price of \$410,000, so we left the matter in abeyance because I thought it was a lot of money for a house.

About two or three weeks ago we were offered a house, a small house, which would have been suitable, but the owner changed her mind, so we could not rent it. The present situation is very difficult. A suitable house would be hard to find.

Then, there was Santiago. There the price of real estate is very, very high and there were practically no houses offered for rental. We found a house suitable as a Canadian Embassy and the price was not too high. It was offered for about \$200,000. It had magnificent gardens and it had a very nice view from the verandahs. The house was well planned and designed, but we could not take advantage of this offer because of the lack of funds and the lack of allocations. Actually, we are renting a house for which we paid last year at the rate of \$700 a month; and now they are asking \$800 to \$900 a month.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. United States dollars?—A. No, Canadian dollars, I think, and the matter is in abeyance just now. It was, in my personal opinion, unfortunate that we could not take advantage of this house which would have settled the

situation in Santiago for years to come. It was situated in a very nice district and would have been for 25 to 35 to 40 years suitable as an embassy.

In Lima we are occupying a rented house also, and we still have about 17 months to go. It serves the purpose for the time being, but I do not think I would like to recommend its purchase. The plan is not basically bad, although it has some bad features; for example, the detail of the moulding is not very nice, it is a little awkward. The gardens are lovely. In Lima there is no master plan and there are practically no zoning laws; so it is very hard to determine what district will remain a residential district and what district would become commercialized.

In every city it was my first concern to go at once to the city hall to find out if they had a master plan, so that if and when we buy some property, we may be sure to buy it in the right district and not to buy property which would depreciate after 5, 10 or 15 years.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Are the other cities zoned?—A. Rio is, and Washington, of course; but there is no master plan in Santiago. The house in question is in the western part of the city.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Is Buenos Aires zoned?—A. They have an organization there which was established a few years ago and they are working on a master plan. I went to the Town Planning Commission there and I was shown the zoning plans, and I was informed about new enterprises that are to open and the work that is to be done in Buenos Aires. In Rio they have had a town planning scheme for 15 years, and all new developments have been zoned according to that plan.

Q. What is the rental at Lima?

Mr. HEMSLEY: \$552 Canadian dollars a month.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How much is the chancellory?

Mr. HEMSLEY: \$141. That may be our share of it, because trade and commerce carries a proportion of it.

Q. I see, trade and commerce carries a proportion of it?

Mr. MARQUIS: \$141.

The WITNESS: In Mexico the situation is much like that in all the other cities in South America. You will see buildings being put up all over the place but very few working on them. In some cases there is just a skeleton structure with no one working. And the cost of real estate is sky-rocketing. The consensus of opinion is it won't go down.

Now, to come back to Rio, there I met a British architect who had studied with me at the same school, so we formed a very good friendship. I asked him this question. He has been in Rio for the past 20 years, so I asked him if he thought that the cost of real estate would crash down? And he said: "I was in Rio following the last war and the cost of real estate went up and it did not come down. It may be stabilized, but I doubt very much if it will reach the pre-war level." And that was about the consensus of opinion. It may come down a little, but not to the pre-war level. That was the opinion I was given.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Are you going to deal with building costs?—A. Yes. The rise in price of real estate follows very closely the building costs in a definite way. In Mexico there is no zoning law, but they have a belt indicated on a plan. I have seen the plan, and according to it there is a belt where heavy industries are located.

It seems to me they are scattered all around the city in a kind of belt. Some districts are residential while others are not; but in most of the districts there is nothing to prevent a laundry or a power company from putting up a plant.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Could Mr. Monette tell us how much it would cost to build embassies in these different places?—A. That would be very hard to say.

Q. Could he give us an idea? He has told us it would cost a certain amount to buy an embassy here, but if we knew the cost of building a new one, then we could form an idea?—A. Well, in Rio I remember asking this British architect how he did his figuring in establishing estimates. If I remember well, I think he said about 2,000 crusados per square metre. That is worth about 4 cents, I think. So I figured out how much it would likely cost to add a living room to the present embassy, just as an example, and the amount came to \$20,000. I doubt very much if we can build anything. That is a wild guess, although I doubt very much if we could build anything under \$200,000 to \$300,000. That has to be a wild shot because conditions vary so much in every city, but I would imagine that to be so.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What size of house do you consider to be suitable for an embassy?—A. I would say it should have rather a large room.

Q. You mean you would want a large reception room?—A. Yes. I have prepared a little program, but it is not official. It is only for my own information, because I was thinking about this subject.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe the committee would like to have that information.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Yes, we should have something by which to make a comparison.

Mr. COTE: Yes, it would give us a clearer idea of how much it would cost to build embassies here and there. I understand that you are one of the architects of the External Affairs Department, so if you will be good enough to give us an idea of costs, just for comparison purposes?

The CHAIRMAN: I believe it would be in order to answer Mr. Coldwell's question about your idea of costs?

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. First of all, what size of house had you in mind?—A. For my own personal information I prepared a little program. It is not an official program; I want to be quite clear on that point. It is not the program of the department but rather my own program as an architect. I was just thinking about embassies. To begin with, the reception room, in my mind, is the most important part of an embassy. Then there should be a hall with a cloakroom. It is indispensable to have a hall with a cloakroom. Then, you need a big drawing room; and in large embassies I would say you needed a ball room; but for a Canadian embassy I would call it a large drawing room. Then you need a dining room and a smoking room and then a little morning room. In addition, there should be a library which could be used by the ambassador as an office, if he wanted to work. Then there should be a smoking room, and that could be combined with the library. It all depends on the ground and the plot. Then, you must have private apartments, too; I would say four or five bedrooms with bathrooms, and a nursery, and a small living room. Among the private apartments there should be a guest suite, and a small pantry, a dressing room, a living room and a sewing room.

Then, for the services, you need a kitchen and a scullery for pot washing, and you need a serving pantry, a butler's pantry with closets in which to put

china, silverware, and tablecloths; and a storeroom for food and maybe a wine cellar, if it is possible; and I think there should be a flower room in order to save flowers from a reception on one day until the next day.

By the Chairman:

Q. You may have a cocktail bar, too?—A. That would be most useful; and there should be a storeroom for boxes and crates; and if there be room, there should be a game room provided; and in some countries there should be a small conservatory. Outside there would be a garage for two cars, with chauffeurs' quarters, and suitable servants' quarters, depending on the country where we are.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Would it be possible to give us, approximately, the relationship of the costs, whether there would be a 20 per cent increase or decrease?—A. It is very, very hard to say, sir. There seems to be no relationship between costs of buildings in Canada and the cost of building in these places; the policy varies from country to country. For example, in Rio they have no concern about heating systems at all; but they do need air conditioning. Their problem is not to heat the place, but rather to cool it. I think it is necessary to have air conditioning units, especially for Canadians who are not used to this very damp and warm climate. In fact, you have to change your shirt four or five times a day.

The CHAIRMAN: That would be hard to do here where we have no shirts.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What did the French Embassy cost here, Mr. Monette? You have already given us, I think, a fairly good description of the French building here.—A. The French building here, sir, has a large ball-room and it is much more elaborate than this program. And in addition they have two storeys, and they had their French artists, who came out here from France, and all the windows were shipped from France and they are made of solid bronze; so I do not think we could tie up the Canadian Embassy with that very special place.

Q. I should hope not!

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Would Mr. Monette be of the opinion that the description he has given us would cost around \$300,000 to \$400,000?—A. I would say around \$300,000. Much depends on the size. For instance, if you are to draft a program for an embassy, the thing that governs the size and cost of it is the number of people that you want to receive. I planned an embassy like that for 150 people; but the French Embassy here in Ottawa was designed for 800 people. We were asked to prepare designs for between 500 and 1,000 people.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. That building must have cost about \$1,000,000?—A. I do not think it cost that high; but that is a very hard question to answer.

Q. What style would these buildings be?—A. It would vary, Mr. Cote, from country to country. If I were asked to plan an embassy for say Newfoundland or Norway, or an embassy for a tropical country, the character of them would change. For the tropical country we would need to have big openings, gardens and windows for lots of fresh air; but for the northern countries we would need a closed in building.

Q. You would need something approaching the Canadian style?—A. Yes.

Q. How about the outside?—A. The outside would be plain.

Q. Do you think the government would be just as well off by renting buildings?—A. I do not think so. We have to pay fairly high rents, and after a few years we have nothing left.

The CHAIRMAN: Order! I think it would help our discussions if the members of the committee would always address the chair. It also helps the reporter.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. You have given me an opportunity to say something here; and perhaps I am in a minority of one; but I do not think our discussion to-day is very real in view of the problems that external affairs have to meet to-day. I do not think we have advanced far enough in the matter of gathering information in regard to embassies, and I think we could satisfy ourselves to-day with a general report from Mr. Monette, and that we could go into it more fully at a later time when further information was available. I think we have, in our external affairs, far more important matters to deal with than merely deciding what sort of palatial buildings we are going to have for our ambassadors. It may be of importance some day, but personally, I do not think it is particularly important now.

Mr. BOUCHER: I agree with Mr. MacInnis. When we stop to consider it, I think we should have something more concrete before we could get very far. I think we are spending a lot of time on this matter and getting nowhere.

Mr. JAKES: I suggest that this material is worth discussing, but if it is to be of any value we should have the Minister of Finance here; he would provide the answer to all this; where is the money to come from?

The CHAIRMAN: Your point is well taken. I agree with Mr. MacInnis that at the present time it might look to us that this is a secondary matter; but you were here when Mr. St. Laurent spoke, and he told us that Mr. Monette would be here only for a few days. In addition, we could not get some of the high officials because most of them are away. That is the position in which the chair found itself at the present time. I could not get these high officials but I could get Mr. Monette here and I thought we should have an explanation from an expert about housing accommodations abroad. I believe the information we have got so far has been very beneficial for future discussions; and now that we have Mr. Monette I believe we should use him fully to get all the information we can.

Mr. MACINNIS: I have no objection at all in hearing from Mr. Monette, and having him make a report as far as he has gone, but I do object to going into this wide speculation that we have gone into this morning. I have been long enough around this building and committees to be a little suspicious that perhaps the best thing to do with a committee is to get it talking about comparatively non essential things; then, if you keep it long enough on that, it won't have the time to get to essentials.

I think there are more important enough things in our world affairs to-day than providing homes for our ambassadors. That will be an important thing when we get around to it, but until we consider these problems that are upsetting our world and making it impossible to order our affairs properly, we cannot really give much thought to building homes for ambassadors who, under the present situation, may never get to live in them.

Mr. JAKES: I think that Mr. Monette could give us some valuable evidence in other respects. He has travelled widely as an independent man, and as such I would like to ask his opinion in connection with the policy of whether we should, or Canada should, rent, or whether Canada should build its own embassies? What about the danger of revolutions in these countries? How would that affect buildings if we owned them? I can see the possibility that,

in a revolution, there might not be any building left. I would imagine that during his travels in South America and elsewhere, he may have heard about and discussed the possibilities of revolution in those countries. I think it would be very interesting information for us to have.

The CHAIRMAN: Before Mr. Monette answers, I would like to have Mr. MacInnis' point clarified. I presume that we will find, just as we did last year, that in many instances the activities of this committee will deal with abstract questions. I, myself, took the responsibility of calling the meeting this morning because I thought it was a good move, and because we were getting an expert to come before us, one who would not dictate to us but would give us the experience of his travelling. So I would like to have the feeling of the committee on that point. Mr. Wrong could not get here to-day, so I got Mr. Monette to come. It must be borne in mind that this committee will be largely dealing with abstract subjects.

Mr. LEGER: I am sorry that I had to disagree. I think this is information which is very valuable to us. If we are to have embassies, and are to establish embassies, we must make provision for them. And if the cost of renting these buildings is excessive, then I think the government should either buy buildings or build new ones. Mr. Monette has given us valuable information. I think we should know whether certain sums of money should be put aside with which to buy embassies or with which to build embassies. Just a few moments ago he mentioned about there being a good buy in a certain place, if we had the money; but unfortunately the money was not available, therefore they could not buy. So I think it was very wise of the chairman to call Mr. Monette before us this morning.

Mr. MACINNIS: I am not finding fault with either the chairman or with Mr. Monette's report. What I would like to get is Mr. Monette's report with a little less of our own verbosity added to it.

Mr. MARQUIS: I agree absolutely with Mr. MacInnis and Mr. Leger that we should not go into too many details in getting the picture. I do not think it is the time to build now, because material is too costly. Perhaps Mr. Monette could say a word about that. I do not think we should investigate too closely into this matter. Mr. MacInnis' suggestion would bring us to a closer picture of this question.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not a question of investigation in this case, but rather one of considering a report which I think would be illuminating to our deliberations. In my opinion we are fortunate to have Mr. Monette here, and I believe that, so far, the discussion has been very illuminating.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Continue, Mr. Chairman; let us have the story.—A. Well, I was asked a question, I think, a few minutes ago, and I will give an example. For instance, you asked who were the owners in Lima. In Lima the countries that are represented are: Argentina, Brazil, Spain and the United States. The United States built an embassy in Lima which has just been completed. In addition, Great Britain, Mexico, Sweden, Venezuela, and the Nunciatura. These countries own their own embassies and either bought the property or built embassies. The Papal Nunciatura has just bought one.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. That is in Chile?—A. That is in Lima. I happen to have taken that down.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. These countries are owners of their own embassies?—A. No; in Lima, that is a typical example I am giving of a certain country.

Mr. JAQUES: It seems to me that before I invested money in a country, I should like to be fairly sure of the political conditions of that country, and that they were fairly well stabilized.

The CHAIRMAN: It would be hard to determine.

Mr. JAQUES: Mr. Monette may not care to be quoted on this, but he must have acquired, during his travels, a pretty good idea of the political future of these countries. I think such matters are key questions.

The WITNESS: I was so much concerned with the housing situation and with the town planning situation and all that sort of thing that they occupied all my attention and endeavours, so I am afraid I did not take very much note of the political affairs.

Mr. JAQUES: You would prefer not to be quoted.

The CHAIRMAN: Revolutions are like the measles; you do not know when they will break out.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Do we own our own embassy in Washington?—A. Yes, we own it.

Mr. HEMSLEY: But yesterday a part of it was sold over our heads, the entrance; the annex was sold over our heads.

The WITNESS: I think we own our embassy in Washington, and in Tokyo, and in London (Canada House); those are the three that I know we own.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. May I ask Mr. Monette a question in regard to these South American countries; for example, in Mexico, would you say that conditions there are most nearly approximate to boom conditions at the present time? Would you say that about Rio or Buenos Aires?—A. I think it would be Rio; things were booming all over South America and prices are sky-rocketing.

Q. Would it, in your opinion, be good business to invest in real estate or even in buildings under such conditions?—A. It all depends; if we are offered a property for sale, for instance, as in Santiago, I would say, in that case, yes; definitely, yes, because it was a special case. I do not think we would have been able to build that house for the amount asked. I do not think so, and I feel pretty sure about it.

The CHAIRMAN: In dealing with these questions there is more than money involved; there is also the cultural viewpoint that must be considered. When we speak of the French Embassy here, for example, it carries more than a money value; it carries a cultural value of the country that built it. What is your viewpoint on that, Mr. Monette?

The WITNESS: I think you are very right, Mr. Chairman. I think we should have an embassy which is properly furnished and supplied with paintings that are suitable for the particular country. I would not send some paintings to Rio, for instance, that I would send to London. I think you should create a cultural centre because it is most interesting and most helpful to business.

By the Chairman:

Q. And you could not do that so well with a rented building?—A. Not so well. Of course you can always create an atmosphere, but it is not so easy to do as in a building designed or established for that purpose.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I was out of the committee when this discussion began. What kind of accommodation has Jean Desy got in Brazil now; is it a rented house there?—A. Yes, it is a rented house, beautifully situated on the top of a hill with a luscious garden and a very good view; and the house is very nicely furnished.

Q. Is there any danger of his being dispossessed at the moment?—A. Yes, there is always that danger, although the owner seems to be quite willing to continue the tenancy of the Canadian Embassy.

Q. I suppose it will become a question of whether or not you rent, buy, or build; and I suppose that with respect to purchases of buildings to-day, you are in the same position as most private individuals; it does not seem like a very good time, from an economic point of view, to spend much money, having regard to short supply of materials, the quality of materials, and the prices you have to pay?

Mr. HACKETT: He complains of another shortage, that of cash.

Mr. GRAYDON: That often affects supply.

Mr. JAQUES: And also employment.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any more questions to put to Mr. Monette?

Mr. LEGER: I think Mr. Monette should continue.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Have you anything more to offer?—A. I have covered the ground.

The CHAIRMAN: The ground that you are expected to cover, by the department?

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q: Do you know anything about our buildings in Europe outside of London?—A. No, I have not yet been to Europe since the war; I know Europe well, because I lived there, but conditions are so changed now.

Q. You have not been over since the war?—A. No, not since the war ended.

Q. You have seen what our offices and so on are like there?—A. I know that before the war we had a chancery in Paris, because I used to go there.

Mr. GRAYDON: I know about the accommodation in Paris and I know about the heating problem on New Year's day. It wasn't very good in Paris. One out of every five homes in Paris was without heat of any description.

The CHAIRMAN: Was it on account of the heating system or the coal supply shortage?

Mr. GRAYDON: I know that the temperature was below zero and there was no heat in our Canadian Embassy, and the ambassador's residence.

Discussion continued off the record.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any more questions?

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Did Mr. Monette say that the chancery in France was owned by Canada?—A. No, it was rented.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. To put it in a nut-shell, how do we stand in so far as South America is concerned? Have we got decent embassies all over the place? I mean, decent headquarters fit for Canada?—A. I did not see many of them.

Q. Are many of them fit and decent for Canada?—A. You mean what we have now?

Q. Are they suitable, having regard to our status in the world?—A. I do not think we have got them.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What about Rio?—A. Not unless the house is arranged and fixed.

Q. You would have to build an extension on to rented property which is not good business unless you have a very long lease?—A. That was my first concern; how long is the lease? Ten years' lease would be all right.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. And elsewhere they have no possibility of making these headquarters proper?—A. I would say only in the case of Rio provided the house be arranged.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. You stated that you found one building which would be very suitable?—A. Yes, but we did not buy it. It was in Santiago.

Q. It was in Santiago; now, has the building been sold?—A. I think that the Chinese government took it, if I am correct.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. So, in all the other places except Rio, we have no headquarters befitting our endeavours?—A. That is my opinion, my professional opinion.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Did you go to Argentina?—A. Yes, sir; but we have no house there at the present time.

Q. Mr. Chipman has rented quarters there?—A. No, he is living in a hotel. During the ten days I was there, I inspected two or three houses a day. I never saw so many houses in so short a time.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Have we a chancellory there?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it a suitable one?—A. They are making some changes to it, I believe.

Q. Do you think it to be a suitable chancellory?—A. For the time being.

Q. Have we got it on a long-term lease?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know the length of the lease?—A. I think it is for three years.

Mr. HEMSLEY: It is a joint lease along with trade and commerce. Most of them are that way.

The WITNESS: As a rule the chancelleries are all right and are situated in suitable buildings.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. It is just a question of living quarters for the ambassador, so far as Argentina is concerned; is that the case?—A. There are no living quarters for the time being, and the ambassador is living in a hotel.

Q. Of course, our High Commissioner in London lives in a hotel. Sometimes they prefer to do that.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions to be asked of this witness? If not, then I thank you Mr. Monette for coming here to-day.

The WITNESS: And I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: I know that we all appreciate what we heard this morning but I would like to comment on Mr. MacInnis' statement which I know he made sincerely. We are bound in this committee to find ourselves a little baffled at times because the subject matter before us may not be very complete; but of necessity we must make the best of it. For example, I would like the members of this committee to give me all the advice they possibly can with respect to the item concerning the passport office and the item concerning the grant to the United Nations Society. We might find it possible to have one of the prominent men of that organization come before us and discuss the work of that organization. Then there is the item in connection with the Canadian section of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Defence Board. That may prove to be a moot question upon which we may have to spend some time, and we will probably find that our efforts will depend upon our own creative powers.

I trust the committee is not disappointed about Mr. Monette's appearing before us to-day and that in fact it was appreciated. I believe he has given us information which will prove to be useful to us later on. I had intended holding another meeting of this committee on Tuesday next, but I believe it will be impossible to sit on Tuesday because there would not be room available for us, and because it would not be satisfactory to the members; so I wonder if we could meet at 11 o'clock next Wednesday?

Mr. GRAYDON: But then you would be running into caucuses of all the parties.

Mr. MARQUIS: Could we not sit some time during the afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN: Some members object to that, and I do not blame them.

Mr. BOUCHER: But if you would treat us to dinner, we could sit during the dinner hour.

Mr. COLDWELL: Well what about Monday?

The CHAIRMAN: We could not get Mr. Wrong then, and we need him for our next meeting.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is difficult to get time. If members insist upon sitting on several committees; I think myself that this committee is just about as important as most of them, and I think we should plot our own chart, and try to make this committee take the lead in that connection, but I would cast no reflection on any other committee. By following such a course I believe that gradually the members of parliament would be weeded out so far as the various committees are concerned, and that they would allocate themselves where they felt their greatest interests to lie. I am afraid that your very generous disposition and good nature may perhaps prompt you to try to find too many suitable times for this committee to meet; but I would not worry too much about that. I would call this committee at certain times, and then, if the people are not here, they will have to take that responsibility. I, myself, would be very glad and I think many members of the committee would not mind—what is to hinder this committee sitting at an odd time, say, 9 a.m., or 9 a.m. to 10 o'clock, and call it off at 10 o'clock. I know it would be hard on us.

Mr. COLDWELL: Yes, some of us do not get away from here until around midnight.

Discussion continued off the record.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there a motion to adjourn?

Mr. LOW: I move that we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN: The committee is adjourned.

The committee adjourned at 12.00 noon, to meet again at the call of the chair.

SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 3

THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

ORDER OF REFERENCE

MONDAY, May 27, 1946.

Ordered,—That the name of Mr. Breithaupt be substituted for that of Mr. McIlraith on the said Committee.

Attest,

ARTHUR BEAUCHESNE,
Clerk of the House.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, May 30, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock. Mr Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Coldwell, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Jaques, Leger, MacInnis, Marquis, Sinclair (*Ontario*), and Winkler.—(17).

In attendance: Mr. S. D. Hemsley.

The Clerk tabled an additional Order of Reference relating to the substitution of Mr. Breithaupt's name for that of Mr. McIlraith on the membership of the Committee.

The Chairman read a letter of Mr. MacInnis addressed to him on May 17 last. (*See minutes of evidence*)

The Committee resumed its consideration of *Item 41, of the Departmental estimates of External Affairs.*

Mr. H. H. Wrong was called.

As requested at a previous meeting, the witness tabled two graphic plates showing the organization of the department at Ottawa and abroad. On motion of Mr. Fraser,—

Ordered.—That the above mentioned graphs be printed. (*See Appendices A and B to this day's evidence*).

The witness proceeded to give further desired information regarding temporary employees of the Department, various international bodies of which Canada is a member or on which Canada is represented.

Mr. Diefenbaker mentioned the question of war criminals. He referred to an order of council and the War Measures Act relating to their trial. After discussion, it was felt that this matter be brought up again and that the Deputy Minister of Justice be asked to appear before the Committee.

Mr. Jaques referred to a petition of Canadian Airmen to the Department of External Affairs destined to the Yugoslav Government and relating to General Mihailovich. After discussion, this question was referred to the Agenda Committee.

Mr Wrong tabled a complete list showing the staff of the Foreign Missions in Ottawa. He was allowed to retain same for revision.

Ordered.—That the above revised list be printed as an appendix. (*See Appendix C to this day's evidence*)

Further information regarding the Economic and the Canadian Information Divisions was requested by Mr. Fleming.

The Chairman invited the members of the Agenda Committee to a meeting on Friday, May 31, at 2 o'clock.

At one o'clock, the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 30, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I will now call the meeting to order. Before we proceed with Mr. Wrong, there was a request made by Mr. Cote at the last meeting when Mr. Wrong was present, to have a graph of the departmental administration to be submitted at a later sitting.

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, recalled:

The WITNESS: We have prepared a very elementary graph but I am afraid it simply shows the divisional organization, as I explained to the committee at the last sitting which I attended, and the second one lists officers in a graphic form.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Then, it could be put into the minutes?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, it could go into our reports. Is there a motion to have that put in as an appendix to our report?

Mr. FRASER: I will move that.

The CHAIRMAN: Carried! Now, while the clerk is distributing these graphs, I will read a letter. I must apologize to Mr. MacInnis for not having acknowledged the letter which he sent to me on the 17th May. The letter reads as follows:—

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OTTAWA

May 17, 1946.

Mr. JOSEPH A. BRADETTE, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

DEAR MR. BRADETTE,—I have been asked by Harold I. Nelson, Information Secretary of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, to inform the members of the parliamentary committee on External Affairs that the national office of the institute will be glad to assist the members of the committee by extending to them the facilities of its library service and will also be glad to provide them with a list of its current publications.

Of course, members of the committee who are also members of the institute will already know of this service. The address of the institute is 230 Bloor Street West, Toronto 5, Ontario.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) ANGUS MACINNIS.

Mr. MACINNIS: I sent a copy of that to all the members.

The CHAIRMAN: You sent a copy of that letter to all the members; that is fine.

The WITNESS: Both have been marked "confidential", but that is an error; the restriction should be removed, they are not confidential at all.

By the Chairman:

Q. I will now ask Mr. Wrong if he will kindly proceed.

The WITNESS: There were some matters about which I understood I was to furnish the committee with information; one was in respect, I think, to Mr. Coldwell's question about long time temporaries who are in the employment of the department. The figures which I gave at the previous meeting showed that there have been seventeen temporaries on the departmental staff, and just before the war began. We have examined what happened to them since then, and we find that seven have been made permanent; seven have resigned to accept other positions; one was made permanent and then resigned to get married. That leaves only two, one of whom was absent on active service for most of the war and has now come back to the department at two grades higher than he was when he left. The other—reports were not very satisfactory—but she has been promoted up one grade now and is a clerk grade 2, and will probably be made permanent.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Does that apply to the returned man too?—A. Oh, yes, he will almost certainly be made permanent very shortly.

Q. All right?—A. I have another matter about which information was desired, namely, the principal international organizations of which Canada is a member. I haven't a list for distribution because I did not get the information ready in time to have it mimeographed; but I can read a list of the chief organizations, if that will be satisfactory to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, that would be satisfactory to the committee.

The WITNESS: May I preface my remarks by saying that this is not all inclusive, because there are a number of highly technical international bodies which are principally the concern, or almost wholly the concern of other departments than that of External Affairs; but as to such of them, as to that type of organization to which we make contributions, the funds are carried in the estimates; while other departments, the postal union, as an example, there the Post Office Department provides an annual contribution to the Universal Postal Union.

These are the major governmental organizations to which we belong. All of them have at least an annual general assembly of one sort or another. The first is the United Nations. There, Canada is represented on three smaller bodies within the United Nations; the Economic and Social Council; the Atomic Energy Commission; and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

The Economic and Social Council has eighteen seats and Canada was elected for a three year term in January, in London. The Atomic Energy Commission is due to hold its first meeting in the middle of next month; Canada is a permanent member.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Is that an organization arising out of the Security Council?—A. It was created by the Assembly under a resolution which relates its activities to the Security Council. It reports to the Security Council. I have forgotten the exact language of the resolution, but it is an agency created by the Assembly; and the

Assembly could, therefore, at any time, change the composition and constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission by a further resolution.

Q. Is there any period of time?—A. No time set; and it is impossible, I think, to offer any prediction as to the probable duration of this body. I would be inclined to regard it as being at least a semi-permanent organization of the United Nations.

Q. What are the other members called besides Canada?—A. The eleven members of the Security Council—it would be a commission of eleven if Canada were on the Security Council. This other commission to which Canada is named—

Q. Have any functions yet been assigned to that Atomic Energy Commission at the moment?—A. Nothing beyond the terms of reference. It will hold its first meeting on the 14th June, in New York, and its first task will be to discuss its mandate and adopt its rules of procedure. I have no idea how long these sittings are likely to go on. I feel that the initiative must rest largely with the representatives of the nations on the commission.

Q. Have we appointed any representative to it as yet?—A. Yes, General McNaughton has been named as the Canadian member; and he will be assisted, although the names have not yet been announced.

Q. Has General McNaughton been appointed in his capacity as a member of the Joint Defence Council?—A. No, no, purely in his personal capacity he has been named. The third of the inter-governmental commissions is the Commission on Narcotic Drugs which consists of representatives of fifteen named States. It also has not yet held its first meeting; but it will meet, I think during the course of July. There are other United Nations bodies on which Canadians serve; but they are appointed by name while the ones I have referred to are the countries named. Dr. McIntosh is a member of the economic and Employment Commission under the Economic and Social Council.

Q. Of the Finance Department?—A. Of the Reconstruction and Supply. He was named chairman of it at its first sitting.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. What was the name of the last commission?—A. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

Q. No, no?—A. The Economic Employment Commission. Then, associated with the United Nations is the International Court of Justice of which a Canadian is a member, a Canadian is one of the judges, elected in a personal capacity.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. You mean Mr. John Read?—A. Mr. John Read.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Mr. Read is in Canada now?—A. Yes, he has just returned from the opening meeting of the Court.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Is Mr. Read going to continue in the service of the Department of External Affairs while serving as a judge of the International Court?—A. It involves his complete severance of his relations with the Canadian government.

Q. And has this occurred?—A. It has occurred.

Q. Has an appointment yet been made to fill the vacancy?—A. It is not exactly a vacancy. Mr. Read was a very senior official of the department, but we have not appointed a new man with the same title or rank. The head of the legal division is Mr. Hopkins, who is carrying on most, if not all, the functions of Mr. Read as legal adviser.

Q. How long has Mr. Hopkins been in the department?—A. About a year now.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. When Mr. Read goes to the International Court of Justice, what happens to his pension rights? Does the court itself provide for a period of years and then a pension?—A. The court has not yet made provision for pensions, but will so provide. That may be a question which requires legislation. It is under examination now. It seemed to me to be callous, where a distinguished Canadian who has not been retired from the Canadian public service, but who is, with the full support of the Canadian government, appointed to a post of this nature, should be permitted to suffer in respect to his pension rights.

Q. That is just what I had in mind.—A. Mr. Read received by chance a three year term on the Court. The normal term is for nine years; but they wanted to stagger the elections of the judges so that one-third of the Court would be elected every three years. Therefore, when the judges had all been elected, lots were drawn in the General Assembly of the United Nations, and Mr. Read was unfortunate enough to draw a three-year term. Now, if he were to serve only for the three years, he might probably not be entitled to any pension under the regulations they will adopt.

Q. It seems to me that some adjustment should be made in our pensions to cover cases of this restriction. There are some analogous cases which are now under examination, where it may be possible to suggest to the government that legislation be introduced at this session.

By the Chairman:

Q. Do you know how long Mr. Read will be here.—A. No, I do not.

Q. I ask you that question because I believe, if it were possible, Mr. Read might come here to address us and that his remarks might be very informative.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. I think you should see him first of all, Mr. Chairman, and as soon as possible in that regard.—A. I am not certain whether Mr. Read will feel it to be compatible with his position as an international judge to appear before a committee of the Canadian House of Commons. That would be between Mr. Read and his own conscience to decide.

The CHAIRMAN: The committee will take steps to contact Mr. Read and will follow whatever direction he might give us.

Mr. FLEMING: It might be quite informal.

Mr. JAKES: I wonder if Mr. Wrong would agree to that statement?

The CHAIRMAN: Would you mind repeating your question?

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Would Mr. Wrong tell us the reason for his last statement?—A. Mr. Read has become, by his election to the Court, an international personality, and he is bound by his oath of office that he has taken, to sever his connections entirely with the government of his own country. He may, therefore, feel that that would be a restriction should he appear before this committee.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Temporarily he has ceased to be a Canadian and has become an international figure.—A. Temporarily, yes.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. With respect to the salary received by Mr. Read or any others that are on those international committees, does their salary become exempt from the income tax? I noticed a man on the staff of Mr. Gutt, the Belgian Director of the International Monetary Fund. It was said that the Americans on his committee were all exempt from income tax?—A. It is very difficult to

generalize on that score. The charter itself contains some provisions about immunities; but most of them have to be carried out in the light of domestic legislation. I am sure that Mr. Read's salary would be exempt, both from Canadian and from Dutch income tax; but I could not answer with respect to the salary of an American judge.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Mr. Read is paid by the international fund; so, our government has nothing to do with that fund and it cannot tax it at all.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. If Mr. Read becomes an international personality with his domicile at international headquarters, then he ceases to be a Canadian citizen and he ceases to be taxable in Canada.

Mr. BOUCHER: The fact is that a Canadian citizen, regardless of who pays his salary, is taxable in Canada, and Mr. Read is still a Canadian citizen although performing an international duty.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. Under which legal division, Mr. Wrong, of the organization of the Department of External Affairs, does the division of war crimes and war trials come.—A. We have no separate division dealing with that; but the legal division of the Department of External Affairs handles that matter in so far as it is the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs. It is, of course, a major responsibility of the Judge Advocate General of the forces.

Q. Some time ago I was reading the order in council under which the trial of war criminals is based. There was an order in council passed in August last, under the provisions of the War Measures Act. It provides a maximum penalty of five years or \$2,000 fine. Now, various German war criminals are being tried by tribunals set up under the War Measures Act; and the order in council provides that while the tribunals are set up under the War Measures Act, the penalty can be death, life imprisonment, confiscation of property, and so on. Now, I am just wondering whether you would be prepared to give us or to secure for us, an opinion upon this point; when the trial court is set up under the War Measures Act, and the maximum under it is five years, what about the case of a war criminal who is sentenced to death and subsequently his sentence is commuted to life imprisonment? I am thinking, for instance, of Kurt Meyer. He is now in prison serving a life sentence, imposed by the Court set up under the order in council, under the provisions of the War Measures Act.

Mr. HACKETT: Was the whole Court set up under that?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Yes. Has consideration been given to this matter and to the necessity for preventing any miscarriage of justice occurring, when the War Crimes Court be set up under a statute providing for a maximum penalty, such as are now covered by the order in council? Because, if there is any doubt about that question, a statute could cover the situation. I think a statute ought to be passed to cover that, and I would like to know, from you, sir, just what the attitude of your department is in that respect?

Mr. HACKETT: Before the question is answered, let me ask a question: does the appointment of a judge to a Court which may not be set up under the War Measures Act—and I am thinking now of the appointment of Judge MacDougall to the Court which is sitting in Tokyo—fall within the ambit of your question?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Yes, that is correct, is it not? All the Courts that are set up for the trial of war criminals are set up under the War Measures Act?

The WITNESS: I am afraid that is a subject about which I have no accurate information which I can give to the committee at this time. I think that is a

matter which concerns the Department of Justice rather than my own department, or the Department of National Defence.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. It concerns the Department of External Affairs because it is mentioned in the order in council, as well as the Department of Justice?—A. But as it involves the interpretation of statutes, I think it is the Department of Justice responsibility.

Q. The Court is actually set up under the Department of External Affairs. Could you get us a legal opinion about that?—A. I think that Mr. Varcoe should be asked to explore the matter on behalf of the committee. We would have to refer the matter to him, in the Department of Justice.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Could the witness tell us if Soviet Russia is represented on this International Court?—A. Yes.

Q. If so, does the Soviet representative consider himself entirely apart from his own country?—A. The second question I cannot possibly answer.

Q. But you could make a very good guess; and who will pay the pension of the international judges?

Mr. FRASER: That would come under the international fund.

The WITNESS: Provision will be made in the budget of the United Nations. That was the method adopted by the Court which preceded the present Court of International Justice, the permanent Court of International Justice. The new Court maintains, operates under a new statute, it maintains a very close continuity, and so on; and the judges of the permanent Court of International Justice were paid out of a special fund in the budget of the League of Nations.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. Has any action in that connection been taken as yet?—A. As far as I know, I am not quite certain of what action has been taken as yet. The Court itself would wish to make some suggestions, but I think it would be dealt with in the General Assembly of the United Nations, and that it would be for them to approve any recommendation before it became operative.

Q. Have we the right to pass these regulations, or do they have to be ratified by each government, respecting pensions?—A. No, that would be a matter to be dealt with by the General Assembly, where each government could express its views and vote for or against any scheme.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Have any cases come before the International Court as yet?—A. No. There is certainly one case that I know of that has been referred to it, an ancient boundary dispute between the United Kingdom government and Guatemala, concerning a frontier. The United Kingdom government has publicly declared itself as desirous of bringing this matter to the court; and I am not yet certain whether Guatemala has agreed; but they are anxious to get it out of the way because it has been hanging on since the 1850's and the British government decided that a decision of the court would be the best way to get it settled once and for all.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. What is the origin of the court which is sitting in Tokyo and to which court Mr. Justice MacDougall was named?—A. I am afraid I have not got that information at my finger tips; anything I might give you at this time might mislead the committee should I rely entirely on my memory to answer the question.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: The reason I raised the question was: supposing it were to be found that a court set up does not have any greater powers than the measure under which the said court was set up. Then, in five years' time Mr. Kurt Meyer might apply—in five years, under Habeas Corpus proceedings, and receive his discharge.

Mr. HACKETT: Maybe he could do so before that.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Of course; I think that is a matter we should get cleared up, because parliament is now sitting and a statute could be passed.

Mr. MACINNIS: Would it not be better if we asked the chairman to have the Justice Department give us an opinion on that? Either the Minister of Justice or his deputy could appear before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wrong has given us the name of Mr. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice. We might have him come here.

Mr. MACINNIS: It would be better to have him come here before a statement be made on the matter; and I think a statement should be made, not on the authority of just one department, but on the authority of both departments.

The CHAIRMAN: It would cover both departments.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I imagine that the Justice Department advises the Department of External Affairs?—A. On the interpretation of statutes; that is the type of question which we would always refer to the Department of Justice for their opinion.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. In connection with the International court and Mr. Justice Read, and their decisions; does that International court accept the precedents from the Hague court with respect to preceding judgments given by the International court, or, is it starting off with a new body of law to be based upon precedence established after the date of the establishment of the court?—A. I think that the answer to that is definitely yes.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Is it not a fact, Mr. Wrong, that a number of treaties were registered by the Hague court, and that at San Francisco they were very much concerned to see that they were carried into the new court?—A. That is certainly the evidence.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Is it not a matter for the new court to decide, what weight it will attach to the decisions of the old court, the court of International Justice? We can only speculate on that matter; but I think it would be a matter of surprise if the decisions of the old court were binding? The old court did not feel itself bound by the rule of *stare decisis*, at all; and, if it was not bound by its own decisions, I do not think we should expect the new court to be bound by such decisions of the old court, but merely to regard them as persuasive authority.

Mr. HACKETT: I do not know of any place, outside of British boundaries, where that principle obtains. It certainly does not obtain in any of the great countries where the Roman law and the Latin rule obtain. One man's reason is certainly as good as another man's reason. He is always the captain of his soul.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What is the status of the present commission as set up for the punishment of war criminals, of which Mr. Arthur Slaght was a member for Canada?—A. You mean the United Nations War Criminals Commission?

Q. Is it still in existence?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Has it ever met?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it meeting now?—A. I do not know. Its headquarters are in London.

Q. Is Mr. Slaght still our representative?—A. No. We had really finished the part of the business, as I understand it, with which Mr. Slaght was concerned. But, when the commission meets, we are represented. I am afraid I do not know by whom.

Q. According to this chart that has been submitted to us, there are three political divisions?

The CHAIRMAN: I believe it is the wish of the committee at one of our subsequent meetings, to have Mr. Varcoe come in order to elucidate the question of Mr. Diefenbaker? Is that the wish of the committee? All right.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I wonder if you would name what they are?—A. I think that was explained at the last session, the respective duties of the three political divisions.

The CHAIRMAN: You will find it in the record.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. And the section there where you have four counsellor solicitors; what does that mean?—A. I think it is impossible to answer that question by a "yes" or "no"; it depends to some extent upon the British Consular Service, which performs consular service for Canada in many countries. Of course, there are consulates in most countries at places other than the capital of the country where our missions are situated.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How many consuls have we got in the United States?—A. Canadian?

Q. Yes.—A. About—it is only in New York, according to this summary of offices; but we had to establish a temporary one in Portland, Maine, for shipping purposes, because Portland is the terminus of the Montreal to Portland pipe-line.

Q. Otherwise you work through the British consuls?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. I would like to ask Mr. Wrong: I understand that some little time ago a deputation of Canadian airmen presented a petition to the Department of External Affairs in connection with the trial of General Mihailovich, requesting us—and I understand that a request has been made—that they should be allowed to testify at his trial, or at least to submit evidence in his defence. These young men were among the many hundreds who were shot down over Jugoslavia during the war and who received the utmost kindness at the hands of General Mihailovich, and were convinced of the General's loyalty to the allied cause. I understand that their petition has been forwarded to the Yugoslav government by the British government, by Mr. Bevin, and I believe as well by the American Secretary of State. I was wondering what step had been taken by the department here in that connection.—A. We have received, Mr. Chairman, as Mr. Jaques has said, representations from two young Canadian airmen; and these were transmitted to the Yugoslav government through the Yugoslav Charges d'Affaires in Ottawa. He spoke to me about the matter a few days ago and said that he had both written and cabled to his government but had not yet received a reply.

Q. Did the department consider taking the matter any further? Does the department consider taking any further steps in this matter?—A. I do not know what further steps can be taken than to draw the request to the attention of the government which is responsible for organizing the trial.

Q. Personally, I take a very serious view of it. I have met a few of these young men. I met some of them in the States, and I think for us to kill their

enthusiasm for what they believe to be justice, would be a very grave step to take.—A. I informed, myself, the Yugoslav Charges d’Affaires that I thought it would create a very bad impression if they were to refuse access to the court during the trial; and all he could say was, that it was a matter for his own government to decide—which we, I think, must admit. It is a matter purely coming within the domestic jurisdiction of Yugoslavia; but I hope that they do take the decision which Mr. Jaques desires; although I cannot say that they will. I can see no means by which we can compel Yugoslavia to admit Canadian witnesses to the court in Yugoslavia.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I think our representations should be made as strong as possible.—A. I have spoken pretty strongly, and we have also indicated our opinions in writing.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. There is grave difficulty in meeting the problem which Mr. Jaques has brought up. General Mihailovich is a national of Yugoslavia and the trial is taking place under the auspices of the new national government of that country. Our difficulty would be to find any international means whereby we could intervene on behalf of one party to a dispute in a country which is dealing with it in a field narrower than the international field.—A. I think that all the measures that can be taken are being taken; and the United States government has acted as well.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. No matter whether the charge is or is not true against this man, he surely is entitled to have witnesses who can give evidence on his behalf; and I think we should make representations to get them there. However, I believe it is a matter for the nation itself to decide and we cannot do anything about it.

Mr. GRAYDON: That may be true from a legal and from a constitutional point of view; but, from the broader international aspect, the trial appears to have international features.

Mr. COLDWELL: It has.

Mr. GRAYDON: It might be a matter that could properly come before some body of the United Nations Organization.

Mr. COLDWELL: Do you know of such a body? You were at San Francisco and you know how carefully they safeguard the rights to manage their own affairs.

Mr. GRAYDON: I think the matter might well be brought before the General Assembly although it might not accomplish more than to indicate the international pressure that is being brought.

Mr. HACKETT: Are they going to hang somebody before the assembly meets.

Mr. FRASER: I think this committee cannot do very much about; all we can do is to recommend that the department make a strong plea to have these men allowed into the court.

The CHAIRMAN: On that subject I might say that I have already been approached by Mr. Jaques before this committee was formed. I do know that the Foreign Affairs Committee in the United States, in a case of that kind, would allow witnesses to appear before them.

When the young Canadian airmen were here, our committee was not functioning at the time; but I understand there were some American airmen who were willing to come before this committee to testify to the things that happened.

Mr. JAKUES: I appreciate that the department cannot do very much with regard to the government of Yugoslavia; but I think that the fact that these witnesses cannot be heard should be made public, so that the public can draw its own conclusions as to the nature of justice in these communist controlled countries. That is my point.

Mr. FLEMING: I think we ought to be clear in our thinking on this matter. At the moment I cannot see much distinction between drawing a line as between international and domestic affairs so far as the Mihailovich trial is concerned on the one hand and the Franco government in Spain on the other hand. It would be just as competent for the authorities in Spain to say: the government is dealing with a purely internal matter as for the Yugoslav government to say: Mihailovich trial is purely a domestic concern. I take it that the committee has, as such, no power to make recommendations. They can only put recommendations before the House. So, perhaps, before we get too far into that field, we might consider how far the implications of such an action might extend. I do not know whether we are yet ready to make other recommendations in similar fields?

The CHAIRMAN: I think your point is well taken, Mr. Fleming. We have no power of recommendation in a case of that nature; but I believe we do have power to allow people who are interested to come before this committee here.

Mr. COLDWELL: Was there any suggestion of making recommendations? I think we were asking that, if representations had been made by the department, that we be assured that they were strong representations.

The CHAIRMAN: That is all we can do. I would like to have the opinion of the members of this committee as to bringing these young men here? Just as in the case of the Palestine question; would it be possible to have some people come here representing the Arabs, and so on. It might be a fine activity for us.

Mr. MACINNIS: Perhaps other people might want to make representations about matters with which we are dealing. Supposing Yugoslavia and some other countries should ask as to the correctness of our procedure in the deportation of Japanese-Canadians?

Mr. JAKUES: Well, we should not be afraid of the truth. What I object to is being led by the nose. I look upon myself as a responsible member of parliament. I accept an extra \$2,000 a year to be just that; and I do not want to be accused of accepting money under false pretences. If we are to be merely "yes" men, of the columnists and the radio commentators of the C.B.C., then I think we should certainly return our \$2,000 and turn our hands to something else. What I want to get at in this committee is the truth of these things. There are two sides to every question, as the chairman has said; and if we are to be barred from the truth, then I do not think I, for one, shall trouble to come back any more.

Mr. LEGER: I think this is a very delicate question. I think the only thing we can suggest to the department would be to look into it very seriously and make an appropriate suggestion. I do not think we could go much further than that: to suggest that the department in question look at the situation very seriously and make any recommendations which are justified.

Mr. JAKUES: There is nothing delicate about the methods employed by those who are backing the Yugoslav government and those who are backing the claims of the Zionists. There is nothing very delicate about their methods. I cannot see why we should not rise to the occasion and be men enough to hear witnesses for both sides. We are not committed to one side or the other; so, let us hear both sides and form our opinions.

Mr. HACKETT: Is it your suggestion that we hear witnesses in this committee?

Mr. JAQUES: We have weeks ahead of us, if not months.

The CHAIRMAN: They could not be called witnesses in the court sense of the word; but like those young airmen they wanted to come before us and tell us what actually happened to themselves. I think we should leave the matter in abeyance at the present time and have it up for further discussion by the steering committee to-morrow.

Mr. BOUCHER: It seems to me that it might be quite proper for us to have Canadians appear before our committee as witnesses; but on the other hand, I doubt if that would be the case in connection with citizens of another country, appearing before a parliamentary committee of the Canadian parliament to give evidence about what happened in a foreign country entirely.

The CHAIRMAN: But it is done in the United States. There they bring in citizens from any country before their committee.

Mr. FLEMING: Again I want to make one thought clear, in the light of what Mr. Jaques has said: I do not think that any member of the committee feels disposed to shirk any responsibility which may devolve upon him as a member of the committee; but let us be clear in our thinking on this question. What are we being asked to do? To receive the evidence of certain witnesses? Are we to sit in judgment on those questions and decide whether General Mihailovich is or is not guilty of treason towards his own country? Who is to say that we have available in this country all the evidence on the matter? Surely the only decision this committee could make with respect to the matter is that this country do or do not make representations to the present government of Yugoslavia that these Canadian witnesses be heard in his defence. We are told that such representations have already been made. Mr. Wrong has made that definitely clear. So, what profit is there for us or for General Mihailovich or for the rules of justice in Yugoslavia for us to go into a question of that kind?

Mr. HACKETT: I think the answer to that question is: that it would enable Mr. Wrong, provided it is the proper procedure, to inform the government of Yugoslavia that witnesses (a), (b) and (c) are available and will testify to such facts. I do not suppose you could do any more than that.

Mr. FLEMING: But that has already been done.

Mr. HACKETT: No, we have just said that the witnesses are here. That was the only point I could see in implementing Mr. Jaques' suggestion; it would enable the government to say what facts these men could testify to.

Mr. FLEMING: Let us clear that up.

Mr. COLDWELL: On the other hand, you would also undoubtedly have requests from certain others. I have in mind a Canadian-British officer who was with the Tito people for a long time as a British liaison officer, who would come here and testify that there is indisputable evidence that, after the first two years or so, Mihailovich did co-operate with the Germans, and this officer could bring documentary evidence, probably, to show that was so. So, what we would be doing would be: receiving evidence on both sides and putting ourselves in the position—as somebody said—of setting up as it were a court. Now, it seems to me that we would have to hear, as Mr. Jaques has said, both sides.

Mr. JAQUES: Exactly!

Mr. COLDWELL: And, if we heard both sides, not being in a position to sift all the evidence in Yugoslavia, we could not come to any decision and the department could not do any more than it has done at the present time, which is to make representations that these people should be heard.

The WITNESS: The young men have already been indicated to the government of Yugoslavia, together with a very general statement as to the type of testimony they would wish to offer in court there. I do not think we could go very much beyond that. The government of Yugoslavia is in possession of the

facts: that there are these Canadian airmen who were temporarily with General Mihailovich's forces, and that they would like to testify; and that their testimony would be to the effect that there was no collaboration with the Germans during the fairly lengthy period that they were there.

Mr. MARQUIS: Inasmuch as this matter concerns entirely the internal administration of another country, I do not know how we could collect evidence for the prosecution or the defence here. We might contemplate such evidence for a few sittings, and yet be unable to draw any conclusion. I think we should be careful on that point. Should something more concrete be brought before us, perhaps we might have to decide upon it later; but for the time being, I do not think we should act.

Mr. COLDWELL: The trial might be one-sided; we might suspect, but as far as we are concerned, we do not know.

Mr. JAKES: I am very troubled in my own mind on a number of questions. I feel it is not only a question of Yugoslavia. What about the effect on our own people? I myself, am very troubled in my mind. I feel myself in this position: as a member of parliament I may be called upon to debate the matter in the House here, when the External Affairs estimates come up; but we have no real knowledge. All we know is what we are told, what we read in the papers, or what we hear over the radio. I am very disturbed in my mind, and I have been so for a long time. I did hope—and I cast no aspersions, of course—that we might admit witnesses as a means of getting some first hand information, so that we might make up our own minds on this and other questions which are of world importance; I mean questions which may affect not only this country but other countries. I believe, that, as far as the general public is concerned, General Mihailovich has been already condemned. But what affect will it have on these young men, 600 of them who, at their own expense, formed this association and travelled to different parts of the States and Canada, and who are willing and anxious to give evidence on his behalf?

Mr. FLEMING: Have those 600 airmen made representations to the government of the United States similar to those made by the two Canadian airmen to the Canadian government?

The CHAIRMAN: To my knowledge, they have.

Mr. FLEMING: Are the United States asking the government of Yugoslavia to receive the evidence of these airmen?

The CHAIRMAN: They were sent over to Yugoslavia.

Mr. FLEMING: Then, if that be the case, why is the External Affairs committee of the Canadian House of Commons concerning itself with the matter? Surely it is one thing to start interfering with the trial of a Yugoslavian national by a Yugoslavian court on Yugoslavian soil. We are going a little further in saying that American witnesses, whose evidence the United States government has already asked Yugoslavia to receive—cannot we leave that up to the United States government to look after their American citizens? I am heartily in sympathy of our adopting a broad inquiry into anything that relates to the proper functioning of this committee and with equipping ourselves with adequate information. That is, I think, the great function of this committee; but on the other hand, I believe we should have some regard to what we could usefully do in this committee.

Mr. COLDWELL: If, at the present time, there were an External Affairs committee sitting in Moscow, and the External Affairs committee there wanted to interfere with our court in Montreal or Ottawa, there would be an awful row. We would raise an awful row about it.

Mr. LEGER: I believe that this committee, in general, agrees that the Department of External Affairs has done almost all it could do in regard to this subject, and that we should stop at that.

Mr. JAKUES: I hope that is not the general feeling of this committee. My conscience will not give me any peace until this committee hears some evidence. One statement that those young airmen told me: they used to fly over Yugoslavia from Italy, and before they flew over they were warned that if they were shot down, they should avoid contact with General Mihailovich, because they would be shot out of hand, and that it would be better for them to fall into the hands of the Germans. And when they were taken prisoner they expected to be shot every minute. The Chetnik sentry who found them could not understand why they did not run forward and shake him by the hand. So, the interview finally ended by the sentry handing over his rifle to them, and the Canadian airmen walking into headquarters holding the sentry's rifle, and the sentry walking in front of them. They received nothing but the utmost kindness and consideration.

Mr. FLEMING: I think the committee would have to call the Right Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill who said, at least upon one occasion anyway, in a public address, that General Mihailovich had made accommodation with the enemy. So, where are we going to stop?

The CHAIRMAN: Personally, I have enjoyed this discussion, and I believe it will lead to further activities; but I do believe we should leave it now and go ahead with Mr. Wrong.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: If there is no motion already, I think that Mr. Jaques should put one.

The CHAIRMAN: If he would bring his motion before the steering committee, we would deal with it more concretely there and make a report on it.

Mr. FLEMING: I have some questions arising out of the graph.

Mr. JACKMAN: Just before we finish the Mihailovich matter, I have in my riding a number of Yugoslavs including an editor of a Yugoslavic journal with a circulation in Canada as well as in the United States. I have received from him a sheet of clippings, purporting to give interviews with these airmen who were reported to have been saved by General Mihailovich. According to this editor, Mihailovich should be tried before an international court of justice rather than by, I take it to be, a Soviet-dominated political court. Is it considered to be a Yugoslavic domestic court, or is it a Russian war criminal court that is trying him?

The WITNESS: I understand that it is entirely a domestic matter of a Yugoslav court. They are trying their war criminals and General Mihailovich is not by any means the only one being brought up for trial for collaboration with the enemy.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Had General Mihailovich fallen into the hands of someone else, it might be a matter for the International Court.—A. There are a large number of Croats being charged by the Italians.

Mr. JACKMAN: What would be the effect on our own citizens particularly upon former Yugoslavs, who are now Canadian citizens if they believed that the ends of justice are not served by the present method of trying General Mihailovich not that we can do a great deal about it? Perhaps it is a point that could be considered. I am concerned that our Department of External Affairs should not make representations on behalf of one side of the case. One of our members has suggested that there are certain Canadians, particularly one man who was a liaison officer for the British army with the Tito forces, who takes the opposite view. If we favour one side and not the other?

Mr. COLDWELL: No; these young men wanted to give evidence and they approached our External Affairs Department and our External Affairs Department made representations to the Yugoslav government that they should be heard.

The CHAIRMAN: The primary thought of those young men was to give all the publicity possible to their case and leave it there, so as to have public opinion behind their statement.

Mr. JAQUES: The court of public opinion.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, the court of public opinion, because it means a lot to almost any question.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I had just begun on the list of major international organizations of which Canada was a member, and I had dealt with the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. The next is perhaps the latest of them all, the International Labour Organization, of which we are a member in general and also the Canadian government is represented on the governing body of the International Labour Office, as a permanent member of the governing body. Then, next I might mention United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, popularly known as UNRRA, of which we have been a founder and supporter since it began to operate, as well as a faithful contributor to its funds which are available for relief purposes. Then, there is the Food and Agriculture Organization, where, again, Canada has taken a distinctive part in the creation and organization of that body. Then, there is the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization which is now sitting in Montreal. The aviation organization, another new post-war body, was established by the Chicago conference and it will probably turn itself into a permanent organization as soon as the requisite number of ratifications have been received to the permanent treaty. Then, there are the two international institutions that have issued from Bretton Woods, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund. There are Canadian executive directors on both boards of both of these bodies. Then, there is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization which is still in process of formation. It is popularly known as UNESCO, the constitution of which was drafted at a conference in London last November, and various preparatory work is going on; but the constitution has not yet come into effect, because there has not yet been the necessary number of ratifications.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Have you any idea when they will be meeting again?—A. There will be a meeting of the preparatory commission in Paris in the fall, and they hope to get the necessary number of ratifications by then.

Q. We shall be represented at that meeting?—A. Yes.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Are we automatically a member of that because of our membership in the United Nations?—A. No, that will have to be carefully ratified. That was the constitutional situation as at the end of the London conference.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Will ratification come before the House after the next preparatory meeting?—A. That I could not say, when it will be brought before the House.

Q. This is an important function and I was wondering when it would come before the House; I was going to ask some questions on the floor, but since you are here now—A. I think it is probably a matter about which you should ask questions of the minister; in any event, I do not know the intentions of the government.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I understand there is nothing to put before us yet until ratification comes; and ratification will not come into the situation until UNESCO has been finally determined?—A. It has been determined or drawn up in London, and it is

awaiting ratification; therefore it is possible, certainly, to bring it before the House at any time.

Q. I think there were some aspects of it to be settled at a conference this summer.—A. That would be to determine some method of operation; the situation is fairly general, and there is a great deal to be filled in. It could be filled in by committees of representative bodies inside UNESCO; I think it has an executive or a smaller body inside it.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Has our representative at the next meeting been decided upon as yet?—A. I am afraid I cannot answer that; they have considered the matter, but whether it is settled I do not know.

Then, there is in process of formation, an organization to be called: World Health Organization. The constitution of it will be considered at a conference opening in New York on the 19th June, at which Canada will be represented. There is in existence a constitution prepared earlier this year by a committee of experts. Most of these organizations are new organizations, but most of them take over or absorb the functions performed by previous organizations; for instance, the Food and Agriculture Organization takes over the responsibilities of the International Institute of Agriculture, an institution of several years standing; and the World Health Organization, when it is created, will take over the international office of public hygiene, a body of many years standing, sitting in Paris. They are not entirely new. There is a process of disappearance involved as well as a process of creation.

I have given ten different organizations, and various sub ones; but these, I think, are the main ones; one could lengthen the list, and there undoubtedly will be new additions. In fact, the prospects, I find, are frightening, with all the multiplicity of these international conferences and bodies, I fear it will lead to a certain amount of public confusion as to what they are; and I am afraid that the necessity of insuring results—the results of most of them are recommendations made to governments, and they require action by governments, with result that they may not be considered as carefully as they ought to be before being presented to governments. That is the danger that is always present, and to avoid it, you have to have well selected, well instructed delegates, operating with the assistance of well trained expert secretariats, so that documents will be properly and carefully prepared, and circulated adequately in advance, for consideration and so on. We may obtain that condition in time, but at the present time, particularly with so many bodies and international agencies just coming into being, and improvising, we certainly have not got it yet. There is a great deal of confusion and difficulty over the operation which has not been diminished by the difficulty of attending and supporting United Nations Organization in the middle of a very large and a very much overcrowded city.

Q. What is the present relation between the International Labour Organization and the United Nations?—A. The present relationship is completely undivided as yet; it is a matter which is under study at the present time. There is a group in New York now, negotiating with the economic council in order to work out an agreement which will have to be approved by the International Labour conference next September, and by the General Assembly of the United Nations before it becomes operative.

Q. By the General Assembly or by the Social and Economic Council?—A. I think the General Assembly has to approve the terms of the agreement, but I may be wrong. It would depend on the language of the charter.

Q. My recollection was the Social and Economic Council had the right to decide what the organization should be. International organizations, specialized agencies may have to be ratified subsequently.—A. It is responsible for the

negotiations of working out the details, yes; article 63 of the charter says that the Economic and Social Council may enter into agreement defining the terms under which the agency concerned shall be brought into the United Nations; and the General Assembly has the further responsibility of co-ordinating their activities.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Has the difficulty presented by the World Trade Union Congress been overcome in that respect?

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. The World Federation of Trade Unions?—A. The charter provides for two different types of organization; the passage to which I have referred deals with governmental agencies set up by international agreement; there is another article which refers to non-governmental international organizations.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. The problem arose in a very acute form, I believe, last year, at the time of the San Francisco conference. It also arose at the second assembly in a pretty acute form.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. It is in the report of the two London conferences?—A. Yes, this document is a report of the Canadian delegation at the London conference.

Q. If my memory serves me correctly, that has been pretty well decided; the World Trade Federation, the Federation of World Trade Unions made a very strong plea representing that they were the agents or representatives of some 66,000,000 workers of the world. The difficulty came up that they could not qualify under the terms "inter-governmental organization" and only inter-governmental organizations were permitted under the charter to be brought into what is known as specialized relationships with the Economic and Social Council. And, when that was done, there was, as you know, a good deal of spirited controversy which divided the nations very materially on that particular point, both at San Francisco, and, in a more acute way, I think, at London. The result was that one of the American delegates, when the matter was brought up, suggested that the American Federation of Labor should also be represented in the same way as the Federation of Trade Unions; so a compromise was arrived at that on special occasions these organizations which had world responsibilities would be invited into the discussions as part of the deliberations, but would not be included in the same way as an ordinary governmental organization. That was the way it rested. I do not know if everybody is satisfied, but I think some finality has been achieved.—A. To supplement Mr. Graydon: the Economic and Social Council has a second negotiating committee to deal with the non-governmental organization, and the General Assembly in London did request the Economic and Social Council to consider the relationship which should be established between it and such bodies.

That is not an exclusive list, but those are the only three bodies or organizations that were named by the General Assembly in their resolution. It was, perhaps, the most long fought over issue that was before the General Assembly in London.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Was the position of the I.L.O. as acute in London as it was in San Francisco?—A. Not quite, because at least it was agreed by the general assembly that the Economic and Social Council should negotiate an association with the I.L.O. by name as well as with the agricultural organization and others. There was no taboo in the official document naming the I.L.O.

Q. As it had at San Francisco?—A. Quite so.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask Mr. Wrong this question, before he goes: I think he is going to give us, at the next meeting, a list of those representing foreign countries and missions that are established in Canada. I was wondering if he had brought that list with him to-day.—A. Yes, I came prepared to do that, Mr. Chairman. We took rather a long time in getting around to it.

Q. But you are not to blame for that?—A. I have a complete list here, but it is not in a form suitable for printing in the record as it stands. I take it you will be interested more in a comparison of the larger diplomatic missions here?

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I would like to have some details about that. I have reference to the question asked on page 13 of the minutes of May 21, as to complete staffs. I wonder if Mr. Wrong would enlarge on that when he speaks about complete staffs?—A. I was not thinking about the very small missions; for instance, the Danish mission is shown as having but one diplomatic officer and nobody else.

Q. I think that is information which should go on the record.

The CHAIRMAN: We could have it as an appendix.

The WITNESS: This table involves a good deal of work and I have not had much of a chance to look it over carefully as yet.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Wrong could look it over and send it back to us.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. How many are there in the Russian employ here in Canada?—A. This shows the latest return of the Soviet Embassy: 13 diplomatic officers; 67 non-diplomatic; making a total of 80. And there is a list of Soviet employees here, for comparative purposes. Those shown by the United States: 21 diplomatic officers; 76 non-diplomatic, making a total of 97. Those shown by the French Embassy: 12 diplomatic, 22 non-diplomatic, making a total of 34.

I may explain that in the case of the Soviet Embassy, they list nearly all those who are not on the diplomatic list simply under the title of "employee", and they do not make any distinction between the kitchen maid and a senior clerk in their description.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. A number of these, then, would be Canadian nationals?—A. No; I can give the figure: there are none for the USSR, they employ solely Soviet nationals. But in the case of the United States, all their diplomatic officers are, of course, American citizens; but of the 76 non-diplomatic staff, there are 33 that are Canadian nationals. In the case of France, of the non-diplomatic staff, 17 out of 22 are Canadian citizens.

Q. Are there no Canadian citizens listed as employees of the USSR?—A. No.

The CHAIRMAN: That list which is to be ready by to-morrow, would it be possible to forward it to the clerk in order to have it in our record.

The WITNESS: Yes, I think we could do that.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Are military attachés shown in all cases as diplomatic representatives?—A. The diplomatic list, which is published every couple of months, includes military attachés, and at least the senior commercial people and various others. For instance, the American Embassy has a Labour and Agricultural Attaché, and so on.

Q. I wonder if Mr. Wrong, in preparing his table for the record, would segregate Canadian nationals in each case, so that we will know who are nationals and who are not?—A. I might say, at this stage, that I am not sure that the figures are strictly comparable. They were given in response to a circular communication sent out by the department to all diplomatic missions in Ottawa. They did set forth what we wanted to know, but I do not think they are compiled on a strictly comparable basis.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Could we have the names of the people in each and every embassy? I do not want you to give the names, but if you get them in your own department, you would have them for your own information?—A. What we require is that every few months our missions in Ottawa give us a complete nominal roll of their personnel divided into three categories, diplomatic employees whose names are on the diplomatic list; office employees; and household employees, or domestic servants, for instance, of an ambassador or a minister, showing the names and showing the nationality in each case. I think there is not included in this total the wives and children, in the case of those who are not Canadian citizens. If there are any, then they should have come in as members of the suite of the ambassador, which is the classical phrase to describe them; but I have excluded wives and children from the table.

Mr. MACINNIS: It is one o'clock now, may we adjourn?

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Will Mr. Wrong be with us again?—A. I think I possibly could manage it, although I would like to have notice in advance, so that I can be sure that I won't make any statement which will be misleading to the committee.

Q. Well then, before the next meeting, I would state my questions as follows: in connection with page 13 of our minutes, as to the relationship between the Economic Division and the Canadian Information Services?—A. The Information Division, that would be?

Q. The Information Division, which is related to the Canadian Information Service. The other point was this: I wanted to ask Mr. Wrong what steps are contemplated, if any, to put on the permanent staff of the department any or all of the very large number of persons who are now classified as employees of the temporary staff?

The CHAIRMAN: We will leave that to the chair for the next meeting. I will ask Mr. Wrong if it will be possible to have the names of the head men of these divisions, for my own information?

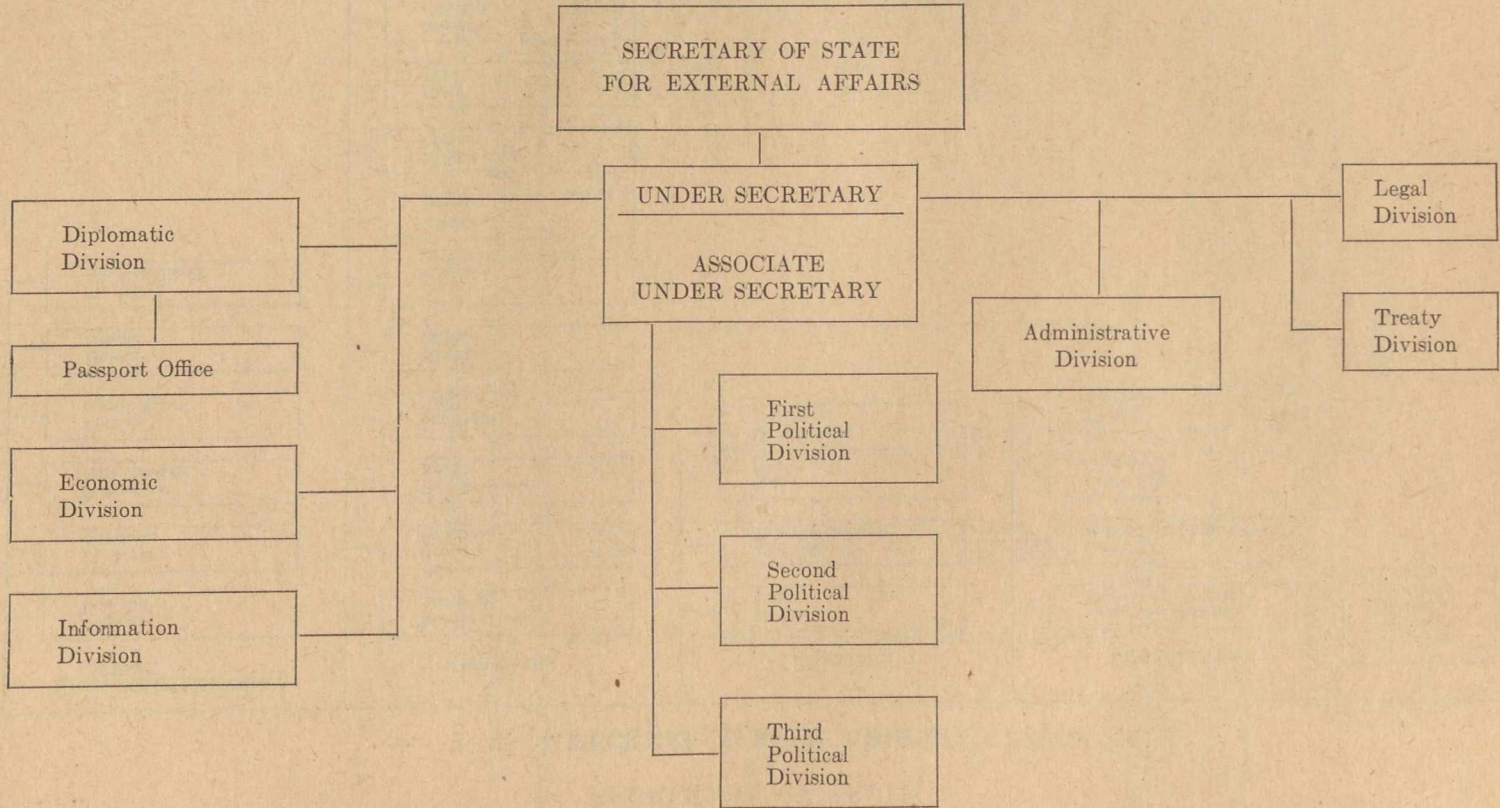
The WITNESS: You would like to have a list?

The CHAIRMAN: The steering committee will meet to-morrow at my office at 2 o'clock. The meeting is adjourned. Thank you very much, Mr. Wrong.

The meeting adjourned at 1 p.m. to meet again at the call of the chair.

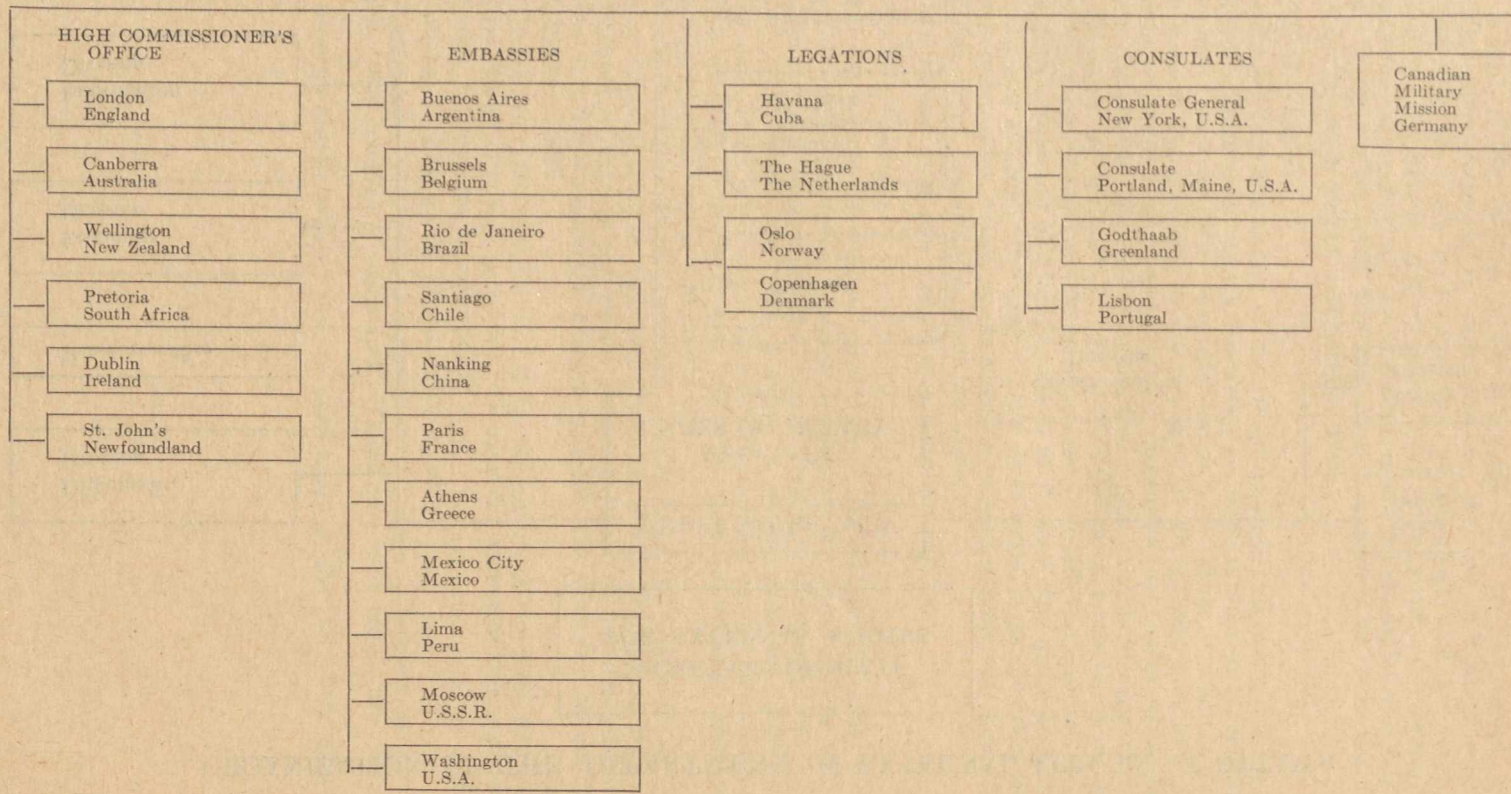
APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AT OTTAWA



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

APPENDIX B
SECRETARY OF STATE
for
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ABROAD.



APPENDIX C.

NUMBER OF PERSONS SERVING ON THE STAFF OF FOREIGN
MISSIONS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS' OFFICES
IN OTTAWA.

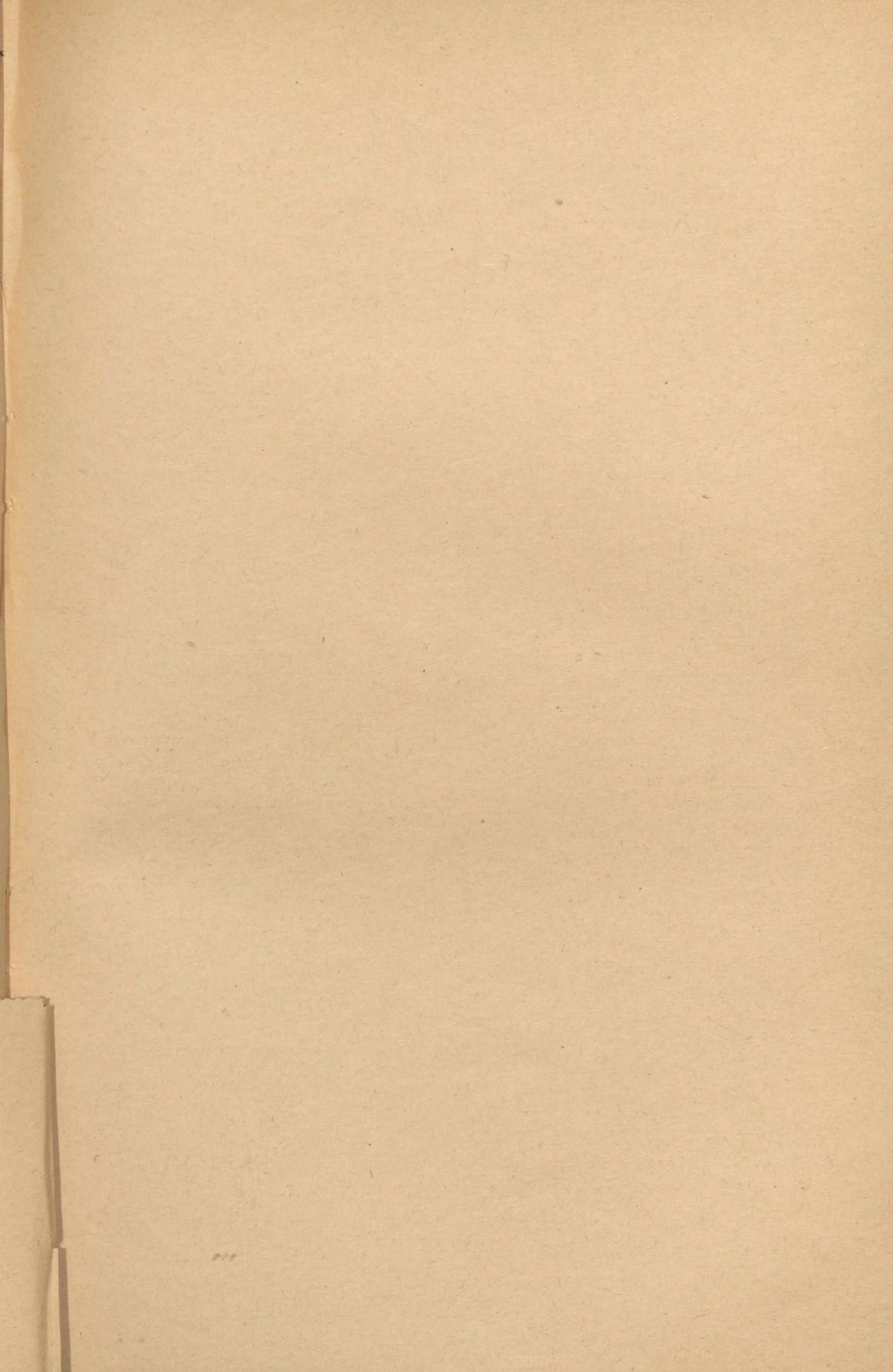
NOTE:—These figures are based on returns submitted by each mission, giving nominal rolls of personnel in various categories. The returns employed in compiling this list were received in May 1946, except in a few cases in which an earlier return or other information has been used.

	Diplomatic	Non-Diplomatic		Total	Total of Diplomatic and Non-Diplomatic
		Office	Household		
Argentina	5	0	2	2	7
Australia	4	11	2	13	17
Belgium	4	2(2)	6(4)	8	12
Brazil	4	2(1)	6(3)	8	12
Chile	3	1(1)	4(1)	5	8
China	8	3(1)	4(?)	7	15
Cuba	3	0	2(1)	2	5
Czechoslovakia	2	4(2)	3(3)	7	9
Denmark	1	0	0	0	1
France	12	15(10)	9(7)	22	34
Greece	3	1	2	3	6
Ireland	2	2(2)	4(?)	6	8
Mexico	4	5(3)	4	9	13
Netherlands	2	1	0	1	3
New Zealand	4	7(7)	2(2)	9	13
Norway	4	6(3)	4(1)	10	14
Peru	5	0	6(1)	6	11
Poland	9	3	0	3	12
Sweden	4	5(3)	4(4)	9	13
Switzerland	2	1	0	1	3
Turkey	3	2(2)	0	2	5
Union of South Africa	2	4(4)	2	6	8
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	13	—	—	69	82
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	10	27(11)	5(3)	32	42
United States of America ...	21	69(30)	7(3)	76	97
Yugoslavia	1	2(1)	0	2	3

Figures in brackets indicate the number of Canadian Nationals included in the figure immediately before them.

Wives and children of diplomatic and non-diplomatic personnel are *not* included in this return.

Zeros indicate information not supplied by mission concerned.



SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 4

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

EXTERMINAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, June 4, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock, Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Bradette, Breithaupt, Cote (*Matapedia-Matane*), Diefenbaker, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaques, Leger, MacInnis, Marquis, Picard, Sinclair (*Ontario*).

The Committee resumed consideration of *item 41* of the estimates referred, being departmental administration.

Mr. H. H. Wrong was called and in answer to requests made at previous meeting gave,—

1. The policy of the department in connection with appointments to the staff, how temporaries were and are being affected by the release of active service personnel and methods employed in conjunction with Civil Service Commission to filter applications.
2. The functions of the information division and its relations with Canadian Information Service.

Mr. S. D. Hemsley and Mr. F. H. Soward of the department assisted the witness.

The witness was examined and retired.

The Chairman announced that at the next meeting Mr. F. P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, would attend to make a statement.

The Committee adjourned at one p.m. to meet again at 11.30 a.m. Friday, June 7th.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Acting Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 4, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, gentlemen, for being here this morning. I know it has been difficult because there are many committees sitting. I believe it will be in order now to call Mr. Wrong first because he is going to answer some questions. Then after we have heard Mr. Wrong, if we have time, we will hear Mr. Varcoe the Deputy Minister of Justice.

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, recalled

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, there were two matters introduced at the last meeting upon which I was going to give information to the committee. Those two matters were the present status of temporary employees in the Department of External Affairs and the work of the information division of the department and its relationship to the Canadian Information Service. With regard to the first matter I should like to make a statement concerning two groups of temporary employees and then ask Mr. Hemsley to supplement my statement, because he knows a good deal more than I do about administrative arrangements and discussions with the Civil Service Commission. With regard to the second matter, I should also like to make a brief statement and ask Mr. Soward to deal with that matter. He has come with me today, and he is supervising the work of the information division at present in addition to his other duties, because the chief of that division, Mr. MacDermot, has been loaned temporarily to the Secretary General of the United Nations to assist him in the recruiting of staff for the secretariat and he is now in New York.

Now, dealing with the question of the temporaries, as I said, there were two groups. During the war when the work of the department expanded phenomenally, it was necessary, of course, to add to the executive staff of the department. We did that largely by borrowing people from universities and from other employment. In the main they were people who would be able to return to their previous employment at the end of the war if they so wished. There are a considerable number of officers of the department, and some stationed abroad, who were appointed temporarily in that capacity. Some of them have already returned to their previous employment, to our regret, and some of them, including Mr. Soward himself who is here today, are going to leave us before the beginning of the next academic year. Some of these people we are very anxious to keep in the department. We have been running a competition through the Civil Service Commission for appointments in the senior grades of the foreign service, grade III to grade VI, which are open to all comers. We did it that way so that the veterans' preference could be given a full chance to operate. Those who could qualify for admission from the army would be entitled to the veterans' preference over any of those whom we had temporarily employed during the war who did not possess the veterans' preference in the last war. as a number of them did not, even if those we temporarily engaged without veterans' preference

might, on paper, seem to be the better men. That competition, I hope, will be finished within a couple of weeks and the results made known. One can say that that particular group of temporaries is being looked after completely.

The second group of temporaries, consisting of younger men for the most part, whom we have recruited in the last eighteen months or so from the armed forces by competition for foreign service officers, grade I, II and III, is open only to those possessing overseas service preference. Since last September we have actually made in all 74 appointments—74 male appointments, 73 of whom possess veterans' preference. The one who does not possess veterans' preference was too young for active service and is a clerk grade 1. That, I think, is a fairly respectable record from the point of view of observing the veterans' preference regulations.

In that group, of all grades in the department, there are, perhaps, 45 who will be graded as foreign office officers, all of whom have passed the competition to enter the department but have not yet served the required length of time to be made permanent. Some of them have served over a year, but I have felt myself that it was unfair to make permanent a lad who, perhaps, was able to come out of the army ahead of another lad, and so to have technical seniority on our books. I would prefer myself to make permanent groups of those junior foreign service officers, 10 or 12 of them at a time, so they will have their permanency from the same day. One fellow might be in hospital and not be able to report for duty and another fellow might be available. Some of them came in before the end of the war when the armed forces released them. There is the other large group of senior staff of the department all of whom are in the process of being looked after, though their status at the moment is temporary. I think Mr. Hemsley could supplement my remarks about the other ranks of the department.

Mr. HEMSLEY: Mr. Chairman, I think it is the department's wish to grant permanency to all who have been in the department and have seen it through its rapid expansion, but we are limited by certain regulations that have been imposed by the Civil Service Commission in asking for permanent appointments, because permanency can be granted only to those who are qualified for permanency. None of the commission's examinations, since the beginning of the war, have qualified people for permanency with few exceptions. One exception is our foreign service officer positions which were advertised in the armed forces orders overseas, and competitions were held not only in Canada but actually in Europe. So the commission considered that the rights of everyone overseas had been fully protected and they permitted that competition for foreign service officers. They considered the competition fair for qualifying for permanency. The reason for their holding temporary tests only since the beginning of the war was to protect the rights of those who could not compete in their examinations; those men and women who were overseas. So that most of our clerical and stenographic staff who have been taken on have the veterans' preference but have not yet qualified formally for permanent appointment.

Two or three years ago the commission took its first step to regularize the situation by holding its first dominion-wide permanent qualifying stenographic examination since the early days of the war. We now will endeavour to qualify all our stenographers under that competition and all our clerical accounting personnel under appropriate competitions as soon as they are held. Once the employees have their permanent status by examination and have served the required probationary period and have given satisfactory service I think it will certainly be the wish of the department to recognize their performance in the granting of permanent status.

Mr. MACINNIS: I understand there is a Civil Service regulation covering all departments whereby a certain percentage of the staff is permanent and a

certain percentage is considered to be temporary; does that apply to the Department of External Affairs?

Mr. HEMSLEY: Yes, it is a Treasury restriction rather than one of the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Wrong referred to two classes of temporaries: the true temporaries those who came in just for a temporary period—and a peculiar class of temporaries known as permanent temporaries. I do not know whether there is a definite percentage in each department or not; is there?

Mr. HEMSLEY: It used to be 80 per cent. I think as far as our department is concerned we have something rather special in that way in that we have in our foreign missions quite a few people who are not Canadian citizens and cannot be made permanent, but we would probably take care of the 20 per cent. I think most of our Canadian nationals, both in the diplomatic range and the administrative end, if qualified for permanency could be made permanent.

The WITNESS: In respect of our foreign missions there is a unique condition in our service. For instance, the senior messenger in the Washington Embassy who is a very faithful and capable coloured man, has been with the Washington Embassy, I think, since 1928, but he cannot become permanent because he is an American citizen. I regard him as a permanent temporary in the sense used, and I hope he will remain until he reaches the age of retirement.

Mr. MACINNIS: That is unique.

The WITNESS: Yes, that is unique, and it applies mostly to us. The Department of Trade and Commerce may have some similar cases in connection with their trade commissioners' offices abroad, but it would apply only to a department which maintains a sizable portion of its personnel outside of Canada and has to engage local labour for certain duties. As I think I told the committee before, our policy is to have British subjects, and as far as possible Canadian citizens, employed in any capacity involving confidential work at all our missions abroad; and they, of course, can become permanent civil servants just as much as those who serve in Canada.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Mr. Wrong mentioned the preference given ex-service men by his department. I have here a return tabled on May 20, and one thing that stands right out is that the Department of External Affairs in percentage is away ahead of other departments in connection with the preference granted to ex-service men.—
A. I should like to say, if I might, with regard to the first competition to which I referred for appointment to senior ranks in our service that when the results are announced I believe it likely that there will be a number of people who will qualify who are peculiarly qualified for the work, people who may have been engaged for four or more years but who have not the overseas preference. That group includes nearly all of them, and I think probably all of them are people who were too young to have seen service in the last war and too old for operational service in this war. Or there would be a group of younger fellows who were not passed physically fit for military service. The percentage will, I think—and I must say I fervently hope—be somewhat reduced because I do not know what we would do if we did not get perhaps 8 or 10 approximately of these people who include some of our most key men both in Ottawa and in the posts abroad in a permanent capacity in the department.

Mr. MARQUIS: Maybe the temporary employees who have worked for one or two years will have a preference in employment and in passing the examination will be employed permanently above others who make the application?

Mr. HEMSLEY: No, in theory the examination board is supposed to discount any experience an employee has gained in what might be considered an improper

manner, which would be temporary employment before the competition; but they would naturally benefit in the competition by the experience they had gained on the job.

The WITNESS: It is not regarded as something in itself that actual service qualifies a person, but by the experience he is better qualified to compete against all comers because of the fact of his temporary service.

Mr. MARQUIS: Consequently, if one man was a civil servant and had worked in the department for two or three years, he would not have any preference over the veterans who make application?

Mr. HEMSLEY: That is right.

Mr. JACKMAN: One occasionally hears the criticism, probably from un-informed sources, that the Department of External Affairs is pretty well staffed by ex-university dons and others and that there has been a very small infusion of business men. I am not speaking so much of the new young fellows because they have not had much chance to have experience except in the army, but in the case of some of the more senior appointments which have come up to the rank of minister, if you like. Occasionally the criticism is heard that the department is overloaded with professors and university people. I do not mean that they are not valuable, but there is no proportion of men who have had experience in negotiating in business and other fields of endeavour. Would you care to express an opinion—it could be your personal opinion—as to the fitness or background for the work of the department—that is university versus business training?

The WITNESS: Mr. Jackman knows that I can hardly accept an argument that academic training is a disqualification for the diplomatic service, because members of the committee may not know that Mr. Jackman was once a student of mine in the University of Toronto.

Mr. COTE: Mr. Jackman would be satisfied with the answer that not many business men would accept the salaries which university professors might accept.

Mr. BREITHAUPT: I think a happy combination of both classes would be desirable.

The WITNESS: I think we have drawn from both sources. We have several people with business and legal experience in the department now and some who were in that class of wartime assistant who I hope we take on permanently; and we also have several with some background in academic life. I think it is true to say that most of the senior officers of the service including, let us say, Messrs. Robertson, Pearson, Keenleyside and myself, although we all at one time or another had been associated with various universities, have spent many years in the service, and that such qualifications as we have acquired for the conduct of external affairs of Canada have been acquired as members of the Department of External Affairs rather than as the result of academic experience several years ago. I should like to say that we have been greatly assisted by the people from the universities who we have secured temporarily during the war. I do not think we could have carried on without them. On the whole, it was easier to get people from the universities because the university presidents in many cases co-operated with us. The number of undergraduates fell during the war and the pressure on the staffs at the universities diminished and the universities were able to keep their places open. Apart from that, a man could come temporarily and know that he would be able to go back to his position, a situation which does not normally hold good in business, and still less in the legal profession. Their background and knowledge of international affairs was very valuable, and particularly valuable in the work of the department.

Mr. COTE: Do the requirements of the Civil Service Commission call for university degrees in many of the positions in your department?

The WITNESS: For admission to the foreign service we require graduation from a university of recognized standing so as to ensure that we have people who have had the opportunity of developing their background of knowledge and their processes of thought beyond the high school stage. That, I think, is common in all the foreign diplomatic services of the world.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Does it matter what subjects they have passed in; what they got their degree in?—A. No.

Q. Whether it is in arts or science—it does not matter?—A. No. In a competitive examination a man who had qualified in engineering would have greater difficulty in a competition than a man who had qualified on the arts side; but he is eligible to enter, and we have, in fact, some people in the department who are graduates in engineering.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Have you any graduates of any of the agricultural colleges who have been accepted and sent to missions abroad to represent Canada?—A. No.

Q. Why is that? I am not critical about it especially, but it seems to me that one of the things I noticed, for instance, in the United Nations Organization, was that I was not able to find any farmers at all. Perhaps I might make one exception—that is the Minister of Agriculture who was there for part time.—A. I was about to ask you whether you would not make an exception for the Minister of Agriculture.

Q. On certain occasions in the House of Commons I have made that exception although, perhaps, I think he is academically trained in other lines as well, so he may be both. It seems to me that the agricultural colleges across the country ought to supply some quota because I look upon the farm as being important not only in a domestic realm but also in the international realm. I think that is a point that might well be considered by the Department of External Affairs when picking men for service abroad. Whether we like it or not, the men we send to other parts of the world are the only means by which this country can be seen by people of other lands, and the show windows that we send to other nations ought to be representative show windows of our national and economic life. I do not think we will give a true picture of Canada unless we have agriculture represented somewhere in the picture, and that is the reason I make the suggestion I have. This is a pet theme of mine, so perhaps you will pardon me for airing it on this occasion.—A. May I make a comment on Mr. Graydon's suggestion? There is a tendency, a desirable one, in representation abroad, to attach to diplomatic missions specialists of various sorts. The United States government has, in certain countries, appointed agricultural attaches to their missions. There is one in Ottawa, whom, I dare say, some of the committee know—Mr. Clifford Taylor, who was here for many years and has moved to Warsaw. We have not as yet got around to doing that. I think it is quite likely that within the countries that are more important to us there will be specialists in agriculture appointed during the next few years. In England there is a certain amount of agricultural representation. There is an agricultural commissioner in London, and there are also specialists in food products on the trade commissioner's staff in London—specialists in fruit products and animal products. Of course, we have in Washington in connection with our participation in the combined Food Board a constant representation of the agricultural front, as one might call it, of Canada, and also there is a constant stream of Canadians going down there who are experts in production and the marketing of agricultural products.

By the Chairman:

Q. Mr. Wrong, would a university qualification be requested for all representatives abroad?—A. All those who were appointed as foreign service officers.

Q. That would not apply to the head?—A. Not necessarily. That is an appointment that is made by the government. A number of our missions are now headed by persons who have been promoted from the ranks of the foreign service, such as Mr. Pearson in Washington, Mr. Wilgress in Moscow, Mr. Keenleyside, ambassador to Mexico; and, of course, there are outside appointments as well.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Might not the all-university qualification bar some of our returned men from the services of Canada? I do not know what your experience is, but all the smart people are not university graduates, and all the people who can render the best service are not always graduates of universities; and while no one suggests that such a training is not a grand thing, at the same time I am not so sure that you should make it such a completely hard and fast rule in connection with that work. There must be a good reason behind it. I do not wish to be unduly critical.—A. The normal method of recruiting for the service—and ours is a lifetime professional service—is to take in young men of the age of 20 or 21 up to 25 or 26, and I do not think a young man who had gone from high school into business and then competed for admission as a foreign service officer grade I would have acquired in that interval an experience which would be more useful to him as a member of our service, by engaging in business or in some other profession, than he would have if he had attended a university during the interval; and that is what our regulations are based on. The idea is to bring men in about that age, not younger, because we cannot send a young, immature person abroad even as a third secretary at a large mission.

By Mr. Dieffenbaker:

Q. I was reading the other day that in the United States a school for diplomatic students or attaches is being established with a view to giving special training to ambitious young men who wish to go into the service, to ascertain whether or not they have the qualifications. Are we doing anything like that?—A. I do not know the details about what they have done in Washington. They have, of course, to deal in so much larger numbers than we have that they have been able to adopt more regularly organized methods of training than we have been able to do here. Our training is mainly what might be called an in-service training. We try to give a variegated experience in Ottawa to the young men who come into the department, and we send them abroad after they have proved that they are some good. We give them that experience in the foreign field and move them around quickly.

Q. I have in mind two or three young men who have come back from overseas and are much attracted to the prospect of the diplomatic service, but as they put it to me that they find it difficult to get consideration given to their applications. How should a young man desiring to have consideration given to his application go about it?—A. As Mr. Hemsley said earlier, we published in the orders of all the services at home and abroad details about the competitions. We received a very large number of applications, far more than it would be possible to bring to Ottawa to interview. We have, as I think we have to have in these cases, a sifting on the basis of the recommendations made about the individual, first. A great number have appeared before the examining boards. There is still a residue. I imagine those in whom you are interested are, probably, from the west?

Q. Yes, they are.—A. There is a residue. We do not like to ask these young men to pay their expenses to come to Ottawa to sit on the board here,

and we have not been able to arrange with the Civil Service Commission for a board to go to the west to interview them yet. I hope to do that within six weeks.

Q. I am glad to hear that, because I think at the present time these men have a legitimate ground for complaint.—A. We are aiming to have a board sit in Winnipeg to hear about 10 or 20 applicants from the prairie provinces the first week of July.

Q. How many applications have you had in the last year?—A. That is a question only the Civil Service Commission could answer.

Mr. HEMSLEY: I think in the foreign service officer competition there must have been something over 1,000.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: How many of those passed their examinations?

Mr. HEMSLEY: About 40 have been accepted.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Out of 1,000?

Mr. HEMSLEY: We have 68 more of this group to interview. They are the men who wrote the written examinations last November and were successful in the written examinations.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Who conducted the interviews after those young men passed the examinations?

The WITNESS: The exact procedure is this: the application is examined, and a simple written examination is given. We suspended the rather more difficult examination system which we had in force before the war because it seemed quite unfair to ask people who had been in the armed forces perhaps for five years to pass a fairly severe examination of academic standards. We substituted for it a simple examination designed to show whether the candidate had any capacity for thinking for himself and expressing what he thought, and very little more. On that basis we were able to decide that a large number of candidates were obviously unsuited, and we dropped them. The remainder are brought up for interview by the board which the Civil Service Commission and ourselves jointly cooperate on. References are secured.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Who are your representatives on the board?

The WITNESS: It has been such a big job that we vary the representation from time to time. Ten or a dozen senior officers in the department will sit on the boards from time to time. There is no other way to handle it. I myself sat on the earlier boards and found it was physically impossible to attend all the boards.

Mr. COTE: The examination of the Civil Service Commission having been passed by the applicant, do you think it is possible for anyone who has not a university degree or academic training to cope with these examinations and get into the service?

The WITNESS: I do not think I have actually seen the last paper we had, but I have set one or two of them myself. The main test was to ask the applicants to write an essay on a choice of about ten different subjects on widely selected scientific, literary, historical and military subjects. We always put military subjects for those coming from the forces. They are written in English or in French, and they have to write the examination in, I think, three hours. That is the simple test, and it is surprisingly effective. We also started a second paper. Perhaps Mr. Soward would explain.

Mr. SOWARD: In the examinations held in October and November we had an essay and then a paper, also of three hours' duration, in which there was a choice of questions. One question was on the government of Canada; another group of questions was on current events of a well known nature, certain personalities, certain problems. These were all designed so that those who

have come back from overseas would not feel that they were asked to answer something which was out of their grasp. These papers were read in the department; I was one of the group who read them; and we endeavoured to pick out candidates who had an average of approximately 75 per cent for the final selection on the oral examination. In my own judgment I feel that the oral is as important as the written examination, but you must screen the group and by screening them in that way you bring down the pick of the students for the final discussion of half an hour or so on their background, interests, training, hobbies, and views on current questions.

Mr. COTE: That explains why there are not very many in the service who have not gone through university and have not got a degree. Do you think it is feasible to secure people outside of universities, people who have not that training?

Mr. SOWARD: It is not impossible but it is very difficult. The student has learned an organized method of study and approach to questions and has a certain body of opinion which he has learned in his university years which remains with him.

Mr. MARQUIS: If an agronomist, such as Mr. Bracken, applied for a position in the foreign service and passed his examination would he be accepted just as any other graduate from any university?

The WITNESS: Oh, yes, certainly.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Wrong, I do not think that holding the higher positions in the Civil Service for university graduates is peculiar to the Department of External Affairs. I understand it is the policy in all the departments as regards Civil Service staff. I have looked over the examination qualifications for most of the positions, and as far as I can remember all of the higher positions require university graduation. I do not know how effective examinations are. I think I would agree with Professor Soward that a person would have a better opportunity of realizing the abilities of the person concerned by an oral examination. I remember reading in the British Agent, Bruce Lockhart's account of his examination to get into the British foreign service.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I would like to ask Mr. Wrong a question. After the oral examination you say you screen them. Does not appearance and manner of expressing oneself count in that too?—A. Yes, and general adaptability. That is a very important quality.

Q. That is left to the members of the department?—A. It is done by a board on which our department is represented and the Civil Service Commission is represented also; and at times we have, because these boys are coming out from the services—we have, I suppose I could call them, assessors from the services concerned who have reports on the individuals, when they can get hold of them when they are in Canada and not overseas, and the latter inform the board of the nature of the confidential reports on their army, navy or air force service, which is a valuable guide to the sort of qualities we want in a young man. Our problem is to reduce the very large number of candidates to the very small number of appointments we can make. There is abroad the idea that there are far more openings in the Department of External Affairs service than in fact is likely to be the case, at any rate in a year or two. I do not know what our annual rate of intake will come down to. Before the war it was an average of not more than two or three new appointments; it will now be perhaps in the neighbourhood of ten, when we catch up with the backlog caused by the failure to make permanent appointments for several years. There will be a large intake now and I think in 1946, and then it will taper off.

Q. With regard to your figures on this return: how many civil servants were taken on in the last six months—that would be six months before the return—the figures given are 51 permanent and 50 non-permanent?—A. A good many of the 51 permanents would be replacements of people who had resigned from the temporary staff of the department. I could not give a breakdown on that. I think most of the 50 non-permanents would in due course become permanent as soon as we can get the mechanics to operate.

Mr. PICARD: I should like to ask a question about examinations. Is it the intention of the department to go back to the former system of having the various examinations so stiff that even the foreign secretary of many nations could not qualify? We used to get good men, we have the evidence of that in those who are in the department now, and I wish to pay a compliment to them; but I remember the time when we had 200 applicants and only 20 qualified and only 4 of the 20 were called in. I think at that time the examinations were much more restricted probably than they have been in the last year or two.

The WITNESS: I should not say that we would revert exactly to the pre-war system. I should hope not. That would be rather an urge to adhere to past practices in a changing world; but we will no doubt stiffen the examinations as we get further away from the particular problem of not imposing a handicap on those who have been in the armed services and are a long way away from school and university, so that they are not able to pass an examination which must inevitably be based on what I might call book learning.

Mr. PICARD: I think if we had to pass examinations to be able to sit on this committee, or even to be a minister of foreign affairs, some of the examinations I have read were so stiff I do not know who would pass. Remember it is all for the good of the service. I wondered if that was the practice, but I am satisfied with the answer.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Mr. Chairman, is there any notice taken of the applicant's political stripe? I do not mean whether he is a Liberal or a Conservative. This is a serious question. I do not mean party politics. It has been made abundantly clear that the Communists have declared that they have no loyalty to this country, and I think they should be absolutely barred from representing this country. What methods, if any, are now used to see that those who are in the service are loyal to Canada and not to Moscow? Certain things have been made so clear in the spy trials.—A. We certainly do not conduct any inquiries into the political opinions or the party affiliations of members of the service. I have no idea what way my colleagues in the department cast their votes.

Q. Neither did the Research Council. They had, perhaps, no idea what their employees were doing, but it seems to have been a disastrous policy.—A. I was going to add that in the course of investigating applicants we get references from a number of people who in most cases are fairly well known citizens and know the individual concerned, and where possible—and it usually is—we supplement this by private inquiries and we attempt at least to secure that those admitted to our service, in the words of Mr. Jaques, are loyal Canadian citizens. Beyond that I think it would be most unfair for us to conduct any investigation into political affiliations.

Q. Suppose it became known, and these things are known, that any employee in the Department of External Affairs had adopted Communism, would that affect his standing in the department; would he still continue to be employed?—A. It would certainly depend on how that was manifested. I do not want to enter into this is a burning situation in Canada at present—I think I would be speaking out of my role if I did—but if there is any possibility that this might lead the person concerned to depart from his oath of secrecy or in any way not to be a faithful and loyal member of the department, it would undoubtedly enter into our calculations.

Mr. MACINNIS: Both after the appointment as well as before?

The WITNESS: Yes, both after and before. Second, we receive reports from those under whom they work, the responsible chiefs of all the employees of our service; and the chiefs of the missions abroad are required to give their view on the members of the staffs. These are secret reports.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. You would not allow a member of your staff to pass a hat around in your department to raise funds to help in the defence of these espionage cases which we have at the present time?—A. Certainly not.

Q. That is what they did in the National Film Board.

Mr. JACKMAN: Members of the committee are no doubt interested in the co-ordination of the Department of External Affairs with the other departments of the government, and perhaps we should have an eye to the economy of carrying on the government. I understand that the United States Embassy here has, in addition to the agricultural attaché, attachés for civil air and also for labour and probably for other departments which I do not know. We will, I suppose, in time follow the same practice of having attachés for important subjects in the department, and I should like to ask in that connection as to our high commissioner's office in the United Kingdom. Mr. Wrong mentioned that there was a man there—an attaché perhaps we might call him—having to do with agriculture. Would he have jurisdiction over the possibility of developing food markets in Great Britain? Let us take the bacon market. After the government agreements are through, would he be the proper person to seek information from in regard to a subject like that, or would the information filter to the other government departments such as Agriculture and Trade and Commerce, and would they have jurisdiction? Would that be the place to find out about the possibility of food markets in Great Britain?

The WITNESS: The principal responsibility of the Department of Trade and Commerce is to find markets for Canadian products, and that is the responsibility of the Department of Trade and Commerce and their representatives in the United Kingdom. It is under the Department of Trade and Commerce that there are specialists in certain products in the United Kingdom.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. What does your man do?—A. He is not under us. There is also a representative of the Department of Agriculture there called, I think, the agricultural commissioner, Colonel Robertson. He is not actually in the high commissioner's office because there is no room in Canada House, but he is in London, and as part of the high commissioner's staff at Canada House there are normally two specialists, one on animal products and one on fruit products. Then the Wheat Board has its own agent also who acts as adviser on these matters to the high commissioner in London, in a separate office.

Q. Which department puts in provision for that man's salary? You have not got in the high commissioner's office, as a member of the Department of External Affairs, an agricultural attaché at the present time?—A. No, because that would not be the normal practice. For instance, the agricultural attaché at the United States Embassy here is paid by the Department of Agriculture; the commercial representatives are paid by the Department of State; the labour representative is paid by the United States Department of Labour. That is the normal practice, and it makes the handling of personnel much easier if it is done that way, if they come from the staffs of the department concerned with the subject at home, because they can be moved about more readily; and we can bring a man back if we want him to get more experience of conditions in Canada than we could do if he was simply a member of our foreign service.

Q. Does the information that he gathers about the foreign markets filter through External Affairs or does it go directly to Trade and Commerce?—A. It normally goes directly to Trade and Commerce; but he would, of course, bring to the high commissioner's attention and to our attention any matter which is really our concern, and we get a great deal of information back which was originally dug out and prepared by its representatives on behalf of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

Q. Who has the general oversight and disciplinary jurisdiction over a man like the agricultural representative in Great Britain—your department or the Department of Trade and Commerce?—A. The Department of Agriculture, although he, like other officials, is under the general supervision of the high commissioner in London. In the High Commissioners' Act there is a statutory regulation that the high commissioner exercises supervision over all Canadian officials stationed in the United Kingdom. That is only a statutory statement of what is generally recognized as the normal responsibility of the chief of a diplomatic mission; the chief represents not only the Department of External Affairs but the government of Canada. He is a member of our department, but he represents the government as a whole, and he is responsible for all the activities conducted by the Canadian government in the country to which he is accredited.

Q. Let us take the situation in Moscow. Suppose there is a trade commissioner there as well as an embassy, does the trade commissioner report to the embassy?—A. He reports directly to the Department of Trade and Commerce but also to the embassy. It depends entirely on what he is dealing with whether he will report to the embassy. If he makes reports he will furnish the embassy with copies of the reports which are of interest to them and which he has addressed directly to the Department of Trade and Commerce. That is not a difficult relationship, and it works out in practice, provided all the personalities fit reasonably well. That is not always the case in this as in any other condition of human activity.

Q. May I ask this further question: Take a country like Guatemala, with which we have some developing trade. I was telephoned over the week-end by an importer from that country whose business is going ahead in leaps and bounds at the moment. I do not suppose they have a representative here, nor have we there. We might have a trade commissioner or someone from the Department of Trade and Commerce stationed there, I believe, or perhaps our Mexican representative covers both—A. I am not sure. I think possibly Mexico or Panama would cover that. Mr. Soward tells me they are likely to station a man from Trade and Commerce there in the course of this year.

Q. If Guatemala wished to have a representative on a diplomatic level in Canada, do they simply exchange notes with our government and ask that an appointment be made from our respective countries? There are many countries in the world now—perhaps 50 or 100. We are a relatively small country, although a very productive one, and the matter of representation abroad is not without its expense. What is the dividing line? Is there any rule of thumb at all? Are we in the near future going to have representation in 50 or 100 countries?—A. Not in the near future, certainly. I think once you start your representation abroad you have to go a fairly long way. I should think we would have to go as far, let us say, as a country with old established diplomatic services of its own, such as Sweden—perhaps farther than Sweden. Sweden maintains, I think, something like 30 diplomatic missions abroad. We might run up to 35. We now have 22, I believe. It is not a thing we can do in a hurry. For one thing it will involve coming to parliament for very large votes if we are going to try to establish missions simultaneously in many countries. There is the problem of finding skilled personnel. I would not want to recommend opening missions if we could not staff them well. And there is the point of working out the

administrative details which differ in every post, and the control; and it is a very intricate problem. I have no doubt we shall be establishing more new posts in the next year or eighteen months. I think, as you suggested yourself, it is really common sense as to what ranks first in order of priority, and it depends upon a number of considerations, some mainly economic and some mainly political.

Q. I have heard the opinion expressed by some as to what do these ambassadors and ministers exercise their talents about in some of the South American countries and elsewhere. One can understand that during war there may be questions of international law with which they have to concern themselves, but it gets to be—I will not call it a racket—almost a game if you appoint a minister to one country and then another country will feel it is prejudiced and that its honour is not being sufficiently upheld, if you do not appoint a minister to every country. What does a minister in the Argentine, for instance, do to justify the large expenditure, apart from the fact that we are a first-class nation or a leader in the second group of nations and perhaps have to have representation abroad for the mere formality of it? I am wondering where in many cases the expenditure is justified?—A. Well that is a difficult question to answer.

Q. What do they do all the time with the staffs?—A. The embassy in the Argentine is a pretty busy office. It is small. We are, of course, very interested in receiving very accurate and prompt information as to what is going on in the Argentine because Argentine has been a somewhat troublesome member of the American community during the last few years and it still remains so. You asked me the particular question as to what the minister does. Well as an example the Argentine government about five or six days ago promulgated a decree which would probably have the effect of driving the Sun Life Assurance Company out of Argentina if it were enforced, through discriminatory taxation, and we have instructed the ambassador there, in collaboration with the diplomatic representatives of the other countries which have insurance companies operating in Argentina and are equally effected, to do his best to secure the suspension or abrogation of this decree. There is a practical case in which effective action can certainly be best taken by a diplomatic representative of a fairly high rank.

Mr. JAQUES: Is that likely to lead to trouble?

The WITNESS: I cannot tell you; but it is regarded seriously enough by the Sun Life Company and they telephoned me the other day and asked us to institute inquiries. The matter is still under investigation, and we have not yet had time to receive the full text of the law.

Mr. FRASER: I think in the South American case or in the case of any other country the embassy has influence and can help the Canadian out; and Canadians do get into trouble no matter where they may travel.

The WITNESS: And there is a residual benefit which you cannot estimate, and that is important in Canada: what good-will does an effective diplomatic representation in the capital of a country bring? You cannot say in dollars and cents value. It is sometimes overestimated and sometimes underestimated.

Mr. FRASER: In some country a Canadian might get into difficulties about his visa, say between the Argentine and Chile, and could go to see the ambassador, and he will tell him the channels to take to get that visa. Otherwise he might be held up for two or three weeks.

The WITNESS: I would not like to weary the committee by giving them an impromptu list of the functions of diplomatic missions because it would inevitably mix the petty and unimportant up with the important; but the most of our diplomatic representatives are very active people on the whole.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Can Mr. Wrong tell the committee who actually formulate foreign policy?—A. The government of Canada. That is, I think, the only answer I can give.

Q. And who is the government of Canada in that respect?—A. I think that is a question which should not be addressed to me, Mr. Chairman.

Q. I do not know. I have sat in parliament for ten years, and I do not know the answer. We never discuss it in the House, and apparently we do not want to discuss it in this committee. Somebody must be responsible, if we have a foreign policy,—I do not even know that—for formulating it. I do not mean carrying the policy out; I mean actually formulating the foreign policy. I should like to know that.—A. That is the normal function of the minister responsible for the department, who is the Prime Minister, acting on advice, after consultation with his colleagues in the cabinet when he feels the matter is one which requires collective consideration; and otherwise acting in his capacity as Secretary of State for External Affairs. His position and authority are defined in the statute by which the Department of External Affairs was established.

Mr. JACKMAN: I remember some time ago there was a rule in connection with the American State Department that none of their representatives abroad could make statements without first sending a copy of their address to the State Department and having those remarks examined to see whether or not they were all right. I do not know whether that is in force. Have we any such rule?

The WITNESS: No we have not a hard and fast rule. We trust to the good sense of our representatives abroad not to say things that are embarrassing, and if they do we reserve the right to criticize, which we exercise without stint in the case of a lapse. It is an almost impossible rule to enforce. I doubt that the State Department rule is strictly enforced.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe that Mr. Jaques will find his answer in an alert public opinion here in Canada, and through the general discussion we have from time to time.

Mr. JAQUES: We do not seem to have any. The External Affairs estimates come up right at the very end of the session when everybody is anxious to go home.

Mr. MARQUIS: You are not supposed to be anxious to go home; you are supposed to discuss.

Mr. LEGER: The Department of External Affairs, along with the government in power, would be the body.

The CHAIRMAN: Public opinion and parliament.

Mr. JAQUES: Is there not a committee in the United States—I think it is the Foreign Relations Committee—which has a great deal to say in these matters?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, of course the committee in the United States have more power than we have.

Mr. JAQUES: Can we say that so far we have anything to say about the policy of the external affairs of Canada? Parliament has not.

Mr. COTE: I think the answer given a moment ago is clear. For instance, when the U.N.O. matter was discussed in the House last year we discussed Dumbarton Oaks. Whenever we have to make a decision in parliament or in the country with regard to our relations with any foreign country, whether money is involved or not, the matter is taken into consideration in the House of Commons, and all parties and all members of all parties are free to discuss such matters, and the majority rules, of course. If the government comes out with a proposal which can be defeated, if it is defeated the government policy

will be defeated; but such policies are usually well cleared up by lengthy discussion. Quite a lengthy discussion took place on Dumbarton Oaks last year, and every member in the House had an opportunity to discuss the question, and when a conclusion was reached there was a clear-cut demonstration of foreign policy.

Mr. PICARD: I do not think in any country in the world that foreign policy can be outlined in a book from A to Z. Foreign policy varies from time to time, and it is up to the government of the day, when these events occur, to formulate an opinion and to decide on the policy of the government concerning that matter. I do not think any nation can come forward and say that this is our foreign policy. It is impossible. No government could try to do it.

The CHAIRMAN: Following up what Mr. Jaques has in mind, I would like this committee to be a living body which would help to formulate although not to absolutely crystallize those policies.

Mr. PICARD: Under our parliamentary system parliamentary committees have not this power, while in the United States they have.

Mr. JAQUES: As far as the knowledge of this House and of the general public is concerned, all we know is what we read in the newspapers or what we hear on the radio, and I have lost all faith in that sort of thing. The only way in which I can arrive at an intelligent decision is to hear witnesses for both sides of a case. We have to undertake the responsibility of making up our minds on these issues as they arise. Somebody sent me a cutting from an American paper containing a scathing attack on British policy in Palestine. Are we in any position to rebut such statements? I do not think so. We have no discussion of these questions here in the House. All these things are important. We have no power in the matter, and we have nothing to do with guiding the policy one way or another.

Mr. SINCLAIR: We were appointed by the House for a specific purpose, and our first duty is to discuss estimates, which we have not started yet.

The CHAIRMAN: I should explain that at a meeting of the steering committee it was decided to go ahead with the estimates and in the meantime to study all questions brought before the committee too.

Mr. JAQUES: Had I known that I would not have gone into this.

The CHAIRMAN: The discussion has not been a futile one. I shall have to see you personally.

The WITNESS: Do you wish me to turn to the second question now?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

The WITNESS: As I recall it, the other question was to indicate to the committee the relationship between the information division of the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Information Service. The information division of the department is a fairly new creation, and possibly its name is a little misleading. We debated for some time before the name was agreed on. The name used for corresponding activities in the Department of State at Washington is the Cultural Relations Division, which strikes me as being rather high-sounding and not a particularly significant title. So we adopted, perhaps, the most nondescript title to indicate the portion of the department which was concerned with a collection of duties connected with providing data and answering inquiries and so on. It is not used as a channel for giving information out to the Canadian public and the Canadian press. We get a large volume of correspondence, sometimes originating from our own representatives abroad, sometimes from representatives of foreign countries in Canada; and sometimes from other sources at home or abroad, asking for data on various aspects of Canadian life. We also receive a considerable number of inquiries, quite properly, from individuals and organizations in Canada desiring background

information on aspects of international affairs; and perhaps the central duty of the information division is to meet these requests, and to ensure also that our representatives abroad are kept constantly informed of what is going on in Canada by sending them the type of information that they require for the intelligent discharge of their duties. The discharge of the duty of a representative abroad includes the ability to inform people in the country in which he is stationed on what is happening in his own country.

Now, that is the general background, but a good deal of what I have said are in the same building?—A. Entirely separate. Canadian Information Service the particular responsibility of which is the distribution of Canadian information abroad, and we work in pretty close contact with the Canadian Information Service. The department is represented by the Under Secretary or his alternate on the Supervisory Committee of the information service, and is also represented on a body which meets twice weekly and is called the working committee of the Canadian Information Service, and there are steady day to day contacts. As a matter of fact, at the moment it happens that the information division of the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Information Service are housed in the same building, and they have contacts on a large number of matters that arise. In a few countries the Canadian Information Service maintains specialist officers who are either formally members of the staff of the head of the Canadian mission there, which is the case in London, Paris and in Australia, or they are working very closely with the head of the Canadian mission, which is the case in Washington and also in New York. In the rest of the world, however, such information of the type that is made available through local contacts must go to the Canadian mission or to the Canadian trade commissioners. What goes out that way is a matter of general interest to the Department of External Affairs, and we try to keep as close liaison with the C.I.S. as we can.

I think that is a general statement, Mr. Chairman; it is about all I can give at this moment, but Mr. Soward and I will answer questions.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Canadian Information and you keep your accounts separate but you are in the same building?—A. Entirely separate. Canadian Information Service is immediately directed in its operational side by an interdepartmental committee under the chairmanship of the clerk of the Privy Council, with External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, the C.B.C. and the Film Board also represented on it, and it reports to the government and to parliament through Mr. Claxton.

Q. Would your information service help a manufacturer to line up his trip?—A. No, that would not be our responsibility in as far as that would involve certain business contacts. The trade commissioners would arrange that. That is their direct responsibility. In as far as it involves travel arrangements it would not come to the information division; it would go where official assistance is necessary. It would go to other branches of my department or the Department of Trade and Commerce, who are also in the game of arranging transportation.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Would you say something with regard to the economic division?—A. If that is all you want to know about the information division, certainly.

Q. I was wondering what are the functions of the economic division under the Department of External Affairs?—A. Well it is, I think, one of the most active and at the present time most understaffed branches of the department. It has a great deal to do with commercial negotiations of all sorts. Commercial negotiations are almost inevitably an interdepartmental matter; they involve the Department of Trade and Commerce, they almost always involve the Department of Finance, and they involve the Department of External Affairs. We

have the general responsibility for the conduct of official matters with the foreign governments and the technique of commercial agreements and commercial negotiations is a matter which must be shared among the departments I have named.

Q. Would these matters be economic questions that have a political significance?—A. Not necessarily. It is difficult to distinguish between economic questions that have a political significance and those that have not—but not necessarily. There are a good many economic inquiries which deal with special questions. For instance, the economic division deals with most, but not all, of the matters relating to relief at the present time, to the provision of Canadian supplies in as far as it is responsible, for requests for exports credits, and all that side of international economic policy. Rarely does the Department of External Affairs act alone on these matters.

Q. The inquiries would go to you first and then to the Department of Finance?—A. A foreign representative for instance, called within the last few days with regard to an export credit. Now, he would put his request to us. First we would consult the other departments on the general request, and we might be the sole actual channel, depending upon circumstances, between the foreign representative and the Canadian government. That happens today, but we are in constant discussion and negotiation with the other departments. Most of the work of the economic division deals with economic matters also before other departments. Shipping is another matter; civil aviation is another—the technical branches or activities which are not related to any geographical area but all of which have an economic bearing.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. I suppose some matters come from the channels of Trade and Commerce to your department?—A. Certainly.

Q. It works both ways?—A. Yes. If a foreign representative wants to raise a matter with the Canadian government, his strictly correct course is to go to the foreign office, which is the Department of External Affairs, first. We may ask him to take the matter up direct.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is not the economic division a sort of liaison between the general policy of External Affairs and the various departments dealing with foreign countries?—A. I would not say it is a complete description, but it is accurate in a large measure. They have a great deal of liaison to do. Another branch of their activity I have not mentioned is in connection with claims, partly legal: the release of property that has been held by the Canadian custodian, as being enemy property or suspected of being enemy property, during the war. We have to act in many cases in close relationship with our own legal advisers and with the legal advisers of other departments.

Q. It has a sort check over various departments in regard to the general policy of External Affairs?—A. I do not like the word "check"; it has a participation with other departments and it is almost essential to try to see that negotiations of any importance, apart from purely routine matters, that are being conducted with other countries, are centred inside your own government. Otherwise, you get yourself in a position that your left hand would not know what your right hand was doing.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Under the Bretton Woods agreement Canada has a representative on the bank and on the fund?—A. Yes.

Q. Are those representatives appointed by the Department of Finance or the Department of External Affairs?—A. I think they are appointed by the Governor in Council actually.

Q. What we are trying to get is a clear view as to who is responsible for their actions. To whom do they report?—A. In those matters they would report to the Department of Finance, but the Department of Finance keeps us informed of what is going on and consults us when necessary. We have a close and satisfactory arrangement with the Department of Finance on these matters.

Q. Does a copy of their report go to you simultaneously?—A. You had better put it in the plural; there is a constant stream of reports coming. No, not necessarily.

Q. When a report goes to External Affairs at Ottawa who gets it? How does the information get to the top policy men in the department?—A. It depends on the nature and urgency of the subject how an incoming document is treated in the department. Routine communications go to the division concerned with the matter in the department and they can dispose of them. Matters affecting policy go straight to the top and may then go down, and they may be brought up by the Under Secretary to the Prime Minister. You cannot lay down a general rule for dealing with business of that sort. We have varying correspondence covering a large range of subjects.

Q. It comes down to the old source of the mail and to whom it is directed; whether it is marked private and confidential or just confidential.—A. No, it is not nearly as automatic as that. I wish sometimes it could be made automatic, but it is impossible to do it. A large element of human discretion and intelligence must be allowed for.

Q. As long as the stream of communication is small and the department is small it can act in one way, but after a while as volume grows you have to have a system?—A. You have to have a system, and it is not something you can reduce to a simple formula because there must be a residual element of judgment as to what treatment this deserves if it is obviously an important question. Usually it will go to the chief of the division concerned and he will take it up with the Under Secretary or myself who, if the matter requires it, will see that it is brought to the attention of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, sometimes it might be obviously a matter which need not be brought to the Prime Minister's attention or require the personal attention of the Under Secretary or myself. We work by a system of internal liaison in these matters. I do not know any large organization except possibly a mail order house which can reduce to an absolute formula how to treat incoming communications.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the committee, Mr. Wrong, I thank you. We shall have to seek advice from you from time to time. We will meet again on Friday at 11.30 a.m.

The committee adjourned to meet on Friday, June 7, 1946, at 11.30 o'clock a.m.

SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 5

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. F. P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister, Department of Justice

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, June 7, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Bradette, Coldwell, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Hackett, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean and Sinclair (*Ontario*)—(11).

In attendance: Mr. L. C. Audette, legal division, External Affairs Department.

The Chairman tabled a report of the Agenda Committee dated May 31, which was read by the Clerk as follows:—

Pursuant to convocation, a meeting of the Agenda Committee was held in the office of the Chairman at which assisted Messrs. Leger, Low, MacInnis and Winkler.

After discussing future procedure and business, it was agreed:—

1. To have Mr. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, appear before the Committee at an appropriate meeting on the question of the trial of war criminals and the order in council and the War Measures Act in relation thereto. This question was raised by Mr. Diefenbaker.

2. To contact Mr. John E. Read, K.C., presently in Canada, and a member of the International Court of Justice with a view to ascertaining whether he would be in a position to acquaint informally the members of the Committee with the functions and operations of the International Court of Justice.

3. To invite members of the House of Commons and the Senate to two luncheons under the auspices of the Committee on External Affairs to hear Messrs. Graydon, Picard, Knowles, Winkler and Senator Hugessen who were delegates to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations in London in the order decided upon by the delegates themselves.

With reference to Mr. Jaques' suggestion of hearing witnesses on the petition of Canadian Airmen relating to the trial of General Mihailovich, of Yugoslavia, the Agenda Committee feels that this matter should be held in abeyance for the time being, leaving it to the individual members of the Committee to assess in their own minds the circumstances and the suggestions of Mr. Jaques. After discussion, it was agreed to delete the last paragraph and on motion of MacInnis, the report as amended was adopted.

The Committee resumed its consideration of *Item 41*.

Mr. F. P. Varcoe, deputy minister of Justice, was called and examined. He made a statement on order in council P.C. 5831 relating to War Crimes Regulations (Canada).

At 12.25, the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 7, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: We have a quorum in good time. I will now ask the clerk to read the report of the Steering Committee.

The Clerk:

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With reference to Mr. Jaques suggestion of hearing witnesses on the petition of Canadian airmen relating to the trial of General Mihailovich of Jugoslavia, the agenda committee feels that this matter should be held in abeyance for the time being, leaving it to the individual members of the committee to assess in their own minds the circumstances and the suggestions of Mr. Jaques.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have with us this morning Mr. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of the Department of Justice. I will ask Mr. Varcoe to proceed.

Mr. FLEMING: Are you going to deal with that report? I take it that the report contains recommendations to this committee from the steering committee.

The CHAIRMAN: It is open to discussion.

Mr. Low: I was going to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that members of the committee express themselves on it. I will make a formal motion for the adoption of the report.

The CHAIRMAN: Discussion is in order.

Mr. FLEMING: May I ask a question? You spoke about a luncheon for the members at which to hear the four delegates. Is that not too much for one luncheon?

The CHAIRMAN: It was my intention to have two, to invite members of the House of Commons to two luncheons. It was my own idea, as we were so fortunate in having four of our members who went to Europe last year, and I thought we should have the benefit of their experience.

Mr. FLEMING: It would hardly be fair to have them all at one meeting.

Mr. COLDWELL: Have you considered having a general meeting? Wasn't there a Senate committee which heard the report last year on the San Francisco conference?

The CHAIRMAN: It was the intention to send invitations to parliamentarians and their friends.

Mr. KNOWLES: When you are doing that I would suggest that some reference be made to Senator Hugessen.

The CHAIRMAN: Was he over there too?

Mr. KNOWLES: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Then he will have to be put on the agenda of speakers.

Mr. KNOWLES: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: That was the intention of the steering committee any way, that will make five gentlemen from whom we will hope to hear; and as I said we will leave it to the speakers themselves to arrange the order in which they appear. I do not want to assume that responsibility myself because I might have got myself into some trouble.

Mr. JAQUES: Mr. Chairman, with regard to my remarks on General Mihailovich, his trial is coming up and if we do not do something pretty quickly it will be too late. If we don't want to get mixed up in this thing, let us say so. After all, we are here to discuss things. If you really do want to do something, one thing is certain, it has to be done quickly if we are going to do it. Otherwise he will be tried and it will be through.

Mr. LEGER: I understand that the Department of External Affairs has already made certain representations in the matter.

Mr. FLEMING: It was not my intention to precipitate any extended discussion in my reference to the recommendation about General Mihailovich; certainly I do not want to go back over again ground that has already been covered. I think it is a fair reflection of the view of the committee, that having considered the part this committee has to play with reference to such a matter as the trial of General Mihailovich before a court of his own country in his own country, the committee came to the conclusion that it had no right to intervene, and that it had satisfied itself that the Department of External Affairs had already made representations to the diplomatic representative in Canada of the present recognized government of Yugoslavia asking that the evidence of certain Canadian airmen who wished to testify at the trial be received at the trial. Now, I think that is the view of the committee and that is as far as we can go; and I think there should be no suggestion left in any recommendation that we may adopt to-day that we are sort of leaving the door open. I think Mr. Jaques is quite right in saying that we should take action one way or the other.

Mr. JAQUES: That is all I want.

Mr. FLEMING: My idea of the intention of the committee is quite different from that of Mr. Jaques in that respect; but I do agree with him that in any action we take we should not leave the door open, we should decide just what our functions are to be.

Mr. COLDWELL: I agree with you. I think the Department of External Affairs should press the view that these young men should be heard; we cannot hold the trial here of this particular man; and I agree with Mr. Fleming that we should express ourselves one way or the other and not leave the matter open.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I am in agreement generally with what Mr. Coldwell says on that. We should not seem to be interfering in the affairs of another country, that would be presumption. But I do think we have the right to ask the Department of External Affairs to let us see the recommendations that were made. I think this committee will simply amount to nothing unless we make it a good strong committee, and if we are going to be a strong committee, one that is going to perform a worth while service, then I think we have the right to ask that officials of the Department of External Affairs let us see the nature of the representations that they have made or may make.

Mr. LEGER: When those representations were made did they mention the names of the Canadian soldiers—

The CHAIRMAN: Air men.

Mr. LEGER: Yes. We might let it be known that they are ready to give testimony. I do not think we can go much further than that.

Mr. JAQUES: I do not think I made myself clear on that point. If we are going to be responsible members I feel that we have got to have independent, first hand knowledge of what is going on and not rely on newspapers and radio commentators; which at the present time is, first, all that we have. I mentioned the Mihailovich case because the case is critical, but there are others. What about Spain? Some people say that we have no business there at all; somebody said it is different there from what it is in Jugoslavia, that we would have no business interfering with the affairs of another country. That applies not only in our own dealings with Jugoslavia, but to Spain or any other country. Those are the questions that are concerning me. My idea is not to turn this into a court at all, rather merely to see that the committee has a means of getting information which otherwise we cannot get, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jaques mentioned a specific case. My view of the situation is that I would prefer for us to deal with our estimates first, and to generalize later on. It would be my idea that we first go through our estimates and then deal with matters of international interest. How we are to do it, I do not know. Will it be acceptable to the committee if Mr. Jaques asks these young flyers to come here and appear before the committee? That would be about the only thing we could do, we have no power to order them to come here.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Jaques refers to getting first hand information in connection with this matter, and that we cannot rely on what we hear or see in the press. I am just wondering how this committee is going to get first hand information on a trial that is taking place in Jugoslavia, and what are we going to do with it? Then, again, I think that any decision this committee would take in a matter of this kind would affect the relations between Canada and Jugoslavia, they would have to go back to the House of Commons for approval. I do not think that we as a committee are competent to make a decision on an important matter of international relations that might be contrary to the decision of the government in the matter, and might perhaps result in involving the government in a matter of this kind. But the real point is, I do not see how we can get first hand information on this matter when the trial is taking place in another country.

Mr. LEGER: Suppose we brought those air men here, we would only have one side of the evidence.

Mr. JAKES: I do not see that at all, I think we would have both sides, because there is plenty of evidence on this side. There is a feeling here that we do not want to go out of the country on this. What is the matter with us? I have never suggested that we should sit and take evidence here; but I say this, if we are to be of any real value in the House itself when dealing with external affairs or any other question that comes up, how can we exercise our proper functions if we do not have the knowledge on which to base our discussions? It is information I want.

The CHAIRMAN: About all these young men could do would be to appear before us. It would be impossible even for us to question them. All they could do would be to make a statement and tell us their experience in Yugoslavia. What good that would be to their case or to the case of a man being tried in Yugoslavia, we do not know. I leave that thought in the minds of the members here until our next meeting, then if you think it is the proper thing or the necessary thing to do, we can have these young men appear before the committee and there would be no harm done.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Chairman, after all, this committee has an important function to perform and we have got a good deal of work to do on the estimates, but we are not going to run away from any proper task that this committee should undertake. Now, coming back to the meeting of May 30, if we hear these young men, or hear others, what is it going to lead to? The very most it could lead to would be a request to the Yugoslavian government which is conducting the trial, that it receive the evidence of these witnesses. That is all it could result in. We are told by Mr. Wrong on behalf of the Department of External Affairs that just such representations have already been made to the Yugoslavian chargé d'affaires in Canada to be transmitted to his government. Beyond that I suggest we cannot go.

As Mr. Diefenbaker says, we are entitled to know in what form the representations were made to the Yugoslavian chargé d'affaires; but this country cannot go beyond saying: here are our witnesses, Canadian witnesses, who have important evidence which we would ask you to hear in this important trial.

Mr. Low: The very fact that the evidence is taken before this committee on both sides of any question, such as the Yugoslavian case, would be a deterrent, in my judgment, to any hasty and ill-advised action in Yugoslavia. Here is a standing committee of External Affairs of the parliament of Canada investigating a matter in order to get information on both sides of the question. If that fact does not act as a deterrent, and if the Yugoslavian chargé d'affaires does not report it back to Tito's government, then I would be very much surprised; and if Tito did not pay some attention to the fact that it is being considered by the External Affairs committee, I would be very much surprised indeed.

Mr. JAKES: And consider too what effect it would have on these young men themselves who wish to see justice done, to have the matter entirely ignored by this committee. I think that is important.

The CHAIRMAN: The steering committee was in favour of leaving that to me for further thought to be brought up again at a subsequent meeting. I know that time is a big factor under present circumstances, but if you would leave it to me for further study, I might reconvene the steering committee about it. I think that would be more agreeable.

Mr. MACINNES: The point was raised, I think, by Mr. Fleming, and I am not taking exception to it. He may be quite correct, that the report of the steering committee on this matter was not in accord with the sense of the last meeting of the committee; so I would suggest that the reference to the matter in the steering committee's report be deleted, to be brought up at a later time.

Mr. FLEMING: And the balance of the report to be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: The balance of the report to be adopted, including Senator Hugessen, and the luncheons.

Mr. MACINNIS: I so move.

Mr. FLEMING: And I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN: It has been moved by Mr. MacInnis and seconded by Mr. Fleming. The report as amended is carried. Now, I believe it would be in order to call upon Mr. Varcoe.

Mr. F. P. VARCOE, K.C., Deputy Minister of Justice, Called:

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, the war crimes regulations which were promulgated on the 10th September, 1945, purport to have been made pursuant to the authority of the War Measures Act, and I presume that the question which the committee wishes to discuss is whether those regulations, or certain of those regulations, are valid in view of the fact that the War Measures Act, by section 4, provides that the maximum penalty is five years imprisonment. Is that the question that the committee wishes to discuss?

By Mr. Sinclair:

Q. Yes, that generally covers the situation.—A. Now, some time after these regulations were promulgated, I was asked by the Department of National Defence to advise upon this question, and I thought possibly it would serve the purposes of the committee best if I indicated what material I took into consideration and what opinion I gave to the department and finally, to indicate briefly the reasons for coming to that opinion. If that is agreeable to the committee, I would proceed along that line.

By the Chairman:

Q. Yes, Mr. Varcoe, will you please proceed.—A. Now, the material which I took into consideration was the following: section 15 of the British North American Act which provides that,

The Command-in-Chief of the Land and Naval Militia, and of all Naval and Military Forces, of and in Canada, is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

Then, I took into account certain provisions of the Militia Act, section 4 of chapter 132, of the revised statutes:—

The Command-in-Chief of the Militia is declared to continue and be vested in the King and shall be exercised and administered by His Majesty or by the Governor General as his representative.

and also section 139,

The Governor in Council may make regulations for carrying this Act into effect, for the organization, discipline, efficiency and good government generally of the Militia, and for anything requiring to be done in connection with the military defence of Canada.

It was the latter part of that section that I took into account particularly. Then, of course, there are the provisions of the War Measures Act which I won't do more than mention; sections 3 and 4 particularly. And when I looked at the United Kingdom regulations which correspond to our regulations and

which were made by royal warrant, on the advice of the Secretary of State for War. There was no order in council in that case; and they contain practically speaking the same provisions as are contained in our regulations.

Then, I read the report of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Ex Parte Quirin et al*, which was the case of the German spies, who were tried in 1942.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. What is the citation of that case?—A. 317 United States Report, page 1, and the reference I wish to make is at page 28. Now, these spies, who were landed on the coast of the United States, were tried and punished under a proclamation of the President of the United States, acting as commander-in-chief. Chief Justice Stone, in giving his judgment, which was upon the question of the validity of these regulations and the proclamation said:—

An important incident to the conduct of war is the adoption of measures by the military command.....to seize and subject to disciplinary measures those enemies who.....have violated the law of war.

Then, I looked at authorities on international law respecting violations of the laws and usages of war, and also the prerogative power of the sovereign in relation to waging war, and finally I advised as follows:—

By well established Canadian constitutional practice the Governor General acting on advice of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada has power under the British North America Act, War Measures Act, Militia Act and otherwise to establish procedure for trial and punishment by military courts of violations of the laws and usages of war not less extensive than those exercised by His Majesty under Royal Warrant.

Now, I will endeavour to set out briefly what my reasons were, for the information of the committee.

1. What His Majesty could do by Royal Warrant (whether as Commander-in-Chief or in the exercise of his prerogative) on advice of a single minister with reference to the British army the Governor General as representative of His Majesty could do on the advice of his Privy Council with reference to the Canadian army.

2. The violations of the laws and usages of war are by international law crimes to which penalties attach. The regulations are therefore procedural only. The penalties mentioned in section 11 are not prescribed by the Governor in Council for breaches of orders and regulations made under the War Measures Act. The regulations merely say what procedure is to be followed and who may impose the penalties which already exist by international law.

3. The War Measures Act does not take away from the Crown existing powers.

Section 4 relates only to punishment by courts, and not to operations against the enemy as part of the conduct of war.

My fourth point was that the Militia Act, is the authority for the Governor in Council to make regulations for anything requiring to be done in connection with the military defence of Canada.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Before you go on, do you rely upon that section of the Militia Act for the statement that the Governor in Council may do anything that His Majesty may do under royal warrant? What is the justification for the conclusion that the Governor in Council may do what His Majesty may do under royal warrant?—

A. In England, in connection with the military forces, the constitutional practice apparently is to proceed by what is called royal warrant on the advice of a single minister. We have not adopted that practice in this country, so far as I have been able to find out. But the power of the sovereign in Canada would not be less than the power of the sovereign in the United Kingdom in respect of the same matter or in respect of a similar matter. Consequently, the sovereign in Canada, if he desired to proceed on the advice of the full cabinet rather than on the advice of a single minister—would not, have less power for that reason.—It appears to be the fact, that we have followed the practice of proceeding by order in council rather than by royal warrant in such matters as this, in Canada, in the past.

Q. We have never proceeded by royal warrant?—A. Not so far as I know.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. In these war crimes regulations, there is no question raised regarding the Militia Act or anything like that. Therefore, His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, concurred in by the Minister of Justice and the Minister of National Defence, the first recommendation under the authority of the War Measures Act, could make the war crimes regulations and so on governing the custody, trial and punishment of persons charged with violation of the law and usages of war; so why mention the War Measures Act at all, if this has been passed under the surplus or over-riding royal prerogative?—A. It would have been better if those words were omitted. There is no doubt about it.

Q. That is true, because, as it is worded it is construed under the War Measures Act?—A. I do not know why the words were inserted, or upon whose advice it was done.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Do you think that it weakens the position of the government?—A. I do not see why, putting those words in, it would detract from the power of the Governor General as commander-in-chief, or in exercising the prerogative power of the Crown. In any case, my principal point is: that these regulations are merely procedural, with the crime and the penalty already existing; and that all we are doing here is to say who will apply that penalty and procedure to be followed. Probably the person who drafted this had in mind, that it was desirable to utilize the War Measures Act for that purpose.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. Who did draft it? Do you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not draft it, you or your department?—A. No.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Mr. Chairman, could Mr. Varcoe clarify the relationship between the procedural rights and the prescribing of a series of penalties? I gathered from his last remarks that he does not say that the imposition of severe penalties is a matter of procedure in itself?—A. The penalties exist by international law.

Q. And where do we get them?—A. You will find set out in the international law books that breaches of the laws and usages of war may be punished by death, imprisonment, and so on; and it was apparently under

that power that the commander-in-chief, the President of the United States, acted when he issued the proclamation which set out the procedure for the punishment of those spies who invaded the United States.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. Can you go so far as to say that the position of Canada would be no different had the order in council to which Mr. Diefenbaker has just made reference not been passed at all.—A. The position would have been no different, except that no person would have been authorized to impose the penalties.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Would they have that power under the royal prerogative?—A. You are speaking of the military personnel who would carry it out?

Q. The law as it exists?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Or exercise the power of imposing a penalty?—A. Yes.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Your opinion is that the action taken in respect to—what do you call it—I would leave out the particular name—to anything done under this war—the penalties imposed by the War Crimes Commission, they would not be limited by anything in the War Measures Act?—A. No, sir, that is the opinion which I gave to the department.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. But we still have to get to the point where we find authority given by the Governor in Council to some particular individual to impose a penalty in respect to an offence against international law and the usages of war?—A. That is a correct statement.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. In view of the fact that you have quite frankly admitted that it would have been better if the War Measures Act reference had not been enacted?—A. If it had said "under the authority of the War Measures Act, or otherwise" it would have been better.

Q. Yes, that would have been better; but do you not think there should be an order in council passed, or a statute in order to cover that?—A. I intended to conclude my statement by saying that:

In view of the fact that the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act will cease to operate on or about the end of this year, and with it the War Crimes Regulations, we have under consideration whether a bill is to be introduced to enact the regulations as a statute. A draft bill is now under consideration by the departments concerned.

The Transitional Powers Act which expires at the end of this year is, of course, the authority which keeps this order in council alive, and we propose to submit to parliament an Act on this to validate or continue these regulations.

Q. To provide for the trial of war criminals and to validate everything that has been done?—A. Yes, sir. That bill has been drafted and circulated among the departments concerned, but whether the government will adopt the measure or not has not yet been decided.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. I understood you to say that the substantive rights to punish violations—
A. Laws and usages of war is the usual expression.

Q. Yes, violations of the laws and usages of war exists under what we are pleased to call international law; and that some kind of enactment was necessary to indicate the agency by which the existing right was to be enforced. Is that correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you consider that the agency which selected, or that the power which selected the agency had the right to restrict in any way the penalties that might be imposed? What I mean is: could the Governor General, in setting up the tribunal, limit to five years the penalties that might be imposed? It seems to me that there are two separate questions there, and that it does rest with the Governor General to say to his agent: you shall go so far and no farther, although the right existed to go much farther?—A. One theory behind this procedure is that the trial and punishment of a person who has been guilty or charged with a breach of the laws and usages of war is itself an act of war; that is to say, it is the application of force in certain circumstances to an enemy.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. Based on the custom and usages of war, and it is today being applied at Nuremberg?—A. Yes, sir; and that any commander has certain powers to apply that act of war or to exercise that act of war in the field or where he finds the offence being committed. I must say that I have not been able to settle my mind entirely on this: but if this Royal Warrant is an act of the commander-in-chief, that is, if he is simply giving orders to the military forces as to how the punishment of offenders is to be done, well then, the Governor General has no less power; and the fact that he has proceeded as commander-in-chief upon the advice of the full cabinet rather than upon the advice of his minister for war or defence would not detract from that power.

By Mr. Hackett:

Q. No, but if appointment were necessary, it would seem to follow that limitations in the extent to which the powers were to be exercised would follow as a necessary consequence?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, in that event, if the limitation were five years, does it not necessarily follow that any condemnation in excess of that would be beyond the power of the tribunal?—A. I am adopting the view that no such limitation has been applied. The War Measures Act, in the first place, relates only to punishment by civil courts of offences against the regulations of the Governor in Council. These offences are offences against the laws and usages of war, not against this country in any way.

Mr. HACKETT: That is the whole thing.

By Mr. Diefenbaker:

Q. It is a very arguable theory, isn't it; on the basis of the wording of this order in council setting out the war crimes regulations?—A. Well, I have no doubt but that a very forceful argument could be made.

Q. You say, a forceful argument could be made?—A. If I am right, sir, that the offence is one against international law and not one against the regulations of the Governor in Council, all that has been done here is to adopt procedure under the War Measures Act for the punishment of the offences.

Q. You point out that wording. The present draft itself used a different wording altogether and removed the idea that you are now placing before the committee. Here is what I read once: His Excellency in Council on the same recommendation, with the concurrence aforesaid—that is the recommendation of

the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Justice concurred in by the Minister of Justice and the Minister of National Defence; and, under the authority of the War Measures Act, is pleased to order that any proceeding, and so on . . . and no finding shall be subject to appeal or review . . . and no action shall lie against any person for any action taken with the intention of carrying out these provisions—in any event, Mr. Varcoe, the principle involved is now going to be covered by a statute?—A. Yes, at least so far as I am concerned it is.

Q. Yes.—A. The government may not—

Mr. HACKETT: Accept your recommendation?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: And you are making it retroactive.

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. FLEMING: The proposed statute intends to go the length of saying that the proceedings before the War Crimes Commission were valid and the findings of the court confirmed and the sentences confirmed, all by statute; is that right?

The WITNESS: That is covered by a clause contained in the bill: "this Act shall be deemed to have come into force on the 30th day of August, 1945. (2) The War Crimes Regulations made by the Governor in Council the 30th day of August, 1945, are hereby revoked and everything purporting to have been done pursuant to those regulations shall be deemed to have been done pursuant to this Act."

The CHAIRMAN: You had not completed your brief, had you?

The WITNESS: Yes, sir, I just had that last paragraph. I mentioned just now that the Transitional Powers Act is coming to an end at the end of this year, unless it is extended; and, consequently, it seems to be desirable that an Act on this subject of war crimes be enacted by parliament, or should be submitted to parliament for its consideration at any rate; and that is the proposal which I have made to the several government departments concerned, external affairs and national defence.

Mr. JAKES: Would not the question of guilt and responsibility depend entirely on the country of which the individual was a citizen?

Mr. MACINNIS: This is not the country, it is individuals.

The WITNESS: It is individuals, sir.

Mr. JAKES: And the action taken would be dependent upon the country in which the individual happened to belong, the country of which he was a citizen, would it not?

The WITNESS: No. The German spies who landed in the United States committed offences against international law, and they were tried and executed under a proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief as an act of war.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: In spite of the fact that they are the usages of war, crimes against international law have never been incorporated in the written word; just the same as the law in our own country which is built up on the basis of custom over the years, in the same way international law is built up.

The WITNESS: Yes, sir, that is the way I read the judgments.

Mr. MACINNIS: I was going to ask Mr. Varcoe a question. I have been trying to learn the easy way here by listening; there are so many eminent lawyers across the table from me. That trial in the case we have in mind, and the penalty, was under international law, beyond the War Measures Act altogether?

The WITNESS: Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: From the question asked by Mr. Diefenbaker I gathered that you thought the order would be limited in its scope to deal with some of the big cases that are being dealt with in Europe now.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: That is a different matter altogether.

The CHAIRMAN: I am trying to learn.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: That does not apply at all. As a matter of fact, all of these trials that are taking place over there, other than a few that are taking place today in Europe—also in Japan. The great danger in the situation is by now, as far as I see it, and that was that somebody might apply for habeas corpus to test out this order in council and open the door. Mr. Varcoe gives assurance that that is not going to take place because a statute is going to be passed. It was to get that assurance that I asked the question I did.

The CHAIRMAN: Have you any more questions to address to Mr. Varcoe? Thank you very much, Mr. Varcoe, for the information you have given to us.

That is all we have on the agenda today. I would ask the committee if it would be in order at our next meeting to call officials of the passport office. That is the second item we have to consider in the estimates, item No. 42. If that is satisfactory we will arrange for these officials to attend before us at our next meeting.

The committee adjourned at 12.25 o'clock p.m. at the call of the chair.

SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE
No. 6

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. A. L. Cooper, Assistant Passport Officer, Department of External
Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, June 11, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock, Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Members present: Messrs Beaudoin, Bradette, Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Marquis, Mutch, Picard, Sinclair (Ontario), Tremblay and Winkler.

The Committee considered *item 42* of the estimates referred, being Passport Office-Administration.

Mr. A. L. Cooper was called and gave a description of the functions and methods of the Passport Office.

The witness was examined and retired.

A suggestion by Mr. Jackman,—

That validity period of passports be extended from two to five years,

and another suggestion by Mr. Fleming,—

That the committee consider the advisability of recommending that passport application forms be made available in all government offices including post offices, of all cities and towns in Canada.

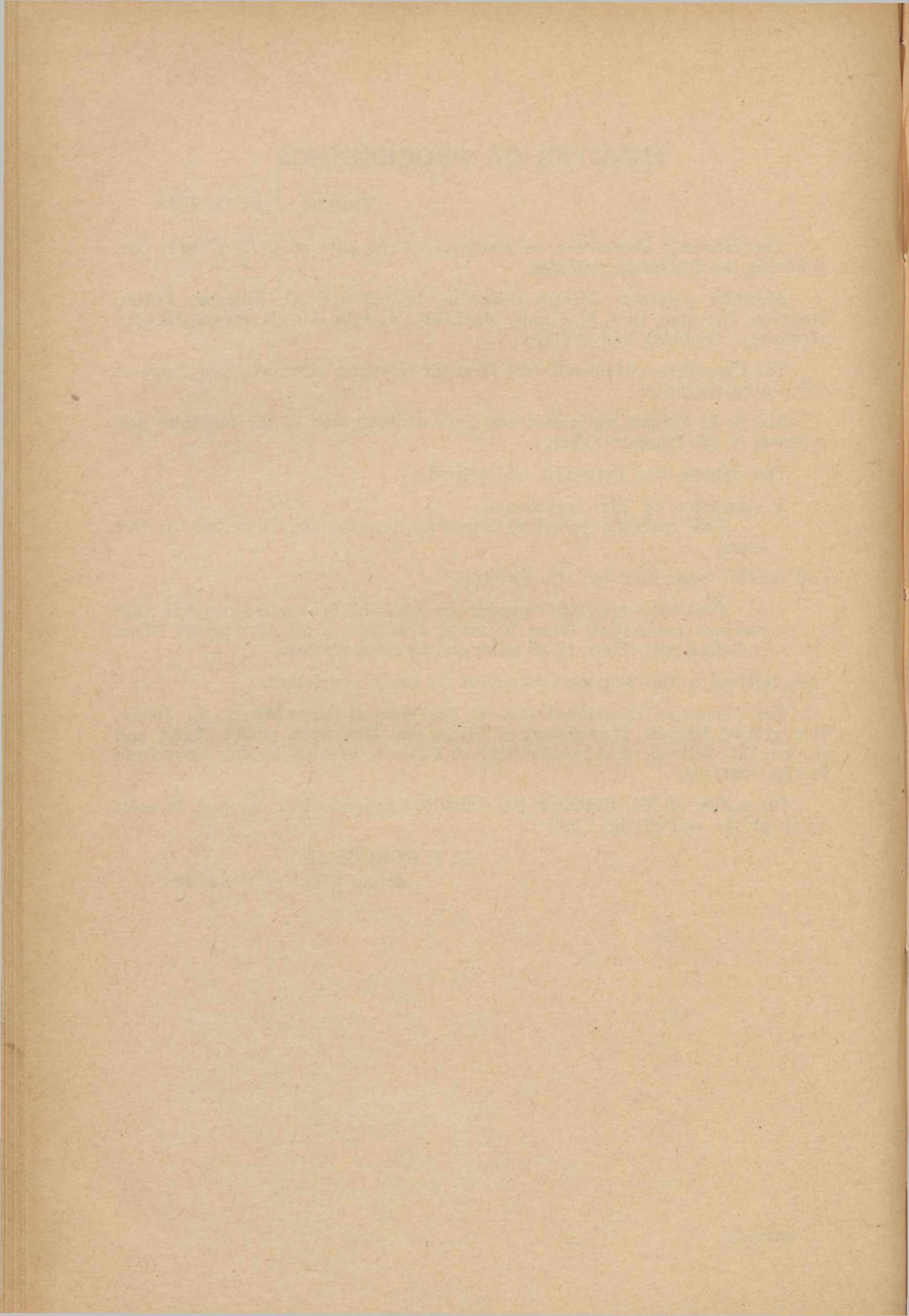
were referred to the Steering Committee for study and report.

The Chairman announced that at the next meeting Mr. A. L. Joliffe, Immigration Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, would attend and explain the methods used in admitting to Canada, persons holding visas from foreign countries.

On motion of Mr. Beaudoin the committee adjourned at one p.m. to meet again at the call of the Chair.

F. J. CORCORAN,

Acting Clerk of Committee.



MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 11, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are now ready to proceed. We all realize how difficult it is for us to hold a meeting in the middle of the week, particularly on a day when four other committees are sitting. We have with us today Mr. Albert Lewis Cooper, Assistant Passport Officer, of the Department of External Affairs; and we are dealing with item 42 of the estimates. I will ask Mr. Cooper to come forward and make a statement.

Mr. Albert Lewis Cooper, Assistant Passport Officer, Department of External Affairs called.

The WITNESS: I think I should like to make it clear that the necessity of the passport does not arise from any regulation of the Canadian government; practically all countries now demand of incoming travellers the production of evidence of nationality and identity. That is given in a passport which is issued on the authority of the head of the government. The passport does not carry with it any permit to enter another country or to leave this one; all it is is evidence of nationality and identity. In the case of British countries entry is allowed with a passport without a visa on it, but as regards foreign countries, before entry can be made the passport requires the visa of a consular representative in Canada of the country concerned. That actually is the permit to enter the country, not the passport itself. The visa is the thing.

In Canada the issuance of passports comes under the Department of External Affairs, and we have set up an office known as the Passport Office to deal with that particular angle. At the present time we receive practically 1,500 applications a week, so that requires a fairly large staff to handle the work; that is in order to give the applicants reasonably quick service. What we are trying to do is not to hold up an application for more than seventy-two hours: either give an answer by issuing a passport, renew an old one, or write a letter asking for further information. In making an application certain information is required, so that an application form is printed which will bring out the facts that we need to determine whether the passport may be issued. Our authority extends to the issuing of passports only to Canadians or other British subjects in Canada. We cannot issue a passport to an alien at all; the alien must apply to the consul of his own country in Canada.

These application forms are sent out to various steamship offices, banks, legal firms and others who are interested in passports so that people will be able to get them in various centres in Canada; or they can write direct to the passport officer. In many cases travel is to the United States, so we send them also a memorandum of the general requirements for entering the United States. Their regulations, by the way, will permit entry without a passport if a person carries some other document such as a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, certificate of naturalization. In some cases U.S. border officials accept a registration certificate. That is not general.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

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June 11, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are now ready to proceed. We all realize how difficult it is for us to hold a meeting in the middle of the week, particularly on a day when four other committees are sitting. We have with us today Mr. Albert Lewis Cooper, Assistant Passport Officer, of the Department of External Affairs; and we are dealing with item 42 of the estimates. I will ask Mr. Cooper to come forward and make a statement.

Mr. Albert Lewis Cooper, Assistant Passport Officer, Department of External Affairs called.

The WITNESS: I think I should like to make it clear that the necessity of the passport does not arise from any regulation of the Canadian government; practically all countries now demand of incoming travellers the production of evidence of nationality and identity. That is given in a passport which is issued on the authority of the head of the government. The passport does not carry with it any permit to enter another country or to leave this one; all it is evidence of nationality and identity. In the case of British countries entry is allowed with a passport without a visa on it, but as regards foreign countries, before entry can be made the passport requires the visa of a consular representative in Canada of the country concerned. That actually is the permit to enter the country, not the passport itself. The visa is the thing.

In Canada the issuance of passports comes under the Department of External Affairs, and we have set up an office known as the Passport Office to deal with that particular angle. At the present time we receive practically 1,500 applications a week, so that requires a fairly large staff to handle the work; that is in order to give the applicants reasonably quick service. What we are trying to do is not to hold up an application for more than seventy-two hours: either give an answer by issuing a passport, renew an old one, or write a letter asking for further information. In making an application certain information is required, so that an application form is printed which will bring out the facts that we need to determine whether the passport may be issued. Our authority extends to the issuing of passports only to Canadians or other British subjects in Canada. We cannot issue a passport to an alien at all; the alien must apply to the consul of his own country in Canada.

These application forms are sent out to various steamship offices, banks, legal firms and others who are interested in passports so that people will be able to get them in various centres in Canada; or they can write direct to the passport officer. In many cases travel is to the United States, so we send them also a memorandum of the general requirements for entering the United States. Their regulations, by the way, will permit entry without a passport if a person carries some other document such as a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, certificate of naturalization. In some cases U.S. border officials accept a registration certificate. That is not general.

Mr. Low: That is limited.

The WITNESS: That is for a visit up to twenty-nine days. They will take a passport regardless of whether it is valid or not; it may have expired. At one time the United States consuls issued what they called a border crossing card for temporary visits.

Mr. FRASER: Are those out now?

The WITNESS: They are out now as far as the issuing is concerned. They will still accept them whether they are valid or not. As far as the United States is concerned, travel is fairly open at the present time. However, we still get a large number of applications for passports to the United States due to the fact that people have got into the habit of getting them and find them handy; and they are probably easier to get than a birth certificate.

Mr. JACKMAN: Is the two-year rule applicable?

The WITNESS: The initial period of validity is two years, and there is provision for a renewal of four further periods of two years—ten years in all.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Is there any reason why that period cannot be extended to five years? It is a nuisance having to renew these passports, particularly if you use a passport once or twice during a two-year period. One may look forward to a trip every year, and he has to have a renewal; two years slips by quickly.—A. That was the case prior to the war, passports were good for five years and could be renewed for one period of five years—ten years in all.

Q. Is there any reason why we should not give consideration to recommending that the period be extended to ten years again?—A. No, there is no reason why; I think it would be a good thing.

Mr. Low: You might change your looks in the meantime.

The WITNESS: Those photographs are sometimes pretty bad.

Mr. JACKMAN: The only way we as a committee can bring about action to support our proposal is to put it in our report.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Mr. Low: I think that is very important.

The WITNESS: I think it is a good point.

Mr. Low: It would certainly get rid of a lot of mail in your office.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. And it would also affect the work of the members of parliament because members are continually getting in passports for renewal. I had five during the last week.—A. I think it must be so with most members, judging by the number of phone calls.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In respect of the matter of visas, I take it that before an alien can enter Canada the same visa procedure must be followed by him in that particular country through our consul before he is allowed to come to Canada.—A. I think that is the case; yes.

Q. Are those regulations fairly uniform as between the various nations of the world?—A. No, they vary a great deal.

Q. I have a case before me at the moment which is working a great hardship upon a Canadian who desires to go to the United States. In 1928 he had a conviction of theft of an automobile radiator cap when he was a young lad going to high school. There is some doubt about his guilt. This was in western Canada and there were two or three young boys involved. Not having any money to go to a lawyer and have his case pleaded in court, he pleaded

guilty. It is a ridiculous sort of conviction, but it is keeping him from going to the United States. However, it appears from what we can find out that there is no power by which the United States officials can allow him to enter the United States, in spite of the fact that this is such a ridiculous sort of conviction which has been registered against this man. There is no method of appeal, apparently. I have endeavoured to find a way of appealing so that he can go into the United States. He is a highly regarded citizen and he finds himself unable to enter the United States to do business in connection with a new enterprise which he has formed. Now, what would our position be in respect of a case like that if a man wanted to come to Canada? Do we have as high standards in respect to matters of that kind as apparently the United States has? It seems that you can have a conviction against him for anything that does not involve a matter of moral turpitude and that seems to be the difficulty that faces my man at the moment. I was wondering if you could throw any light upon what is done in a case like that. This is one of the most ridiculous cases I have come across thus far. I have gone as far as I can as a Canadian to try to have the matter rectified, but it seems that there is no way by which an appeal can be granted through the United States authorities on a matter of that kind. The only action they will permit is for a magistrate to annul the conviction; in this case the magistrate cannot do that because he is dead, and as this was a case which involved a small boy some years ago all the people identified with the case have either passed away or gone out of the picture; and there he is with that ridiculous conviction against him which stops him from going into the United States to do business.

Mr. MARQUIS: Even if the magistrate were living he could not do anything; there is no provision to have a conviction changed after the delays of appeal are over.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. That point does not arise because the magistrate is dead.—A. Was that conviction made in the United States?

Q. No, here.—A. In Canada?

Q. Yes. We are trying to get him a visa, but they will not grant a visa because of the fact that he had this minor infraction of the law and a conviction registered against him. It seems to me to be a very strange situation and one which is working an immense hardship in the particular case I have in mind. What would you do in a case like that if someone were coming into Canada?—A. I could not tell you that, because we do not deal with people coming into Canada; that would come under immigration. We deal only with outgoing cases.

By Mr. Marquis:

Q. For people who are going out of Canada I think, according to our regulations, only those who are condemned to penitentiary are refused permission to go to France and some other foreign countries. I believe for these minor offences there is nothing which would prevent a person from going there. I should like to have some clarification of that point?—A. Of course, the granting of a visa by a foreign consul is a matter entirely for the consul to go by his own regulations.

Q. But do you give another passport?—A. We would give the man a passport.

Q. Even if he had been committed to penitentiary, will you give him a passport?—A. It would depend; we might have to make inquiries there.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Some foreign countries not only demand a letter from the chief of police of any town or village but they also demand fingerprints. Of course, they do that in the United States.—A. The United States consuls demand that for a permanent visa for entry into the United States.

The CHAIRMAN: Following up the question asked by Mr. Graydon, they must have quite a bureau to follow up these processes even in the case of a minor offence. Do the authorities here make a report of this man's guilt?

The WITNESS: There is no report made as far as we are concerned.

Mr. LOW: Probably the boy was honest and said in his application that he had this little conviction registered against him.

Mr. GRAYDON: No, what happens is this: before they are allowed a visa they have to have a certificate from the Canadian authorities stating that there is no conviction registered against the applicant; and this conviction appears in this case.

The CHAIRMAN: Does it specify that he had no conviction against him?

Mr. GRAYDON: No, it specifies that he had.

The CHAIRMAN: On the application form it specifies that he must answer that question?

Mr. GRAYDON: No, this is a certificate given by the Canadian authorities. Some Canadian authority must give this man a clear bill of health.

Mr. MacLEAN: I have written hundreds of letters for people who desired to go to the United States. You have to give a certificate that they have no police court action entered against them, and they will not accept them if they have any.

Mr. MARQUIS: I think we have that set-up through the Department of the Secretary of State, and they gather information from the Department of Justice and the other departments concerned.

Mr. GRAYDON: I must say that the American officials have been most courteous and helpful here in connection with the case I have mentioned, but they are apparently completely prevented and prohibited by the American laws from having any appeal in connection with this matter, and it simply stands as a conviction regardless of how ridiculous the conviction is.

Mr. MARQUIS: Probably it would be important to amend the criminal code in regard to small legal offences when we have young lads who cannot be punished as criminals. It should be a summary conviction.

Mr. GRAYDON: This had to do with the theft of a radiator cap worth about five cents. It would be different had he been accused of having committed a robbery. There should be some criminal code provision with regard to a minor offence and summary conviction. This would not be in his record and considered as a criminal offence. There should be a distinction between the small offences and the greater offences, but we cannot deal with that here.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think the remedy would lie with an amendment to the criminal code; this would be an international matter between the two countries to make a border line as regards a case where a person could not get a visa to go to the United States.

Mr. MARQUIS: When it is a question of theft you cannot distinguish between a theft of five cents and a theft of two dollars. If you have an amendment specifying that the theft of twenty-five cents or one or two dollars in an infraction, a legal regulation punishable by way of summary conviction, I think it will not appear as a conviction in his record.

Mr. WINKLER: When I applied for a passport some years ago I do not recall any reference as to whether I had ever been in jail or fined for some criminal offence. I cannot understand how this chap got his record known in the United States.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is not on the passport; it is the application for visa for going into the United States. It has nothing to do with our authorities at all. It is a regulation whereby the United States authorities require this information before they give a visa.

Mr. WINKLER: I have had many visas for entry into the United States and I have never been asked that question.

Mr. MacINNIS: Perhaps you have never stolen anything, or perhaps you have never been found out.

Mr. FRASER: Mr. Cooper mentioned the fact that passport application forms are sent out to different railway offices and other places. They used to be sent to the post offices, but during the war years you ceased that practice with the post offices and they have not been allowed to have them.

The WITNESS: We did shut down for a while, but we have opened up again, and any postmaster who wants application forms can get them.

Mr. MacINNIS: Do all the consuls here issue visas now or would that be something that you would not know?

The WITNESS: I could not say definitely.

Mr. FRASER: I do not believe the Spanish consul issues visas. There was some difficulty in regard to that matter a few months ago.

By Mr. Low:

Q. How about the Vancouver office? Are you going to open that office again? That was closed during the war.—A. I have not heard anything along that line.

Q. I think that should be a matter for early consideration because it takes so long ordinarily for the mail to come from western Canada to Ottawa and back again that it becomes a strain on the people when their business requires their going across the line, perhaps for an extended period of more than twenty-nine days. They find that they have to hold up their arrangements because of the fact that the mails take a week or ten days. When that office was open in Vancouver we could get our passports in Alberta much more quickly, and that was a great convenience. I certainly suggest that something be done to have that office reopened. I should like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that if it is reopened pressure would certainly be taken off the office down here to a great extent.—A. Yes, a certain amount of it would.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. How many employees have you at the present time in your office?—A. Sixty-two, all told.

Q. In the passport office?—A. Yes.

Q. Does your staff not change quite often? Is it not a fact that they stay there a short time and if they can get a chance to go into another office they move on?—A. The great majority of the staff are on a temporary basis, and as the work drops we let the staff go, and if the work increases we take more on.

Q. How many are on a permanent basis?—A. Very few; ten all told.

Q. Has there been any change during the last few years in the number that are supposed to be on a permanent basis?—A. No, there has been no change since the war broke out. Prior to that we had fourteen permanents.

By Mr. Low:

Q. The volume of your work is greater than it was before the war, is it not?
—A. Yes. One clerk has been superannuated, one died and two left us.

Q. Is it not true that the volume of the work handled is much greater than it was prior to the war?—A. Yes, during the war it increased immensely.

Q. And it has not slacked off much?—A. Not a great deal.

Q. With a permanent staff of ten you are handling now a volume of work that is greater than it was when you had fourteen?—A. Yes, much.

Mr. FRASER: Should you not have more of a permanent staff so that you would have a force there sufficient to carry on at all times?

The WITNESS: Yes, I think we should have a permanent basic staff probably of around twenty-five.

Mr. Low: That is the point.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. I see an increase of \$51,000 over last year. Was some of the work done in some other department, or how do you account for the increase?—A. I cannot tell you anything about that.

Mr. Low: Is that the whole vote?

Mr. MACINNIS: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you take that as a notice of a question to be answered?

The WITNESS: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: There is some revenue emanating from the issue of passports; are you in a position to give us that revenue?

The WITNESS: No, I could not give you the exact figures.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you obtain them?

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I take it that the revenue does not take care of the expenditure?—
A. Oh, yes, it more than covers it.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. How many different kinds of passport application forms have you got? You have the ordinary A form, and a form for children under sixteen?—
A. And renewal form.

Q. The three forms?—A. The three forms, and they are printed in the two languages—one set in English and one set in French.

Mr. WINKLER: What would happen to the revenue if the passport period were extended from two to five years?

The WITNESS: I think we would have to adjust the fees to the old standard; it would amount to the same thing. We charged \$5 for a passport for a five-year period.

Mr. MARQUIS: Now you charge \$3?

The WITNESS: \$3 for a two-year period.

Mr. FRASER: And \$2 for the renewal?

The WITNESS: Yes.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Have you any observations to make on the fact that the visas are handled by the Immigration Department—the visas to the United States by

their Immigration Department? Is that what I am to understand from what you have said?—A. No, the visas are handled by the consular representatives of foreign countries in Canada.

Q. You did mention the Immigration Department a little while ago?—A. That is for travellers coming into Canada.

Q. When Canadians go to other countries, particularly the United States, the visa is arranged by the American consul; has their Immigration Department anything to do with it?—A. Yes, they are examined at the border. The visa of the consul will allow them to go through.

Q. Does that differ from Canadian practice?—A. I do not think so.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I am not sure you are accurate when you say that the visa will in every case enable a person going from Canada to the United States to pass the immigration officials at the border. I understand there have been cases where a visa has been issued and still the immigration officials at the border have held up the passage of the immigrant?—A. It is possible. I would not like to be too sure of that.

Q. It is not usual?—A. Usually they are recognized.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. For the renewal of United Kingdom passports we just use the dominion government renewal form?—A. Yes, sir, the same form.

Q. You handle them the same. I have had two in the last few days. You renew them with the Canadian renewal form?—A. Yes.

Q. Is there any record you have to pass on to the British government on the renewal?—A. No, there is no record at all.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What happens if a Canadian is abroad and he loses his passport; what does he do?—A. He would apply to our Canadian representative in the country where he is at the time and ask for another passport.

Q. Now, that brings this point up: we have not got a consular service in every country, have we? Have we always used the British consular service?—A. No, we have not a representative in every country, but where there is none the British consul acts for us.

Q. What, if any, necessary arrangement have we with the British consul so far as cases like that are concerned? Do we pay him for the work he does, or is there a reciprocal arrangement?—A. They simply charge their scale of fees.

By Mr. Low:

They actually issue passports in those countries without reference to the fees?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. They would issue a United Kingdom passport?—A. Yes.

Q. Which is the same as the Canadian passport?—A. Practically the same thing.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Under the jurisdiction of which department is the official who collects your Foreign Exchange Control Board permit when you cross the border?—A. I believe it is the Department of Customs.

Mr. Low: Yes, it is the Customs man.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. If a passport, say, expired in 1935 it cannot be renewed; you have to get a new one?—A. Yes.

Q. Why was the ten-year period put on the other renewal?—A. Like any passport which expired in 1935 we would have to issue an entirely new one.

Q. According to the regulations?—A. Yes, the passport would be good for ten years from the date on which it was issued. It would have no reference to the previous one.

Q. And the old one would have to be torn up?—A. It would be cancelled.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. If you have not renewed your Canadian passport before the expiration date, do you have to go through the process of applying, de novo, or can you still get the expired passport renewed?—A. Yes, within any time within ten years of the date of issue you can renew it. That frequently happens. Some renewal periods are dropped entirely; you can get renewal until the last two years of its life. We will extend it for that time and charge for one renewal only.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Are passports for any reason ever cancelled?—A. Yes, they are. They can be cancelled for cause.

Mr. GRAYDON: What is the cause?

The WITNESS: It would have to be a very serious matter.

Mr. WINKLER: Have there been cancellations in recent years?

The WITNESS: I have not seen any for quite a while now.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I do not know whether this comes within your scope or not, but is it easy to get a visa once you have a passport to enter the Union of Soviet Republics?—A. I think it is rather difficult to get that, as far as I know.

Q. Is it easy if a citizen of Russia wants to come here? Do we put up the same obstacles in connection with visas for them to enter the Dominion of Canada?—A. I could not tell you about that, sir; that comes under another department. That concerns incoming travellers.

The CHAIRMAN: What department?

The WITNESS: That would be under the Immigration Branch of the Mines and Resources Department.

Mr. Low: Have we ever followed the practice of fingerprinting incoming people?

The WITNESS: No, that has never been a Canadian regulation.

Mr. GRAYDON: Is that a regulation in certain countries?

The WITNESS: The United States has it.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. And all South American countries?—A. A great many of them.

Q. I have here an Australian news summary dated May 23 which says:—

Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell announced in Adelaide tonight that restrictions imposed upon National Security Regulations on the issue of passports to Canada, the United States and Pacific Islands with the exception of Japan, will be relaxed from June 1. The usual conditions imposed under the Passport Act will continue to operate. Persons wishing

to travel from Australia to the United States and Canada will get passports limited in validity to those two countries. Mr. Calwell said that relaxation of restrictions affecting travel from Australia to the United Kingdom was under consideration.

What would that mean?—A. That would mean travellers from Australia.

Q. By relaxing would that mean that they curtailed that issue?—A. Probably during the war.

Mr. Low: It is outside of this department?

The WITNESS: Oh, yes. That would be an Australian matter.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you find any conflict of administration between the Department of Immigration and the departments of other countries?

The WITNESS: No, we do not find it. Entry to Canada, of course, is a matter for Immigration to decide; it comes under them. They follow their own regulations. Usually in the case of External Affairs if someone applies for a visa to come here the matter would be referred to Immigration first.

The CHAIRMAN: We may have to have an official of the Immigration Department to deal with that question.

Mr. Low: I think that would be a good plan.

The CHAIRMAN: You spoke about a Russian coming into Canada and a Canadian going to Russia. If it is the wish of the committee we might arrange to have someone from the offices of the Immigration Department come before us to deal with that aspect of the visa matter.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I take it from what you say, Mr. Cooper, that there are clear and definite boundaries as far as your work is concerned and that of the Immigration Department. You would only deal, as you said, with the issuance of passports which are evidence with respect to nationality and the identification of the person. In the public mind, however, the question of a passport and a visa is a very conflicting and confusing thing, and maybe technically there is no overlapping or perhaps no lack of clarification between the two departments. The average citizen, I fancy, thinks when he gets a passport that we have given him a passport to go where he likes, and I think most members have found that they have to explain to the public that that is really an identification and contains reference to nationality, but that the Canadian has to have an entrance certificate, which is a visa, in addition, if he wishes to go to another country. I suppose there is no real overlapping between the two departments because you have separate jurisdiction?—A. It is quite simple.

Mr. FRASER: Is there any regulation in regard to a passport issued to a boy of eight or nine or ten years who applies for a renewal ten years later and and the boy's appearance has changed; is there any regulation that he has to have new pictures?

The WITNESS: There is no regulation; we usually ask for a new photograph.

Mr. Low: Is that why we require certain information on the back of one of the pictures giving the date?

Mr. FRASER: In this case you would not need that; on a renewal there are no pictures showing likeness because the pictures are all on the passport.

Mr. Low: You do require pictures?

The WITNESS: Not for renewals.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. That is the question I asked, because I had the case of a British passport the other day where a boy from Toronto wanted a renewal and I think the

British passport was for 1927 and it had been checked each year or each two or three years and the boy has entirely changed in appearance since the pictures were taken. You gentlemen would ask for new pictures, would you not?—A. No, we would not unless there was a very great change.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What steps does the department take to protect itself against the issuance of fake passports? Have there been any cases where passports have been issued to the wrong persons?—A. Oh, yes, they do occur.

Q. Have there been many instances in your department?—A. There have been a few, yes.

Q. In recent times?—A. I would not say in recent times.

Q. What has happened in those cases?—A. We usually turn the matter over to the R.C.M.P.

Mr. FRASER: In that case it would bounce back on the person who vouched for that other person?

The WITNESS: Yes, that is the only protection we have. There is a section in the criminal code.

Mr. GRAYDON: Have there been any convictions, do you know?

The WITNESS: I do not think so. I think the most that happens in these cases is that the voucher has been placed on the list of those from whom vouchings will not be accepted, and usually he is notified why we do it.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. In connection with people going to the United States, when baggage is accepted by the customs officials I suppose the Department of Revenue is responsible? Who pays the customs?—A. You mean going out?

Q. No, coming back from the United States?—A. That would come under National Revenue.

Q. Does the same officer check your identity and decide whether you are a fit person to come into Canada?—A. That would be checked by immigration.

Mr. MACINNIS: That does not fall within your province at all?

The WITNESS: No, it does not.

Mr. FRASER: Have you enough room in your office to handle the issuance of passports or are you cramped for space?

The WITNESS: We have ample room there.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I think you said in your early remarks that the passport forms are to some extent uniform throughout the nations of the world; is that the case in each nation, or how is that uniformity achieved; is it by an international conference?—A. I do not remember saying that; they are not uniform.

Q. Oh, they are not uniform?—A. Each country provides its own forms of application, and even within the British Empire they are not all the same.

Q. Have our forms been found to be sufficient for our purposes?—A. Yes, they have. We had to devise a form that would conform with our particular laws. There are certain difficulties in the case of married women who marry United States citizens which do not occur in some of the other British countries. They have very few cases of that kind whereas we have a great many. Our form had to be prepared to take care of cases like that.

Q. Are you satisfied with the present type of form?—A. Yes, it has worked out satisfactorily.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any more questions which you wish to ask of Mr. Cooper?

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Is there any international agreement fixing the visa fees among the various countries?—A. No, there is not.

By Mr. Low:

Q. There is no visa fee?—A. Each country makes its own rates or fees.

Q. Between Canada and the United States?—A. Their scale is entirely different.

Q. They do not charge a fee just for a visa, but if you are going to settle there is a head tax?—A. They charge a \$10 fee and \$8 for head tax.

Mr. GRAYDON: They do not charge a fee for ordinary entry?

The WITNESS: They do not charge for a visit.

Mr. JACKMAN: How much of a visa fee does Canada charge?

The WITNESS: \$2.

The CHAIRMAN: Did I understand you to say at the beginning that it is not necessary to get a passport to go to the United States, that a certificate is sufficient?

The WITNESS: Yes, according to United States regulations it is sufficient for a visit up to twenty-nine days.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. A birth certificate or your automobile licence sometimes will get you in?—A. Yes, in some places.

Q. What is the condition of your office now? How many hundreds of passports have you in the office at the present time? How many do you get a day—application forms?—A. I do not know just the daily rate, but they run about 1,500 a week.

Q. You were running during the war many more than that, were you not?—A. Yes, at that time there were as many as 2,600 a week.

Q. How many are you behind now? Do you catch up at the end of the week?—A. At the end of last week—that is Saturday—we were slightly more than 400 behind.

Q. That would mean that your passport deliveries now are only about seven days. If an application for passport comes into your office this morning there is every likelihood that the passport will be mailed out about this time next week?—A. Yes, probably sooner. We try to give a 72-hour service.

Q. During the war the period might have been a month?—A. Yes, sometimes more than that.

Q. It would be about a month, perhaps longer?—A. It was very difficult at times during the war to get these passports out. We were swamped. A small staff of ten or twelve people suddenly jumped up to two hundred. They knew nothing about the work.

Q. I went into your office about the first part of July—I think it was in 1941—and one long office was piled with passport applications and they looked to be about a foot and a half high and many of them had money pinned on them.—A. That was in 1940.

Q. They had not been touched, and the Lord only knew when they would be touched.—A. Fortunately I was not there at that time.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In addition to the fact that a passport provides two things, identification and nationality, why is it necessary for an applicant to set out in his application the countries to which he intends to go? Is there anything connected with the suggestion that it might be a passport which would enable a person to go to any

country he might desire to travel to?—A. That was possible before the war, but since the war, as you know, in Europe and the Far East especially, a certain amount of turmoil exists still, and it is difficult to give protection to people.

Q. Does the passport normally give protection?—A. It calls upon our officials abroad to give what protection they can.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Mr. Cooper, with regard to the distribution of application forms, I had occasion last Saturday to try to get a passport application form for a friend in Toronto. I tried the post office and the dominion government building at No. 1 Front Street East, and I was told there was not such a thing in Toronto and it would be necessary to go to Ottawa for it; is that correct?—A. That is not correct. We send these forms to railway ticket offices and to banks.

Q. Anywhere else?—A. To steamship offices; in fact anyone who wants a supply of forms can get them.

Q. That was the answer given me at the main postal terminal in Toronto and at the dominion building at No. 1 Front Street East: there were none in Toronto and it would be necessary to write to Ottawa.—A. That is not so. If a postmaster wanted these forms he could get them by writing to us.

Q. Could he keep quantities on hand for people who wanted them?—A. Yes, we would send them.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I think Mr. Cooper's answer to my earlier question this morning would cover that point. During the war they were not sent out to the post offices; they stopped that practice; but since the war is over they are allowing the forms to go out. I believe that the postmasters in the different post offices have not been informed that now they can get these forms, and that is why they have not got them.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. It should not be left to the individual postmasters to make the applications to the passport office for a quantity of forms; they should be available in these post offices and other government offices for people who need them. It should not be necessary to write in for the forms; they should be widely distributed and made available to anyone on immediate application.

My other point is this: it has to do with the form of the passport. Perhaps this question was asked earlier. I understand there has been a change in the form. Formerly the passport was issued in the name of the Governor General and lately that has been changed and the passports are now issued in the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs?—A. Correct.

Q. When did that go into effect, and what is the reason for the change?—A. It came into effect when the Earl of Athlone terminated his term of office; but I could not tell you the reasons for the change, that would be something for External Affairs.

Q. Was that brought about by order in council, or what form did the instruction take?—A. I do not know. Those things are arranged by the department itself.

Q. You are supplied with the forms?—A. We are supplied with the passport books.

Mr. CROLL: It probably had something to do with the passing of the Citizenship Bill.

The WITNESS: Perhaps.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Why is it necessary for people coming from the United States particularly that they should have to run the gamut of both the custom officials in Canada and the immigration inspector? Most of their inquiries are pretty much pro forma, and I was wondering why we cannot have one Canadian official looking after customs and immigration. I realize that at seaports it may be necessary to have separate immigration officials, but who would be the proper person to question on why these two services cannot be combined and thereby effect considerable savings to the country? This question is probably outside the province of Mr. Cooper, but he may be able to offer us some help, and if we ask the Revenue Department about the customs angle they will give us their viewpoint, and if we ask the Immigration people they will give us their point of view. Now, as regards ports of entry from the United States those two functions could be combined in the one official with considerable saving to the country.

Mr. PICARD: On the trains coming from New York or Chicago if you had only one man or two men dealing with both services they could not carry out their duties to the two departments in justice and fairness, because in some cases the immigration man may be looking at the papers of some person who may not be a proper person to enter Canada for some reason and he might want to get him off at the border, and the man who represents Customs has got to go through the luggage, and that is an entirely distinct function, and he must make sure that he performs his duty. If the same man were charged with both duties he could not perform both to the satisfaction of both departments. Now, maybe in a port of entry the same man might be able to do the work in the same office because he would have more time, but as much of the immigration inspection takes place on the train for the convenience of the passengers, I do not think that the same man could do both jobs. These men on the trains are taken from the port of entry office so that we must have there men from both departments to protect the country. At one point on some days they have to check up credentials quite carefully, and I wonder if the same man could do both jobs or would we by saving a few dollars help the work of the two departments?

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Mr. Cooper, you said that the offices you have are large enough, but I was wondering whether, the offices being so far away from the main offices of the External Affairs Department, it causes some difficulty?—A. That is a distinct disadvantage—having the office so far away from the rest of the department. We have plenty of room, but it is very inconvenient at times to be so far away.

Q. You must be nearly three-quarters of a mile away?—A. Yes, we must be.

Mr. WINKLER: Reverting to Mr. Jackman's question, along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude in the prairies particularly there are many points where one man performs the duties for all the departments; he is the only representative there, and he serves without any relief except periodically for holidays.

The CHAIRMAN: Following the question asked by Mr. Fleming, do the postmasters have to handle the national revenue forms? I have heard a lot of complaint in my section about the extra work which is piled on the postmasters today, work which has nothing to do with the post work itself. Now, while it is a very important matter that passport applications should be distributed all over Canada, I cannot see why it should be done through the small rural post offices where the postmaster gets a minimum of \$100 a year. This would be extra work. He would have to keep those application forms in a

proper place at the disposal of the public. In the larger cities there should be a system where they could be handled for the public as the post office is the only place where every family goes once a day.

Mr. FLEMING: Here are two responsible government offices in Toronto and there were no passport application forms to be had in Toronto.

The CHAIRMAN: What department?

Mr. FLEMING: The post office and the dominion government building at No. 1 Front Street East, which houses the Department of National Revenue and some other government offices.

The CHAIRMAN: Generally speaking, the postmasters are loaded up with everything, and some of them object. There has been some objection in my own constituency because the postmasters get no added remuneration for that work.

Mr. FRASER: I do not think the small post offices would be asked for application forms very often, but I think the application forms should be kept in the cities and villages where we have to pay a postmaster—not where the postmaster is on a commission basis.

The CHAIRMAN: That brings up the question of compensation. It is almost impossible to ask a postmaster, generally speaking, to handle the work of another department.

Mr. FRASER: Well, at the present time the postmasters throughout Canada are handing out income tax forms and they do not get anything extra for it.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a question that should be studied from all angles. It means a lot to the big cities and the municipalities, but would it be applied to the smaller sections?

Mr. MARQUIS: It can be considered as a mail service if some of the forms are mailed. If we send them some forms they will deliver them on the same basis as mail.

The CHAIRMAN: Has your department the power to ask the postmaster in the city of Toronto to take these forms and distribute them?

The WITNESS: No, all we can do is ask them—send them a request asking if they are willing to handle them and if so we will let them have forms.

Mr. FLEMING: I think at times the public become impatient at what they find in government departments as to whether they are related to other government departments. There may be some inconvenience in certain places in keeping a suitable quantity of passport applications on hand, but surely this is a matter of giving service to the public and it is not going to take a great deal of space in any post office or public building, and the public is entitled to that service. It is an extraordinary thing that people in this country should find that they have to write to Ottawa for application forms because some local government officials, exercising their option, have decided that they are not going to give the service which they are not compelled by their departmental authority to give. I do not think that is good enough.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand the point of the public not getting proper service, but is the passport department to have a special department for the distribution of these forms? I do not believe we have the power—

Mr. PICARD: It could be arranged between the two departments of the public service.

Mr. FLEMING: It is a matter of co-operation between departments, and the ministers are their liaison between the departments.

Mr. MARQUIS: The Department of Immigration have these forms everywhere where they have offices, have they not?

The WITNESS: Not in every office.

Mr. MARQUIS: They should have them.

The WITNESS: Some of them have. We will supply them with forms if they are willing to handle them.

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask the members of the committee to study this angle and see what recommendation we can make.

Mr. FLEMING: The clerk should make a note so that we will not lose sight of this matter.

Mr. JACKMAN: While I appreciate that some of these postmasters in small places receive minimum fees for their work, I should like to move that a request be made to the Postmaster General asking him to authorize or command—whatever the appropriate term is—all postmasters to facilitate the public in a distribution of these passport application forms. I should think that Mr. Bertrand would be very glad to take on that additional duty. As far as the small postmaster is concerned, it simply means that he has a file of forms on hand; it is not an onerous duty to impose even upon the small man. Certainly in the large centres it is very difficult—particularly when a man has an urgent call to go to the United States—if he cannot readily find a passport form. I should think we would want something like several hundred forms in a place like Toronto; a stock of them should be kept.

Mr. PICARD: We might modify that proposal by stating that it should apply to all post offices with regularly paid employees, regular post offices that cater to a large enough community where the postmaster is on a regular salary basis.

Mr. FLEMING: I suggest that Mr. Jackman's proposed motion should go further; it is not just post offices but other government offices which could easily carry some of these forms on hand. I suggest that the request should be made to government departments in general. Post offices are the places that naturally come to one's mind, but I think there are other offices as well that might have some of these forms on hand as a convenience for the public.

Mr. SINCLAIR: It seems that the view is that every place is Toronto. Now, in my riding there are dozens of little post offices where a man would never think of going to ask for a passport. If he is going away from home he knows that he is supposed to go to the railway office or the steamship office, and if he goes to the railway office they will have the passports. I have sent different people to the C.N.R. and the C.P.R. in Oshawa and they have got their forms and everything is all right. I am satisfied that the railway companies in Toronto must have these forms and that it is not necessary to load this work on these little post offices. It is unworkable. It is a big bill of expense to print all these unnecessary forms. The larger places, the county towns, places like Oshawa, have these forms at the transportation offices. It seems to me that is the logical place to go to make inquiries if one is going to make a journey to the United States. I certainly would not be in favour of loading this work onto these country postmasters who receive \$100 a year.

Mr. MacINNIS: I would like to say that maybe this is an unusual way to deal with this matter. It is not particularly urgent at the moment. Would it not be better, instead of passing Mr. Jackman's motion, to make a recommendation in our report and then bring that to the attention of all concerned?

The CHAIRMAN: I would not be in favour of trying to put that work on the small post offices because they are not civil servants and they do not get special pay. They get \$100 a year or the equivalent of that; some of them get \$325.

Mr. JACKMAN: They get a commission on stamps.

The CHAIRMAN: It does not amount to very much.

Mr. WINKLER: I am sure that Mr. Fleming is only interested to see that there is a proper distribution of these forms; he is not necessarily trying to load

anything onto one person or another; but in my constituency where the post offices are small it would be a considerable hardship if any department should start unloading literature of any kind on the postmasters, as they are very much overloaded by reason of departmental work that has been pushed onto them.

Mr. JACKMAN: I receive a number of requests for passport applications and I usually keep about half a dozen in my office in Toronto. I do not find the slightest difficulty in having a few extra forms around and it saves me a lot of trouble. People apply to the postmasters for these forms because they do not know where else to go. It is not much trouble keeping an envelope with a dozen forms available to satisfy customers, and postmasters are very often merchants; and the smaller the office the higher the commission on stamps. On the first \$100 they get so much, and the more they sell the more people go to them for service and the more people are likely to buy stamps. I think it is probably a profitable thing for the postmaster, as a merchant, to have people going to him, and I do not believe it is going to burden him very much, because I do the same thing in my office and I do not find it a burden at all.

Mr. PICARD: When I heard my friend speaking about the sale of stamps I was hoping that he could see the list of pay of my twenty-two postmasters. Some of them get as little as \$25 or \$50 a year, and the top man would get only \$1,200.

May I revert to another point. You, Mr. Cooper, have never considered that it might be more advisable to get a birth certificate to be supplied by the applicant with an application for a passport?

The WITNESS: No.

Mr. PICARD: At the moment it is not requested, but I know of a case where a chap came to the office of the Minister of Justice, and he was a political friend of different origin than English or French—I do not know what it was—but he came to me and asked me if I would help him to get a passport for his friend, Mr. Howard. So that I would know what I was sending over I put a knife in the envelope; I said, "I want to see what I am sending." I opened up the envelope and it contained a passport with the man's own photograph slightly changed with a different tie or his hair fixed differently. I said, "This is you." He said, "That is not me." I said, "It must be your twin brother." I said, "I will send it on but I will not add any recommendation, or I will give it back to you." It was sent over to the department. I let it go, and I did not call the passport office to see what was going on, and he got the passport that day. The man in the office could not very well verify the last photographs, and the name was different, but it happened that someone looking over the files must have seen this and recognized a resemblance. It took about a month. They notified him and got the passport back. That killed him politically and otherwise in our office. He was not a friend from that moment on and was regarded with suspicion. There was no way for the man in the passport office to check up all the photographs. Had there been a birth certificate this man could not very well have asked for a passport under the name of Howard when his name was different. When there is no birth certificate you can go away and get a good photograph to look different and get another passport. I think in some cases it has been done.

The WITNESS: They do ask for birth certificates in Great Britain.

Mr. MARQUIS: You do not ask for birth certificates?

The WITNESS: No, we rely on the voucher.

Mr. FLEMING: You require a certificate as to identity by some magistrate or clergyman.

Mr. PICARD: A bank manager or anybody.

Mr. FLEMING: Is that found to be a sufficient protection against fraud?

The WITNESS: We rely on the vouching. In most cases it seems to be all right.

Mr. FLEMING: Have you had any trouble with cases such as Mr. Picard mentioned?

The WITNESS: What is that?

Mr. PICARD: A case similar to the one I have mentioned.

The WITNESS: No. They crop up now and again. They get in trouble eventually.

Mr. PICARD: Another hard thing is for the man in the office to check the name of the man who is vouching. Any justice of the peace or bank manager can vouch. You assume the man is responsible but he is not known by the clerk in the office. How could you check to see if James Smith, the justice of the peace, is really a justice of the peace at such a point.

Mr. FLEMING: The signature may not be legible.

The WITNESS: A justice of the peace would have a seal.

Mr. PICARD: I have seen many documents initialled by a notary who has not a seal.

The WITNESS: The manager of a bank will usually put the bank's stamp on it.

Mr. PICARD: They must have taken my signature at its face value, because I sent some and I have no seal.

The WITNESS: Notaries usually have a seal, and the J.P.'s.

Mr. FRASER: Do you allow members of parliament to vouch?

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jackman, you were speaking of a resolution. If in your resolution with regard to the distribution of passport application forms you limited it to cities or towns and municipalities of 3,000 or more, I believe we could do something by way of recommendation.

Mr. JACKMAN: It is better than it is now even if we limit it. I do not think it adds very much responsibility to the small postmaster, and if I were a postmaster I would be glad to take the work on.

Mr. FLEMING: You had better settle for 1,000.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: As regards small towns I do not think the postmasters are at all interested in having any further burdens added. As it was said, people may go to the post office to buy stamps but in our small municipalities if the people do not buy their stamps at the post office there is no other place to buy them.

The CHAIRMAN: As regards the localities in my section I think to add anything to the load on the postmasters would be unfair.

Mr. BEAUDOIN: If we have the assurance of the Postmaster General that their incomes will be increased if they distribute these forms that might be all right; I should like to see them get more money for what they are doing. But I do not think that would be the effect.

Mr. JACKMAN: I have a way to solve it; you could put a 10-cent stamp on the document and let the postmaster get the 10 cents.

Mr. WINKLER: If Mr. Jackman will change his figure to populations of 2,000 or more—

Mr. Low: Let us make it 1,000.

Mr. MACINNIS: Let us draw the attention of the department to the matter; ultimately they will do what they think is proper anyway.

The CHAIRMAN: We can leave it as a recommendation. Is that satisfactory to you, Mr. Jackman?

Mr. FLEMING: What will that do with the motion? I think there should be other offices besides the post offices included in this motion.

Mr. PICARD: It might be left in the form that the Department of External Affairs could ask other departments to co-operate to assure a fair distribution of these forms.

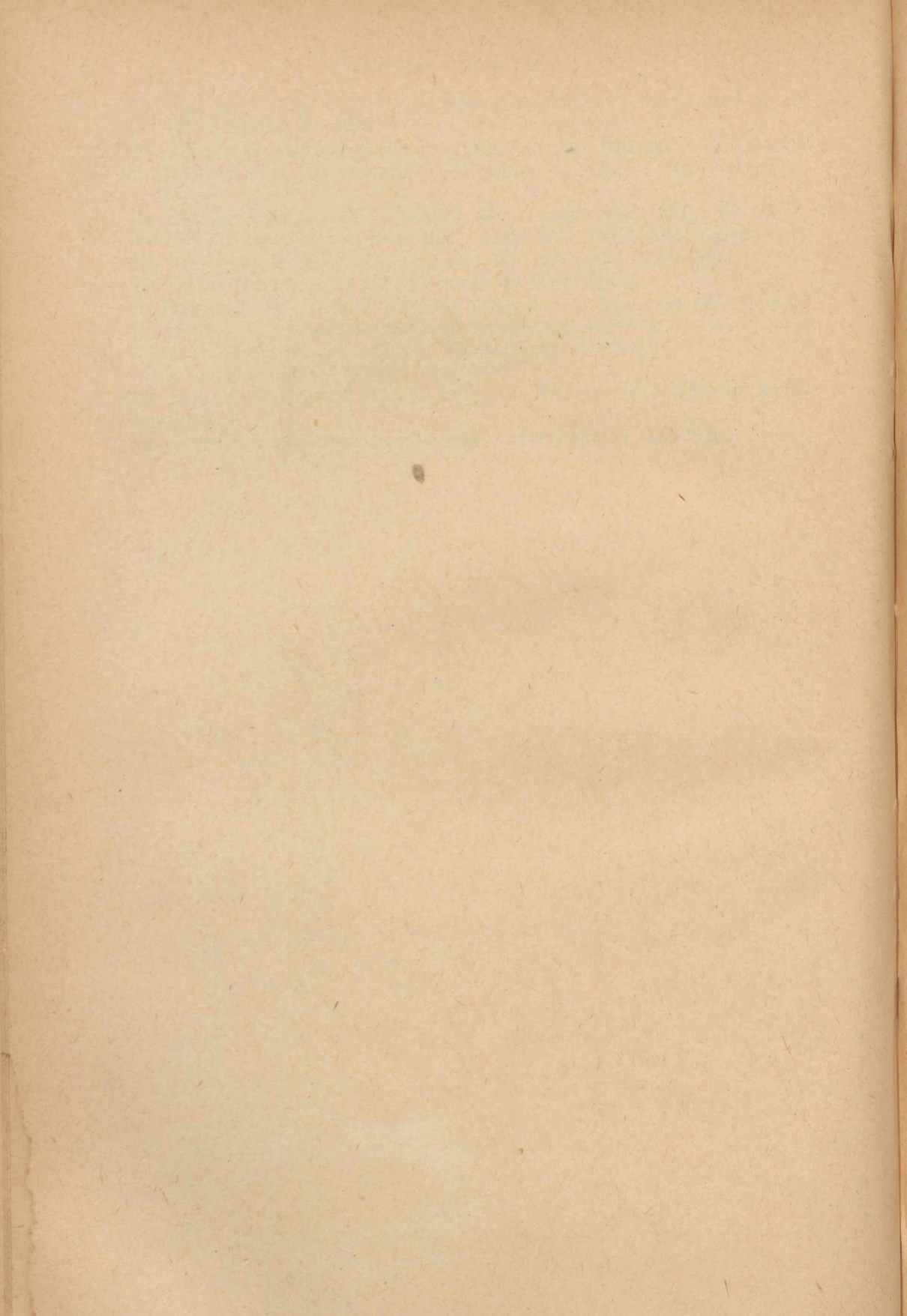
Mr. FRASER: I think if Mr. Cooper's department would notify the C.P.R. and the C.N.R. that they can have these forms that would help a great deal.

The WITNESS: That is what we do. We distribute these forms to the railways because people go to the stations to get their tickets.

Mr. FLEMING: Is it not an amazing thing that in the main post office of the city of Toronto and in the dominion government building at No. 1 Front Street they could not tell an applicant last Saturday morning where in the city of Toronto he could get a passport application?

Mr. FRASER: You should come to Peterboro because our postmaster knows all about that.

The committee adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.



SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 7

THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

SESSION THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

THURSDAY JUNE 13 1946

WITNESSES

Mr. A. I. LEAHY, Director of Investigation, Department of Justice and
Attorney General

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, June 13, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Member present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, Raymond (*Beauharnois-Laprairie*), Sinclair (*Ontario*), Winkler.

In attendance: Mr. S. D. Hemsley, administration branch and Mr. L. C. Audette, legal branch, External Affairs Department.

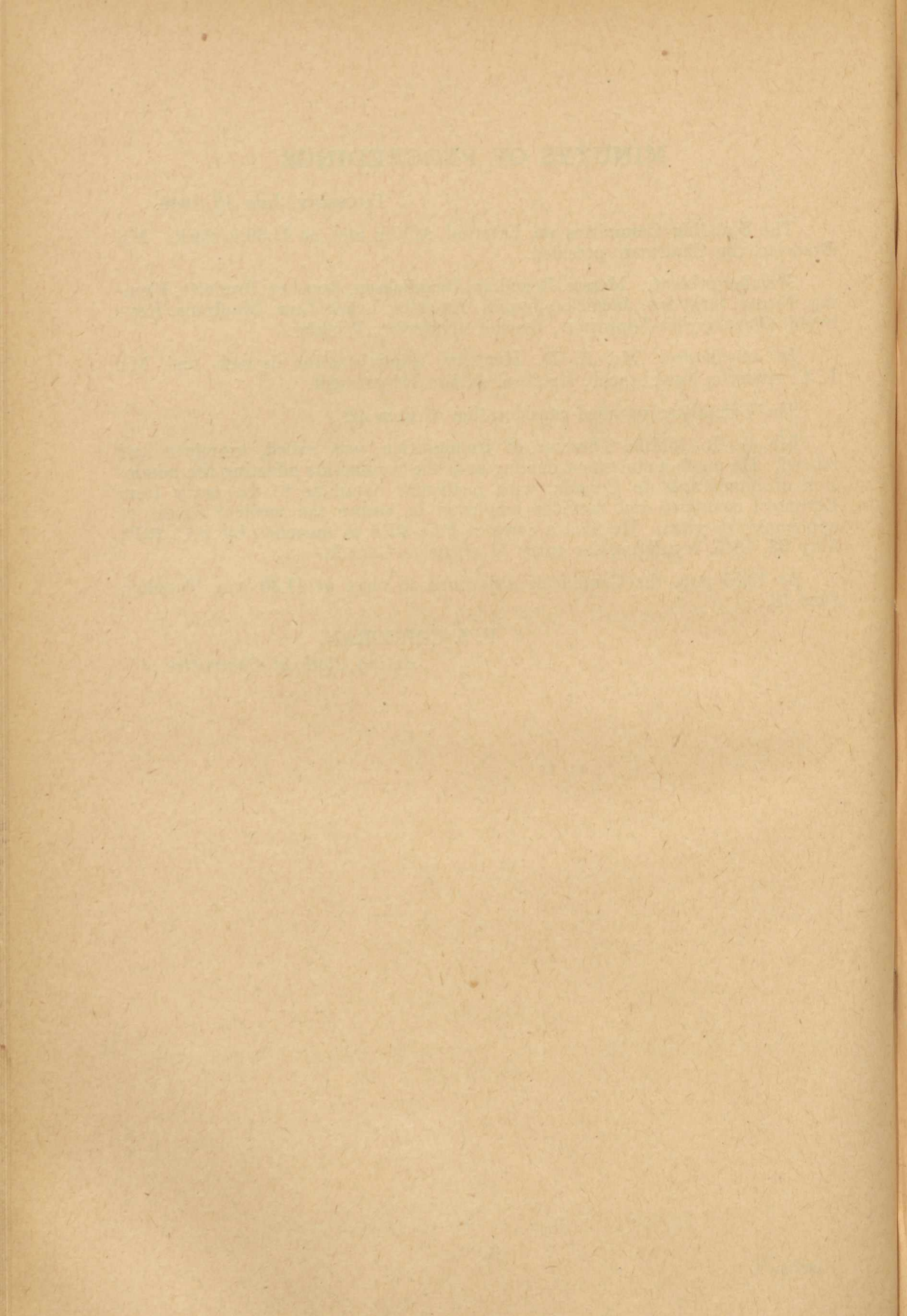
The Committee resumed consideration of *item 42*.

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, was called, examined and retired. He made a statement dealing with the regulations affecting the admission of immigrants to Canada, with particular detail as to the entry from European countries and methods employed to ensure the medical fitness of applicants for visas. He filed a copy of P.C. 3016 as amended by P.C. 2070, May 28, 1946, regulating the entry of aliens to Canada.

At 12.55 p.m. the Committee adjourned to meet at 11.30 a.m. Tuesday, June 18.

F. J. CORCORAN,

Acting Clerk of Committee.



MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 13, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, the responsibility for calling this meeting today devolved upon me. It was expected that we would meet tomorrow, but some of our members asked me if it would be possible for us to meet today as a matter of convenience to them, and I am sorry that it may be inconvenient to some others. But we are here now and we have with us this morning Mr. Jolliffe of the Department of Immigration who will speak to us of his department and the visa question which was brought before our committee at the last meeting by Mr. Cooper while dealing with the matter of passports. I will call Mr. Jolliffe.

A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources, called.

The CHAIRMAN: Proceed, Mr. Jolliffe, please.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, one of the regulations under the provisions of the Immigration Act for the admission of immigrants to Canada relates to passports. The regulation is one made by order in council, and the authority is contained in section 37 of the Immigration Act. The section provides that the Governor in Council may make regulations for the production of a passport as a condition for the admission to Canada of immigrants and non-immigrants.

The first passport regulation was made in 1910 and it provided that no immigrant should be permitted to enter Canada if a subject of a country which issues a passport or penal certificate or both to persons emigrating therefrom, unless he produced such passport upon demand of the officer in charge.

That regulation remained in effect for many years, and in 1921 it was changed to provide that all persons entering Canada, other than British subjects and United States citizens coming from the United States, must present a passport. The following year the regulation was changed to provide for the visaing of passports before presentation as a condition of admission to Canada. The regulation, as in effect today, is an order in council which was passed in 1938 and has been amended somewhat since, it requires that all persons other than certain classes defined in the regulation shall be in possession of a valid passport as a condition of admission to Canada. The exceptions to that regulation are British subjects from the British Isles, the dominions, Newfoundland, United States citizens coming from the United States and certain non-immigrant classes described in section 37 of the Act. For instance, Canadians are not required to have passports when coming back to their own country, nor are diplomatic officers, government officers, or men of His Majesty's armed forces. All alien immigrants coming from the continent of Europe are required to have not only the passport but the visa of a Canadian immigration officer stationed on the

continent. Alien immigrants coming from other parts of the world are required to have visas from Canadian immigration officers if they are available, or from a Canadian diplomatic officer, or failing that, from a British diplomatic or consular officer. The alien non-immigrant from other countries than from the continent of Europe simply requires the passport and not the visa.

That briefly describes the passport regulation. I have brought a number of copies with me, Mr. Chairman, for the use of the members.

Copy

P.C. 3016

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

TUESDAY, the 29th day of November, 1938

(As amended by P.C. 2070 dated the 28th day of May, 1946.)

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Mines and Resources and under the authority of Section 37 of the Immigration Act, Chapter 93, R.S.C., 1927, is pleased to rescind and doth hereby rescind the regulation established by Order in Council P.C. 185 of the 31st January, 1923, as amended by Orders in Council P.C. 612 of the 3rd April, 1930, and P.C. 82 of the 15th January, 1931.

His Excellency in Council, on the same recommendation and under the above cited authority, is further pleased to make the following regulation and it is hereby made and established accordingly:—

On and after the 29th November, 1938, every person seeking to enter or land in Canada, shall be in possession of an unexpired passport, issued by the Government of the Country of which such person is a subject or citizen: Provided:—

1. That this regulation shall not apply to:—

- (a) Those specifically exempted in Section 37 of the Immigration Act;
- (b) British subjects landing in Canada directly or indirectly from Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, the Union of South Africa, or the United States of America, nor shall it apply to United States citizens. The term "British Subject" within the meaning of this clause, includes only persons born or naturalized in Canada, Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, or the Union of South Africa.

2. That the passport of every alien sailing directly or indirectly from Europe, shall carry the visa of a Canadian Immigration officer stationed in Europe.

3. That the passport of every alien immigrant not included in No. 2 of this regulation, shall carry the visa of British Diplomatic or Consular Officer or of a Canadian Diplomatic Officer in the country of issue, as may be required by the Minister of Mines and Resources.

4. That a travel document establishing the identity of the holder may be accepted in lieu of a passport in the case of an immigrant who has been displaced from his country of origin as the result of the war and who is not in possession of a valid passport.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask Mr. Jolliffe this question? Mr. Jolliffe, you mentioned that failing a Canadian immigration officer or a Canadian consular service, such service not being available at the particular point where the alien from Europe was making application to have his passport or visa, the British consular service takes over. You can use the British consular service, as I understand it?—A. Yes.

Q. Now that we have launched out on this new venture of Canadian citizenship, what is the position with respect to the British consular service so far as Canadians are concerned? Is there any change?—A. The Canadian does not require a passport nor does he require any visa; the Canadian is in one of the exempt classes under the order in council. In other words, a Canadian coming into Canada does not require a passport as a condition of admission; he comes in as a matter of right.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. That is after he has proven that he is a Canadian; what proof does he have to have?—A. Well, he has to satisfy the immigration officer at the port of entry that he is a Canadian. He usually has a passport if he leaves Canada to travel because he cannot get into most countries without a passport—probably all countries other than British countries, except the United States—so that coming from overseas the Canadian usually has a passport with him and that is one of the documents that would establish his citizenship. He might also produce his birth certificate. He might have no documents with him, but his examination by the officer at the port of entry would usually satisfy the officer that he is a Canadian.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. You did not answer the question asked by Mr. Graydon. I think he referred to passports issued by a foreign power to be visaed by Canadian consular officers, and you stated that the British consular officer would do just as well. Is that right?—A. I said that in countries other than European countries the regulation require the visa by either a Canadian consular officer, or a British one, if there is no Canadian officer there. Now, as far as the continent of Europe is concerned, the regulations say a Canadian immigration officer.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. The point I was making had broader aspects than this particular matter before us. It has always been a matter of some concern to me what happens with respect to our service by British consular officials when we adopt a Canadian nationality, whether we will have to make new arrangements with the British consular service all over the world; because until the Canadian Nationality Act was passed, we were British subjects in Canada and nothing else. That, of course, gave the right to British subjects, whether in Canada, the United Kingdom, or Australia—no matter where it might be—to use the British consular officers all over the world. Now, we have established Canadian nationality. What happens in the places where the Canadian consular services are not available? It seems to me we are in a little different position than we were before, and I was wondering whether that would have any particular effect on this particular position in which you find yourself?—A. I think not, Mr.

Graydon; because from an immigration point of view there is no question raised with regard to a passport or a visa. The Canadian does not require them, so that is really beyond the jurisdiction of the immigration service.

Q. I quite appreciate that; but I wanted to raise that point because I think it is something that is in many people's minds.

Mr. LEGER: Is a Canadian not also a British subject under the Naturalization Act?

Mr. GRAYDON: I have raised that question with two or three well known students of constitutional law, and they have grave doubts as to whether we can simply pass a new Nationality Act and at the same time, by putting in a clause saying that a Canadian citizen is a British subject, still use that single sentence to give us the rights we formerly enjoyed with British consular service agencies all over the world.

Mr. JAENICKE: It is my opinion that under the new law anyone who is a Canadian citizen now is a British subject because we became such under British law; but we have abolished the British law under the new Act, and it is my opinion that an alien who now becomes a Canadian subject is not a British subject outside of Canada.

Mr. FRASER: Mr. Chairman, I think that Mr. Read when he addressed us on the subject of the Extradition Treaty last year gave us an opinion on that matter.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, there were opinions given on that matter.

Mr. FRASER: He said, if I remember well, that the Canadian government might have to make different arrangements with the British consuls. I think you will find that in the minutes last year dealing with the Extradition Treaty.

Mr. GRAYDON: When we talk about all the rules we make with regard to Canadian nationality, we must not forget that sometimes it is a pretty costly business if we have to put consular services to take the place of British consular services all over the world, and that is one of the things that is sometimes forgotten in the general picture.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Mr. Jolliffe, a number of countries require that fingerprints be taken before they give a visa; why does not Canada ask for fingerprints?—A. I do not know, Mr. Fraser; we have never asked for fingerprints. Purely from an immigration point of view, the passport in itself is a sufficient means of identification. It has the man's photograph on it; it has his signature on it, and we have never run into any difficulties. I am speaking purely from an immigration point of view on the matter of identification.

The CHAIRMAN: Why the necessity for an alien to have a passport and a visa?

The WITNESS: The visa is required in order to prevent hardship to people who are coming to Canada from a long distance. The requirement of the visa means that the person who is applying is examined reasonably close to the place he originally comes from. In other words, if he is coming, let us say, from Lyons in France, he has the privilege of getting his examination before he embarks so that he has reasonable grounds of knowing he is going to be admitted to Canada when he comes to the Canadian port of entry.

Prior to 1922 many people arrived at Canadian ports on trans-Atlantic vessels and it was found they were not admissible under the law, which meant that they were required to return to the country they came from, and that was a very expensive business. Now, the granting of the visa following an examination means that the person applying establishes his bona fides before he sails.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Does the person who gets that visa have to pass a health test at the same time?—A. They do so far as Europe is concerned. We have, under normal conditions, civil inspectional officers and medical inspectional officers at certain places on the continent, and the applicants pass civil and medical examinations there.

Q. And with regard to those medical examinations, do they x-ray them?—A. No.

Q. Do you not think it would be wise to have those people x-rayed? I ask that question for the reason that prior to 1931 and 1932 there were a great number of people admitted to Canada who had T.B., and they were eventually dumped into our hospitals throughout Canada and we had to look after them.—A. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether a layman's opinion would be very valuable on that point. There is this about it, that I think it would be very difficult to require every person coming to Canada, say from Europe, to submit himself to an x-ray examination as a condition of his admission to Canada. I might say, however, that the medical officers who are assigned to this particular work are, perhaps I should say, specially trained to detect the diseases that would be dangerous to Canadian public health. The examiners frequently do require an immigrant to produce additional evidence such as an x-ray examination if the officers are suspicious that there is tuberculosis. They also will require other tests such as the Wasserman test if there is any suspicion of the existence of a social disease; and in those cases the decision is deferred until the evidence is produced; but it is not a condition of entry that a man must produce the x-ray. I would say, speaking generally, that the medical examination is pretty successful, because the number of persons who come under the immigration Act with regard to deportation proceedings on the basis of these diseases discovered within five years from the time of entry, which is the period of domicile, is really remarkably small.

Now, that condition may not have existed prior to these medical examinations overseas. Medical examinations at the port of entry simply cannot be as thorough as they are on the other side where there is more time for making an examination; but I can say that immigrants are very thoroughly examined before the visa is granted.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Are our requirements for a person coming from the United States of America to Canada as strict with respect to examination as in the case of a person going from Canada to the United States?—A. Mr. Chairman, the two laws are very different in principle. The United States immigration law is based on a quota system, remembering that the quota does not apply to natives of the American continents.

Mr. JAENICKE: Natural-born Canadians.

The WITNESS: Yes. A Canadian applying for permanent admission to the United States has to get what is called a non-quota visa. Now, we have no such thing as a passport requiring a visa for Americans coming from the United States. So in that regard there is the requirement of a passport for a person going to the United States and not for an American coming to Canada. So far as the ordinary immigration procedure of non-immigrants crossing the border is concerned it is very similar: an American coming into Canada as a visitor simply satisfies the officer at the point of entry that he is an American citizen, that he is coming for a visit, and that he has sufficient funds.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I am speaking of those who intend to make a permanent residence in one country or the other?—A. The immigration law requires that American

citizens establish good health, good character, and that they have sufficient funds to maintain themselves until they are established in Canada. The Canadian going to the United States, as I said, has to get a visa, if he is going for permanent residence. There is a requirement in both countries that contract labour is prohibited. For instance, an American coming to Canada for employment under contract is a prohibited person and he would be rejected at the border unless it was established by previous investigation that the class of labour required was not available in Canada; the regulation can then be waived. The United States law is, I think, almost identical; it is very similar in any event.

Q. Now, Mr. Jolliffe, the point I wanted to make was this: under the American immigration regulations the requirements which have to be complied with before a visa is granted include a certificate from some authority here that no crime has been committed by the person entering the United States. Have we got a similar provision in our law with respect to American citizens coming to Canada?—A. No.

Q. At our last meeting I brought to the attention of the committee a case of the grossest kind of injustice to a Canadian citizen of which I have heard for some time. I am not blaming any of the officials of the American service here in Canada because they have been very courteous and kind and have done everything they could; but the regulations of the United States prevent a certain Canadian citizen in the Toronto area at this moment from entering the United States on very important business because in 1928 three schoolboys, including himself, removed a radiator cap from an automobile in western Canada, and for that reason a suspended sentence was given, and this man cannot go to the United States of America for that reason. Now, I was wondering whether such a regulation would prevent an American citizen from coming into Canada, and that is why I ask the question about the strictness of the regulations.—A. Mr. Chairman, there is a provision of the Canadian immigration law which says this:—

No immigrant, passenger, or other person, unless he is a Canadian citizen, or has Canadian domicile, shall be permitted to enter or land in Canada, or in case of having landed in or entered Canada shall be permitted to remain therein, who belongs to any of the following classes, hereinafter called "prohibited classes". . . .

And then follow (a), (b) and (c).

(d) Persons who have been convicted of, or admit having committed, any crime involving moral turpitude.

Q. It does seem that you are drawing a pretty close line when you regard the loss of a radiator cap from an automobile as being evidence of moral turpitude and in that way stop a business man carrying on a business between Canada and the United States from going to the United States; and that is the point I had in mind concerning exaggerated circumstances such as the case I have mentioned; and it seems to me that if an American who wanted to come to Canada was stopped for that reason he ought to have some course of appeal to our immigration authorities who would have some discretion to allow such a man to come in by establishing the conditions upon which the conviction had been made and so on. So far as I have been able to find out, and this is backed up by the officials of the American government here, there is no way possible by which an appeal can be made, and the result is that the matter stands suspended in the air and a very grave injustice is being done to a citizen of Canada, one of our prominent business men. I think it is one of those things for which there should be a remedy somehow. It seems to me that it does not give the ordinary citizen much latitude.—A. There is a provision in the Canadian law for an appeal.

Q. By an American citizen?—A. By any person who is refused admission to Canada or who is ordered deported. There is a right of appeal to the minister, and the right of appeal is taken away from only one class, and that is where the person has been certified by the medical officer—for instance a person who is insane and there is a proper certification to such effect; that person is a prohibited person. If he is not a Canadian, or a legal resident of Canada there is no appeal. If you are interested I can read the section; which is pertinent.

Mr. LEGER: Is there a similar clause in the American Immigration Act?

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. One set of officials says yes and another set of officials says no, and the set who say no seem to have the say.—A. There certainly is a right of appeal in the American immigration law to the Secretary of Labour; whether that is restricted or not I am not competent to state.

Q. How can one get status to make that appeal? There seems to be no way by which we can do it; none of the American officials here can provide the means by which it can be done.—A. I am afraid I cannot answer that.

Q. No. I am only asking for such information as you may have because I realize that it is not a matter under your jurisdiction; but I am trying to use any means I can to rectify an injustice which I think is being done.

Mr. LEGER: Would that not be a matter for External Affairs to take regard of?

Mr. MACINNIS: Is not this a disability that cannot be rectified in the United States but is a disability that arises in Canada and not in the United States; therefore, would it not be better for us to have some law whereby a person of subsequent good character could have such a legal conviction removed? It is rather silly to have a conviction against a person for a very slight indiscretion when he was a child stand against him all his life. I do not think there is anything we can do with the American authorities; it is something that lies within our own jurisdiction.

Mr. Low: Our laws are supposed to be administered and interpreted by intelligent people. I think, probably, that is where the matter has its roots—in the mind of the justice of the peace, perhaps, who gave the sentence in the first place.

Mr. JAENICKE: I should like to ask Mr. Jolliffe a question on this order in council—

Mr. BENEDICKSON: First may I ask Mr. Jolliffe a question following on what he said with respect to border crossings between Canada and the United States for trips of a temporary duration; he thought the regulations were somewhat similar on both sides of the border. My information is that the regulations are not similar, and since the war Canadians are becoming quite irritated. We have relaxed our requirements and our inspection of American visitors and have more or less restored our practice as it existed before the war, but the United States people are still embarrassing Canadians on entry into the United States and imposing regulations which cause expense to Canadians who are living on the border. I have made representations to the Department of External Affairs on this subject, hoping that it was something that could be dealt with in Washington through External Affairs. I feel that when we institute changes which make things easier for the Americans that they should take advantage of that act and remove inconveniences caused in that country to Canadians. Now, I am told that the Americans still require our Canadian citizens to go to the expense of having photographs taken and then having that photograph placed on a temporary border-crossing card. The Canadians who live on the border have occasion to cross regularly for entertainment or business or other purposes and they find this to be a condition that did not exist before the war, and they feel that the

inconvenience should be removed now because we are extending every courtesy to the Americans. I feel that either the Department of Immigration or the Department of External Affairs should try to relieve our Canadians of this expense, this annual expense, by making tactful representations to the United States authorities and by pointing out to them that we are freer in our practice. We wonder if they could not come back to the condition that existed prior to the war in their practice.

The CHAIRMAN: At our last meeting we had Mr. Cooper of the passport branch before us and he said it is not necessary to have a passport to go to the United States as a tourist. I believe I am right in interpreting his statement that way.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: I am speaking of a border-crossing card which involves for our Canadian citizens an annual expense of at least \$1, or whatever a photographer will charge. Speaking from personal experience, up to a few months ago, I may say that they placed no value on our national registration card. If one does not use a passport or a border-crossing card or a birth certificate the interrogation is certainly much more extensive than it was before the war. It causes delay which I think is particularly annoying to those who live near the border and cross frequently.

The CHAIRMAN: I repeat this is what Mr. Cooper said: "Their regulations, by the way, will permit entry without a passport if a person carries some other document such as a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, certificate of naturalization. In some cases United States border officials accept a registration certificate. That is not general."

Mr. GRAYDON: Or an out-dated passport.

The CHAIRMAN: Or an out-dated passport. The American regulations have been relaxed, but according to Mr. Cooper a lot of people are still keeping their passports in proper order.

Mr. FRASER: Do you have to have a passport if you stay in the States over twenty-nine days?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes. This has to do with people going back and forth.

Mr. FRASER: But if a person is motoring to the States all he needs is a motor licence card.

The CHAIRMAN: There has been relaxation there.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: Does he say that the border-crossing card is no longer required? I am informed it still is required, and people living at Windsor and Fort Francis, in my district, and other places where there is a substantial number of Canadians crossing regularly, have to get these photographs. In that case they are not accepting birth certificates and such things.

The CHAIRMAN: Apparently, it must be a case of some American officials being overzealous.

Mr. LOW: I was wondering if Mr. Benidickson is not referring to a card which is held permanently by a person on this side who wishes to use that card regularly for frequent visits. That may be necessary. The question I asked had to do with people who wanted to make a short visit.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Cooper said: "As far as the United States is concerned, travel is fairly open at the present time. However, we still get a large number of applications for passports to the United States due to the fact that people have got into the habit of getting them and find them handy, and they are probably easier to get than a birth certificate."

Mr. JAUQUES: Two weeks ago I had occasion to spend a few days in the United States, and before I crossed over I went to the American legation here

on Wellington Street and asked them what I would need. They asked me how long I was going for and I said three or four days and they told me that I would need nothing.

The CHAIRMAN: That is the impression I received from Mr. Cooper at our last meeting; the regulations are much relaxed now with regard to simply going backward and forward.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. May I revert to the order in council and ask Mr. Jolliffe about paragraph 4:—

That a travel document establishing the identity of the holder may be accepted in lieu of a passport in the case of an immigrant who has been displaced from his country of origin as the result of the war and who is not in possession of a valid passport.

Who issues such a travel document?—A. Well, it may be issued by any competent authority who could establish the identity of the person concerned.

Q. Even a foreign government?—A. Yes, even a foreign government.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. In connection with thousands of foreign born Canadians—and this is a question growing out of the one asked by Mr. Jaenicke—there must be thousands of them in western Canada who wish to bring in close relatives. What is the position in regard to papers and requirements for those desiring to come here? You must be fairly well loaded down with applications at this time?—A. Yes, we are. I suppose you are referring to a resident of Canada who has relatives overseas.

Q. Yes, and who was born overseas himself and came here and became naturalized but now wishes to bring close relatives to this country from either a friendly or unfriendly country?—A. It makes no difference where the applicant comes from; the only requirement, as far as the applicant is concerned, is that he must be a legal resident of Canada and be in a position to receive and care for the relatives he is applying for.

By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. It does not make any difference whether he is naturalized or not?—A. No, sir.

Q. As long as his entry was legal?—A. As long as he is a legal resident of Canada.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. After the application has been made, do you investigate to find out if those people have a suitable place to go to?—A. Yes, I was coming to that. I wanted to clear up that point. The question was raised of a person born overseas and applying for permission to bring relatives here. It does not make any difference where the applicant was born as long as he is a legal resident of Canada. The first step is for him to make application for the admission of the person he wishes to bring to Canada. That application is then investigated on this side. We investigate the status of the man who applies and whether he is in a position to receive and care for his dependents or the relative he is asking for.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. According to a statement read in the House by the Minister of Mines and Resources a week or two ago, there is some restriction apparently placed upon the kind of relative you could bring in. Can a brother here, for instance, who is

a naturalized Canadian and who came from Poland or one of those countries in eastern Europe, make application to bring here, say, a married brother and his wife and family?—A. No. The regulations at the present time provide, on the basis of the relationship we are discussing for the moment, for a single son or daughter of any age, a mother, a father, a single brother, a single sister of any age, an orphaned nephew or niece under sixteen years of age. By orphan is meant a child who is bereft of both parents—not half an orphan, so to speak. Those are the people who are admissible on the basis of relationship. Now, there are other people who are admissible; for instance, an agriculturalist coming to Canada with sufficient funds to farm in Canada. He is admissible. Outside of the question of relationship, the fiancee of a resident of Canada where the latter is in a position to marry and also able to maintain a wife when his fiancee becomes his wife, is also admissible.

Mr. FRASER: I suppose you have had lots of these cases lately because of hostilities?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. WINKLER: Is a farmer who is out of funds, due to the accident of war, or for any other reason, but whose solvency, if you can call it that, is guaranteed by a well established person in this country, and who wishes to come to Canada to farm—is he permitted to do so?

The WITNESS: No, he does not come within the regulations.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. As regards the fiancee, do you make any stipulation that within a certain time after she has come here the marriage must take place?—A. Yes, we do. She signs a declaration before she gets her visa that she will marry. Further than that we follow up the case.

Q. Suppose when she gets to Canada she changes her mind—that has happened in certain cases?—A. It has been said that a woman has a right to change her mind at any time.

Q. Except under the immigration law?—A. Yes, except under the immigration law. What might happen in a case like that would be this: if the woman arrived at a port of entry and agreed to marry and the next day said she would not—

Q. Perhaps she might leave it over for two or three weeks; what happens?—A. In the first place we satisfy ourselves that she is going to a home that will look after her until the marriage takes place. We do not simply say yes to a man who says, "I want to bring my fiancee to Canada and I have a million dollars and I can look after her;" we require to be assured that she is coming to a good home; in other words, she is coming where any respectable woman would come awaiting her marriage.

Q. Perhaps my question was not quite clear. Suppose she stayed at that home for a month and changed her mind and no marriage takes place, is she accepted here as a permanent resident of Canada or do you ask her to go back?—A. That woman would be subject to deportation proceedings for entry by misrepresentation.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Mr. Jolliffe told us a little while ago that he would investigate the person in Canada. Does he also investigate the character of the person living in Europe before admission to Canada is granted?—A. We have no means of investigating character overseas.

Q. Now, Mr. Jolliffe, supposing that a brother in Canada who is of foreign birth, wishes his brother in Europe to come and live with him in Canada; and supposing his character or his record has been such that we would not want

him in Canada, do you investigate a case like that?—A. Mr. Chairman, if there is any suspicion of this man not being a desirable character we would have some investigation conducted.

Q. Have you no way of finding out by questioning?—A. Oh, yes, the man is questioned with regard to his record; whether he has a police record, whether he has a record of a serious illness; and if he has any such record, if he admits such a record then, of course, his case is deferred for further investigation, and there are means of establishing those facts.

Q. That is before he is admitted?—A. Before he would be granted his visa.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. He would have to have a visa on his travel document as well, would he? —A. Before he can come to Canada he must have a visa.

Q. On the travel document?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. In that connection would you not have more difficulty in the case of a member of the Polish army in Italy who was not permitted to go back to his country by virtue of some change in the situation there and found himself without a country?—A. If he were admitted to Canada?

Q. Yes.—A. Yes, we would have difficulty in sending him back.

Q. Would we have difficulty in establishing them as fit and proper persons to come to Canada?

The CHAIRMAN: Did you answer?

The WITNESS: No, I did not.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Would his Polish papers be of any use?—A. Members of the Polish army are not admissable to Canada at present as such. If provision were made for their admission some arrangement would necessarily be required to be made to establish their readmissibility to some country; and as regards their standing, as you suggest their military paybook would certainly give their military record.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Mr. Jolliffe mentioned that Canada had no quota system; is that right? —A. That is correct.

Q. Are there any bans against different countries—immigrants coming into Canada from different countries?—A. There is a regulation which prohibits the admission of enemy aliens.

Q. And is that all? There is a quota against Chinese, is there not?—A. No, there is no quota against Chinese; there is the Chinese Immigration Act which restricts the admission of Chinese to certain classes.

Q. Are there restrictions against any other countries along that line?

Mr. LEGER: India, for instance?

The WITNESS: There is a regulation which relates to persons of Asiatic races, and it prohibits the landing of immigrants of Asiatic races with certain exceptions, and those exceptions are the wife or unmarried child under eighteen of a Canadian citizen legally admitted to residence in Canada if he is in a position to receive and care for his dependents. The regulation does not apply to any country with regard to which there is a special treaty or law or agreement.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. What arrangements are made with regard to people who want to come here from South America or Central America? The reason I ask that question

is that some years ago German and Italian waiters in hotels in different South American countries went to those South American countries before going to the United States. The United States had a quota against them, but they said that if those people stayed in South America or Central America for a year or two years, whatever it was, then they could get into the United States; there would be no quota against them?—A. They could get into the United States?

Q. Yes, because they had become South Americans, and because of that they could enter the United States.—A. Mr. Chairman, I am not competent to answer with regard to American law, but I do not think that is correct, although I am subject to correction. I do not think that is right.

Q. That is the understanding I had at that time. They said they had been taken into some South American country and as soon as they stayed there for a certain length of time they could enter the United States without any quota?—A. I do not think that is correct.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Have you figures as to how many Chinese have come into Canada in the last twenty years?—A. We have them. I have not got them here.

Q. Perhaps I am asking a leading question because I know the question was asked in the House a few days ago and a return was tabled.—A. I can answer the question in a general way. I think there were approximately nine immigrants admitted since 1923.

By Mr. Jacques:

Q. Who would be included as enemy aliens—anybody from an enemy country?—A. Any citizen of an alien country.

Q. Any citizen from an alien country?—A. The regulation is that the entry into or landing in Canada of an enemy alien is prohibited. The order is not held to exclude persons coming within these described classes who satisfy the Minister of Mines and Resources that they were opposed to an enemy government.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Is there any provision whereby German prisoners of war now in Canada can elect to remain in Canada instead of being repatriated?—A. I do not think so. A German prisoner of war from an immigration point of view is a prohibited immigrant; he is an enemy alien.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Who would determine whether an enemy alien had been opposed to the enemy government?—A. The department.

Mr. WINKLER: Since the war is over and since Canada is not officially at war with any country would there be such a thing as an enemy alien?

The WITNESS: There is no peace treaty yet.

Mr. JAQUES: Could Mr. Jolliffe say how many conscientious objectors were admitted to Canada under that provision during the war?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not suppose Mr. Jolliffe could answer that question. He did not expect to deal with statistics with respect to immigration.

The WITNESS: We have not any statistics classifying conscientious objectors.

Mr. JAQUES: I would call conscientious objectors those people from another country who objected to the government of that country.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: A German?

Mr. JAQUES: Yes.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: Who refused to fight.

Mr. JAQUES: I do not say he refused to fight. He wants to be admitted here because as he said he was against the government of that country. The point I would like to make is this: how would you determine his position had Germany been winning? How can you determine whether the applicant for entry into Canada really was opposed to the government of his country; what proof can you adduce?

The WITNESS: I think it would be comparatively simple to establish the standing of an alien overseas as to his attitude during the war.

Mr. JAENICKE: All those opposed to the regime would have been put in concentration camps.

Mr. JAQUES: My question is this: would such rebels be at liberty to come to Canada? They must have been actively opposed to their government, and how would they be at liberty to come to Canada?

Mr. BENEDICKSON: I think I have some evidence showing the number of people admitted to Canada during the war years who have been described by the word "refugees". Now, who were the principal scrutinizers of their citizenship? Was it the British or the Canadians? If it was the British, are they being allowed to remain? What is happening with respect to those refugees?

The WITNESS: All those refugees were screened before they were admitted to Canada.

Mr. JAQUES: Were not most of them or all of them of one religion, a certain religion?

The WITNESS: No, they were not. They were members of various religious persuasions. There were a number of Polish citizens of Christian faith, there were a number of Czechoslovak citizens of Christian faith, there were some Belgians and some French citizens, there were some stateless people of Christian faith, and there were a number of persons of the Jewish faith.

Mr. LEGER: I think we took this matter up during the war and I believe it was understood then that they would be scrutinized very carefully, and they had to conform to certain regulations. If I remember well, they had to have a disc around their neck for identification, and they had to be identified by numbers which corresponded with their application.

The WITNESS: They were all examined overseas; they were all screened from a security point of view before they were granted their visas.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: Would you answer this question? We are told with respect to prisoners of war that we are more or less just trustees of the British government; that these people entered Canada as prisoners of the British government and that they came to Canada because it was easier to feed and house them here than in Britain and it would aggravate the food situation in Great Britain by keeping them there. Is there anything similar with respect to refugees or are all refugees here in Canada as the result of direct action on the part of the Canadian government and we are not in any way acting as trustees of the British government in the matter of providing a haven for them in Canada during the war years?

The WITNESS: With the exception of one particular party most of the refugees were originally admitted to Canada for the duration of the war. Provision was subsequently made for the permanent admission of those who were of good character and established themselves. There was one party that was not admitted in exactly that manner, and they are usually described as civilian internees. There was a movement, I think about 1940—

Mr. MACINNIS: Following the fall of France?

The WITNESS: Yes. —when there was an invasion of Britain expected—there was a movement of, I think, approximately two thousand of those refugees,

those internees who had been taken into custody by the British government for safety purposes. Twenty-five hundred of them were brought to Canada for care in this country and they were put into camps. Later, approximately nine hundred of these—I think it was nine hundred and fifty—were granted temporary release in Canada—most of them going into various occupations—a large number of them in occupations connected with our war effort. They were in Canada under a special permit, and were required at first to remain in the special occupation they were assigned to when released from the camps. They were all screened. Every case was examined by the British and the Canadian authorities before release was authorized.

Mr. MACINNIS: Did the British government send an official over here—a Mr. Patterson?

The WITNESS: Correct.

By Mr. Benidickson:

Q. Have any of those been given an entry permit similar to that given an immigrant?—A. A number of these have applied for permanent admission to Canada; they have not been treated differently from the other refugees.

Q. There is a big difference in their political background, is there not? The refugee is anyone abandoned by an enemy government whereas a civilian internee would be a suspected collaborator with an enemy government?—

A. No, as a matter of fact, these were in exactly the same class as those who had come as straight refugees. They were refugees who got into the United Kingdom from Germany. I believe that they happened to be residing in those territories where it was necessary to clear out all aliens, and they were put into camps.

Mr. BOUCHER: What number of the twenty-five hundred have been granted permanent status?

The WITNESS: Nine hundred and fifty of them were released temporarily in Canada, the others were sent back eventually. Of the nine hundred and fifty—I cannot give you accurate figures—but I would say that six or seven hundred of them have applied for permanent admission to Canada and that admission has been granted.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I would like to ask Mr. Jolliffe if he knows how many applications for entry into Canada were made at Canada House in London?—A. From British people?

Q. Yes.—A. I really do not know; a large number. We do not keep a statistical record of applications received. It is almost impossible to do that.

Q. The reason I asked that question is that I noticed in the Australian News that they had one hundred thousand at Australia House, and I wondered how many Canada had?—A. The applications, so far as Canada is concerned, are not filed only at Canada House, but there are thousands of them filed in Canada—applications for admission of relatives.

Q. I have another question to ask with regard to entry into Canada. During the last few months you have had ex-service men wishing to bring into Canada their fiancées who, perhaps, have affixed to their names Mrs. or Miss—they might be divorced or separated—now, do you investigate those cases?—A. Yes.

Q. You check to make sure that they are properly divorced or separated?—A. Yes.

Mr. JACQUES: Could we have the number of immigrants received during the war?

The CHAIRMAN: That information had better come from the House.

Mr. JAUQUES: I mean from enemy countries, with the breakdown as to races and religions.

The CHAIRMAN: Would you repeat your question?

Mr. JAUQUES: Could we have the total number of immigrants or entrants into Canada during the war from enemy countries—people who originate in enemy countries—they may not have come direct from those countries; and a breakdown as to race and religion?

The CHAIRMAN: I assume that question would be more in order when the estimates of the Department of Immigration are before the committee of the whole House, because I do not believe we could require Mr. Jolliffe to speak on this question of immigration, unless Mr. Jolliffe cares to go into it.

The WITNESS: I have not any statistics.

Mr. KNOWLES: This question is on a lighter level, but I think it has some importance. I have crossed the border between here and the United States many times and I have had the experience I will refer to in a moment, but this last winter, along with Mr. Winkler and Mr. Graydon and others I had the privilege of spending some time in Great Britain, and I think one of the things I shall never forget is that when we arrived on the other side of the Atlantic at Prestwick airport, the first thing we did was not to line up and have questions fired at us making us feel like suspected characters, but the first thing the officials did over there was to give us a cup of tea, and it was not until after that that they put us through the controls.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: Was the tea supplied by the government or the transportation company?

Mr. KNOWLES: I do not know. It was before we went into the room to be examined for our currency and other things. I had also the experience of coming back to the United Kingdom from the continent, and although I did not have tea given to me at that time, still there was that same friendly atmosphere, as though the officials were glad to see me. We had the same experience on the continent. There was only one place where we experienced any difficulty in crossing the line and that was when we crossed from the British into the Soviet zone in Germany, and I can counteract that by saying that when I later landed in Moscow the reception again was very friendly on the part of the officials.

Mr. LEGER: Did you get tea?

Mr. KNOWLES: No, nor vodka either. It just amounts to this, that when I finally landed at Dorval airport it happened that the person ahead of me was the moderator of the United Church of Canada, and I was rather amazed at the gruelling questions that were put to him, and as I came along I realized that I was only a member of parliament and that I only had a diplomatic passport, but I was grilled with the same questions and treated in a more vicious manner than I was in all my travels. I have had the same experience crossing the line between the United States and Canada; it worked both ways. It is a vicious attitude. I do not want any letdown in the system, but it seems to me there is a good deal to be said for the friendly and courteous manner in which the immigration and other authorities receives a person when he enters into the United Kingdom. It left a strong impression on me. I do not know what experiences Mr. Winkler had, we did not land together; but the treatment made a strong impression on me, and I think there is something to be said for instilling a little more friendly attitude into our immigration practice.

The CHAIRMAN: A little smile once in a while.

Mr. KNOWLES: Yes.

The WITNESS: I am sorry to hear that statement. Our officers have definite instructions that they are to be courteous and helpful to the travelling public. I may say that very frequently we receive letters of commendation from travellers as to the friendly and courteous attitude of our inspection service. I am sorry to hear that some difficulty was experienced. I suppose in any service staffed by hundreds of men one is not going to get perfection, although we always hope to get it and expect it. Our officers, of course, have a duty to perform; they have to establish the admissibility of the person appearing before them; and the only way they can establish it is by questioning that person. A lot depends, of course, on the officer's intelligence. He should be able to establish, with a few well chosen questions, the admissibility of a returning Canadian. Some people the inspector naturally has to ask more questions of because of the manner in which his original questions are answered; but irrespective of how many questions he has to ask he certainly is expected to be courteous and to try to be helpful.

Mr. KNOWLES: I have no objection to the questions. I thought some of them were rather silly and unnecessary. I had a passport with stamps to burn on it and "diplomatic" written across the top of it. It was the vicious attitude which impressed me—the difference in the reception we received at the opposite ends of our journey.

The WITNESS: Was that at Dorval?

Mr. KNOWLES: Yes.

The WITNESS: When was that?

Mr. KNOWLES: The end of February. We had the same experience crossing at Niagara Falls. I think that is the worst place in the country—both as regards American and Canadian methods.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jolliffe, have you full control of the visas issued in Europe? Have you sufficient staff in your department to control the visa matter?

The WITNESS: From an immigration point of view, yes. The inspectional service has not been resumed on the continent. As you will remember, the minister in his statement in the House said that that service will be reestablished there just as quickly as it is possible to do so.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the committee I wish to thank Mr. Jolliffe for coming here today and giving us so much information. Mr. Hemsley will be here on Tuesday. I should like to get further information about the revenue of the passport department, a subject which was introduced by Mr. Cooper at our last meeting.

The committee adjourned to meet on Tuesday, June 18, at 11.30 o'clock a.m.

SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

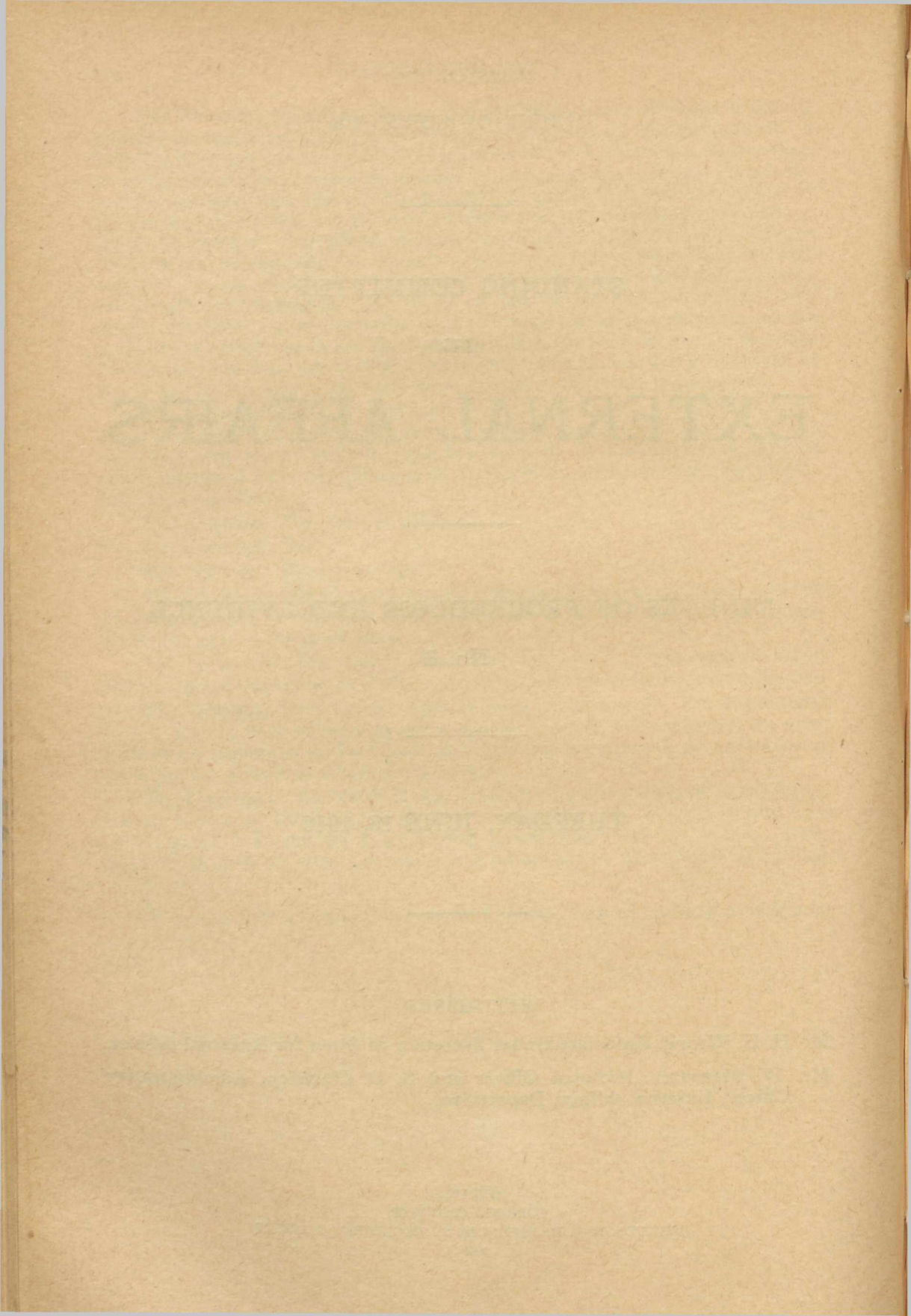
No. 8

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1946

WITNESSES:

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.
Mr. W. Measures, Protocol Officer and S. D. Hemsley, Administrative
Officer, External Affairs Department.

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1946



MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, June 18, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Breithaupt, Côté (*Matapedia-Matane*), Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, MacInnis, MacLean and Sinclair (*Ontario*).

In attendance: Messrs. H. H. Wrong, W. H. Measures, S. D. Hemsley.

The Committee resumed its consideration of External Affairs estimates as referred.

Mr. H. H. Wrong was recalled and made a statement on votes 46 and 44, being a grant to United Nations in Canada and provision for hospitality to visitors from abroad respectively. Mr. Wrong retired.

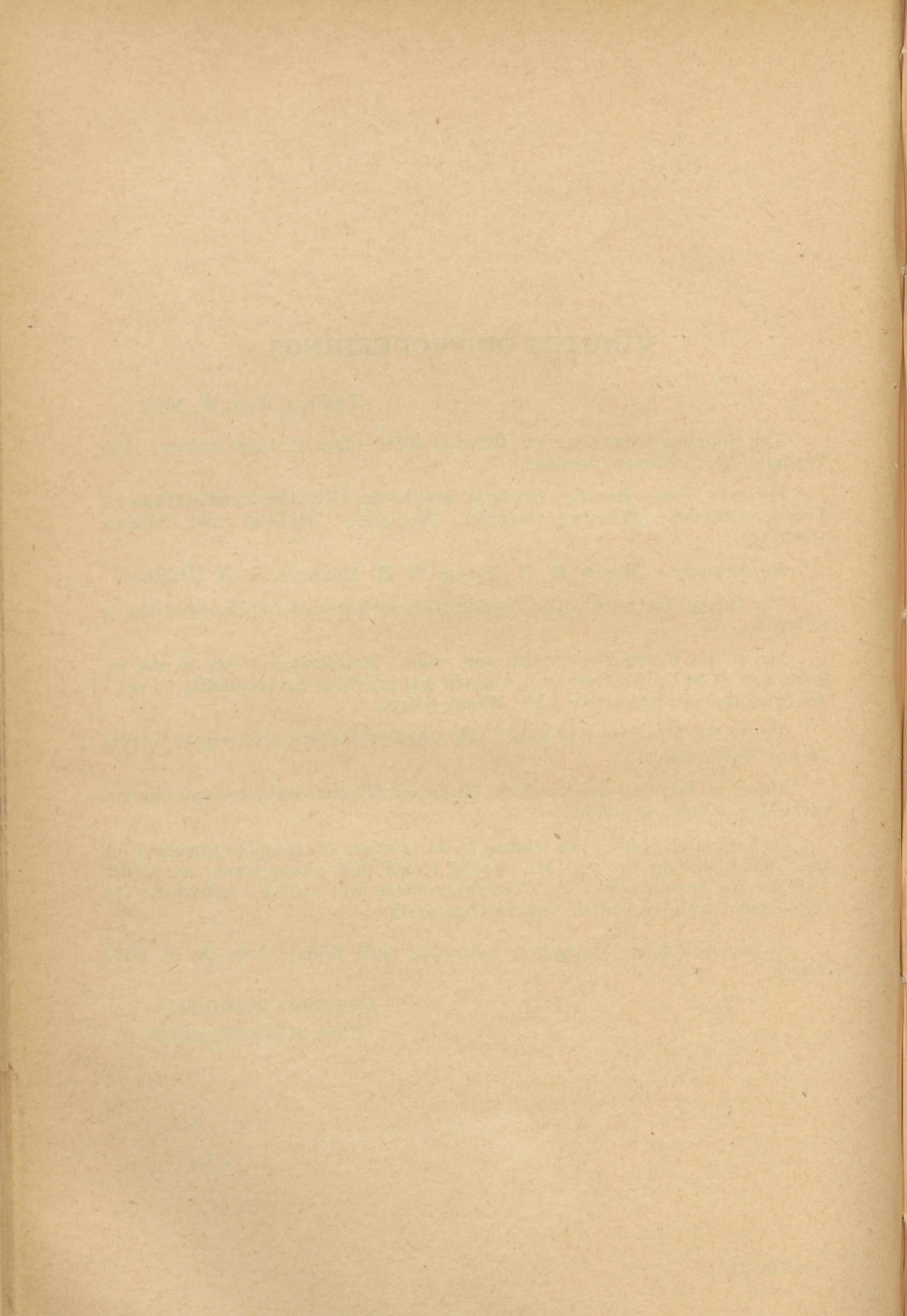
Mr. W. H. Measures was called. He supplied answers with respect to vote 44 and was retired.

Mr. S. D. Hemsley was recalled. He gave additional statistical information pertaining to votes 42 and 45.

On a question of Mr. Côté relating to the selection of Canadian personnel for the United Nations Society, Mr. Wrong stated that arrangements are under way for the appointment of a Committee which will receive applications for employment with the United Nations Organization.

At one o'clock the Committee adjourned until Friday, June 21, at 11.30 o'clock.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,
Clerk of the Committee.



MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 18, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are ready to proceed. I have been requested to call our first meeting of the week on another day than Tuesday, and I want to be as accommodating as possible. We do not wish to interfere with other committees, but I remember Mr. Graydon's remark that we must be masters of our own souls. I wonder if a meeting on Monday would be possible?

Mr. JACKMAN: Monday is all right for me.

Mr. MACINNIS: It is all right except for the Montreal and Toronto people.

The CHAIRMAN: Very well, gentlemen, we will meet next Monday at 11.30 o'clock for our first meeting of that week.

Now, we have Mr. Hume Wrong with us this morning and he is going to elaborate on certain matters which have been argued before our committee. He is accompanied by Mr. Measures and Mr. Hemsley.

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, recalled:

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I think it might be useful if I said a little about vote 46, "grant to United Nations Society in Canada (formerly League of Nations Society in Canada)." I understand that the secretary of the United Nations Society is going to appear before this committee later on, and I thought that possibly in addition to what he might have to say, a few words from me in explanation of the grant by the department might be useful; and with Mr. Measures' assistance I should like to say a word or two about vote 44, the hospitality vote. With regard to the grant to the United Nations Society, this is quite a long-standing government grant. I am not quite sure in what year it was started, but it has been going on for a long time, originally through the League of Nations Society which changed its name last year to the United Nations Society, for obvious reasons. The original purpose of the grant was to provide funds whereby the League of Nations Society could purchase in bulk publications of the League of Nations for distribution to members of parliament and to the general public, but primarily, I think, to members of parliament. That particular qualification was not attached to the vote during the war years, and the grant was turned, really, into a general grant in aid for the purposes of the society. It has not been put in the estimates this year—that it is for the purpose of the distribution of publications—because the United Nations Organization is still in the process of development, and therefore it is desirable to have a general formula. I think I mentioned when I appeared before the committee on a former occasion, Mr. Chairman, that we in the department were getting a little concerned over the difficulties of seeing that the general public were adequately informed of what the various important agencies of the United Nations were doing, and the United Nations Society is a considerable factor in public education in this field, and my own view is that this small sum will enable them to carry on their work without the financial anxieties which they would have if they did not get this sum, which is in the public interest.

That is all I wish to say on that score. I do not know whether any member of the committee wishes to ask any questions before I speak about the other vote?

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I do not know whether I am regarded as one having a personal interest in the United Nations Society, but I think I am an honorary vice-president of the organization, and probably I should declare my interest in the matter before the discussion goes any farther so that a proper value would be placed upon any views of mine which I may care to advance with regard to the matter. I take it from what you say, Mr. Wrong, that it does perform a useful function with respect to publicity and education and information generally in connection with world affairs, and for that reason I take it that the department's view is that it is of considerable help from the standpoint of the department itself?—A. I think so, yes. The secretary of the society can give you further information first-hand about exactly what the scope of its current activities and plans for future development may be, but certainly I feel that we should not rely for the distribution of information solely on Canadian government agencies or on the United Nations official publicity agents, themselves, and that a society made up of members who must be interested in the work of the United Nations, with branches all over Canada, should be of very considerable long-run assistance in explaining what is going on and in maintaining public support and interest in the work.

Q. It seems to me that this is rather in the nature of an economy vote in a sense, because if one tallies up or compares and contrasts the vote of \$3,000 for publicity by the Department of External Affairs—or shall I say a grant to the Department of External Affairs—with \$518,000 which we were speaking about in the House last night for health and welfare, it does seem that this is a rather economical way of handling government information, and we might conceivably be setting a sterling example to some other departments of the government. However, that is a matter on which I would not expect Mr. Wrong even to pass an unofficial view at the moment.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Has any effort been made to have the grant increased?—A. Not that I am aware of. I think when the main estimates were prepared we were rather uncertain about the program, and it was agreed to put in what had become almost an historical figure, \$3,000, simply continuing the grant which has been made for the last fifteen years at least.

Q. It seems to me that if the League of Nations or the United Nations Society has any justification in Canada it has justification for more support than a mere \$3,000 for the propagation of literature.

Mr. MacINNIS: This is a United Nations Society, it is not a department of the government; but if it is felt that it is useful, the proper thing to do is to put a little of our own money in it and become members of the organization.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Does not this society sell literature? I believe the League of Nations Society did; they sent out literature and you paid 10 cents a copy, or something like that.—A. The United Nations Organization itself will, I am sure, when it gets its publication program underway, provide for the sale through commercial channels of certain material, as the League did of its publications. The purpose of the original grant—and I think it is a purpose which is sufficiently governmental in character, although I can also agree with Mr. MacInnis' suggestion—is to facilitate and encourage distribution of those publications, and I think quite possibly it would be desirable, when we know a little more about what is going

to go out from the United Nations Organization, to limit the grant to a grant in aid for the purchase and distribution of publications rather than a general grant in aid for particular or current expenses of the society.

Mr. GRAYDON: When we hear of the tentative program concerning the reorganization of the organization, because that is what it largely is, I understand, then I fancy this committee and the government would be in a much better position to say, after that review, whether this grant should be increased. From what I know of the organization in the short time in which I have been identified with it, it has a pretty comprehensive, and I think rather valuable, program outlined for the future, and it will depend upon whether the money is well spent or not well spent; and if the program looks like one which the government and parliament can give more money to, then I think we should not be niggardly in our approach to the subject; but I think it entirely depends upon what value each dollar has in respect to the work of the organization and the public interest generally.

Mr. MACINNIS: Mr. Chairman, I wish it to be understood that I am not opposing this grant at all. I think the United Nations Society can do good work as the League of Nations Society did during its term. If it does not perform any other function than to stimulate interest in foreign affairs it would justify itself. Therefore, I am not opposing a grant which I consider worth while.

Mr. GRAYDON: I fancy that no one will oppose a grant so small as this one.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. I think, Mr. Wrong, that you are definitely of the opinion that the grant should be limited along the lines stated here?—A. I would not like to be regarded as stating that I am of that definite opinion, but I think it is a useful activity for the United Nations Society, and I think it might be considered as a first charge on any funds the government made available by way of grants to facilitate the distribution of literature.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is that amount of \$3,000 sufficient for the mere distribution of propaganda or literature at this particular time?—A. I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that that question can be answered exactly at present until we know more about what in the way of publications available for distribution would be coming out of the various organizations of the United Nations. It might be.

Q. I realize, for instance, that the American Academy of Social and Political Science as well as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, among other organizations, are distributing right now to their members a great deal of literature. Now, I admit that that is very useful for their members, but I think that generally more people should receive this literature. I believe it is the duty of every government which is searching for peace and looking forward to a better world to at least make its own contribution, and I suggest that with \$3,000 you cannot go very far even in the way of distributing. I do not mean publishing, just distributing. I do not think we can get very far in the way of putting a message across in this country except in the case of these people who belong to these various organizations. I suggest that there should be a larger sum of money voted; whether it will be disposed of or not I do not know; but it should be there to dispose of in case of some eventuality in the coming year for distributing throughout Canada all the literature which pertains to these world-wide subjects.

Mr. GRAYDON: With regard to the question of publicity of the United Nations Organization, may I be permitted to say a word which may be the product of a short experience, but an experience nevertheless, and that is that the average member of the public does not, perhaps, digest or has not the time

to digest, the technical end of the United Nations work; the reports, for instance, of the United Nations Organization itself. I have never found the public which I represent take a great interest in the actual technical points, and there is so much in this United Nations matter that is technical, as Mr. Wrong knows. What I did find after I came home from San Francisco and London, when I was speaking at various places on invitation, was that the public were interested in personalities and human interest stories that came out of the conferences. They seemed to be keenly interested in that sort of thing. They seemed to find it more easy to understand what we were doing when we stressed the human interest proceedings that took place and the various personalities who took part in the gatherings; I am not underestimating or underrating the importance of the technical end, but I want to make my point clear that I believe the two have to go hand in hand. I believe we make a mistake in throwing to the general public, particularly those who are not special students of international affairs—and we have not so many really keen students of international affairs in Canada for the obvious reason that we have not been in the international field in a big way for a great length of time—but I believe we make a mistake in throwing out to the general public too much concerning the technical nature of the United Nations, and I think that hand in hand with the technical information that goes out must also go out to the general public some of the human interest stories and some of the information about personalities who took part in the conferences; because, frankly, I got more out of the meetings and the conferring and the general companionship which I was privileged to enjoy in an international way than I did out of the dry bones of the charter or the committee work. I throw that out as a suggestion; it may be that I will not have full agreement, but the suggestion comes as a product of my experience.

Mr. COTE: I am sorry I have to disagree with my friend. I do not pretend to be an expert on these matters, but I really cannot accept the principle advanced by my good friend that we should not give to the public the things that the public are not asking for. Personally, I am not an enthusiast about indoctrinization, but I will always stand as a real propagandist of information. Now, there is a problem which we have to face concerning publications. Nearly every day we hear over the radio discussions at public forums, talks, and what not, on international affairs, and the people who represent a cross-section of our population are listening. What remains in minds may be a matter of question, because they have not got the time to study what they hear; but we should supply them with the right kind of propaganda for their reading. I am suggesting this without mentioning any countries, but we should learn our lessons; we should have learned our lesson at least during the last war and also since then; but I believe that if we are to do our share in world organization, even with regard to Canada itself, we should have money for that purpose at the disposal of the government to help in that direction. I say this, that a grant of \$3,000 for propaganda and things of that nature, is a trivial amount, even for the purpose of cooperating with others. If we look at the money being spent by various countries in the world today for the mere matter of putting their countries on the map, I say this presents an appalling picture. I do not think that Canada, being what she is today, can really subscribe, as she should, to a world organization, to make a world organization what it should be, unless we make everybody conscious of what the situation is. Somebody has said that peace is the business of everybody, so we have to make everybody conscious of the situation first; and we may reach our aim.

Mr. BOUCHER: Mr. Chairman, I feel that this vote is a very small one, but, as Mr. Wrong stated, it is only the preliminary stage. We have not been asked for any more. I think we should defer our discussion until we hear from the United Nations Society and learn what the prospects are.

Mr. MACINNIS: I think most of us will agree with Mr. Coté, but this is not a department of government; this is merely a grant to a private institution or organization which we believe is doing a work which justifies a certain amount of governmental assistance. If the government is to carry on an educational campaign, that is an altogether different matter, and we should supply funds for such work if that is desirable. I would agree with my friend that it is desirable.

Mr. COTE: I have suggested several things, and I should like to ask whether the committee will subscribe to the idea of merely making an expenditure of \$3,000 as a contribution or should the committee suggest to the government a larger amount so as to make a larger contribution.

The WITNESS: May I say a word? Perhaps there is a bit of an argument arising out of Mr. Coté's suggestion. There was a great deal of confusion in Canada and other countries concerning the old League of Nations Society—the League of Nations Union as it was called in a number of countries—as to whether it was or was not an official body. I think it is desirable that there should be no misunderstanding that the United Nations Society is an unofficial agency of the same general character as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and other such bodies. It has no monopoly as regards private publicity or propaganda about the work of the United Nations. The Institute of International Affairs appeals to partly the same but largely to a different audience and has a very valuable function to perform in this particular area, and the United Nations Organization itself is building up a large information division which will make, no doubt quite possibly, arrangements for direct distribution of certain official statements that come out from there.

Mr. GRAYDON: I hope I am not interrupting your train of thought, but if my recollection is correct there was considerable discussion at the assembly or in some of the committees with respect to the type of publicity and information which would come directly from the United Nations Organization.

Mr. COTE: U.N.E.S.C.O. or U.N.O.?

Mr. GRAYDON: U.N.O. Perhaps you can recall that? Now, I may have left before the final decision was made and I am not sure of what the final outcome was, but I remember that Mr. Andrews of the Canadian Information Service and others were working on the matter, and I think the discussion centred on whether or not the United Nations should provide the information facilities for the whole field or whether it should be channelled into the individual information services of the various countries. There was quite a long discussion on that particular point. Perhaps that might meet, in some respects, the vigorous championship which Mr. Coté has so properly pressed before our meeting today.

The WITNESS: I believe that they have set up under the secretary general eight assistant secretaries general, one of whom is charged with the supervision of the information department of the United Nations. Actually, how that will operate nobody can say yet because it is in the process of organization, but I feel that it would be very desirable to have its operations in the field, at any rate, of what you might call direct propaganda closely related to that which will be conducted through U.N.E.S.C.O. and other international bodies which will be affiliated with the United Nations. The old League did take great pains to provide—not so much directly to the consumer in the way of documents and so on, but indirectly through the press and through the radio—information for general public consumption. Indeed they owned their own radio station in Geneva. It was used for short-wave broadcasts as well as for distribution of radio material to be picked up in other countries as regards League activities. I think a good deal is almost certain to be done on that same pattern. That is, they will see that the press is adequately informed in the way of suggested

material, that the radio audience also has the necessary material provided to the various radio stations for delivery. So it is very hard, I think, at the present time, to indicate actually what role a private organization such as the United Nations Society will fill in the whole picture. It is something to be encouraged; but how important it will be in dealing with the general problem of distributing to the public information about the United Nations I do not think any of us can determine at this stage.

Mr. JACKMAN: Is there any concerted policy on the part of the External Affairs Department to spread information with regard to international developments and background? I have here a bulletin published by the Department of State in the United States called Volume XII, 297, dated March 4, 1945. I do not know what circulation it has or what other publications the Department of State puts out, but I will give you the index:—

1. President's report on the Crimea conference.
2. "Our Global War"
Address by Acting Secretary Gréw.
3. Inter-American conference on problems of war and peace.
4. Remarks by the Secretary of State.
Statement by the Assistant Secretary Clayton.
5. Act of Chapultepec.
Resolutions presented at the conference of the United States delegation.
6. "Building the Peace".
Main Street and Dumbarton Oaks.
7. The Bretton Woods proposals as part of post-war organization.
Address by Assistant Secretary Acheson.
8. Publication of "Papers relating to foreign relations of the United States 1930" Volume I.

Apparently, there is a purpose sought to be achieved by the Department of State in the United States in the way of education; but as far as I know there are no official bulletins published by our own government regularly. Occasionally we do get reports of international agreements, Bretton Woods Conference Organization set-ups, etc., but I wonder if Mr. Wrong could tell us what the Department of State in the United States does in this regard and whether or not he thinks it is really worth while, and also whether or not it is something that we might well adopt gradually in Canada?

The WITNESS: As far as I know the publication of the Department of State to which Mr. Jackman has referred is the only regular printed publication issued by the Department of State. It comes out, I think, once a fortnight, and it consists of the press releases that have been issued by the Department of State during the preceding two weeks. Occasionally it may have a specially written article, but mostly it contains speeches, announcements, etc., relating to the activities of the State Department within a fortnightly period. We have not considered the development of a similar publication on our part, and our publications are confined to the treaty series which contain the texts of various formal agreements to which Canada is a party, and the reports of the principal international conferences at which Canada has been represented. These, of course, are inevitably issued sporadically as the occasion arises and are not regular publications.

Mr. BOUCHER: Summarizing my opinion about this particular grant, we are not forced into the position of whether we are to give more or less, but I think the discussion has left me convinced that we as a committee will do a good job if we urge the Department of External Affairs to go as far as they can in the way of disseminating information on international affairs both in literature and over the radio; and whether they decide to do so through the

agency of the United Nations Society or through private corporations of some nature that might very well be done by a little more publicity than we have had heretofore.

Mr. JACKMAN: Mr. Wrong spoke of the work in the United States but he did not express an opinion as to what might be the best thing for Canada. Perhaps he feels that that matter is a matter of policy and he does not care to go record, but if he has an opinion which he feels free to express it would be interesting.

The WITNESS: I think the Department of State bulletin is largely printed for special circulation. For instance, it goes to the numerous American diplomatic missions and consulates and other offices abroad and probably most of the newspapers pick up material from it when they wish it; but it is not in any sense a popular publication having a direct propagandist or educational end in mind. It really places on record in a convenient form the current statements which emanate from the Department of State, and I would not like to say whether it would be worth our while considering trying to produce a similar bulletin here. There is a distinct difference in the circumstances. A great deal of the material which is included in the Department of State's bulletin would, in Canada, be replaced really by statements made in parliament on behalf of the government, which is a situation they have not got in the United States because of the difference in the systems of government—they have not the opportunity of making a statement of policy in the same way as is open to the Cabinet here.

Mr. COTE: Would it be possible for Mr. Wrong to tell us whether the \$3,000 meets with the present requirements with regard to distribution of national propaganda through government services? Would it be possible then to subsidize, for instance, organizations like the Canadian Institute of International Affairs or the U.N.O. Society in this country so as to increase the distribution of their propaganda, which has not an exclusively political objective?

The WITNESS: I assume it would be possible and I have no doubt that the organizations concerned would be glad to receive additional income from public funds, but I feel that Mr. Cote's question raises a matter of policy and I would rather not comment on it. I can only say that if you pick out two or three organizations of this sort it would be difficult to draw the line, and that is why I was rather inclined to favour the restoration of the old reference in this vote, to the purchase for distribution of publications, because it did provide something concrete to indicate why this particular society was being aided.

Mr. COTE: I understand that in the United States the government is subsidizing organizations such as the Academy of Social Science; why should we not do that here? I suggest that the committee should at least make a recommendation to the government to consider this point of view.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wrong, probably item 51 would contain partly an answer to Mr. Cote's question with regard to the distribution of United Nations literature, because there is an item there of \$346,000. The United Nations must have of necessity a department of publicity. That would cover what Mr. Cote has in mind with regard to disseminating the activities and the work of the United Nations.

Mr. MACINNIS: I should imagine that the expressions of opinion this morning would indicate that we are through with secret diplomacy. Was it not Mr. Wilson who said, "open agreements openly arrived at"? It was only a few years ago that discussions in the House of Commons on foreign affairs were frowned upon as being rather dangerous.

The CHAIRMAN: We may widen the scope of discussion in this committee if we have a chance.

Mr. GRAYDON: Have you any information as to what work of this character—that is educational and informational service—other nations are carrying on? I am not speaking so much about the United States and Great Britain or members of the commonwealth, because I think we do know something of what they are doing; but what are they doing, for instance, in a country like Russia or in South American countries or in the Arab states; is there information on that point?

The WITNESS: No, Mr. Chairman, we have no information on that matter. In Russia there certainly would not be any grant to a private society for the dissemination of information, because that would not fit the pattern; they control all the elements of public information in Russia themselves. I think it would be quite impossible to say what portion of their energies will be devoted to enlightening Russian people as to the work of the United Nations Organization.

Mr. GRAYDON: I was not thinking of that particularly.

The WITNESS: I am afraid we have no information on what is being done in other countries.

Mr. JACKMAN: The Arab league sends a bulletin to everyone. I occasionally get one from the Zionists in regard to the Palestine problem.

Mr. GRAYDON: Mr. Cote said in effect that if we are going to have a permanent peace we have to have a people's peace. There is no question about that. It has always struck me, and this is only a personal view, that the great need is understanding. After all, misunderstanding is a great barrier among the common people as regards things that crop up in international affairs. Take farmers, if you like, your working people and other people of that kind; an understanding between the common people like ourselves and others who are not specialists in diplomacy is one of the things which in the end, I believe, will do as much as any other single thing in seeing that the barriers which separate nations and support national aspirations are broken down. For instance, cheaper travel in peace time and better facilities for travel for people who normally do not travel is an important factor. I refer to people who usually never go outside of their own communities and who, because of that, cannot be expected to have an international outlook. How could they have such an outlook; they are not given an opportunity to have it. It seems to me that some consideration in the future might be given to a freer interchange among the ordinary common people of these countries so that they could meet and try to understand the problems of all common people, people within their class, and doing their own type of work. For instance, if a farmer goes to Great Britain he wants to see the farmers in Britain; he wants to know what they are doing; he wants to know what their particular line of policy is with regard to certain things; and if he goes from one country to another he will pick up information from the ordinary people which the experts in diplomacy would not think of. It seems to me that through that interchange—occupational interchange if you like, where people of similar interests in different countries get together—will be afforded a very fertile means of advancing international understanding; and I am not sure that in the end it is not going to be a question which is based on international understanding. I put that thought forward to the committee. I know I am out of order, but the committee has been very kind to me, and I appreciate their kindness.

Mr. COTE: We in this committee and in parliament have to face a new problem, the problem of the returned men who have travelled all over the world and who to-day are asking us to give them information. They know people and countries that they never knew anything about before. Then there are the young chaps in the schools who have witnessed the war from a long distance

from the battlefield, who have discussed the war in their classrooms. They have discussed what is going on here and what is going on there and they have got themselves used to thinking in terms of larger fields and of generations to come. Speaking of these youngsters, I have a little boy of nine years, and I wish I had been, at nine years of age, as well informed on the world as he is. Children listen to the radio and read the papers every day and learn about this situation and that situation all over the world. You cannot stop these people from asking the government to supply the proper information. This is the generation of young people, the children of our country and also of these returned men; and the younger generation are asking us to supply them with information with regard to the world which they know. Now, how can we do that with a vote of \$3,000 just for distributing material? We are going to lag behind. My suggestion is that the committee should make a recommendation to the government to increase that amount ten times to meet these requirements.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe that Mr. Cote has partly answered his own question because he has mentioned the attitude of his fine son on international questions. The press of this country, the magazines, the periodicals, the radio have been giving a lot of information on international questions, and that is no doubt where Mr. Cote's son got his information. I do not think we could present a recommendation, but we could mention this matter in our report after we have studied more closely the activities of this organization and have one of the higher officials before us to give us information on this matter.

Mr. COTE: I want to satisfy ourselves about this matter.

The CHAIRMAN: This is a grant to a special organization. As Mr. Wrong has said, we do not know the line of demarkation. I myself am not at the moment in touch with the activities of the United Nations League, but I believe we can leave this matter for the present until we get further information from higher officials in that organization.

Mr. BREITHAUP: This is not the only organization that disseminates knowledge and propaganda for Canada. We have the Department of Trade and Commerce in particular which spends millions in disseminating information which is to the benefit of Canada and which to a large extent also enables foreign countries to learn something about us. I agree with my friend in regard to principle, but I do not think this is the time to increase governmental expenditure in any department unless it is absolutely necessary. I think this is a good start, and we should stick to it until it can be shown that we need more money.

Mr. COTE: It appears that I have not made myself clear. It is not a matter of making Canada known elsewhere—I believe the Department of Trade and Commerce spends \$600,000 for that purpose—but I say this is a contribution to an organization which is world-wide in scope and which informs Canadians of affairs in the rest of the world. I am not speaking of informing the rest of the world about Canada. I think Canadians should be informed on the rest of the world. With a contribution of \$3,000 to a world-wide organization we cannot ask this organization to supply us with what we need.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions?

The WITNESS: May I proceed to item 44, an item to provide for hospitality in connection with visitors from abroad. The amount provided in this estimate is \$25,000. Last year \$15,000 was provided in the main estimates, but a supplementary estimate was voted of \$7,500. There is a net increase this year of \$2,500 over the total vote of last year. The expenditure last year out of these two votes was about \$17,000. I should like to say in connection with this vote that we want to be sure that we have enough to last until the end of the fiscal year in the event of some demand being made in, say,

February or March, such as a visit from the head of a state or the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, or someone of that order—we want to be able to provide him with respectable hospitality. I should like to see some surplus left of this vote at the end of each fiscal year for that reason.

Now, the purpose of this vote is explained in its description. Most governments, I believe, spend a great deal more money proportionately to their budgets than we do on entertainment of visitors from abroad; but it might interest the committee to know a little about the arrangements made. I am sorry that Mr. Graydon has had to leave the committee, because he could speak at first-hand about the activities of the Government's Hospitality Fund in the United Kingdom; both he and I have been beneficiaries on more than one occasion of the hospitality that they have furnished.

In the United States they have found the demand so great that they have in the last four or five years actually purchased and equipped two guest houses in Washington, near the White House, which they use for the accommodation of certain distinguished visitors and also for the entertainment of people coming to Washington on official visits. I do not know what their total expenditure would be, but it would be many more times our figure than their national revenue exceeds our national revenue.

This is not a large vote. It is used for such purposes as entertaining visiting chiefs of state, prime ministers or distinguished foreigners who come to Canada. Sometimes we pay the entire expenses from the time of arrival in Canada to the time of departure. A person is then the guest of the Canadian government. More frequently the vote will be used for giving a luncheon or dinner or a reception by the Canadian government to a visitor when he is at Ottawa. Then also when international conferences are held in Canada it is customary for the host country to give a reception to all attending at the beginning of the conference, and it is usual for the chief of the Canadian delegation to give a dinner for the heads of delegations in the course of the conference.

That is the main expenditure there. There are a few miscellaneous oddments as well. It is a troublesome aspect of the conduct of business of the department. Mr. Measures is particularly concerned with the administration of this vote and he will back me up in the statement that it causes us far more small troubles than the amount of the vote might seem to indicate.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Is this the only source that the government has for such work?—A. Yes.

Q. Does each department also have an appropriation?—A. Not for the entertainment of visitors from abroad. Of course, other departments have their own fund to be drawn on for purposes of entertainment, but this is limited to the entertainment of visitors from abroad.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. Do you put these people up at the Chateau?—A. Quite frequently. I should say that the Governor General will frequently invite a visiting dignitary to stay at Government House. For instance, the President Elect of Colombia will visit Ottawa next Monday on an official visit, and he will stay at Rideau Hall when he is in Ottawa, and the Governor General will give a dinner in his honour next Monday evening. But this arrangement is not always available, and this vote is used for many other purposes on a somewhat lower level perhaps than would justify reception at Rideau Hall.

Q. Suppose a visitor comes over here to discuss a matter of finance with the Department of Finance, would that department also have a fund?—A. No, it draws on this fund for that purpose. For instance, I was present last week

at a luncheon given to two Commissioners of the Newfoundland government who were here discussing problems of civil aviation. The cost of that luncheon will be paid out of this vote.

Mr. BREITHAAPT: You provided a sum of \$15,000 last year; do you know how much was actually spent?

The WITNESS: It was really \$22,500, there was a supplementary vote, and we spent about \$17,000.

Mr. BREITHAAPT: In view of the greater amount of travelling to this country at the present time this vote would not seem to be too high.

The WITNESS: I think it might prove to be on the low side. We might possibly have to come back for more. You cannot guess your program in advance at the beginning of the year, and we are in a rather special position in these matters because a great many people come on official visits to the United States and it is desirable, I think, that a great many of them should be invited to pay a visit to Canada. Because of the drawing power of the United States we benefit to a considerable extent from visiting dignitaries.

Mr. FRASER: This would only cover part of it, because I have noticed on the third floor of the Chateau on many occasions that you have guards outside of the doors of the dignitaries, or detectives.

The WITNESS: There is a certain amount of what I might call manpower involved which would undoubtedly be charged normally to departmental administration. Mainly this is actually to pay the cost of hospitality—luncheons, dinners and so on.

Mr. FRASER: Food and board.

Mr. JACKMAN: When the estimates were up last year, as I recall, there was an item covering the attendance of a Canadian delegation to the International Air Conference in the United States. I think that was charged to your department. I remember asking the Secretary of State for External Affairs why that should not be charged to the T.C.A. which is the only body in Canada which has anything to do with international air transport; and if I recall his reply, it was to the effect that sometimes such things were charged to the department directly concerned which would be, I suppose, the Department of Transport in this case, and sometimes charged the Department of External Affairs, not depending on the whim of the accounting at the time, but sometimes one way and sometimes another way. Let us take another example, Mr. MacKinnon's trip to South America as the head of a trade delegation. I suppose that would be charged to the Department of Trade and Commerce and not to the Department of External Affairs; but is there any hard and fast rule as to whether the cost of international delegations from Canada should be charged to your department or to some other department that is directly concerned?

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, that matter will come up on vote 49. The sum of \$200,000 is provided for Canadian representation to forthcoming international conferences. I would not like to say that covers all international conferences. Sometimes a small technical conference, attended by perhaps one or two technical officers of the government, may be carried on normal expense accounts and appear as travelling expenses in the departmental vote. This does include the fairly large delegations to big international conferences; and it does not indeed cover quite all of those, because there is a vote you will find under the Department of Labour for participation in the International Labour conference, a separate vote. It would cover participation in the United Nations meetings, the F.A.O. and Civil Aviation Organization and so on.

Mr. BREITHAAPT: In any case, the Trade and Commerce trip would not be charged to this vote?

The WITNESS: No, that was a trip undertaken by the Department of Trade and Commerce at the expense of the department. That was not an attendance at an international conference; really it was a tour for the promotion of Canadian trade.

Mr. MACINNIS: This is for visitors coming to Canada?

The WITNESS: Yes, for visitors coming to Canada. I might mention that when Mr. MacKinnon did take that trip down there he was the recipient of rather lavish governmental hospitality on the part of the Latin American countries he visited, and this vote enables us in a much more modest way to reciprocate when Latin American dignitaries come to Ottawa.

Mr. JACKMAN: With regard to a matter such as joint defence that is charged directly to the National Defence Department, is it?

The WITNESS: Yes. There is a small vote, No. 48, \$2,500, which is entirely travelling expenses of those attending meetings. I think I am right in saying there is no salary charge; the salaries are carried on the departmental estimates. It is not full-time work for members of the board. I do not know whether Mr. Measures has anything to say in that regard for the information of the committee?

Mr. MEASURES: No, I think you have covered the point.

The WITNESS: I think we shall probably have to aim at a rather larger organization for government hospitality in due course in Canada as we ease up the travelling restrictions. It is going to become a bigger problem as time goes on, and my own feeling is that it is a question where it is quite easy to abuse the taxpayers' funds. It is quite essential that we should be able to meet all the legitimate demands, but it requires a close control to see that there is a fair return on the investment. Ottawa as an international centre has changed a great deal in the last seven years, and I do not think we have quite caught up with the change in position in our arrangements for official hospitality.

Mr. BREITHAUP: As Canada grows as a nation that is only natural.

Mr. MACINNIS: How can you determine that you are getting a fair return for the expenditure?

The WITNESS: I cannot suggest any mathematical formula whereby we could do it. We have to watch over it and be careful of our expenditures charged against this vote.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. This is not money spent only in Ottawa, it might be money spent in Halifax and on the Pacific coast?—A. Most of it is spent in Ottawa. I do not want to give the committee details on actually how this vote is spent. I understand that questions have frequently been asked in the British House of Commons as to how the hospitality vote is spent, and the answer has always been that if they give details on what was spent on the reception of a particular individual or group the hospitality would lose half its value and all its grace; and that has been accepted as a satisfactory answer, and I think it is a convincing one. I should not like to put in a public document how much was spent on the President of Chile when he was here last year or on the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom when he was here.

Q. It would be embarrassing.—A. Yes, it would be embarrassing. This is a matter where we must really ask the committee to trust in the discretion and good sense of those responsible for administering the vote, as long as they are satisfied that the amount is adequate and reasonable.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. The administration has to concern itself with the problem of coping with the new world, concerning receiving properly the great figures of the war at

Ottawa. Has some arrangement been made for receiving General Montgomery?—A. I think the Department of National Defence is actually looking after that.

Q. That would not come under this vote?—A. We may have some expenditure charged to this vote, but Field Marshal Montgomery comes here as a military visitor, as the chief of the Imperial general staff.

Q. Are we to gather the impression that proper arrangements through External Affairs and the Department of National Defence have been made to provide for a fitting reception?—A. Mr. Measures confirms my impression of that. The actual details are being worked out by the Department of National Defence, which I think is appropriate in the case of a distinguished field marshal who is also chief of the general staff in the United Kingdom, and I think we can assure the committee that there will be a very carefully worked out program presented, about which we shall be consulted as to our views, as regards problems that arise.

Mr. BOUCHER: Is it possible to give us any guide as to the authority to spend that money, and the limitations, on whom it shall be spent, or any rule of thumb in disposing of it?

The WITNESS: Perhaps Mr. Measures can answer that question.

Mr. Measures, Protocol Officer, called.

Mr. MEASURES: Mr. Chairman, I have a list of the beneficiaries, so to speak, of this vote.

Mr. BOUCHER: I am speaking now, Mr. Measures, mostly as to how it is decided upon whom the reception shall be bestowed.

Mr. MEASURE: I think that rests with the political divisions of the department.

The WITNESS: It depends upon the volume of the expenditure what exact authority is required. For example, when the late Lord Keynes was here with a small delegation from the British treasury conducting financial negotiations last year he was given a luncheon at which, I think, the Minister of Finance presided, and that arrangement was a departmental matter with Mr. Ilsley's concurrence; he acted as host. In the case of a large expenditure it probably would be referred to the Secretary of State for External Affairs for authority. I believe that is the system which is followed in most countries: smaller expenditures the Under Secretary for External Affairs can authorize; for the large ones ministerial authority would have to be sought. As to recommending who should be entertained, that is a rather intricate process and sometimes leads to a certain amount of argument with Canadian representatives abroad who always think that we should do more than we are doing; but we consider all the various aspects and decide on the whole what type of hospitality befits a particular guest.

Mr. BOUCHER: I was thinking of the case where we had increased our ambassadorial staff to other countries and if there is any possible liaison organization which knows if there are men coming to our country who should be hospitality visitors?

The WITNESS: Oh, yes, we get a good deal of information back from our own missions abroad, and notice of a desire of some foreign minister or prime minister or chief of state to come to Canada will come from the Canadian mission in that country concerned.

The CHAIRMAN: We will proceed with the next order.

The WITNESS: I will turn the matter over to Mr. Hemsley.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wrong, will you give us some guidance for our future proceedings as to the officials we might have at our next meeting?

The WITNESS: If you wish to go on with item 47 on Civil Aviation Organization Mr. Pierce would be the best official of the Department of External Affairs for you to have.

Mr. FRASER: Items 47 and 55.

The WITNESS: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you be kind enough to contact him for us?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. COTE: May I ask Mr. Wrong a question? I have had a few requests that I could not answer from people of the Civil Service who would like to know how they should proceed to become members of the staff of the U.N.O., or other staffs. Is there a sort of pooling office?

The WITNESS: I am glad Mr. Cote brought that question up at this time. I think some arrangement will be announced within the next week or two. There has been a considerable amount of confusion about recruitment of the United Nations staff, and a great many different channels have been used by the United Nations Organization itself. At the request of the secretary general we lent him about three weeks ago the services of Mr. MacDermot, who is the chief of the information division in my department, specifically to organize recruitment in Canada and also in Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India. The plan, I believe, which they are contemplating is to have a part-time resident secretary, really of a small committee, who would be paid some sort of a retaining fee by the United Nations Organization to whom all applications for employment would be filtered. He would really be in a similar capacity to the Civil Service Commission in respect of government departments. He would be the recipient of the applications and would see that the requisite background and information is secured. He would act as a filter, would know something about the requirements at the other end; and all the correspondence would pass through him. As Mr. Cote has said, the present system is rather confusing.

Mr. COTE: I did not say quite that.

The WITNESS: The implication in the remarks was that it is confusing for a person intending to get employment.

Mr. FRASER: Has not an office been set up on Spark St.?

The WITNESS: I do not think so; only for U.N.R.R.A.

Mr. Hemsley, recalled:

Mr. HEMSLEY: What I am about to say results from questions asked the other day. One question had to do with returns of revenue from passports in Ottawa. They have shown a steady increase. I have the figures for the last six months. In December, 1945, the return was \$13,378.30, and the return for May of this year was \$18,342.

Mr. FRASER: What is your expense per month there?

Mr. HEMSLEY: The expense would be one-twelfth of our vote.

Mr. FRASER: That would include your printing and everything else?

Mr. HEMSLEY: That includes everything, printing and issuing of the passports. These monthly returns, of course, go to the Consolidated Revenue Fund; we do not see that money in the administration of the passport office. The increase has been fairly steady since December, as might be expected.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions on that item?

Mr. HEMSLEY: The other item, I think, Mr. Chairman, was the figure of the increase of \$51,000 in the passport administration vote. An explanation was needed of that. That increase of \$51,000 is rather more apparent than real, in that we had an item last year in war appropriations of \$28,500 for an increase in

the activities of the passport office resulting from war legislation. This was carried on war appropriation as that appeared to be more appropriate than making it a charge against our regular departmental vote for administration. This item of \$28,500 last year would of course be in addition to the \$29,928 shown there. The remainder of the increase can be accounted for by increased staff. We estimated at the time of the preparation of the estimates that we would have an increase in business resulting from the end of the war in Europe, and that we would need possibly twenty more clerks in the passport office, judging from the weekly returns and the way applications were coming in. We were a little under, and we have taken on somewhat more than twenty; and unless the situation goes back to a more normal condition we may have to ask for a limited supplementary.

Mr. FRASER: This \$81,000 covers rental, does it?

Mr. HEMSLEY: The whole administration of the passport office. The rental of space for the records of the passport office may be carried by the Public Works Department, I am not sure of that. We have the two offices. When we are overcrowded on Bank Street we have some records space in another part of the city. I am certain it is carried by Public Works.

The next vote I was asked to speak on was this amount required to meet the loss of exchange, vote 45, asking for an amount of \$60,000. That vote can be broken down under three main requirements: the first is based on an old order in council, applicable not only to the Department of External Affairs but to all government departments who have staffs in countries whose exchange is at a premium of 10 per cent or more. That affects us in New York, Washington and Cuba. That old order in council makes provision for the payment of salaries up to \$1,500 in the currency of that country. In the cases under consideration we pay in United States dollars or the equivalent, up to \$1,500, and at half the exchange difference on salaries above \$1,500. That takes up roughly \$12,500 of this amount we are requesting and permits us to pay the salaries in United States funds under that old authority.

Another part of this vote, I take it, is linked with item 51, which is the expenses of the League of Nations and International Labour Office. At the time of the preparation of what item we used the rate of exchange of the Swiss franc of that day, and we are not quite sure what the rate of exchange will be on the date we actually pay. Rather than include this variation of the rate of exchange in item 51 we did, at the suggestion of the estimates officer, include an amount equal to 5 per cent of the vote to cover any variation in the rate of exchange. So when we come to settle up we may need it or we may not. If we settled that item at the moment we would be gaining. It is an item that may be used or may not be used.

The other part of the vote is taken up with the exchange on personal advances to staff in the Moscow embassy. There is rather a different way of treating allowances in Russia. At the time we came to set up the allowances, conditions were rather chaotic and fluctuating, so that, based on the experience of the American and largely the British, it was decided, rather than to keep modifying the allowances, to adopt some basic treatment of guaranteeing the staff of the embassy a rate of exchange in excess of the official rate. The official rate is 12 rubles to the United States dollar, and we guarantee the personnel there 25 rubles to the United States dollar. That is to take up all the slack. Of course, there is a limit put on the amount of rubles that the people may draw at the guaranteed rate of exchange of 25 rubles to the dollar. The Ambassador decides that, having in mind the requirements of each individual officer and his family there. The authority for that is P.C. 23/11742 of December 30, 1944. That was when the mission was being established at Kuibyshev, but the situation applies at Moscow.

Mr. JACKMAN: As regards the Russian exchange, that means that if one of our men in Moscow was given a salary of \$5,000 and he was allowed to convert that at 12 rubles to the dollar, that would not be fair enough?

Mr. HEMSLEY: That is right.

Mr. JACKMAN: And you have to give him at least 25 rubles to give him the purchasing power?

Mr. HEMSLEY: The way the Americans do it is by a 45 per cent increase over their basic allowance, which is not quite up to that figure; but they recognize that is not enough.

Mr. JACKMAN: That means that the Russian ruble is greatly overvalued in the world markets?

Mr. HEMSLEY: Yes.

Mr. JACKMAN: And the result of having to double the number of rubles which we give to our people is that we have to pay to Russia twice as many dollars as would ordinarily fit the circumstances?

Mr. HEMSLEY: Yes.

Mr. JACKMAN: In other words, we have to provide the man with \$10,000 Canadian dollars in order to have an effective purchasing power of \$5,000?

Mr. HEMSLEY: Yes.

Mr. JACKMAN: It is a gift, really, to Russia, because of their governmental order saying the official rate is 12 rubles to the dollar?

Mr. HEMSLEY: That is the effect, but we do it that way rather than the way we do it in Paris, that is by modifying the allowance. Maybe the situation will change. We have to set up allowances all over the world; it is a vexing question to set an allowance that will be considered proper; and we have been cooperating with the Department of Finance, the Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Trade and Commerce in surveys being made of all missions and other places overseas so that we may reduce our allowances to a somewhat more scientific basis than that on which they have been set in the last few years.

Mr. JACKMAN: I suppose it is outside of the sphere of the Department of External Affairs to take the matter up with Russia—the fact that their exchange is greatly overvalued—that would be something that will come before the International Bank.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions? If not, I wish to thank Messrs. Measures and Hemsley for coming here and giving this information. We will meet again on Friday.

The committee adjourned to meet on Friday, June 21, at 11.30 o'clock a.m.

SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 9

MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1946

WITNESS

Mr. Sydney D. Pierce, Chief of Economic Division, External Affairs.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER

PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1946

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, June 24, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock.

Present: Messrs. Benidickson, Coldwell, Fleming, Fraser, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Mayhew, Mutch, Sinclair (*Ontario*) and Winkler.

In attendance: Mr. Sydney D. Pierce, Chief of the Economic Division, S. D. Hemsley, R. N. Macdonnell, Chief of the Third Political Division and John Starnes, replacing Commander L. C. Audette, liaison officer.

In the absence of both the Chairman and the vice-chairman, and on motion of Mr. Fraser, Mr. Winkler was elected chairman *pro tempore*.

Mr. Low read a telegram under date of June 22 addressed to himself from Mr. Williams, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Legion, Edmonton, Alberta. The Committee decided to refer this communication to the Department concerned. (*For text of telegram, see this day's evidence*).

The Committee resumed its study of the estimates referred. Namely: votes 55 and 47,—Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

Mr. Sydney D. Pierce was called, examined and retired.

On motion of Mr. Low, the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

Antonio Plouffe,
Clerk of the Committee.

MEMOIRS OF THE

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

24th June, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Acting Chairman, Mr. H. W. Winkler, presided:

Mr. FRASER: I move that Mr. Winkler act as chairman.

Mr. COLDWELL: I second the motion.

The Acting CHAIRMAN: The first matter before us is vote No. 55, which concerns the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

Mr. Low: Before you start with that, Mr. Chairman, it might be possible for me to have one moment in which to ask for advice in connection with a wire which just came to me and which has to do with External Affairs. The wire reads as follows:—

Sir, a large number of men who have returned from overseas are deserting their wives and families and are returning to England to women who they have been associating with for the past few years. The Passport Officer states that he cannot refuse passports to these men as that would be interfering with their civil rights. I consider it is the duty of your government to prevent this as if it had not been for the fact that your government declared war these men would have been happily settled with their wives and families. While it is true that a man has civil rights it is also true that his wife and family have rights too. This is a very serious matter and I trust that you will take the necessary steps to see that the men concerned are compelled to remain in this country and shoulder their responsibility of providing for their wives and families and not throwing this responsibility on the shoulders of the municipalities.

(Sgd.) Williams,
Secretary-Manager,
Canadian Legion, Edmonton.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN: The question arises in my mind whether that wire should be placed before this committee; but it is a matter for the committee itself to decide.

Mr. COLDWELL: It is a passport problem, is it not?

Mr. Low: That is the reason I brought it down here.

Mr. JAENICKE: We can stop this difficulty by refusing passports to those chaps.

Mr. FLEMING: But the issue of a passport is a matter of identification, largely. I do not think the passport office has ever considered whether a man owes some civil liability before he is issued a passport.

Mr. JACKMAN: There are authorities governing the use of the mails in connection with financial matters.

Mr. MUTCH: It is questionable whether you would be doing the wives any favour.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN: Would you be satisfied, Mr. Low, to have the matter referred to the steering committee?

Mr. Low: Yes, I would like the matter to be referred to the proper authority.

Mr. COLDWELL: Why not refer it to the department.

Mr. Low: Yes, right to the department.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN: We shall first call on Mr. Pierce.

Mr. S. D. Pierce, Chief of the Economic Division, Department of External Affairs, called:

The ACTING CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pierce, would you give us your full name and something of your background?

The WITNESS: My name is S. D. Pierce and I am chief of the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs. During the war I was in Washington for the Department of Munitions and Supply, in various capacities, ending up as director-general of the Washington office. Before the war I was concerned with various private interests of my own, for a number of years. They were pretty widely scattered. I can add to that, if you desire, Mr. Chairman. Before that I had some experience with the Associated Press in Montreal and with the "Montreal Gazette"; and I lectured for one year, in Political Science, at the University of Dalhousie. I graduated from McGill in civil law, in 1925, and in Arts in 1922, majoring in economics. I was born and educated in Montreal.

By the Acting Chairman:

Q. Would you care to say a few words as well about the background of "PICAO", and how it comes about that you are chosen to give evidence?—A. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I am giving evidence on PICAO because international aviation comes under the jurisdiction of the Economic Division and it is as chief of that division that I presume I have been asked to come here. I have participated in international aviation, insofar as it concerns our division, that is, in its External Affairs aspects. Recently I was on the Canadian delegation at Montreal during the three weeks meeting of the assembly of PICAO.

The organization came into being, as a result of the conference held in Chicago in 1944, and when the required number of acceptances of what is known as the Interim Agreement were received, in June of last year, the provisional organization came into being. It has a life of three years and is to be replaced, if all goes as is anticipated, by a permanent organization. So PICAO will become "ICAO", the letter "P" standing for Provisional being dropped, we expect, in the spring of next year.

The purpose of PICAO and ultimately of ICAO is to make the development of international civil aviation orderly, rapid, safe, and economical.

The objective of making it orderly is achieved by various means. Perhaps I can touch on some of them, and if there are any questions, I could deal with them, if that would be satisfactory, Mr. Chairman. The organization is developing what is known as a multi-lateral agreement which will concern the granting of commercial air rights. It is endeavouring to develop an agreement which will be acceptable to most of the nations of the world. Such an agreement would outlaw discriminatory practices of all kinds in the air and make the air free for all commercial travel except cabotage, that is, the carrying of traffic by a foreign plane, between, for example, Montreal and Toronto. That would always remain a national right. The other rights, such as the right to fly over a territory on a commercial trip; the right to land for non-traffic purposes; the right to carry traffic from the country of origin of the plane to the country of destination; the right to pick foreign traffic and carry it to the home country of the plane; and the right known as the Fifth Freedom, to carry traffic between

foreign countries, for example, a British plane picking up traffic at Montreal and taking it to New York. The multi-lateral agreement would grant these rights to all the nations that accept the agreement, subject to certain controls, so that regional services would not be placed at too great a disadvantage with respect to the through services. If through services carry a full load on the main run they might be inclined to fill up on any terms that they could. However, the multi-lateral agreement has not yet been accepted and is not yet in a form for acceptance. In the meantime the international organization has prepared what is known as the standard form of bi-lateral agreement so that, in the interim, two states that wish to conclude an air agreement, have a form which includes clauses precluding discrimination and ensuring fair practices. I think that practically all of the nations that have signed bi-lateral agreements have used the standard form with some modifications; but the general principles that have been laid down are generally accepted and are now part of international negotiation. Order in the air is introduced by many other practical means; but since they also serve other objectives, such as safety, economy, and rapidity, I might, perhaps, blur the outlines a little.

Rapid development is achieved by arranging for the exchange of technical information by members of the organization and PICAQ draws from its present membership of forty-six nations the best technical men to meet in committees, in subcommittees, and in regional meetings. The organization endeavours to facilitate air travel by simplifying customs and passport regulations and health and quarantine regulations.

Safety is sought through a great number of measures, with some of which I will deal. There are standard practices prepared, requirements of airworthiness, qualifications for the pilot, requirements for the ground facilities that should be provided, types of runways, of radio aids to navigation, of lighting beacons, and so on, covering the complete field of the plane in the air, and on the ground, the facilities which are provided at the airfields, and the pilots who fly the planes. These standards and practices are not imposed upon the subscribing nations; the aim is to draw up a standard or recommended practice, not to impose it as yet, because air is too new, and too many nations are still undeveloped in the air. So, to adopt a practice now which might suit the United Kingdom or suit the United States or Canada might inflict hardship on a country which is not yet in a position to adopt the practices. They are rather a body of safety objectives which member nations are attempting to achieve. In addition PICAQ also deals with provision for rescue at sea, and the provision for traffic control in various regions. PICAQ has divided the world of air travel into various regions. It has already held two regional meetings, one at Paris for western Europe and one at Dublin for the north Atlantic. At those meetings it was agreed that traffic control should be centred at one place, one country being charged with controlling traffic in the area, and various other steps were taken of a similar coordinating character. Safety is also achieved by such means as those considered at the last meeting in Montreal, to station weather ships in the north Atlantic, to decide how many ships there should be, how they are to be financed, and what areas they should occupy.

It is difficult to consider the last point, economical development in isolation but you can see that it is related to the considerations already dealt with. Obviously, if you had one nation and not five nations controlling traffic, it would be cheaper in the long run. Economy also enters in concerning the designation of international airports. If there is an area served by many airports, PICAQ will determine, in many cases, which is the suitable airport, whether an airport offers suitable facilities. Therefore a nation can avoid demands being made upon it to open up more airports than are needed for the proper development of international organization.

PICAO is also assuming quite an important status as a court of international air disputes, not upon an obligatory basis at all, but by general acceptance, which is taken into recognition in most of the bi-lateral air agreements that have been concluded, where provision is made that air disputes are to be referred to PICAO, usually after an attempt has been made to settle them between the two disputants. But in almost every case that I know of, PICAO is at least the court of appeal.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. How many nations are members?—A. Forty-six are members now of the fifty-four that attended at Chicago. That forty-six includes all the important nations except Russia which was not at the first meeting and has not yet joined. Of those forty-six nations, forty-four attended the assembly meeting; so the interest shown is very keen. Poland, whose status is somewhat in doubt because of political complications, did not attend, as a member but as an observer and the only other member nation that did not attend was Greece.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. What is the outlook with regard to Russian participation?—A. I can say that at the assembly where the question was very fully discussed the outlook was not considered very good. There were originally twenty-one seats on the council, the council being the administrative executive body of the organization. At Chicago twenty seats were filled, and the twenty-first seat was left vacant in the expectation that Russia might occupy it if she showed an interest. At Montreal the question arose whether this twenty-first seat should be filled, and it was filled. So the fact that it is no longer left vacant for Russia indicates that the member nations do not think her participation likely.

Q. What was the basis of Russia's failure to come in?—A. She has never expressed her reasons.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. What is the breakdown of this amount of \$65,000, do you know?

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Before answering that question, I wonder if you would tell us what the five freedoms are. We would like to have them for the record.—A. The first freedom is the right to fly over a country. The second freedom is the right to non-traffic stop; you can come down and refuel and take off again without picking up or depositing passengers. The third freedom is the right to carry home-foreign traffic; in other words, the third freedom for Canada would be the right to take traffic from, say, Montreal and deposit it in a foreign country, say London. The fourth freedom is the right to carry foreign-home traffic; that is, for a Canadian plane to pick up passengers in London and deposit them in Montreal. The fifth freedom is the right to carry foreign-foreign traffic, such as the right of a Canadian plane to pick up passengers in London and take them to Paris.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. I was going to ask about the breakdown of this appropriation of \$65,000?—A. It is our contribution to the organization; that would be our lump sum contribution to the organization, I should say, for the fiscal year 1946-1947. Our contribution is higher than \$65,000 because that figure was based on an estimate that was used for the first year's operation, the formative year of the council, which was only a ten months' year. Advances were requested from the countries to approximate what the expenses would be. Canada's contribution for 1946-1947 is set at just under \$98,000.

Q. So there would be a supplementary estimate. How is that arrived at? How are the shares proportioned; on what proportional basis?—A. By establishing, for the total budget, which is just under \$2,000,000, 300 units which are divided among the countries that are members. The largest contributor is the United States with forty-five units; the next largest contributor is the United Kingdom with thirty units; and then, Canada, France, and China with fifteen units. Each unit would be about \$6,500. There are six countries, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, India, the Netherlands, and Spain with ten units; and five countries with eight. And then they taper off to one unit.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I understand those were just agreed, a sort of arbitrary agreement, not fixed in relation to any known factors?—A. The starting point was the contribution made to other international organizations, such as the United Nations, UNRRA, and I.L.O., modified by a country's interest in civil aviation and several other factors that I can find for you, if you wish. There was some arbitrary element in the final adjustments, certainly; but there was an attempt to start with present scales of contribution to international organizations and modify them by other relevant factors.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. There was an agreement with respect to rates, a tentative agreement?—A. That does not fall within the purview of PICAQ, unless there are disputes arising out of rates. Rates are fixed by the international operators' association, "IATA". That is quite a separate organization, the membership of which is made up of operating companies and not governments.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. My question has nothing to do with what has gone on. This is an item in the Department of External Affairs. I think most of us are aware that the Rt.-Hon. Mr. Howe, the Minister of Reconstruction, or the minister holding some of the functions attached to the Department of Transport, has had much to do with PICAQ and with the direction of Canada's interests in international civil aviation; so I wonder if Mr. Pierce could tell us what has been done with respect to the dividing line or the jurisdiction for administrative responsibility as laid down between the Department of External Affairs on the one hand, and the Rt.-Hon. Mr. Howe on the other?—A. Our interest is in the international aspect of civil aviation. I think it is in our interest to see that in any international agreement our general interests and political interests are protected, and that we do not, let us say, concede to one country rights that are not conceded to other countries and are thereby embarrassed in our international dealings. So our responsibility lies in the international aspects and not in the domestic aspects. The Rt.-Hon. Mr. Howe's interest lies, perhaps, in the two fields. He is, perhaps, interested in the international field because T.C.A. operates international services.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. The Rt.-Hon. Mr. Howe or his department would furnish the technical information to your department at those meetings?—A. Yes, and perhaps a little more too, because of T.C.A. experience in international aviation. We must rely a lot upon him in the drafting of our agreements; but the agreements that we have concluded in the air have been, I think, drafted in the main by members of our department.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Who were our delegates to the last conference?—A. The Rt.-Hon. Mr. Howe was chairman of the delegation; Mr. Symington, President of T.C.A. was

a delegate; Mr. R. A. C. Henry, chairman of the Air Transport Board; Mr. A. C. McKim, the Canadian member on the interim council of PICAQ; and the Hon. Mr. Chevrier, the Minister of Transport, was the fifth delegate. Then, we had five alternates and technical advisors in addition.

Q. I understood that this PICAQ conference is held on the governmental level and not on the company level. You mentioned that the rate fixing agreement was made by the operators, not by the countries; but PICAQ was made up of the various countries concerned.—A. That is right.

Q. Did any of the other delegations include men who had to do with the actual operating of the lines?—A. Oh yes, many of the important delegations. The United States had, I think, representatives of every important air line. In a conference it is almost impossible to develop the technical problems without the operators. The technical discussion alone requires the operators to be present. The operators organization IATA, was an observer at the assembly.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. The British would be represented at the governmental level?—A. I do not know that they had any—

Q. Their external air services are all under government agencies?—A. That is right.

Q. This country is in the same position. Our air services, externally, are operated by T.C.A. which is a government institution. But in the United States the situation is different because you have private companies operating trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific air routes.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. The American representation was made up entirely of government officials and in no case was there an operator on the council itself.—A. No, there are no operators on the council.

Q. Did we have just one man on the council?—A. Just the one man. The five I spoke of were the delegates to the assembly meetings.

Q. Did the Americans have any operating officials attending the assembly meetings?—A. Oh yes.

Q. They were in the background as advisers but not as spokesmen. We have a combination here in Canada, of government men actually being the operators.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Is not that true of practically all countries except the United States?—A. Yes, I think so.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. But the United States, as far as you recall, had no operating men on the assembly?—A. I am afraid that the definition between delegates, alternates, and advisers was pretty well rejected in the work of the meeting. It did not matter whether a person was an adviser, a delegate, or an alternate. The American operators played a useful and a prominent part in certain of the technical discussions.

Q. Do you feel that, with the governments owning air transport lines in most of the countries in the world, that there is a likelihood of international repercussions as opposed to, let us say, the United States, where the air lines are owned by independent companies without the status of government agencies?—A. If you would be satisfied with a purely personal opinion, I would not think it made much difference because you would get repercussions anyway. The air is a fruitful field for repercussions, and I would not think it would make a great deal of difference whether a nation's interest is expressed through its operators or through its own instrument. Competition in the air is going to be very keen. National interests are going to be involved, and I presume they would be backed up by a country whether it had an operator involved or not.

Mr. COLDWELL: I think rather the reverse would be true; that there would be considerably less friction.

Mr. JACKMAN: I suggest that would be a matter of political opinion.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. What is the international rule of law at the present time, if there is one: if a plane of one of the member nations flies over the territory of a non-member nation?—A. It has no right to do so. The air over a country is the territory of that country, and unless the right to fly is given, there is no right to fly over it.

Q. You would first have to obtain a special permit to land?—A. Yes, or even to fly over it.

Q. Is the international organization arranging for such permits?—A. To obtain a special permit for one or two flights over a country that is not a signatory to any of the agreements that are current, the nations concerned would make their arrangements bi-laterally. But twenty-seven nations, of course, have already accepted what is called the Transit Agreement, which grants the first two freedoms, the right to fly over and the right to non-traffic stop. No further permission is needed.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Have we any bi-lateral agreement with Russia, quite apart from PICAQ?—A. No, I do not know of any bi-lateral agreement entered into between Russia and any country in the air. There may be some services arranged with Czechoslovakia and Poland, but I do not know of them.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. I noticed the other day in an air mail information bulletin that the Peruvian government were contemplating services between Lima, Peru, and Canada. They would have to get permission from the different countries they would fly over, and they would have to get permission from Canada for a landing place here; and you would designate that landing place?—A. If they wish to carry traffic to or from Canada, they would have to conclude a bi-lateral agreement with Canada. So far as rights with any country that has not concluded a special arrangement are concerned, the only right arising from the general Transit Agreement is the right to land and fly over, but not take on or draw passengers. So, Peru has to conclude a bi-lateral agreement before it could exercise the rights mentioned in the newspaper article.

Q. Then they would have to make similar arrangements with the South American countries and the United States?—A. If they wish to pick up or drop traffic, they would.

Q. But if they just want to land in order to refuel, they do not have to?—A. No, not with respect to the twenty-seven members of the Transit Agreement and the nine nations which have signed the Five Freedoms Agreement.

Q. Some of the Central American countries are not in the agreement?—A. Most of them are in the Two Freedoms Agreement. According to the list of people who subscribed to the Five Freedoms Agreement—

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. Who are they; it would be interesting to know.—A. Afghanistan, China, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Honduras, Liberia, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey, and the United States of America. The three very important ones are the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States of America. Those three countries have exchanged all five freedoms.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I thought that Canada was advocating the five freedoms very strongly. Why have not we subscribed to them?—A. Because the Transport Agreement I referred to covers the completely uncontrolled exercise of the five freedoms; there is no protection at all for the regional services; it is just an exchange of the five freedoms, the freedom to take on and put down passengers with no control over the rates or frequencies at all. It was our opinion that that gave too great an advantage to the United States which was far ahead of any of the countries in the world in civil aviation as a result, largely, of the air transport services she had during the war. If countries signed that, it would mean that the competitive position of the United States would be so strong that she would have the air to herself. We thought there should be some check as to the number of frequencies that could be flown, the number of trips and the passengers to be carried, and some account taken of the rates of the local regional services. None of that is taken into account. The dispute at Chicago, about which you heard so much, was an attempt to reconcile the United States view, a completely open air travel without any protection at all, with the United Kingdom view which called for a great deal of protection.

Q. Canada stands somewhere between the two views?—A. Yes. The United Kingdom has gone over somewhat to the American view.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. How long do those agreements last, those who have signed up for the five agreements?—A. They all have termination clauses; but as far as I remember, they all continue unless a country withdraws.

Q. If a small country came in under the five freedoms, that would give it a chance to have airports built up in that country; that is what I would judge; and then, later, it could pull out?—A. That assumes that every country would build the airport.

Q. Yes, private enterprise, or different air companies would build the airports, if they gave them the five freedoms?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Coldwell:

Q. But you would get a lot of small, scattered, inefficient airports that would not protect the passengers, if you relied on everybody; what about all the various safety devices and so on? Who is going to be the weather forecaster and put up the beacons?—A. That type of control was not the type of control they were discussing. I think, whether it is under the Transport Agreement or not, the safety control will be there, and I think it is part of PICAQ's job to see that it will be there. The type of control I was thinking of, or discussing under the multi-lateral agreement, was the control mainly of through operations.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Mr. Pierce indicated that nine nations subscribed to the five freedoms. Is that done by ratification of the convention or by nine bi-lateral agreements.—A. No, by ratification of the Air Transport Agreement.

Q. And the effect of that ratification is to bring the agreement or convention into effect as to the signatories, the actual signatories; or does it await validity?—A. No, it is binding on the signatories, as between the signatories.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Where does Spain stand? What has Spain agreed to?—A. Spain is a member of the organization. I cannot tell you she has subscribed to the Air Transport Agreement or not, but she has signed the two freedoms.

Q. Does the move against the present government of Spain enter into this aviation agreement?—A. No; the Spanish political question was not, to my knowledge, considered with reference to PICAQ.

Q. Up to the present time?—A. No.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: I believe most of us know that we are anticipating the members of the Parliamentary Association at 12.30. Is it the intention of the committee to adjourn so that those of us who wish to do so may attend the function?

The Acting CHAIRMAN: The committee can certainly decide that. We have still one more item with Mr. Pierce, namely, No. 47, if we are finished with No. 55. Then, Mr. Macdonnell was going to consider item No. 48. The committee can decide whether it wishes to proceed. No. 47 has to do with the Professional International Civil Aviation Organization administrative expenses.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. It would not take a moment.—A. That is for our member on the council. Canada's full-time representative on the council is Mr. McKim.

Q. How big a staff is he going to have? Where are his offices?—A. His offices are in Montreal in the Dominion Square Building, with the offices of PICAQ.

Mr. JAQUES: I understand that Mr. Anthony Eden is now in Ottawa and I wondered if, while he is here, it would be possible to ask him to sit in with us as a committee of external affairs. I think it would be a good opportunity to discuss a few questions.

Mr. COLDWELL: I do not think he would do so. He is a visitor and is not here in any official capacity.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: We would have a pretty good opportunity of getting him.

Mr. JAQUES: I mention Mr. Eden because he has no official position at the present time. He is an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs and I thought it would be possible to have him for even half an hour.

The Acting CHAIRMAN: A suggestion has been made by Mr. Coldwell.

Mr. COLDWELL: I withdraw my suggestion.

The Acting CHAIRMAN: Mr. Coldwell withdraws his suggestion.

Mr. FLEMING: Well, there would be no harm in our trying to arrange for an informal conference. I think Mr. Eden might not accept an invitation to attend a formal meeting, but it might be possible to invite him to meet the members of the committee informally and in camera. That would be greatly to our advantage.

Mr. COLDWELL: Would you not have to invite some of the other members as well? Mr. Eden holds, probably, a point of view which is divergent from that of some of the other members, and if we are to hear one point of view, we should also hear the other point of view, as Mr. Jaques himself pointed out, the other day.

Mr. JAQUES: Quite! As many as you like.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: He is a past Foreign Minister.

Mr. COLDWELL: Yes, but his policy would not necessarily be the policy that is being followed now.

Mr. LOW: I move we adjourn.

The Acting CHAIRMAN: It is moved that we adjourn?

Mr. COLDWELL: Let us adjourn!

The committee adjourned at 12.37 p.m. to meet again at the call of the chair.

SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 10

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1946

WITNESSES:

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Deputy Minister.

Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Third Political Division. Department of
External Affairs.

OTTAWA

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PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, June 28, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock, the Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Benidickson, Boucher, Bradette, Croll, Fleming, Jaenicke, Léger, MacInnis, Mutch, Winkler.

In attendance: Messrs. H. H. Wrong, R. M. Macdonnell, C. S. A. Ritchie and John Starnes of the Department of External Affairs.

The Committee resumed consideration of departmental estimates.

Mr. R. M. Macdonnell was called, examined and retired. He gave to the committee details of *item 48*, Canadian section of joint defence board, of which he is secretary.

Mr. H. H. Wrong was called, examined and retired. He gave explanations of *item 49*, Canadian representation at forthcoming international conferences, *item 50*, grant to International Red Cross Committee, *item 51*, expenses of the League of Nations for 1946.

The Chairman announced that Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary of The United Nations Society in Canada, would address the committee at its next meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Jaenicke, the committee adjourned at 12.35 p.m. to meet Tuesday, July 2, at 11.30 o'clock.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Acting Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
June 28, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Now that we have a quorum, I shall call the meeting to order. Thank you for coming on a busy and a hot day to this meeting. Before proceeding, I want to thank Mr. Winkler for occupying the chair while I was away. I was visiting the mining section in northern Quebec and it was the first holiday I have taken since the Easter holidays.

This morning we shall deal with items 47, 48, 49, 50 and 51. We are fortunate to have with us Mr. Wrong and Mr. Macdonnell, who will be our two main witnesses. At our next meeting we shall have Mr. Eric W. Morse, the secretary of the United Nations Association of Canada. I have taken the liberty of sending invitations to all members and to all senators to be present on that occasion. This will be a new procedure, our bringing in a man from outside the departments of government to speak to us about some of his activities. I hope the room will be crowded at our next meeting, because it would look well.

Mr. WRONG: I think item 47 was discussed at the last meeting of the committee by Mr. Pierce; so we might start to-day with item 48 which deals with a small vote for the Canada-United States Joint Board of Defence. Mr. Macdonnell is secretary of the Canadian section and I think he might explain the purpose of this vote more effectively than I could.

The vote has been carried in the years up to last year on the war appropriation and it now appears in the main estimates. It appeared last year in the main estimates, and is repeated this year.

Mr. FLEMING: Is this the only place in the estimates where any vote for this purpose appears as being a matter entirely for the External Affairs Department?

Mr. WRONG: This is the only place. There is a hidden expenditure in the estimates of National Defence and External Affairs in that the salaries of those who are engaged in connection with the joint board are charged to normal departmental estimates. This vote is for the purpose of paying travelling expenses.

Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Chief of the Third Political Division, called:

The WITNESS: This small vote is intended to cover only travelling expenses of the Canadian section of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The board meets alternately in Canada and the United States at intervals of two or three months. It might be of interest to outline—

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. As a rule how long do the meetings last?—A. Two days, as a rule. The membership of the board might be outlined. The chairman of the Canadian section is General MacNaughton. He was appointed last year to replace Colonel O. M. Biggar, who had been chairman of the Canadian section since the establishment of the board in 1940, and whose health did not permit him to

continue with that work. Then, each of the armed forces is represented by a senior officer; and finally, the secretary of the Canadian section is provided by the Department of External Affairs.

As you would expect, it is the practice of the department to assign an officer who is dealing with United States affairs. I happen to be the present incumbent. My predecessor was Mr. H. L. Keenleyside, who served as secretary from the creation of the board in 1940 up until the time of his appointment as Canadian Ambassador to Mexico.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. We would be interested to know what your duties have been in connection with the Department of External Affairs.—A. As regards experience, I have been a member of the External Affairs Service since 1934. I have served in the department at Ottawa, and for a number of years at Washington; and I was in the Soviet Union, first at Kuibyshe, the temporary wartime capital, and for a brief period at Moscow. At the present time I am chief of the Third Political Division, which includes relations with the United States, Latin-American countries, and the Far East.

I might say a word about the membership of the United States section. It is similar to that of the Canadian section. The Chairman of the United States section is the Hon. F. H. La Guardia, formerly mayor of the City of New York, and now director-general of UNRRA. He has been the chairman of the United States section of the board since the board's creation in 1940 and, I believe, is the only original member of the board still to be serving. Then, the War and Navy Departments are represented by senior officers, and the secretary is provided by the Department of State. They selected an officer who is dealing with Canadian affairs.

The board is not an executive or an administrative agency in any sense. Consequently its expenses are small. It pays no salaries in its own right, and it employs no staff. As Mr. Wrong has mentioned, the salaries of the members of the Canadian section are charged to the ordinary votes of the department which they represent. Therefore, the only expenses incurred by the board in its own right, are those for travelling, which are contained in this item.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. I understand there are no salaries paid to the Canadian members of the board as members of the board, but only as to their functions otherwise?—A. Quite so.

Q. The result is, that it is not exactly correct to say that the salaries of the board are paid.—A. The departments assign officers but they have many other duties.

By Mr. Benédickson:

Q. Was Colonel O. M. Biggar employed in other governmental work on a salary?—A. As a matter of fact, he was for a time director of censorship, but that appointment came considerably after his appointment to the board. He was appointed simply as a chairman who served without salary and whose expenses were paid from a vote similar to this.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions? Thank you Mr. Macdonnell.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Perhaps Mr. Macdonnell might give us just a short resume of some of the problems that the joint board has dealt with recently?—A. Well, the terms of reference of the board are broad. They were outlined and mentioned in a

statement that was made by the Prime Minister and the president in August 1940. The statement said that it had been agreed that a permanent Joint Board on Defence should be set up at once by the two countries and that it would consider, in the broad sense, the defence of the north half of the western hemisphere. Really, I think that all one can say by way of amplification is that any problem relating to defence can very usefully be discussed and explored by the board.

I might give as an example an exchange of notes which took place not very long ago, dealing with the disposition of surplus property. The United States forces had a considerable surplus of property which arose out of their operations on the Alaska Highway, the air fields, and so on. The question was: how best can that property be dealt with? Should it all be taken back to the United States, should it be sold in Canada, and so on. That is a problem which might not be described as being essentially one of defence relationship, but it is one in which the defence authorities of the two countries are vitally interested, and the board discussed it at a number of meetings, in an endeavour to find a formula which would be mutually acceptable. They eventually made a recommendation to the two governments as to how the question of surplus could best be handled, and the recommendation was accepted and was embodied in a formal inter-governmental agreement, an exchange of notes between the two governments. I mention that merely as an example of the way in which the board operates, and one which resulted in a published document.

Q. The work of the board is secret and on the diplomatic level?—A. That is correct.

Q. Could you tell us what recommendations they have made or what problems they have discussed, in so far as publicity could be given to the subject matter?—A. It has been the practice of both sections of the board to make their recommendations to the governments and to leave it to the governments to decide whether they wish to accept them or wish to make them public. I do not feel that I am in a position, really, to comment on that phase of their activities.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I take it that Mr. Macdonnell is not in a position to answer any question relating to measures of co-ordinating North American defence.—A. Beyond saying this, Mr. Chairman, that, obviously, it is the duty of the board to consider all problems that relate to defence, and to carry on joint study and discussion of those problems.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. I appreciate your difficulty, and I do not want to get information from you that should not be given out; but could you outline for us what problems they have considered, rather than what recommendations they have made. I think I fully appreciate your difficulty; but perhaps you could enlarge a little on what you have already said about the problems they have considered within the last year or so.—A. Well, first of all, in the year or eighteen months before the end of active hostilities a great deal of the work of the board dealt with the winding up, in one form or another, of the various joint defence projects that had been undertaken. As activities slackened, there was a natural desire on the part of the United States authorities to withdraw their personnel from Canada and to turn over responsibility to the various agencies of the Canadian government. There were such problems as the Alaska Highway, the air fields on the north-west staging route, the telephone line which runs from Edmonton to Fairbanks, through Whitehorse, the disposal of weather stations erected at various places in the north, and so on.

Q. And the question of wage scales at one time.—A. The board never actually got into the problem of wage scales, although that matter was considered at various times between the two governments.

All this occasioned a good deal of work and discussion; but eventually these things fell into place. You may recall that there was a ceremony held in Whitehorse at the beginning of April, when the Canadian government took over responsibility for the highway, the land lines, the air fields, and so on. The board had been working on these questions and had made various recommendations to the governments which were eventually carried out.

Q. Could you attempt, properly, to outline for the benefit of this committee, a justification for the continuance of the Joint Defence Board, now that the war is over, and could you give us an idea of the what the future problems of the board might be?

Mr. MACINNIS: I doubt if that is a fair question to ask Mr. Macdonnell. It would be a fair question to ask of the Secretary of State for External Affairs when we come into the House, but I do not think it is a fair question to ask an official of the department—as to the justification for a board.

Mr. FLEMING: It is a question of policy.

Mr. MACINNIS: It is a question which Mr. Macdonnell should not be asked.

Mr. WRONG: I might say that when the board was established, there was a deliberate insertion in its title, by President Roosevelt and the Prime Minister, of the word "permanent", making it to read, "Permanent Joint Board of Defence", with the intention, therefore, that this board should be a mechanism for insuring continued co-operation in the field of North American defence between the two governments. I think it would be improper for Mr. Macdonnell or myself to give you more than a very general statement; but I might add that the changing character of war, as shown by the development of new long range weapons, as shown by the knocking out of Germany as a potential enemy and as shown by the redistribution of power throughout the world, makes it necessary, in the national interests of both countries, that there should be continued consultation on the problems of insuring the North American continent against the danger of attack, and the study and recommendation of various actions which seem designed to meet new circumstances.

Mr. BOUCHER: I won't press the point, but I was wondering if there was anything further that you could give us. I fully appreciate the difficulty.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. There have been announcements in the press, and there was a little discussion in the House, not long ago, about the co-ordinating of defence, with respect to weapons and, I think, equipment. Now, if it is a fair question, did that arise out of consultations with this joint defence board?—A. That is one of the subjects which, obviously, must be considered as between the two countries, and a subject to which the board has given attention.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. There was some gearing of defence equipment with the United States, after the fall of France, I think. Would that be continuing?—A. Yes. The various armed forces have, in differing degrees, adopted weapons and equipment of United States standards. It is a big question and I do not suppose it will be settled in a hurry, as to what extent that trend should be continued.

Q. It would be more a question of what the Department of National Defence thought about it?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, we will be having a discussion about that before the House adjourns.

Mr. CROLL: The minister said that when his estimates came up he would discuss it. I recall that statement.

The CHAIRMAN: Will this item carry?

VARIOUS MEMBERS: Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Very well, carried. Thank you, Mr. Macdonnell.

Item 49: Canadian representation at forthcoming international conferences. I will ask Mr. Wrong to come forward.

Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, recalled:

The WITNESS: Mr. Ritchie is intimately concerned with this matter and I will ask him to sit with me. He understands intimately the matters arising out of this vote.

Mr. Chairman, there was a brief allusion to this vote at a previous meeting of the committee at which I appeared and it was left over for further discussion if any member wished to raise any point about it. It is a new vote in the sense that there has been no similar item in the estimates in recent years, but it is not a new vote in the sense that the expenditure covered in this vote has not in fact been met before; but we felt that with the multiplication of international conferences it was better to vote a lump sum and have it inserted in the estimates rather than have votes for big individual conferences, because we cannot set our program at the time the estimates are framed. We do not know, with few exceptions, what international conferences are going to be called in the next fiscal year or what the nature or extent of Canadian representation at them will be. The sum of \$200,000 is, therefore, a guess, and I do not know whether it will be necessary to come back later on for a supplementary estimate or whether that amount will meet the needs this year. I cannot say as yet.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. This covers everything in connection with the United Nations?—A. I would not say that it covers everything, because when we have a technical meeting we may have to send some technical person down to New York to sit on a committee and that might be dealt with as a matter of normal departmental travelling expenses. It is intended to cover large conferences where substantial delegations are sent from Ottawa to attend bodies such as the United Nations Assembly, or the peace conference in Paris this summer, if there is one, and so on.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. It would not cover the I.L.O., would it?—A. The International Labour conference is carried on a separate vote in the Department of Labour estimates. It covers in the main those conferences in which the Department of External Affairs has a major interest in organizing and administering the delegations, you might say. For instance, the expenditure on the Canadian delegation at the first part of the session of the general assembly of the United Nations in London which was held in January and February of this year amounted to some \$53,000, and that covers travelling expenses and hotel expenses in London for a fairly large Canadian delegation. At the San Francisco conference expenses were somewhat larger. For one reason, it was a longer conference. The expenses were considerably larger; the total expenditure at San Francisco was \$112,000 odd, but that sum included an unusually heavy item for telegraph charges. There were so many members of the government out there and there was a great deal of traffic, for information purposes, between Ottawa and San Francisco. All the telegrams of general interest which we received in considerable volume

largely from our own missions and from the dominion's office were repeated to San Francisco, and we acted, in fact, as a channel of communication for the British delegation there in having telegrams which we were getting relayed on to the British delegation in return for many favours of a similar nature of which we have been the recipients in the past. The real expenses in San Francisco amounted to—apart from telegraph charges—rather less than \$75,000. That is an example of the type of expenditure incurred in representation at long and big conferences.

The CHAIRMAN: When you mention the matter of telegrams for members of the government did you refer to the parliamentary delegates?

The WITNESS: Telegrams for the general use of the delegation.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Judging from the amounts you have given us as regards the other conferences already held—the assembly of the United Nations in London and the San Francisco conference—it would not appear that this is too large a vote.—A. I do not think it is too large; much will depend on the program. It is a little difficult to forecast. We sometimes think that there are, perhaps, too many international conferences in prospect for this fiscal year.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. The expenses of our representation to the peace conference would probably be paid out of this vote?—A. Oh, yes, that would certainly be the case.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe it would be interesting to members of the committee if you could enumerate the conferences you expect to take place.

The WITNESS: I have a tentative list here, although I do not know when such conferences are likely to begin.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. May I ask this question? Suppose a delegate—say Mr. Graydon who was at the San Francisco conference—wanted to communicate with his chief or with his party, would that telegram be included in these expenses?—A. No. Any vote for telegraphic expense is concerned with telegrams for the purpose of the delegation as such.

Mr. BOUCHER: Official duties.

The WITNESS: Yes, official duties.

The CHAIRMAN: Applying to any part of the delegation.

The WITNESS: Normally they are all routed through one channel, because you have to centralize the conduct of business in a delegation; it must go through a central channel. In fact, the way it works out with a big conference is that they have daily meetings of the delegation to discuss questions coming up and the attitude which should be taken, and as a result of that it may be necessary for some part of the delegation to communicate with Ottawa or elsewhere on the subject. A telegram will be drafted and will be submitted to the head of the delegation. If it is an important matter, it is approved. That is the way the delegation in San Francisco was run, and that is the way the matter was handled in London at the general assembly.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. A telegram that would not go through the head of the delegation would be, in reality, a private telegram in which the delegation would not be concerned?—A. Yes, I would not imply that the head of the delegation approves every telegram, but he approves the general line taken in the telegram.

The CHAIRMAN: Who decides upon the attendance at a conference? Is that decided by order in council or by an order of the government, or by parliament?

The WITNESS: It would depend, really, on the nature of the conference actually what formalities are required; but normally the delegation to a conference requires credentials of some sort to certify to the conference authorities that the people concerned are authorized representatives of the Canadian Government, and credentials are issued on the authority of an order in council. That is the normal practice. The order in council is passed, and the credentials based on the order in council are signed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. BOUCHER: That means that the expenses of the ordinary delegates with their staffs would be paid for by the department they represent rather than by this vote?

The WITNESS: No, in general all those who come from Ottawa are included. It would not necessarily include people who are stationed at Canadian diplomatic missions; it would not include anything relating to their expenses because they would be carried in their normal way, and they would not require any special expenditure for hotels, transportation and so on.

Now, you asked me for a tentative list. This list is mixed up—large and small—but I can give you a few examples, starting from now. There is the International Health conference which is meeting in New York now.

Mr. MACINNIS: That would come under this vote, would it?

The WITNESS: I think probably it would. I am not quite certain. The bulk of the representatives come from the Department of National Health and Welfare—the delegates and the advisers—but I think the expenses will be charged to this vote, certainly.

The next big conference—barring the yet unknown answer to the question of when the Paris conference will be held—will be the general assembly of the United Nations which opens in New York on September 3. There will be a meeting of the council of UNRRA, at which we must be represented, in Paris before then; it will not require a substantial delegation at this stage. That is for August. There will also be a plenary session of the Food and Agricultural organization in Copenhagen in September.

Mr. BOUCHER: Would the expenses of that delegation be charged to this vote as well?

The WITNESS: I think in all probability they would, yes. Most of these things have been paid out of war expenses hitherto, up to last year—not the Food and Agricultural organization, Now, of course, we are transferring everything to civil estimates. Then we have a series of meetings affecting the I.L.O., which are not charged to this vote. There is the Labour conference in September; and the governing body meets both before and after the Labour conference, and it is probable that a preparatory committee looking to the holding of an international conference on Trade and Employment will meet in London in October, and it will most likely be a long drawn out affair. The expenses will be charged to this vote, if there is anything left in the vote at that time.

Mr. CROLL: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that for the advantage of members of the House and for the benefit of Mr. Wrong they ought to consider following the procedure of the Department of Labour who have estimates for the I.L.O. Now, here we have the Department of Agriculture whose representatives have trips to make in the course of the year and their expenses are charged to this vote. The Health Department's expenses are charged to this vote; the Department of Trade and Commerce expenses are charged to this vote. Those expenses really belong to those departments. Now, appropriations made to the External Affairs vote ought to deal with matters strictly on a very broad scale—matters dealing with External Affairs only. I think the difficulty is that we cannot follow these matters in the House, and it is difficult to explain them all over again to people in the House. We are a small committee.

The WITNESS: I think I can throw a little further light on this matter. Except in the case of certain classes of strictly technical conferences of concern wholly or almost wholly to one department—meetings like the International Labour conference or the conference of the Universal Postal Union which is the concern of the Post Office Department—it is the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs to organize and make arrangements for delegations. We have, in fact, to deal with most of these conference delegations which include representatives of three or four or more departments. These matters have to be centralized in some way because the accounting has to be centralized; and, therefore, we provide the fund to organize these delegations, otherwise we would never get the same pattern observed, and we would find delegations going to one conference treated in an entirely different way from delegations going to another conference. I think in the interest of economy and sound administration it is really essential that there should be some department primarily responsible for these big general conferences which touch on the business of many departments of government.

Mr. CROLL: My suggestion is that either you take them all over or decentralize them. I think you are right. I believe the I.L.O. conference, for instance, is very wide and affects more than the Department of Labour; as a matter of fact they are not alone affected by some of the decisions made. For that reason I agree entirely that in order to have a common pattern they ought all to be with you, and you ought to bring the I.L.O. under you.

The WITNESS: There are certain reasons which make it difficult to achieve that result, quite apart from the fact that since the I.L.O. was established the Department of Labour has assumed those responsibilities. Under the constitution of the I.L.O. the Minister of Labour is the responsible Canadian authority, not the Secretary of State for External Affairs; under the constitution of the Postal Union of the Americas, if I remember, the Postmaster General was the responsible authority and not the Secretary of State for External Affairs. And while we are consulted on the composition of delegations and usually send to the Labour conference one or more representatives of the department to deal with what you might call the common aspects of all international organizations, the choice of the delegation is mainly arranged by the department directly concerned or the minister directly concerned.

Mr. MACINNIS: Will you look at *item 51*? That would indicate that some of these organizations come under a different head: "Expenses of the League of Nations for 1946, including secretariat, maintenance of the International Labour Organization and cost of winding up the Permanent Court of International Justice." There is a much larger amount.

Mr. FLEMING: Those are payments made to these organizations.

The WITNESS: It has nothing to do with the delegations themselves.

Mr. BOUCHER: I take it, Mr. Wrong, that this \$200,000 is a sum to be administered by the Department of External Affairs and that many of these delegations of international note may come within one or two departments and the Department of External Affairs must engineer and administer the delegations and also charge the cost to the various departments?

The WITNESS: In a number of cases that is done, I think, particularly as regards smaller technical conferences. Even if we make all the arrangements, we would not bother about establishing a sort of special conference account for that purpose, and it would be carried on an expense account basis by the department.

Mr. BOUCHER: This \$200,000 is primarily a vote of money for expenses that cannot officially be charged to the various departments?

The WITNESS: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Croll's point was a very good one: trying to standardize, if possible, the inner working of the delegations. I can easily conceive that there might be some sensitiveness on the part of the Department of Labour or some other department if you had the full prerogative as regards delegations to conferences. I suppose that is where the conflict would happen.

The WITNESS: I think in considering the composition of delegations to the Labour conference it is much easier for the Department of Labour to make those arrangements than it is for the Department of External Affairs to do so, because you must remember that employers and workers are represented on those delegations, and they are in touch with the Department of Labour directly and not with us. I would not like to suggest that the Department of External Affairs should conduct this business of organizing the delegations and making arrangements for the delegates; it is part of the responsibility of the Department of Labour at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN: Have you exhausted the list of conferences for this year?

The WITNESS: I have exhausted the list of only the larger ones; I did not touch on the smaller technical conferences where you may have only one or two technical officers travelling on expense accounts.

The CHAIRMAN: Is the committee interested in having a list of the smaller conferences?

Mr. FLEMING: No, it would be a tentative list.

The WITNESS: Yes, a very tentative list in certain respects. The date for the general assembly is set and the date for the next Labour conference is definitely set, but the others are tentative.

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Wrong said that the figure of \$200,000 is a guess, and it is quite clearly based on last year's expenses.

Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Which item do you want to discuss now?

The WITNESS: I might say a brief word—although I am afraid I cannot answer very detailed questions on this—about *item 50*: grant to the International Red Cross Committee. That is really a vote that previously arose solely out of the war, and this is simply a continuance of the vote, a discharge of the obligation which we felt we had to the International Red Cross Committee for the very extensive and essential services which they rendered to Canadian prisoners of war and Canadians who were interned in camps or were stuck in enemy countries. The International Red Cross Committee, I believe, has ended up with a rather large deficit from its wartime operations, and we felt that in spite of the fact that hostilities have ended we should make this small contribution toward the deficit they have incurred in some considerable measure on our own account.

Mr. CROLL: Is this contribution generous enough?

Mr. FLEMING: It looks like a token payment. I wonder if Mr. Wrong could tell us whether, prior to 1939, any annual grants were made to the International Red Cross Committee?

The WITNESS: No. The International Red Cross Committee is not a body which has much in the way of expenditures in peace time; it is wholly a Swiss body. The various Red Cross societies are connected with it, but it is wholly Swiss in composition, and its activities really begin on a large scale when war breaks out.

Mr. CROLL: Switzerland is a friendly power for everybody.

The WITNESS: Really, that is it. It was through the hands of the International Red Cross Committee that the parcels for Canadian prisoners of war passed in Geneva.

Mr. CROLL: Now, you know what they did for our people. In view of their deficit are we being generous? Are we going far enough there? These people are left with a deficit and I do not think we want to owe them anything or feel that we owe them anything. Are we being generous enough? Should we increase the grant?

The WITNESS: I think it might be desirable. We have not got full and recent information about their financial status, from the International Red Cross Committee. It may be desirable, when we do get full information, to ask Parliament for a further contribution.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I notice that a year ago the grant was \$40,000. How does it compare with grants during the war years?—A. For a long time we made no direct contribution because they are really a self-financing body, and that situation continued until they found that the scale of their operations got beyond their financing themselves. It was only in 1944 that we made the first grant, when we received an appeal for governmental assistance. They do not like to take governmental assistance as a rule. This is the third vote, I think, that has been submitted to parliament for the Red Cross Committee.

Q. Has there been, in connection with the previous grants, a request from the Red Cross Committee for a grant?—A. I do not think they have submitted a formal request; I think that information reached us that they were in financial need. Grants were made by local Swiss societies and various Red Cross societies. Then we learned that they could not stand the enormous strain. I think the United Kingdom government made them a grant, as well as most of the other governments, in aid of this sort of work. It was felt that the members of the Red Cross societies should pay their share, if they were in a position to do so.

Q. Do you know if any of the other countries have made grants this year?—A. I believe the United Kingdom government has made a grant. It is a little difficult to get from Geneva information about their finances.

Q. Do you know what the United States has paid?—A. I do not know. I think the United States encourages the American Red Cross Society to be generous.

Q. It is only a token payment. I do not think we can do anything about it, but I do think the government should get further information on that point because, if there is a deficit, and if the International Red Cross Committee is desirous of receiving contributions towards that deficit from national governments, we would not want to see our government falling behind in meeting its fair share.—A. I think that is true, and that it is a matter that should be looked at again. We should try to get the latest information as to the state of finances and the needs. If necessary, we could suggest to the responsible ministers that there be a new or supplementary estimate.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Is it not correct to say that when we had a great many prisoners of war during the war years the government could not look after them entirely, and the Red Cross did so, and that we are now merely paying to the Red Cross for what we should have paid ourselves.—A. The actual cost of the parcels and so on was met by the national Red Cross societies; and in some cases there were certainly grants in aid for this purpose. The International Red Cross looked after the administrative end, seeing that parcels got through to the correct channels, looking after inquiries about individuals and routing them through Geneva to the individual Red Cross agency concerned in the enemy country, and, of course, vice versa.

The International Red Cross had a very capable official in Canada whose primary concern was with the German prisoners of war in Canadian camps. The Red Cross operated between all belligerents in its humanitarian work, but it did not spend money directly on supplies. It administered what became a very large and complex organization.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the item carry?

Some Hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: The item is carried. Now, item 51. Could you deal with that now?

The WITNESS: I think so. This is the last time that the parliament of Canada will be asked to pass a vote of this nature. I think it is actually the twenty-eighth vote for the expenses of the League of Nations that has been submitted to parliament here, and it is the final one. The League of Nations has ceased to exist, except for the purposes of its liquidation, as from last April. Perhaps, with slight irony, the actual day of its demise was Good Friday.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Surely it was not crucified.—A. The day following the adoption of the resolution for the dissolution of the league, by the final assembly of the League of Nations, happened to be Good Friday.

About half the vote is for the expenses of the International Labour Organization because, for the purposes of contribution, under the covenant of the league and the constitution of the I.L.O., finances were merged for the purposes of collecting from the membership, and the I.L.O. only collects directly from certain states, such as the United States, which are not members of the League of Nations. So, of this vote, approximately 50 per cent is for the current budget of the I.L.O. The remainder is for the current budget of 1946, and this includes a charge of some hundreds of thousands of dollars in order to ensure that the league would cease to exist after discharging its contractual obligations.

One charge relates to the salaries of the judges of the former Court of International Justice which also has ceased to exist and has been replaced by the new court. During the war, when the going was very hard to get funds for the league and the court, the judges were paid a token sum only. Then it was felt that the league was dying and the court itself had been replaced and that there was a contractual obligation to see that the back salaries of the judges were paid. So there was quite a substantial sum in the 1946 League of Nations budget for that purpose. I can give you a great deal more in detail if any member of the committee is interested.

I think it might be interesting to have some figures of the gross cost of the League of Nations from its foundation to its dissolution. There is a slight element of estimate entering into it, because of the guess as to what would be received. The gross cost, when everything is over, for the twenty-eight years of the League of Nations existence, and covering the I.L.O. and the permanent court, will be between \$130,000,000 and \$135,000,000.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. To Canada?—A. No, the whole sum of all the contributions paid to the League of Nations from the beginning to the end, by members, including for example, even Germany who was a member for a time but went out.

The net cost will be between \$10,000,000 and \$12,000,000, less the value of material assets of the league which are being taken over by the United Nations at their book value, the buildings at Geneva being the main item. Canada's share would be about 6 per cent, say, of \$120,000,000. Of that sum 6 per cent would be somewhere around \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000, and that is the total cost to the Canadian taxpayer for membership in the League of Nations from its beginning to its end. About one-third of that sum would represent I.L.O. charges. Recently the I.L.O. charges have been more than half the budget

of the League of Nations. Earlier, when the League of Nations was more of a going concern, the I.L.O.'s budget got down for a few years to one-quarter or one-third of the total budget.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Has any conclusion been arrived at as to the disposition of the buildings at Geneva?—A. That question is now settled, and the transfer to the United Nations of the material assets, the buildings and lands, took place about August 1.

Q. Have the United Nations made any decision as to what use will be made of them?—A. No. I think there is an intention to maintain certain of their secretariat services in Geneva. I believe that the Secretary-General, Mr. Lie, will visit Europe very shortly in order, particularly, to see what he can do, in view of the excessive congestion in New York, to keep certain technical services of the United Nations over there.

I have no doubt that the admirably designed conference rooms in Geneva will be used for some of the international conferences. I was the first Canadian delegate at the last assembly of the league, in April of this year, and I found, in contrast to the improvised but well-improvised arrangements both at San Francisco and at London, that the arrangements in Geneva were remarkably convenient for the despatch of business quickly. I am sure that many of those who had not been there before came away with the feeling that more use should be made of the League of Nations buildings.

Q. They are very fine buildings.—A. Yes, and they were not very expensive. They look very lavish, but they were constructed quite moderately. One of them is a huge building, and the total valuation placed on it, including furnishings intact, and land, is around \$10,000,000. It has a larger circumference than the Palace of Versailles, which was previously supposed to have been the largest building on the continent of Europe.

Q. The I.L.O. had a separate building.—A. The I.L.O. buildings were part of the League of Nations property. One of the decisions taken at the League of Nations Assembly was to make over, without charge, the buildings and land to the I.L.O. with full right of ownership. There was no conception, on the establishment of the I.L.O., that its membership would diverge from that of the League of Nations with the result that the property had all been held jointly in the name of the League of Nations. But now that is settled.

Q. Is there any possibility that the headquarters of the I.L.O. will be at Geneva?—A. There is quite a distinct possibility, but final decision has not been taken. It is likely to be taken in September of this year, at the next labour conference.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the item carry?

Some HON. MEMBERS: Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall we proceed to *item 52*?

The WITNESS: I am not quite sure that I am prepared to go into some of these items which are rather technical. *Items 52, 53, 54, and 56* have still to come. I made arrangements with a certain officer of the department who is more familiar with them than I am, to appear, but I did not expect them to be reached this morning.

The CHAIRMAN: There is no other item that you would like to discuss now?

The WITNESS: No, I do not think there is anything else that I am really in a position to talk about in detail.

The CHAIRMAN: Then it would be in order to adjourn.

Mr. BOUCHER: I move that we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN: It is moved that we adjourn. Our next meeting will be on Tuesday when we will have Mr. Morse, so bring as many friends as you can. The meeting is adjourned.

The committee adjourned at 12.35 p.m. to meet again on Tuesday, July 2, at 11.30 a.m.

SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE
No. 11

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary, United Nations Society in Canada.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, July 2, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Bradette, Diefenbaker, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Leger, Low, MacInnis, Winkler.

In attendance: Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary, United Nations Society in Canada.

The Committee resumed consideration of the departmental estimates referred, *item 46*.

Mr. Morse was called, examined and retired. He gave a detailed account of the operations of the United Nations Society, the efforts now being made to broaden its activities and to extend its membership.

Item 46 which covers the grant to the United Nations Society was approved.

On the motion of Mr. Low the Committee adjourned at 1.05 p.m. to meet again Friday, July 5, at 11.30 a.m.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Acting Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 2, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Strum and gentlemen, we may now proceed with our meeting. We have before us this morning Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary of the United Nations Society in Canada. We sent invitations to all members and senators of the Canadian parliament to be here, but I suppose, like ourselves, they are very busy. I may say we are glad to have Mrs. Strum with us this morning.

We are creating a precedent this morning in calling Mr. Morse. He is not here as a witness for any department or to discuss any estimate of the Department of External Affairs. However, we may gain something by hearing him this morning which will be useful to us in our work as a committee. We are building gradually and solidly for the future activities of the External Affairs Committee. At times we have met with problems, but I must express my thanks to honourable members for their wonderful co-operation. At times we appeared to be stabbing in the dark, but I believe that so far we have done something definite and concrete, and we are now building on what we have been doing for the last two years in so far as external affairs are concerned.

Mr. Morse, you are going to meet a very respectful and enlightened gathering who will listen to you attentively, and at the close of your opening remarks you will probably be asked to answer some questions directed to you by members of the committee. I will call on Mr. Morse.

Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary of the United Nations Society, called:

The WITNESS: I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I understand that you had a meeting on June 18 when the question of the grant of \$3,000 to the United Nations Society was discussed. Mr. Hume Wrong, the Associate Under-Secretary of External Affairs, was here and he explained the practice that had been followed over several years in that regard. I have been requested to come before this meeting this morning and explain something of the purpose of the United Nations Society, its organization, its work, its plans and its finances; and I shall be very happy to answer questions at the close of my remarks.

About a year ago, at the time of the San Francisco conference, the Prime Minister was approached by the National President of our Society and he was requested to say whether in his view there should be some independent organ of public opinion created to do the work that is necessary along the general lines followed by the old League of Nations Society; and the Prime Minister was very definitely of that opinion.

The purpose of the society, first of all, is to develop an informed and realistic public opinion in Canada in support of the United Nations and all its agencies; in fact, any form of international co-operation. This society, I think, is unique in that respect, inasmuch as it is non-partisan, and it is created expressly for

that purpose. There are many other organizations, such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, that have a share in this particular work, but this is the only body of its kind in Canada, and we recently were granted a charter by the Secretary of State for this work.

There are two lines of operation: there is, first of all, the work of information—the feeding of information on the United Nations by every means we have—through radio, through films, through pamphlets, through public speakers; to let Canadians know what is being done by the United Nations, not simply the security council or the more dramatic aspects, but the quiet work that is being done behind the scenes by the Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Fund and Bank, and other organizations that are being formed.

Now, up to this point it is largely a work of adult education, but the United Nations Society aims to be more than just an adult education organ. The government needs to have behind it—and I know I am speaking to a body that is well aware of this—an active, thinking public opinion in support of what the government ought to be doing; and the government can act only in response to that public opinion. There is a certain section of the public which makes more noise than other sections. Perhaps some of the more noisy sections of public opinion are not those to whom we should look in the country for support of the United Nations charter and its commitments. It is possible to anticipate, if sanctions were imposed on some particular nation, that there would still be elements in the country who would not be so keen to have our commitments upheld. It is the purpose of this Society to organize—it is not just creating public opinion—public opinion in the country among those who have a more responsible point of view, and are anxious to see that our commitments under the Charter are carried out. You have then two distinct parts to this work: one is to inform the public, and the other is to organize right thinking people, in support of strong government action, not that the government needs any prodding at the moment, because it has given a magnificent lead to Canadian public opinion throughout the country ever since the San Francisco conference.

That, briefly, is the purpose of this society. We find in our work with public opinion that the real enemy is not antagonism to the United Nations, but it is inertia and apathy. In our contact with the public we find that there are five main objections among those who are opposed. I do not know whether you would be interested in knowing these attitudes:

First of all, there is a group of people who are isolationists and who feel that international co-operation is futile, *per se*; these probably never will be in favour of any form of international co-operation.

Then you have another group of people who at one time were internationalists but “once bitten twice shy”; they have not recovered from the shock of the League of Nations, the League of Nations Society, and the disillusionment of the twenties and thirties; they seem to feel that any organization that is trying to bring about international co-operation automatically will be pacifist. They are prejudiced, and you cannot do much with them.

Then there is a third group who are all for international co-operation, who understand what it means and its possibilities, but who feel it is futile at the moment because of Russia. They are pessimistic about our being able to do anything. They are largely, I think, business men who have not thought this thing through. I will say in parenthesis that when we approach these people for support they are possibly only looking for an excuse not to contribute support, and perhaps these opinions are no more than excuses. However, this is one of the attitudes that we run into. Then we run into a fourth group which is more numerous than the others, and these are the people who believe that international co-operation is necessary, and that it is even necessary to organize some sort of public opinion behind it, but they say it is not the work of a separate, independent

organization, but is the work of the government. They plead that the government signed the San Francisco charter and sends delegates to various conferences, so why is it necessary for any independent organization to be formed; why is it necessary to organize public opinion at all? If this work is to be done, they deny that it is work for individual citizens. The fifth group is composed of a body of well meaning and sincere people who feel that we are not even taking steps in the right direction. They say that we are barking up the wrong tree, that the answer is world government, and that we should have another San Francisco and start all over again. These are the points of view we run into.

May I sum up our purpose. We are not trying to create public opinion; public opinion is largely created; but we are trying to organize it and inform it, and it is inertia and apathy that we are trying to overcome. In amplification of the aim or purpose of the Society, perhaps I might read at this point from a little leaflet I have here, which indicates what the United Nations Society in Canada is trying to carry out. I shall give copies to the members of the committee; reading from page 3, the following is the Society's seven-point program:—

1. With a view to making articulate every public-spirited citizen's desire for peace, the organization of Branches in all the cities and leading towns in the country.

2. Through a literature service and monthly bulletin, the supplying and advertising of authoritative, up-to-date reading and graphic material on U.N.O. and all its special agencies (F.A.O., UNESCO, etc.) and also UNRRA and I.L.O.

3. The dissemination of information and discussion of current topics through speakers, public forums, radio, and films.

4. The providing of a special service for youth and students, by working through teachers, universities, and Departments of Education.

5. Active co-operation with service clubs, churches, labour groups, and all other organizations who realize the importance of co-ordinating education for peace.

6. The formation within the Society of special committees and groups devoted to study of particular aspects of international affairs, economic, social, and political, and the publication of their findings.

7. Fostering understanding, unity, and non-discrimination among the various races in Canada, and pressing to uphold within the country the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for the purposes of the Society. I shall just say a word about its organization. I do not suppose there is anything novel about this; it is typical of any such body. First of all, we hold an annual meeting in different centres, the last one having been held at Ottawa in May; but meetings may be held at Toronto or Montreal or Kingston or at any other convenient point; and at these meetings we discuss policy and elect officers. Our membership is not restricted in any way. Anyone who believes in the aims and the work of the society and pays the required fee is eligible for membership. We are not trying to have just a small closed group; we welcome the support of any public-spirited citizen who feels that he should not leave it to the other fellow and is prepared to contribute the necessary wherewithal to carrying out these things. There are ordinary individual memberships, there are life memberships; I may say that the individual membership charge is a minimum of \$2, while the charge for life membership is \$500. Then there is corporate membership for an organization having twenty or more members, and the charge there is \$10; or if there are less than twenty the charge is \$5. These are the kinds of membership. The body of officers—and I am glad to say that there are some present—is non-partisan in character. Our newly elected national officers are: President, Dr. James S. Thomson, of the University of Saskatchewan, who was chairman of the C.B.C.; first vice-president, Dr. B. K. Sandwell; second vice-president, Dr.

Norman MacKenzie, president of the University of British Columbia; third vice-president (and also a member of this committee) Mr. Louis Beaudoin, (Vaudreuil-Soulanges). Our honorary vice-presidents include Mr. Graydon, who is present, Mr. Coldwell, the Hon. Paul Martin, Senator Hugessen, and Mr. Tom Moore. These officers are chosen from across the country, and represent our branches in the different large cities. Branches number about twenty at the moment. Particularly active branches have been formed in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver. I shall speak of their work in a moment. There is a national office at 124 Wellington Street, the staff of which consists of the National Secretary, a director of literature service, and a clerical staff of three.

I wish to emphasize all the way through my remarks that we are only at the stage of organization. This last year we have been concentrating on building up an organization from coast to coast, and as it becomes financially feasible there will be added to the national office staff a director of youth and student services, a research editor and at least three organizing or field secretaries, one in the west, one in Ontario and one in Quebec and Maritimes.

I have spoken so far of the purpose and the organization. Now, I propose to go on and discuss the work, including what is planned. I am trying to make a distinction between the two.

First of all there is and has to be, in order to carry out the work of giving information, a literature service, and this is now functioning. We are not doing this for profit. We feel that it is very necessary if we are going to organize public opinion at all, that there must be available adequate information. There is a director of literature services. The bulk of the material that is sold, 75 per cent of it, is in the small-pamphlet field, costing 25 cents or under. About 30,000 free booklets and leaflets have been distributed during the course of the last ten months or so, to groups, schools, individuals, and anyone who comes along. Besides that we have distributed, with the Canadian Information Service, something like 800,000 copies of the book entitled "World or War?", presenting in graphic or chart form, the organization of the United Nations.

We have a small library here in Ottawa, across the street from the House of Commons, and we are hoping to build it up eventually to be the best library on the United Nations in Canada. Members of Parliament and government departments have access to it.

We should be operating, but we have not the staff to do so at the moment, an information service on the United Nations. At the moment we co-operate with the Department of External Affairs. People will write in and ask for various facts in connection with the United Nations, and the External Affairs Department takes care of most of such inquiries. But when we get the staff we plan to do so. Our library co-operates closely with the libraries across the country and with Departments of Education. Finally, we have the sole wholesale agency for the distribution of documents of U.N.R.R.A. in the country and we are, at the present time, negotiating through the Canadian Information Service and the External Affairs Department for the sole distribution in Canada of all United Nations documents. This document and information service is being organized in New York.

Secondly, there is the "United Nations News" which, at present, is a very modest publication consisting of about eight pages and coming out monthly. At present, without a staff large enough to permit a man to be on this work full time, it is far from what it ought to be, merely make-shift, something that summarizes what has happened in U.N. during the course of the last month, something about the work in the Branches, and editorial and a department to advertise or make reviews of new books, booklets, pamphlets, and free material coming out during the past month on the subject of the United Nations.

At the present stage, and I suppose at all stages, we have to work very closely with existing organizations, to co-ordinate the work of education for peace. Taking up some of the more notable bodies with whom we co-operate in order: first, there is the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The Institute, by its constitution, is precluded from supporting any particular point of view. On the other hand, they do have a public educational department and they are interested, just as we are interested, in trying to raise the standards of understanding in international affairs and interest in international affairs in the country generally. At one time the League of Nations Society built up a general information service here. At that time the Institute was not in that field; but now it is, and in order to avoid overlapping, we have worked out a formula whereby the Institute looks after general international affairs, and has an information service in Toronto, while we concentrate on United Nations and its agencies. We advertise each other's material, work together wherever we can in the general field of international affairs, and make reading material available to the public.

We have joint meetings with the "Citizen's Forum" from time to time in the various Branches. Such meetings have been held in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, and in some of the western cities. Similarly, we work closely with the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. The Canadian Legion is another group with which we should be working more and more closely. At the moment we contribute to the "Legionary", the organ of the Canadian Legion, a "World in Review" summary of international happenings of the past month.

The National Film Society is another group. I am not now attempting to go too fully into these, but if you have any questions, I can go into them more fully later on. We are a member of the National Film Society and we are trying to work out a film program for our branches across the country, because we feel it is very necessary to make use of every possible medium.

Only a few people appear to be susceptible to learning through political pamphlets. We have to appeal also to the "comic-strip" type of mind, by making use of graphic material and films; we are working with the National Film Board to distribute films on the United Nations.

We have a very close and, from our point of view helpful, relationship with the Department of External Affairs, which has a publicity department under Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot. We also co-operate with the C.B.C., and they have been most helpful in working out programs with us. We have had two or three trans-Canada broadcasts, from which we reached the conclusion that there were great numbers of people whom it is very hard to get at, not people who live in big cities but who live in small towns and out in the country. They have more time, fewer rival interests, and they like to keep in touch with what is happening. It is only through the medium of the radio that we are able to meet these people. After any large broadcast we always have many letters from across the country asking: how can we learn more about the U.N., and how can we organize something among ourselves. By means of our larger branches taking over areas around them, and by putting men out in the field, we can organize such groups in a better way than at present.

I am trying to point out what we are not doing as well as what we are doing, and that it is very necessary to do more and more. When we come to the financial aspects, I should be glad to have your views on these points.

We have organized in our main Branches, Speakers' Bureaux, particularly in conjunction with local universities. We invite men and women to speak on United Nations topics, and we notify service clubs and other such organization, such as Church groups, labour groups, and neighbouring towns that speakers are available. Occasionally we send speakers right across the country. Dr. Sandwell

recently went across to the coast and spoke at a number of places. We have had three or four people do so during the past winter, and we plan to function more actively in this field during the coming winter.

I have so far been discussing more the national aspect; but in our branches we come into closer contact with the people. The Society tries to get people interested in international affairs from the broadest possible angle. We discuss such topics as Russia or the latest political trends in various countries, tying them all in some way into the central subject of world organization.

Generally speaking, the branches put on meetings about once a month. Sometimes they have a forum and sometimes a town-hall meeting. Sometimes they carry on a debate, or through local broadcasts, try to focus attention on some topic of the time such as the Iranian crisis, the Spanish case, or some contiguous subject, and try, through discussion, to formulate public opinion, or to gauge it and to see what the feeling is. This will be the work of the Branches more and more.

A new development to let the people have a more active part in the United Nation will be through study commissions; I do not mean study groups, I think that study groups, to a large part, have had their day. People are frightened off by the work "study". That was all right in the case of the League of Nations days, but now the need is for public meetings and large forums. There is still a field for small groups of people who know something about the subject to get together, so we are setting up a system of study commissions in the different Branches, each of which will take up a particular angle of the United Nations; one might be the security angle, another would be the Food and Agriculture organization, another the Atomic Energy Commission; the commissions will keep abreast of developments, and their findings will be published monthly in the United Nations News. They might also be the subject of broadcasts in the local branches.

As well as local broadcasts, again, we hope to work out in co-operation with the C.B.C. more broadcasts in a regional area or, perhaps, trans-Canada broadcasts on the United Nations. On our suggestion, the C.B.C. brought out an excellent program with which I think most of you are familiar: "Progress towards Peace", at 8.45 each Sunday evening, with varied speakers, some in England, some in the States, and some here, about what has been happening in the United Nations. I think there is a great deal more to be done in that field.

In French Canada, we plan, in line with the main purpose of the Society, to work for a united nation in Canada. There must be in Quebec, not necessarily a separate organization, but a more autonomous organization than, perhaps, in the case of ordinary Branches, in order to work into the smaller towns and villages in Quebec. Mr. Beaudoin is initiating that work very largely.

With a view to building up understanding with other nations, we have an overseas correspondence department that works through schools. Ultimately it will be the work of the Society to encourage teacher and student exchanges to help foster understanding of other people's points of view.

A work we have not yet started, but which we hope to start this coming year, is in the whole field of youth services, a very important work. We can touch directly only the fringe of it, but can do much by working through universities and teachers. University curricula are so crammed and telescoped, especially for the returned men, that it would be inadvisable to set up just now another group which would take up their time; but by working through political science clubs and other existing discussion groups on the campus, we hope to do a good deal of work in that field. Again, there is the normal school, perhaps one of the most important means of getting in touch with the whole problem.

The American Association of the United Nations has done a good deal of work with teachers in the United States. We plan to launch something similar in Canada called Teachers' Institutes to be held in conjunction with the Institute

of International Affairs and local universities. There will be semi-annual weekend meetings, held at several points, with a view to getting the teachers together, "indoctrinating" them through a very broad approach to international affairs, and letting them know what information is available. Something like that we hope to work out very shortly. Then again, we plan to work through the Departments of Education. Our new National President, Dr. Thomson, has close connection with all the Departments of Education. Special literature must be brought out and produced for youth and student work. That is a costly business and demands separate staff; but it is very necessary.

A work we have not been able to get into yet is the production of graphic material and U.N. literature by having a man on the staff, a research editor, for the actual writing. This, as I say, is one of the most expensive lines of publicity into which you can get. We must not preach only to the converted, but attempt to make easy of understanding some of the features of the United Nations, to as many types of people as possible, just as the Film Board and the Wartime Information Board did so well during the war.

Finally, we come to the World Federation of United Nations Associations. Most of you know about the old world federation of League of Nations societies. There have already been meetings held in London and in Paris. Later this month a congress will be held in Luxembourg. U.N. Associations are being gradually formed in each of the member states. So far there are such associations in Britain, China, United States, and in the other dominions. We have, in Europe, organizations in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, France and Switzerland. You may be interested to know that they have even been formed in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Only last week I received a letter from Iceland asking how we had proceeded in Canada in this regard, and saying that they wanted to form a similar group there.

One of the necessities in United Nations, is that the government has to do the work. The government is the body charged with carrying things out. There ought however, to be more popular contact with the United Nations. In fact, it has been suggested that there be a peoples' section. We are not acting on that yet, but we are exploring the question, feeling that through the World Federation of United Nations Associations we may be able to emphasize that angle. There should perhaps be reporters and observers at the meetings of the United Nations, thereby bringing the people of the world into close contact with the work of the United Nations so that they need not always have to see it through the governments' eyes.

I come to the end of the actual work the U.N. Society is doing and planning to do, and I wish finally to go into the question of finances, in which question you are probably more interested than in the others. The society is very interested in your views on this matter. We are operating at the present time on a rather modest annual budget of about \$15,000, or about \$1,250 per month expenses for the national office. Apart from that amount the Branches are of course, spending a good deal locally.

The American Association of the United Nations in a country with twelve times the population of this country, and with a membership about four times as great, I understand, operates on a budget of about \$185,000 of which \$85,000 is for the production of literature, and about \$100,000 for the actual office expenses. We estimate, that to do a job of this kind in Canada we should spend about \$65,000 on the actual national office expenses and perhaps another \$35,000 for production of literature, or, let us say, \$100,000 a year to do the job reasonably well in Canada, plus amounts spent locally by branches.

There are three sources of revenue that we have. There are government grants, such as the one you have discussed, of \$3,000. That at the moment makes up one-fifth of the total budget. Then, the main source of revenue is membership, at \$2, running up to \$10 for corporate membership. Finally, there are donations from large corporations, banks, business and other groups.

A very important decision has to be reached in this regard. Should such a society be government subsidized or should it be completely independent? I might say that in Australia, unless it has changed its policy, the organization there is completely government subsidized, so they are able to go right into the field with a large sum of money to put on a big publicity campaign.

The policy that has been followed by the United Nations Society so far, and we hope to work it out, is to be independent, or practically independent of government subsidy. The advantage lies in the long range view that where you have independence you will have, undoubtedly, more vigorous support from the public, and you avoid being accused of being merely another government propaganda organization. Rightly or wrongly, that is the belief at the present. The disadvantage of independence is that you are not able to get into the field as quickly as you could if you had a large sum of money for the publicity work that is necessary. One has to make a big splash and shake the public out of their apathy. To do that requires a great amount of money. You cannot move along just the one line; you have to operate on two parallel lines, one is local activity and the other is money. By putting on a bigger program you get more money; and by getting more money you are able to put on a bigger program. So you have to operate along those parallel lines and that delays progress. In other words, money cannot be done until some work has been done.

The coming year will be decisive in this regard. If it proves to be a failure, we will have to recanvass the whole situation. As things stand you will see, if you add it up this way, that you require to have something like 100,000 members in order to finance yourself and maintain your independence. On a budget of that size, a \$3,000 grant from the government would be largely negligible. I shall come to that in a moment. You have to make up deficits until you reach 100,000 membership, by means of grants from large corporations. We have been fairly fortunate in that regard. A few firms have contributed generously up to \$1,000, and even have promised to do so for another two years; but you cannot count on this for very long. It just happens that at this particular time, it is easier to get such donations. They are free of income tax, I may say. But we have to look ahead to the point where we shall have to finance the society completely from memberships.

So far as the government grant is concerned, I understand you went into that matter fairly fully about two weeks ago. It was considered as a League of Nations Society grant. Under the League of Nations Society, certain documents were furnished to members of parliament, and as soon as such documents are available, we will be glad to do the same.

In conclusion, I have been trying to emphasize, not so much what we are doing, because I am conscious of the many things we ought to be doing but are not able to do because of lack of funds at the moment. I have been trying to concentrate on the question of what there is to do, a very big task in which all of us, and most of the responsible organizations in the country, are pulling together. I will be glad to have your suggestion either at this meeting or in writing at any time. I wish also to emphasize our desire for complete independence if possible, in the honest belief that it is in the best interests of this work to be independent at all times. There is, however, a real urgency. We have lost time, and we are continuing to lose time the further we get from San Francisco. The public needs a large educational campaign, which requires a lot of money. If we fail to do what is necessary during the next year or so, we must re-assess the whole situation; but we are hopeful that we can continue along those lines. The most important thing to-day is that this work has to be done by somebody. If we cannot do it this way, we must try by some other. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the committee, for this opportunity of coming before you, and for your display of interest.

Applause!

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Morse, for your fine speech. Now, I believe the meeting is open for questioning.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask one question of Mr. Morse. You spoke about the American United Nations Association. What relationship does that association bear to the American Foreign Policy Association?—A. The American Foreign Policy Association, as I understand it, is a body that in function falls between our Institute of International Affairs and our United Nations Society. The F.P.A. is an independent body whose aim is to foster understanding on international affairs, generally in the U.S.A. It is not pledged to any particular point of view. I am sure that its constitution precludes it from supporting a point of view, just as with our Institute. The American Foreign Policy Association operates in the whole field of international affairs, whereas the American Association of the United Nations has the same aim as our own, that is, to develop and organize public opinion along one particular line.

Q. I had come to the conclusion that in the United States there was considerable danger of overlapping between the American Foreign Policy Association and the American Association for the United Nations. The American Foreign Policy Association held a meeting which I had the privilege of attending. It has branches in all main American cities and headquarters in New York. I take it that their field would cover the United Nations work because at the meeting which we attended, Senator Warren Austin, who is the voice of America on its council, was invited as guest speaker to talk about United Nations activities. I was just wondering whether or not the possibility of overlapping comes into the picture. I know that it is none of our affairs here, but it might be a guide to our own work in Canada. It is hard to separate an organization that deals with broad aspects of international affairs from the sort of organization that would deal only with the United Nations because, after all, the United Nations does take in pretty well nearly the whole gambit of international affairs, into its jurisdiction.—A. It is a particularly fine and well-organized group that has been operating for a long time. We have no quite comparable body in Canada. Our Society has no limited membership but is more or less precluded from wandering too far afield in foreign affairs. But, on the other hand, you have no rival organization in Canada.

Q. Our problem is not nearly so acute as their problem, with respect to overlapping.—A. That is an interesting point. In the United States, from what I could see when I was there about six months ago, they have a variety of small organizations supporting different angles of international co-operation. They have, for instance, more than one world government Association and an almost sectarian approach which rather tends to confuse public opinion in this whole field. We have so far been fortunate in avoiding that in Canada because, after all, we are all working towards world government in the long run.

Q. There is a great danger of confusing of public opinion.

By Mr. Low:

Q. How did this organization get started?—A. There was the old League of Nations Society, and in May, 1945, it met in Toronto and changed its name. We now have a different set of circumstances although we started working through the old League of Nations Society Branches. We are becoming organized on a new basis, although we are, I suppose, still the offspring of the old Society. Otherwise, you would have had the handicap of having to organize from the ground up.

Q. Well, I was wondering as you stated the different purposes and the work that has been done, whether anything was being done to strengthen the British

Commonwealth. You did not mention that. I am anxious to know something about that phase of your work.—A. The Commonwealth is in the general field of international affairs and our aim is to develop and formulate public opinion in particular support of the United Nations. We are neither for it nor against it except as it affects the United Nations. It falls outside the field of our work. I am sorry that I have not got with me the statement of objects of the Society, but in the objects the words "British commonwealth" are actually mentioned, indicating it as a necessary part of international order.

Q. Why is not something being done to increase or strengthen the effectiveness and prestige of the commonwealth or something comparable to it, by your body, when it is generally known and conceded that this very great voluntary organization has demonstrated, time and again, down the years, that it is a much more effective form than any formal well-organized organization could possibly be?—A. There is, I think, a Royal Empire Society in Canada whose special aim is to foster empire relations. But empire relations fall into the broad field of international affairs and are therefore outside the scope of our central purpose.

Q. Is it not true that some members of your organization, particularly Mr. Sandwell, advocate the surrender of sovereignty to some mythical super-national government?—A. I do not think, Mr. Low, that Mr. Sandwell is particularly in favour of that, nor is any officer of the Society. I have been trying to avoid saying anything confusing on this point. So far as world government is concerned, we feel that that is undoubtedly the ultimate aim. May I read a resolution that was passed at our last annual meeting in May on this subject:—

WORLD GOVERNMENT—While we believe that the ultimate goal to be attained is world government, and that this Society should seek at all times, by constructive criticism and recommendations, to attain that goal, we affirm that our only immediate hope for its consummation is through the Charter of the United Nations. We urge therefore the fullest public support, in Canada, for the Charter, as the only policy practicable under present conditions.

Q. You mentioned that the purpose of your organization was to foster an understanding of international co-operation and you said, I think, that this was not world government. Now you read to us something which will indicate that what you are working for is world government. Am I to believe that your purpose is to foster the spirit of international co-operation?—A. Yes.

Q. Or is it to lead, eventually, to world government?—A. Let me put it another way.

Q. But I would like an answer to my question because I regard it as an important matter.—A. In the United States you have had a confusion of public opinion because some people favour world government and some people favour the United Nations. The world government people in the United States say that you should scrap the United Nations Charter and start all over again at another San Francisco. The U.N. Society here has taken the point of view that we are all going down the same road and that the ultimate aim is world government. In any case, we must work with what we have, the United Nations. We believe that world government may not come about for a long time, and until we get it, we have got to work with what we have, and we are not trying to make a distinction between the two.

Q. That bears out my contention that the most effective demonstration the world has ever seen of international co-operation, the commonwealth, is being completely ignored and relegated to the background or limbo of forgotten things, and that the whole of our people are being indoctrinated with enthusiasm for a type of international co-operation leading to world government that weans them away from the loyalty towards and sovereignty of their own country towards a super-national type of government. That is what I object to.—

A. I think, if I may say so, that you have been over-emphasizing. Our ultimate goal is that. We are not, however, trying to tell people that they have to work towards a super-national state, but that we have to work through existing organizations and existing factors that we have set up. You have a microcosm of world organization in the empire commonwealth and you have to work through all such organizations, through the balance of power, and through every existing means. We recently gave very wide publication to a booklet entitled, "Canada, and World Security" by Major Vincent Price, President of our Toronto Branch, whose theme is just what you have said. It met with a great deal of interest. As a matter of fact, we should prefer to work for the Commonwealth, and not to over-emphasize super-national authority, because for the present it is more practicable.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. Is not your objective that of international peace rather than world government?—A. International co-operation, yes.

Q. The United Nations Association is an organization which endeavours to bring about world peace; and if we have agreed with other nations not to do certain things which may be considered, by some, as self-abnegation of our sovereignty—the main thing is to have peace and to live with one's neighbour if we can do so on reasonable terms. But if we cannot, we must go our own way and have periodic war every twenty-five years. I have fought in three wars and I do not want to see any more.

Mr. Low: Neither do I.

Mr. JACKMAN: There is no greater agency for world peace than the British Commonwealth of Nations and I would not want to see it scrapped. I should certainly say we are seeking our ends by a very wrong means. I doubt very much if there is much difference between what I am saying and what you are saying, Mr. Low. I know that your party stands for what many of us think, and that the difference is largely a question of accent. I think that world peace and a national form of sovereignty should be jealously guarded. But I would be surprised if you guarded it so jealously that you would not be willing to agree with other nations that certain things must be given up in order to ensure peace.

Mr. Low: I am quite prepared to grant you that particular forms of co-operation, international co-operation, are desirable, that is, if they have, as their objective, world peace; but, if they have as their objective something altogether different, then I do not think they are desirable. That is my point of view.

Mrs. STRUM: I do not think we have any difference in the matter of our aims; but I think we all have seen the futility of depending upon a closely knit empire to defend us and to prevent war. We have experienced the commonwealth type of thing and the empire type of thing, but it has not done a thing we want to do. It has not failed to prevent international misunderstanding and international conflict so I think the United Nations Association should endeavour to find a new method.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. I presume that the policy of your Society is determined by its membership?—A. Right.

Q. What membership have you just now?—A. In total numbers, about 3,000, of whom 10 per cent are corporate members.

Q. Are the donations which you receive considered as members? Suppose you get a donation from the Imperial Oil Company of \$1,000?—A. They become a corporate member. As I have said, about 10 per cent of the total membership as the present time is made up of corporate members. We have been organizing in the Branches as a first stage. Now the bigger branches are holding big membership campaigns beginning this coming fall.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. What representation would a corporate member have at your meetings?
—A. Each corporate member is entitled to have one voting delegate at the annual meeting.

Q. Would an organization such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Motor Trade, or the Labour Congress be considered as a corporate member?—A. If they agreed to take out corporate membership, yes.

Q. We have before us this item, an item in the estimates, of a contribution to the League of Nations Society or the United Nations Society; and what we have to do, I imagine, is to come to a conclusion as to whether or not we should approve this item. In order to reach an understanding on that, I imagine we must base it on the fact whether we believe that the United Nations itself is a desirable thing; and the next thing is whether the United Nations Organization helps to fortify and develop the work of the United Nations. I do not want to get into a controversy about this matter, but I do believe that the United Nations Society is a step in the right direction. Whether that step will be effective or not, will depend on further developments. If it is not effective, the outlook for world peace and for any security at all is very dark indeed. I do not think there is anything we can do other than to endorse this item.

I think that national governments were formed by people agreeing to give up certain of their individual prerogatives which they hitherto exercised; and if we are going to have an organization which will maintain cooperation and understanding between nations, then nations will have to give up some of their sovereign rights, the right to do as they please at any particular time. I think that this committee will very largely support that point of view. I am very much in favour of supporting this amount. I think that the point which was raised at the other meeting when this item was discussed was whether or not it was large enough. I imagine from what Mr. Morse has said that he thinks at the moment it is satisfactory until further developments take place.

By the Chairman:

Q. Mr. Morse, you mentioned in your speech that you had the sole distribution of U.N.R.R.A. literature and also United Nations documents.—A. Yes, for U.N.R.R.A. literature; we are at present undertaking negotiations with the Canadian Information Service to obtain distribution of United Nations documents in Canada.

Q. Will that mean any income to your organization, or just more work?—A. It will likely be a liability, in that we will have to accept responsibility for the distribution of these documents. We feel though that it is the sort of thing we ought to be doing in furthering our purposes and aims.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. How does the total membership, about which Mr. Jaenicke was asking you a few moments ago, compare with the highest total membership under the old League of Nations Society?—A. They reached a peak of 15,000, I believe.

Q. That seems to be a very very small number of people. Might I suggest that the organization needs a wider membership. I believe that a membership of 3,000 is too small for an organization which affects eleven and one half million people.—A. As I said before, it is difficult until you get into the field and start doing something. Until that happens, people will say: "Who are you, and what are you doing, any way?" So, you have to go through at least a year of organization. Most of our Branches are optimistic that we can raise our membership to 100,000 very shortly.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Do you find the failure of the League to be an obstacle in your development?—A. When you approach some businessmen, they say: "Look at the old League, it failed." We do encounter that to some extent.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Do your branches do any organizational work in their particular districts? I think it would be well to reach out into every small town throughout the whole of Canada, but that would be too much work to handle through the central office here. Are your branches instructed to establish new contacts in smaller towns and villages?—A. They are doing so. Toronto branch has taken over a broad swath right up to Sudbury; and each of the Branches, as it becomes organized, takes over a large metropolitan area and organizes smaller branches who, in turn, will work out from there, pending the time when we will have an adequate field force. Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and certain western branches are taking over adjacent areas starting next fall.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Emphasizing Mr. Morse's statement as to the necessity for extending membership, could Mr. Morse tell us how many members of the present parliament are members of the association?—A. About twenty-five or thirty.

Q. Including the honorary officers of the society?—A. No, I mean actual paid-up ones. I sent a letter to all the members of parliament and of the Senate last fall, and that was the response.

Q. It shows the need of carrying on the educational work of the society.

Mr. Low: Would it not be wiser if you canvassed personally the members of parliament? I know that if someone came to me and solicited it would mean more than just to receive a form through the mail. I should be happy to become a member, a paid-up member. Members of parliament receive just reams of stuff through the post office every day and they have not time to read it all. Much of it has to be consigned to the waste basket.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Morse stated that he was proud of the fact that the association was non-partisan and absolutely independent from governmental activity. That implied that it was intended there should never be government supervision. Personally, I believe that the amount of \$3,000 is well spent. In the future it might prove to be a small sum, and, as Mr. Morse has stated, after thorough inquiry, you may have to rely more upon a government grant. You are doing good work on behalf of international unity and the peace of the world and you want to keep clear of any interference from governments.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. I wonder if Mr. Morse could tell the committee whether there is any organization in the maritimes?—A. There are branches that are gradually being organized in Halifax, Saint John and Moncton. They have started, and we hope to get down there to do that very work this fall.

Q. Was Mr. Beaudoin down there for that purpose last winter?—A. No, he went down I believe, for the Institute of International Affairs.

Mr. MacINNIS: There are two points that seem to me rather important. I may not have the exact words, but I believe Mr. Morse said that people no longer are capable of being informed by political pamphlets, information pamphlets, so they must use cartoons and comic strips.

Mr. GRAYDON: He just used the word "comic strip" to indicate the pictorial aspect of it.

Mr. MACINNIS: He said that people are not capable of being informed by political pamphlets.

Mr. JACKMAN: That is a universal tendency.

The WITNESS: You will reach, perhaps, only 10 per cent of the people through the medium of political pamphlets; and in that case you are preaching largely to the converted. But we are thinking in terms of the people who have the "comic strip" type of mind, such as those to whom advertisers are appealing in making use of graphic advertisements. I think we should reach all types of mind.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. When you spoke about study commissions I think you said that people were scared off by the mere mention of the word "study groups." That has a very disquieting connotation at least in my mind. I imagine the difference between a study group and a study commission would be that a study commission would be composed of a few experts who would discuss matters and then gather their information and pass it on to the people who formerly got their education through study groups.—A. Yes, there are the two different groups of people that one must think of. On the one hand, you have the academic group who already have knowledge of such affairs, and on the other hand you have the man on the street; so you must have both lines of approach. We must not be too limited in our appeal.

Q. You have had more experience in dealing with this matter than I have, but I think it is a mistake to believe that the man with the lunch pail is not capable of discussing questions in their various contexts and applications.

Mr. FRASER: Sometimes they have a whole lot more common sense than some of the others.

Mr. GRAYDON: I do not think you can take any one section of the people and say it is more intelligent than another. You will get different classes of people in different sections of the community. I think there are a lot of people who like to read the pamphlet form of literature and who digest it very readily; on the other hand there are others who like the pictorial form. I think the newspapers have found that to be the case. In any kind of information service you have to have a broad appeal. I think that is what Mr. Morse has in mind. I think to rule out any of these methods would be to rule out an appeal to a large section of the community.

Mr. MACINNIS: You might; but I am afraid with our modern form—if you like to put it that way—of mass distribution of comic literature, if you can call "comic strips" literature—they are finding the same thing, not with regard to the intelligent class, but rather in the manner of serving too many sweets for a meal. If you do that you won't have proper material for food or nourishment. I think that is the grave danger and one which you encounter everywhere. Nobody knows that better than the member of parliament because, as Mr. Low has mentioned, you have so much material coming in every day that unless there is some halting of the process, we are liable to be smothered in printed material before we get a chance to read it or find out whether it is worth while.

Mr. FRASER: I find that I have to take my mail away to read over the week-end.

Mr. GRAYDON: Isn't Mr. MacInnis' point the same as Mr. Morse's argument, that is, that there is a possibility of smothering the public with too much printed literature in favour of this type of education. I think there are a great many people not all uneducated people who get their information very quickly

from pictures, perhaps more quickly than they would by the written word. There are different types of minds. I quite agree with Mr. MacInnis that we should not cheapen publicity by any methods that are not proper but I do think that the picture has its place and that is what Mr. Morse is emphasizing.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Mr. Morse said that they are organizing among the French in Quebec. I wonder if he was thinking about the French population in the other provinces. For instance, New Brunswick has a French population of 38 per cent, and there are French sections in Ontario. I do not think there is much literature going to New Brunswick French?—A. We might have a field secretary for Northern Ontario, Quebec and the maritimes, who would not overlook the 38 per cent in New Brunswick.

Q. We should see that it is not confined to Quebec alone.

MR. FLEMING: When Mr. Morse spoke about the necessity of broadening the appeal of the society, I was reminded about my own experience with the League of Nations Society. I know that the great tendency in the old days was for membership to be confined to a sort of intelligensia. I think Mr. Graydon's point is sound. There must be a broadening of appeal and membership in the organization. That may necessitate a broadening in the appeal of the literature which the society issues; and it is for the members of the society to say whether there is enough breadth and flexibility in the literature issued to meet particular forms and tastes in digesting such literature.

MR. GRAYDON: I brought this point up before in committee and I mention it now simply because Mr. Morse is with us: that the dry bones of the United Nations Charter and its documented evidence is difficult reading for many people to find sustained interest in; but I have found that the public is tremendously interested in human interest stories surrounding the United Nations Organization. I think that, in the preparation of the general information and education that the human interest part of it must not be disregarded because many thousands of people in Canada will find their main interest—perhaps not everybody—in that department. Those who are, perhaps, more highly educated may not, although I have found, in speaking to university groups in connection with United Nations matters, that they are more interested than others in human interest stories.

THE WITNESS: I do not want Mr. MacInnis to feel that we are going to use any one line to the exclusion of all others. We are trying to broaden the approach so that everyone may feel he has something to get from us and give to us.

MRS. STRUM: I think it is a great pity that so few of us are members of the society. I am one of the guilty parties. I suggest that a member of each party take the responsibility of canvassing his group for membership. As Mr. Low has suggested, that would be a better approach than to receive a circular in the mail which may be only one of twenty circulars received in the same mail. You have a possibility there in the way of enrolment. We would need publicity agents in this thing too.

MR. FRASER: You mean that it would be another appeal for money and the members get about twenty of them every day.

MR. MACINNIS: Shall the item be carried?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it would be in order, in the name of the committee, to thank Mr. Morse for his fine address which has proved to be most illuminating and instructive. I thank you, Mr. Morse.

The next meeting will be on Friday, at 11.30 o'clock a.m. of this week. Some members mentioned the fact that it might be in order to sit while the

House is sitting; but personally I would rather carry on this way, as we do now. We have been fortunate in not having failed to have a quorum so far, and I think we should carry on this way.

Mr. FRASER: May I comment with respect to the sittings. As I look over the estimates, having regard to the rapidity with which we have gone up to date, if we take it for granted that the session will continue the early part of August, then, two meetings a week would hardly clean up the balance of our work.

The CHAIRMAN: We are pretty well cleaned up now.

Mr. FLEMING: Are we not nearly through with our estimates? It seems to me that we have touched on nearly all the essentials of the estimates. Could we not clean up the remaining items of the estimates at the next meeting?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not believe we can, but I think we could do so in two meetings. Is there a motion to adjourn?

Mr. Low: I move that we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN: It is moved that we adjourn. The motion is carried. Thank you.

The committee adjourned at 1.05 o'clock p.m. to meet again on Friday, July 5, at 11.30 o'clock a.m.

SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

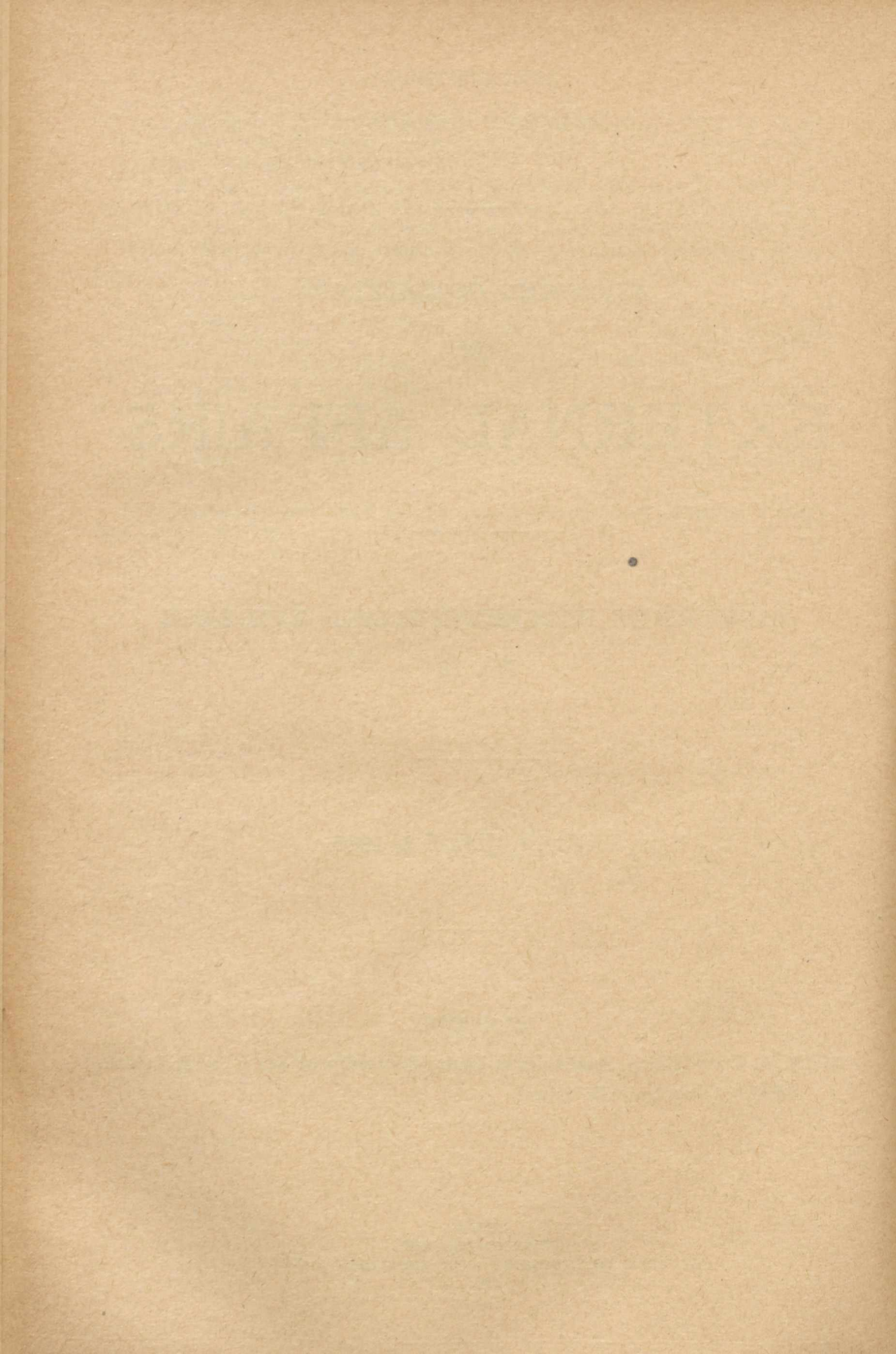
No. 12

FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1946.

WITNESS:

Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, Assistant to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (Economic Division).

OTTAWA
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1946



MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, July 5, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Cote (*Matapedia-Matane*), Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Knowles, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Sinclair (*Ontario*), Winkler.

In attendance: Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine and Mr. John Starnes of the Department of External Affairs.

The Committee resumed consideration of departmental estimates referred, *item 56* Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Mr. Chapdelaine was called and examined, the witness filed a list of nations who are members of F.A.O. (*appendix "A"*) and also explained the method of computing the member nations contributions to the expenses of the organization, the functions of F.A.O. and its relationship to the Economic and Social Council of U.N.

Item 56 was approved.

The Chairman announced that at the next meeting Mr. Chapdelaine would be called to deal with numbers 52, 53, 54, of the estimates.

On the motion of Mr. MacInnis the Committee adjourned at 12.55 p.m. to meet again Tuesday, July 9, at 11.30 a.m.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Acting Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 5, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call the meeting to order. Thank you, gentlemen, for coming, particularly in view of the fact that it is a Friday morning and a warm day. We have with us this morning Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, a member of the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs, who is going to deal with items 52, 53, 54 and 56 of the estimates. He has asked that he might be permitted to deal with item No. 56 first because it is the largest one, and of course, he must have some good reason for making such a request.

Mr. GRAYDON: Would you mind putting on the record the details of those items?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, they are as follows:—

No. of Vote	Service	1946-37	Compared with estimates of 1945-46	
			1945-46	Increase Decrease
52	Portion of expenditure of the Imperial Economic Committee	7,900 00	1,575 00	6,325 00
53	Imperial Shipping Com- mittee	750 00	750 00
54	Portion of expenses of Inter- national Wheat Council .	3,000 00	4,000 00 1,000 00
56	Food and Agriculture Organ- ization of the United Nations	210,000 00	126,500 00	83,500 00

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Mr. Chapdelaine to proceed.

Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, Member of the Economic Division, Department of External Affairs, called:

The WITNESS: I have no very set views with respect to the order in which these items should be taken up, but I have suggested the largest item first.

The CHAIRMAN: Excuse me, I will call the item first:

No. of Vote		1946-47	1945-46	Increase
56	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	210,000 00	126,500 00	83,500 00

The WITNESS: I started out by saying that I have no set views on the item, but since it is by far the largest of the four items, and one which deals with a specialized agency of the United Nations it might be one in which the members would be most interested. I am not familiar with committee procedure so I am afraid I cannot work from experience, but if there is anything that is wrong about the way I put things I am sure the chairman of the committee will set me right.

Mr. JACKMAN: It is all quite informal.

The CHAIRMAN: We will give you all the latitude you wish and let you deal with this item in the way you think best in the light of your experience in dealing with matters of this kind.

The WITNESS: The item is for Canada's contribution to the second year budget of the FAO, as it is commonly called. You will notice that the rate has been stepped up almost 80 per cent over last year. The first year's budget for FAO was of \$2,500,000 and Canada took her share of over 5 per cent of that at the time, some members being given a reduced rate because at the time the organization was established a number of them were under the heel of the enemy. In the second year, conditions having got closer to normal, the rate has been reduced from 5 to 3·8 per cent, but the budget has increased from 2·5 million to 5 million for the first regular budget year. Our contribution of 3·8 per cent, is therefore set at \$210,000 instead of \$126,500, which was the amount of the item last year.

As you know, the FAO was the first United Nations organization to begin operating. It was born with President Roosevelt's call to the United Nations to meet at Hot Springs in the early summer of 1943. From that conference came some recommendations for the establishment of a permanent specialized agency by which the United Nations might be guided, in matters of food and agriculture, the constitution to be drafted by an interim organization of which our present Ambassador at Washington, Mr. L. B. Pearson, was the chairman. The work of the interim organization was completed late last summer and in October the first meeting of the organization was held at Quebec when Canada signed the constitution along with some thirty other countries. Some half dozen or so have joined since. The work of the organization was expected at first to be strictly consultative and concerned with long term problems but the pressure of events, particularly in recent times with the threat of famine throughout the world, forced it to take action very early. It called a special conference on urgent food problems in May of this year which resulted in a widening of the Combined Food Board, which was an organization of three countries, Canada, the U.S.A. and the U.K., into a much larger one the International Emergency Food Council. The Council consists of some twenty nations with a smaller group or executive committee of less than ten.

As I said earlier the body was expected to mainly consultative and its ends will be such. I do not know if "consultative" is a sufficiently comprehensive word, because although it will be a body which will collect statistics and inculcate information, it will also be a sort of broker for technicians to be loaned from one country to another; and, when it is set up, technicians on its staff will be available to go to the help of any country that needs assistance in the better use of its lands, forests, its fisheries, etc.

I think that this about as much as I have to say on FAO in general. If there are any points in which members of the committee are particularly interested, or with respect of which they desire elaboration, I shall do my best to answer questions.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. From what I can understand this is expected to be a permanent organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Similar in nature to the ILO?—A. Of the nature of the fund ILO, the International Bank, the fund and similar bodies of that type which it is expected will be related to the Social and Economic Council. The Social and Economic Council has a committee at the moment which is studying the question of the exact form of integration—that might be too strong a word—but the relationship of the satellite specialist organizations with the main United Nations organization probably but not necessarily so through the Social and Economic Council.

Q. Have you a list of the nations who are members now? I do not want you to read it unless someone else wants it read, but I think it would be a good thing to have it put on the record.—A. Would you like to have it read to the committee?

Mr. GRAYDON: No, put it on the record.

(See Appendix A)

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Are there any nations not members of the UNO who are members of the FAO?—A. No. That cannot happen as yet.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Is Russia a member?—A. No. You may remember at the conference at Quebec there was a Russian delegation but there was uncertainty as to whether it would sign or not; it ended up by not signing and remained throughout the conference as observers.

Q. I understand with respect to the relationship of this organization to some of the others you have mentioned the Economic and Social Council are taking the same steps in bringing the various bodies into relationship as provided by the charter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am told that already agreement has been reached with respect to principles—and that is about as far as the council so far has moved with respect to anything definite in connection with it; but I take it that the Food and Agriculture Organization will have to have a different type of agreement perhaps than that relating to the ILO.

Q. Do you know how far the council has gone in drafting or preparing a draft agreement between FAO and the Economic and Social Council?—A. We have not seen anything definite as yet. All we know is that the FAO in Washington has somebody conferring with the council in New York and the council has a committee, which I knew was established before the meeting which began a little while ago, but has not yet produced any definite results that I have seen, I am pretty sure the subcommittee has not reported to the Social and Economic Council but probably will report by the August meeting.

Q. Might I ask one more question? Who are the high ranking officers of the Food and Agriculture Organization; and, are there any from Canada on that?—A. Are you thinking about what might be called a permanent civil service; or did you mean the council?

Q. I am thinking of the head of the organization, Sir John Boyd Orr.—A. There is a civil service organization which is still a very small affair. You may have seen very recently that they have taken on as head of the fisheries division a former Canadian deputy minister of fisheries, Dr. D. B. Finn. As far as I know their staff is building up, but it is not more than some twenty odd people at the present time, including Sir John Boyd Orr. They are having, as every national organization is bound to have, great difficulty in recruiting a competent staff. That kind of personnel is scarce and not only scarce but also badly needed by the countries where they are employed, because it may be assumed that the good people are doing giant's work in their own countries still.

Q. Well, then, Sir John Boyd Orr is chairman of the organization?—A. Secretary-General, I think is his technical title.

Q. Yes that is true; and he has under him a staff of international civil servants. Has he acquired any high ranking officials from each of the nations acting with him in the capacity of assistant Secretary-General or anything of that kind?—A. The fact is, sir, that the staff will not be recruited on national lines, although that principle will be followed in part. They stress the importance of having technically competent personnel in all these matters, as you well know,

and in order to do that you have to take liberties with principles in order to make the staff efficient even at the expense of equalized representation. You may at times have two people one of whom would be as good as the other, and if we had a glut let us say of U.K. or U.S. employees, there would be a preference for the non-U.K. or non-U.S. who would be as good and would give the organization a more representative international character. I know for a fact that Sir John Orr has not appointed as yet any of his deputy secretaries general. Dr. Finn holds the appointment which is the nearest thing to that as yet as the head of a division; and knowing Dr. Finn, I am quite sure that after he has been there a little while he would be considered a sterling candidate for an even larger administrative position and probably for one of the deputy secretaries general. The Secretary-General, Sir John Boyd Orr, has to assist him a committee, the executive committee of the conference. The council in that organization is called the conference, of some fifteen persons not named by countries, but because of the personal qualifications of each individual concerned; and, Dr. Barton is one of the members of that executive committee.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. How many technical experts has the organization got now?—A. It has not recruited any great number of staff as yet; it is still running with a very short staff, with a mild amount of borrowing from time to time for special jobs. A number of Canadians have gone down to do some specific pieces of work for them. Mr. D. Roy Cameron, for example, of the Forestry Division, has been doing work from time to time for them, and also Dr. Finn and Dr. Barton. They give some of their few spare hours to work on technical panels of the organization. This applied particularly during the days of the interim commission. There were a number of panels at that time on which Mr. Angus, of our department, represented Canada. Some of the universities and agricultural schools had representatives who went down to Washington to assist with the work. The organization is located temporarily at Washington because it left the settlement of its final location until the time when the United Nations Organization had settled its home.

Q. Have experts been sent to member countries to give advice?—A. Not as yet. I do not know that there has been any request from any member nation for assistance from the organization.

Q. Would it need a request, or could the organization do that on its own initiative?—A. You have the general question of sovereignty, as usual; and no major undertaking would be done without a request from the member country.

Q. Could not the organization make a request to a country that some experts might be sent there in order to better the production of food, let us say, for example, some country in the Middle East where, according to our understanding, the implements are very primitive. Could not suggestions of that nature be made?—A. Quite so. I expect some of that type of work will be done; but at the moment, until the organization gets a little better on its feet, it will not try to chew more than it can swallow. The problem is still very much one of organization at the centre.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. To get back to the item under discussion in actual dollars and cents, what is this item for in fact?—A. It is mainly for staff and headquarters services of the organization. It is in the same category as the contribution that Canada made, let us say, to the administrative operations of UNRRA.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Is it made as a lump sum contribution?—A. No, it is a percentage of 100 per cent.

Q. You have, in here, an item of so many dollars. Are you going to make a contribution in the way of a lump sum to these people?—A. The item this year will be paid as follows: four-fifths of it, I think, is expected according to the budget of the organization, in the first month after the beginning of the fiscal year which is July 1st. One-fifth will be payable later, after the organization has met for its next meeting and settled its budget definitely. Last year, F.A.O. drew upon Canada, in one sense. Inasmuch as the meeting took place in Canada, we arranged that we would pay our contribution in the form of footing the bills for the Quebec conference, accountable, of course, up to the amount of our contribution. So, in the first year, we did not send a cheque down to the F.A.O. organization in Washington, but we arranged to pay the expenses at Quebec, for the renting of hotel accommodation, for stationery, for the staff, and so on, all of it accounted for; and when we had spent our contribution, we said: "That is as much as we are responsible for, so you had better start doing it from the other contributions which you have amassed."

Q. What percentage of the total budget of the F.A.O. is to be borne by Canada under the agreement?—A. I had better get you the exact figures on that, if I may. In the first year, Canada paid 5·06 per cent of the \$2,500,000 budget. In the second year, it has been reduced to 3·80 per cent. The reason for the reduction is that in the first year we, and all the non-invaded countries, assumed a higher proportion in order to give a smaller proportion to the countries which were less solidly on their feet than they are now becoming.

Q. The amount which is now in the estimates would not include the expenses of our delegates and those who represent Canada at the various conferences.—A. No, it would not. It would include the expenses, obviously, of any Canadian government employee who was borrowed for a job at any particular time, for the organization. The Canadian delegation went to Quebec under another item than this one.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Are we to assume that Dr. Barton, who is one of the advisers, and the Deputy Minister of Fisheries, will have their expenses paid in connection with any meeting in Washington, entirely outside of this money?—A. Yes. When Dr. Barton goes to Washington for a meeting of the executive committee, he goes at the expense account of the F.A.O.

Q. His expenses are not paid by the department?—A. No, not by any Canadian vote. They are paid by the organization down there.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Out of this fund?—A. Out of the budget of the organization to which Canada contributes a percentage.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Is there any general government policy that you know of to curtail the expenditures on international matters generally, so as to keep them down within reasonable limits?—A. I am not sure whether I understand your question. Do you mean: is there a sort of check on the organization so that the organization does not become a spend-thrift, or do you mean that within the budget of the organization Canada might or might not see fit to request a reduction in the percentage of its contribution?

Q. Perhaps, both, including what I had in mind. I had better explain my point of view. Canada, just now, is entering into a much broader field of international relations than this country has ever experienced before; and attendant upon that, is a tremendous "upping" of expenditures abroad for the purpose of international affairs. Now, I think that a matter which will have to be decided

soon is, how far the smaller nations of the world can "keep up with the Joneses", if you like, of the bigger nations which have tremendous taxing powers and tremendous revenues and great wealth.

I realize that there are great difficulties in connection with it, but the expenditures for our work in the international field are growing, growing, and growing. In a sense this country is almost carrying on another outside government, if you like. It is participating in a world movement and in the various branches of that movement. I think some governmental policy will be essential very shortly to see that we do not over-reach ourselves in Canada.

I realize that it is not right for us not to take our proper place; but I think there ought to be a careful survey made, based on the experiences we have had up to date, to see to it that Canada's expenditure is commensurate to the work we have to do. Nobody wants a single duty or obligation of this country to be shirked. But, on the other hand, within the limits of that broad participation, I think we have to watch carefully our expenditures in international affairs, in the same way as we watch expenditures carefully at home.

In my little experience, in connection with the matter of expenditures outside for delegations and for representations generally, I would say that these matters are very difficult to curb. Expenditures outside are heavy, living expenses, hotel expenses, and the various expenses of delegations going abroad. Such expenses are not always governable by what we may say at home, but are often governed by circumstances in which the delegations find themselves, such as those of acquiring accommodation when they are away. I think we are up against an immediate problem of seeing how far Canada can go in the wide range of expenditures in international affairs. We in Canada cannot afford to bear as high a proportion of such expenditures as some other nations which have much more money than we have. I think we must keep our expenses in Canada down to a proportionate level, having in mind our position to pay as related to other nations of the world. I think that problem is even greater in the case of some other nations than it is with Canada.

I look with a great deal of concern and a great deal of sympathy on the little nations now, who have to participate and who want to participate in the United Nations Organization: They have to send nearly as many members or delegates as Canada, and they have to do many of the same things that Canada does. It must be a very heavy strain on the treasuries of those countries that have not got the wealth to take care of such expenses. I would indicate my concern about having some general policy for keeping our expenditures within the limits of what our people at home are able to pay.—A. That is a question upon which I cannot expound a great deal. I am afraid I have no authority for explaining government policy particularly as to treasury matters.

Mr. KNOWLES: You do not represent the Treasury Board.

The WITNESS: There is one aspect of the matter in which I fully see the strength of your point. Once you have a meeting, there is pretty much of a need to have enough people there to do the required work in the committees. Those committees call for a minimum of representatives. If there are to be three commissions and four subcommittees under each commission at a meeting, then you will need to have enough people to go around and keep an eye on things and speak Canada's view at those meetings. So the expenses of delegations are not likely to be related to the paying power of the country. When it comes to the contribution to the funds of the organization, however, that is established much more in relation to the paying power of the countries.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. It can be based more readily upon the ability to pay than can the proper expenses of delegations.—A. Yes, but, of course, there is one saving grace in that the expenses of delegations are relatively smaller, I am quite sure, than the expenses of membership.

By Mr. Low:

Q. What control do you have?—A. In a sense you spend less than your initiation fee.

Q. What control is held by the organization over expenditures out of the fund.—A. That is attended to by a conference consisting of one representative of each of the countries on the body, the House of Commons of it, if you wish. The conference considers the budget.

Q. Does the conference report back to the contributing countries for approval?—A. I think I see your point. When our representative goes down there to discuss the budget, he goes with the power to say that he agrees or disagrees with the budget. If he agrees, then it is subject to approval of the government upon his return. We could say: no, we do not agree with what you have done down there. But that, of course, is relatively limited, because it would mean, in some cases, that if we did not agree, then we must get out. The contributions are based on certain general principles that are generally agreed upon.

Q. As a member of this committee, I am concerned to see whether Canada is getting a run for the money she pays for some service to the world. That service is necessary, and the money must be expended; but I think our purpose should be to examine these estimates.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In other words, following what Mr. Low has said, I should think that the time has come when there ought to be something in the international field which would be comparable to our Treasury Board in Canada and to the Auditor-General's system.—A. Would you wish to see an international auditor-general or to have each nation given the right to send its own auditor to look into the expenses? These organizations all have an auditor who audits the accounts and sees to it that nothing is improperly spent. Reports are made to the budget committee of the conference, and by it to the conference itself. If there had been some mishandling of funds, there would be very serious strictures indeed.

Q. I do not think you could have fifty-one auditors-general going into the international field and getting any kind of order out of that chaos; but I think there should be some way by which the taxpayer of Canada could reach in and have some measure of control.—A. Information is made available in that the government, according to the F.A.O. Act, which became law at the last session, must submit a report to parliament each year, such a report would elaborate on the expenditure of the funds.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I am afraid we are now touching on what would prove to be the main weakness of practically all of these international organizations. It is going to be difficult to find controls that would be adequate.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Are we not getting away from Mr. Graydon's point. I understand that he asked if any check was made in the Department of External Affairs on the expenditures of the international organization. That is something with which this committee should concern itself. The witness could only say "yes" or "no" as to whether there was any such check. But after we get into the question, after we once make our contribution, how that contribution is to be spent and whether we are getting value for it or not is something we cannot go into very much here, I think.—A. There is a check by parliament on these estimates when they are presented and there is a check on the expenditures themselves by the Treasury Board when the money is transmitted and by the department or rather the government representative in the conference of the organization.

By Mr. Low:

Q. That would be after the money is spent?—A. That happens afterwards; but there is something that happens before. When the organization goes before the conference, let us say that Sir John Orr, just to take a name, goes before the organization and says: "This is my budget for the year and this is the money I want to have voted by you to the organization." He presents his budget which includes salaries, the collection of statistics, missions in certain countries to look into the question of agriculture, and so on. Then the conference looks into the budget and says, perhaps, we do not think you need fifteen people in a particular division.

Q. You need to have a pre-audit control. It is not a question of auditing what has been spent, but a pre-audit control in order to determine that the money is rightfully spent according to the object set forth in the budget for that money.—A. That is what happens. Here in Ottawa, some two months before the next meeting of the F.A.O., we shall have a draft budget, if you wish. It will be looked into by our department and checked by the Department of Finance and the people who are responsible in that department including, I am quite sure, the Treasury Board. Perhaps not the Treasury Board itself, but the staff of the Treasury Board would look into that budget and if there were any questions about it, or if the staff was not satisfied, they would probably refer the matter to the Treasury Board itself.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. The Auditor-General might look over your proposed budget and either approve or disapprove it, but there is nothing internally to give us the particulars of his audit.—A. Before the budget is voted, it is gone into by the interested departments, the main one of which would be the Treasury Board or the Department of Finance, and at the end of the fiscal year the Canadian Auditor-General sees that the money which has been voted has been properly transmitted to the organization.

Q. But the Canadian Auditor-General, once having inspected the budget or the disbursements, would report to nobody?

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Do you mean to say that they have not made up a budget as yet?—A. For the fiscal year which began four days ago?

Q. Has the organization made up a budget?—A. They did so at Quebec for the first year which started last autumn and ended on the 30th June; and they also made up a tentative budget for the year just beginning which will be presented at the next conference which will meet at the end of the summer.

Q. And the item of \$210,000 is based on that budget?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you a copy of the tentative budget?—A. No, we have not received it yet.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. How is the \$210,000 arrived at?—A. That was approved at Quebec last Autumn. The total amount of the budget and the contribution of each country was agreed upon at the conference at Quebec last Autumn.

Q. Is this the situation then: that this is a maximum amount required to be paid by Canada, pending the budget arrangements, at least the budget decisions, which will be made some time this autumn?—A. This is the order of value; it will hit at the amount. If it be more, it will be very little more, and if it be less, it might be as low as four-fifths of the amount stated.

Q. In other words, Canada is adopting a sort of hit or miss policy with respect to it, based on the fact that this was the amount which was suggested at

the Quebec conference?—A. The expenditure which it was expected would be needed. At the time they were only beginning. They did not have a staff and in the first year the larger amount of expenditure would be for staff. If you take on a man, say, at the 1st January, you will pay him more money for the year than if you only find him in May or June. That is why the amount might be less, but unlikely to be more. If that be so, we would have to come back for a supplementary vote, probably at the next session.

Q. Will the members of parliament receive the actual budget that is agreed upon at the autumn conference, with respect to this vote?—A. That, I expect, would be a part of the report to parliament which is required according to the FAO Act.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Is it your contention that the Auditor-General should inspect the budget and the accounts and approve them and then submit his findings in a report to parliament; or should the Auditor-General report to each individual department of the government and not report to parliament?—A. I am afraid that is beyond my ken.

By Mr. MacInnes:

Q. I imagine that the Auditor-General would not have anything to do with the main items in the estimates, but would be concerned only with it after it goes through as an expenditure. He only examines the estimates when an expenditure refers to an estimate. What does the Auditor-General have to do with the estimates?

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. While I agree with many of the views that have been expressed to the effect that there should be some kind of control of expenditure in the international field, in the same way that we have it in the national field, I am quite sure there is another view on these matters than that which has been expressed by Mr. Graydon and those who have spoken. I do not wish it to be thought that I disagree with them, but my personal feeling is this: Mr. Graydon has asked if Canada can afford these increased expenditures in the international field. I want to say that I believe our stake in world conditions and in world peace is so tremendous that we cannot afford not to be in these things to the very limit that we can possibly stand. I find that the total expenditures of the Department of External Affairs include our contributions to the maintenance of these international organizations and our representatives abroad, together with some other things such as the item of passports which is not part of this, but I have not bothered to pull it out. The total expenditure of the Department of External Affairs is only one-tenth of 1 per cent of Canada's total budget for this year. I suggest that it is quite possible that the remaining 99.9 per cent of what we do in this country may depend upon whether or not we maintain the kind of world that is healthy and well-fed and can live at peace. I know that is a bit rhetorical or oratorical and all that, but I submit that it is a point of which we should not lose sight.

I remember a statement made by Mr. Bevin at the United Nations Organization last January, when expenditures were being discussed, to the effect that the total cost of the United Nations Organization and, I believe, of its satellites as well, to all the nations involved, for a whole year, was less than the cost of the last war to Great Britain alone for one day.

Let us be vigilant along the lines that the members have been suggesting, in seeing to it that there are proper controls. But let us not lose our perspective completely. I think there is hardly any field in which we could be spending

money more effectively than that of international relations; and I think, too, that it is even more worth while to be spending money on these constructive and positive measures such as FAO and the specialized agencies related to the Economic and Social Council than it is in spending money for negative and punitive things that only apply when the game is lost. These are the things that will keep the peace of the world.

Last January and February I attended a number of meetings of the sub-committee of the United Nations Organization when it was dealing with the budget, in London. It was a fifty-one member committee. I want to tell my fellow private members of the House of Commons here that it sounded exactly like this House of Commons when the estimates are up. It was a little bit different in this sense, that it was more like a municipal council than a parliament. There was no government to crack the whip and pass its estimates whether wanted or not.

The CHAIRMAN: Order

Mr. KNOWLES: Once an estimate comes down, it goes through in that way. But the estimates of the United Nations Organization get definitely revised, and the proportions and the very basis of the contributions of the various countries get revised, because the individual members representing the various countries fight, tooth and nail, for it just as we do here. I think that, just as democracy is a protection of expenditures in our country, so it is a protection in the international field, and perhaps even more so there, because you do not have the relation of government to parliament. It is the council which controls the thing, as a whole.

Mr. GRAYDON: Mr. Knowles has expressed general agreement on this matter; but to my mind it is a question that we must, in this type of work, make sure that we get a dollar's value for a dollar spent.

By Mr. Jackman:

Q. May I ask whether the FAO and similar organizations will publish in printed form their annual accounts for the fiscal year just closed, so that those who are interested, including ourselves, may survey those accounts?—A. My understanding is that they will; but the only one that has functioned long enough to have occasion to do so is UNRRA which has been issuing its accounts regularly.

Q. I suppose that UNO will do the same—A. Yes. The League of Nations did so regularly each year, and I am certain UNO will do the same.

Q. I wonder if, to some extent—not to confuse your functions as an economist with those of a controller of economy similar to such a controller in a private organization who presents his findings to whoever is in final charge, whether it be the head of the organization or to the subscribing members, the various countries who are members—I wonder if, in that connection, Mr. Graydon's suggestion could not be better carried out, and whether or not the Department of External Affairs here, now that we are a member of international organizations, should have a controller of accounts. Such a position might be a full-time job. A controller could give preliminary inquiry at least, and obtain a picture of just what our total obligations were in these various fields, so that we could relate these costs to the usefulness of the functions which are being performed. There is no position of controller in the Department of External Affairs, not of your own expenses?—A. I am not sure how that would not be looked upon by the agency which has the main responsibility of supervising the expenditure of Canada's money, the Treasury Board. We as a department have to satisfy them that an expenditure is justified.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Suppose we have a controller in the Department of External Affairs, we would then relate everything to him, that is, the money which should be spent by either UNRRA or some other organization? Would we not be submitting the principal to the accessory, that is, the policy of the government to a mere matter of "X" amount of money; whereas, money, in my estimation, should be incidental to the government's policy, if it be the policy of the government in power to do this thing instead of that thing in regard to UNRRA or some other organization? I think that money should serve the policy which would be implemented by the government first and endorsed by parliament and that we should not submit an "X" amount of money which would involve, in all respects, the expenses of Canada to UNRRA or any other organization. I submit that this matter of the budget is merely incidental to the government's policy.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe it was the sentiment of the previous speakers that it was incidental only to the extent that no one would wish to see money spent extravagantly. They do not want expenditures on which there is no check. I believe our discussion has been of value on that score.

Mr. BOUCHER: Should we not, as a committee, say that we feel that limits should not be put on the money, provided we have assurance that economies are exercised.

The CHAIRMAN: That has been the keynote of the discussion this morning all the way through.

Mr. GRAYDON: There is a point I wanted to raise at some stage and perhaps now that we are speaking about relationship of expenditures to our various representations abroad would be a good place. My point is one to which I think this committee, either at this session or at another sitting should give serious consideration. One thing that has struck me about our international participation is that the representatives of the people in parliament are not being brought close enough in touch with the work that is being done day by day in the international field. We have got our domestic show here, and collaterally to it we have an international show running concurrently. We have to wait—I do not mean to be unduly critical of anyone in connection with it, because we are only gaining by whatever experience we can pick up as we go along—but I think this parliament should have a weekly report, perhaps more often, of what is going on day by day in the many bodies in which Canada is represented internationally.

Last week I went to New York to try to find out what the situation was there. I sat in on the Security Council and on the Atomic Energy Commission and on the Health Council of the Economic and Social Council. To do so may be all right for me, to take a week off for the purpose; but what about the 245 members of the House? They are just as interested in these matters as I am. I think we are not getting the international picture in parliament day by day. The picture changes so quickly that a report of a few months back is out of date today.

I would like, Mr. Chairman, to suggest that this committee make some recommendation to bring our international deliberations into parliament. I do not think, at the moment, that anybody in the House, appreciates what those relations are unless he is making a very close study of the matter of what we are doing in other gatherings in which Canada is vitally interested, just as interested as she is in affairs at home and perhaps more so today. I think that is a most important recommendation which this committee might properly bring forward because I have found members of parliament frequently asking me questions, asking those who have participated in international conferences, and making all kinds of inquiries about what is going on. I think it is a matter of

immediate urgency. Perhaps it cannot be done at this session of the House but certainly I think we are under some obligation in this committee to see to it that we are brought right up to date and right up close to everything that the people's representatives are doing at home and abroad. I feel very keenly about it and I think the government ought to give some consideration to seeing that it is done and not leaving it over for long reports that are prepared later by the departmental representatives and issued by the minister. Such reports are very good for the purpose of record, but are certainly of no use when you are going back to your constituents.

Suppose one of you who may not have been at an international conference at all, was asked what are they doing. You could not answer the question. Only those of us who have been there and have taken the trouble to work it out are able to answer it intelligently. I think that in view of the fact that the taxpayer's money is being spent upon international affairs, those taxpayers and electors are entitled to have up-to-date, day by day, or week by week reports given to parliament, so that every member of the House will be acquainted as those of us are who have been privileged to go to some of the international gatherings.

Mr. BOUCHER: I agree very substantially with what Mr. Graydon has said. I think, as an External Affairs committee, we should have a report brought to us more regularly. I was wondering if there was some way in which our committee could investigate possibilities in that regard.

Mr. COTE: Is there not already an organization doing that kind of work, the Canadian Information Service, and more particularly, the External Affairs branch? That branch has got, I think, what is needed to meet Mr. Graydon's requirements, if we only ask for it. I know that I receive quite a lot of information with regard to what goes on in the various countries. That information is being published by C.I.S., and I believe it will be published even more fully very shortly. I believe that if we only take the trouble of asking C.I.S. to supply us with the material, we can find anything we want.

Mr. GRAYDON: But what I had in mind was not the kind of information that was provided by C.I.S. I do not think that members of Parliament should rely on C.I.S. to supply them with the information which is available to the general public anyway. I think this matter is important enough that it should be brought up on the floor of the House of Commons.

Mr. KNOWLES: Those people who go to the conferences should report back to parliament, not just report to the government. It is the government which has the responsibility I am sure, but it is Canada which is a member of the international bodies and not just the government of the day.

Mr. GRAYDON: Yes. I think we should have weekly reports issued through the Department of External Affairs to keep us up to date, even if those representatives of our country are away at the time. I can see Mr. Cote's point of view, but I do not think it meets the situation, as well as first-hand reports of those who are in control and who supervise the operations of our governmental representatives.

Mr. COTE: That would indicate taking away from the Secretary of State for External Affairs the direction of his department and giving it to parliament.

Mr. GRAYDON: No, surely not because, after all, government policy is government policy; but surely government policy should be at least given to parliament together with the reasons for that policy, because, very often, government policy is not infallible and parliament very often is the corrective of that fallibility. I think we ought to have at least some system whereby we will be brought closer to the international field.

Mr. MACINNIS: If this is a suggestion for our report, I think we should consider its implications very carefully before we approve it. I am thinking first of what would be included in such a weekly report. How many of the various international fields of relations would be covered; and then I am just wondering, it would be quite a voluminous report, I imagine, and after the member got the report, what would he do with it? Every one of us receives reports every day which we put in a basket, hoping that there will be an opportunity to look them over, an opportunity which is never found. If your basket is like mine, it grows every day. I sometimes wish that an atomic bomb would come along and clean the whole thing out.

What we should be doing is to find out how to rush the procedure of this parliament so that we can get home. You cannot rush proceedings and have reports and deal with them effectively. I am very much afraid that such a daily or weekly report to bring us closer in touch with international affairs, although it is a wonderful ideal, could not be done at the moment. This committee might have something like that if it sat all the time as an External Affairs committee, but for the great mass of members of Parliament, they simply have not got the time to deal with it and they have not got the background that would make it possible for them to understand it and deal with it intelligently.

Mr. BOUCHER: Surely there are enough members of parliament who would interest themselves in such a report to make it of value, even though all the members did not thoroughly digest everything that came through.

Mr. GRAYDON: I appreciate Mr. MacInnis' point of view, but one of the things against which I would warn you is this: that we, in the House of Commons, have not given enough time to external affairs. If you look back at the records of this session, I doubt if 1 per cent of the time of parliament is given to external and international events. After all, it would seem to me that we ought to give a proportionate amount of time to those matters that—everybody will agree—do affect the very homes and lives of our people just as much as to some of the domestic problems that take up so much of our time. I think we might easily increase that 1 per cent of parliamentary time to something more than 1 per cent if we would only realize and recognize the importance and the vitality of the problem of international relations.

The CHAIRMAN: In such a publication would you want to confine it only to such international activities as those in which Canada is represented?

Mr. GRAYDON: I am thinking particularly of the conferences that are going on. It is not good enough to have reports sometimes six months afterwards.

Mr. COTE: Have you seen the material which is published by C.I.S.?

Mr. GRAYDON: I get it all the time, but I am not satisfied that it is good enough for parliament.

Mr. COTE: Why not suggest that the proper function of C.I.S. is to inform us? They have the best staff they could possibly have and they have experience in summarizing and making synopses of whole sequences of events which are taking place at the conferences. We could suggest to C.I.S. an improvement in their staff and in the reports that are made.

Mr. GRAYDON: We would be getting into a position where we are dependent upon C.I.S. I shall have some criticism to offer with respect to C.I.S. in due course, not in this committee but somewhere else. I think you have got to bring this into parliament. It is not good enough to depend upon some official outside to provide us with the information because there may be questions to be asked in the House, some clarification that has to be made; and under the House of Commons ruling only members may do that. Your information service would not be given that opportunity at all.

Mr. KNOWLES: Was it your idea that there be a verbal report?

Mr. GRAYDON: Exactly; I am speaking of verbal explanations of what is going on abroad, just as we get, at least in some respects, particulars of what is going on at home.

Mr. BOUCHER: I would suggest that the report be one of proceedings rather than a report of accomplishments or decisions.

Mr. GRAYDON: Exactly. We should have some kind of day by day or week by week reports given verbally in parliament by someone responsible in the government to do so, in order that we may be kept apprized of international affairs just as we are with respect to our own domestic affairs.

Mr. COTE: Would you plan, for instance, to have the Secretary of State for External Affairs come into the House and state the actual score with regard to our representation on various bodies?

Mr. GRAYDON: It might be done by many ministers. For example, in connection with the health conference right now, nobody knows what is going on and nobody will know until after this parliament is over. I am not reflecting on the minister now, but certainly we should be brought up to date on what is going on outside.

Mr. COTE: You would amplify the report that the minister usually makes when the conference is over by having a report every week or every fortnight?

Mr. GRAYDON: We ought to know what the score is abroad the same as we know what the score is at home.

Mr. MACINNIS: That would be a little better than having a report made in the House of Commons by either the Secretary of State for External Affairs or a member of the government who attended a meeting of the conference or the international association. Would you have the report made, say, at the beginning of the opening of the session each day, with an opportunity to ask questions; or would you suggest that there be an opportunity for debate following the delivery of these reports? Unless there be a debate, the reports would be of no great use.

Mr. GRAYDON: That could be governed by common sense. I do not think you could start off every week with a debate upon external affairs which might last all day because I think that would be, perhaps, unnecessary; but certainly, when the minister or the government makes a report to parliament, there could be three or four supplementary questions asked to clarify that report. There would be no great objection to that, and I think we could make some arrangement whereby that could be done.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe that the first suggestion you presented to us would be a matter acceptable to parliament, that is a verbal report. Immediately we get into the House the rules apply; the orders of the day are made. To a limited extent, and in most cases, they are not debatable.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I suggest this: we are all, perhaps thinking out loud with respect to this matter; but I believe it would be advisable to have an international hour every week in the House of Commons, if necessary; and if the rules do not suit us, then let us make new rules, to provide for an international hour every week. Surely one hour a week is not too much to spend on international affairs as they are today.

The CHAIRMAN: I agree with you, Mr. Graydon, that we do not go deeply or extensively enough into external affairs; but I believe that a verbal report or discussion would defeat itself in the end. I believe that a publication such as you mentioned, one that is brief and right to the point, would be a marvelous idea because, the members are not always there, even for the orders of the day. Like Mr. MacInnis, I too allow reports to pile up on my desk, then I throw them away. Would you bring your idea forward in the form of a motion at the next meeting?

Mr. GRAYDON: I would like to give it some more thought because there must be a way out of this difficulty. Let us try to find the best way.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask one question of the witness, since this item deals with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Organization. Is there a relationship between this organization and UNRRA?

The WITNESS: No, there is not. They are entirely different bodies and have entirely different purposes. UNRRA is a relief organization while this organization has nothing to do with the giving away of goods or relief assistance.

Mr. MACINNIS: I move that we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe I heard a motion to adjourn. I want to thank Mr. Chapdelaine and the members of the committee. I take it that the item is carried? Yes, the item is carried. Would you be able to come on Tuesday? Very well, we will now adjourn until next Tuesday as a tentative date, at 11.30 a.m.

The committee adjourned to meet again on Tuesday, July 9, at 11.30 o'clock a.m.

Appendix "A"

COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED MEMBERSHIP OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Australia	Iraq
Belgium	Lebanon
Bolivia	Liberia
Brazil	Luxembourg
Canada	Mexico
Chile	Netherlands
China	New Zealand
Colombia	Nicaragua
Cuba	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Panama
Denmark	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Peru
Ecuador	Philippine Commonwealth
Egypt	Poland
France	Syria
Greece	Union of South Africa
Guatemala	United Kingdom
Haiti	United States
Honduras	Uruguay
Iceland	Venezuela
India	Yugoslavia

SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 13

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1946

WITNESS:

Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, Assistant to the Under Secretary of State, Economic
Division, Department of External Affairs.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, July 9, 1946.

The Special Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock a.m. Mr. Bradette, the Chairman, presided.

Present: Messrs. Beaudoin, Boucher, Bradette, Breithaupt, Fleming, Fraser, Graydon, Jaenicke, Leger, MacInnis, Sinclair (*Ontario*), Winkler.—12.

In attendance: Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine and Mr. John Starnes of the Department of External Affairs.

The Committee concluded its consideration of External Affairs' estimates, namely,—Votes 52, 53 and 54.

Mr. Chapdelaine was recalled, examined and retired.

The Chairman invited the members to forward to him their suggestions with a view to drafting a report.

At 12.30 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,

Clerk of the Committee on External Affairs.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 9, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I thank you for attending our meeting so promptly this morning. We have with us again Mr. Chapdelaine, who will deal with items 52, 53 and 54. I do not think we shall have many more meetings, and we shall have to think in terms of preparing our report. I shall ask each member of the committee, orally or by letter, to let me have his reactions as to what our report should contain. I shall do this so that our report will include everything that we have in mind. We have presented only one report so far, so our next report will be our second report. I feel that the task of preparing such a report will be too much for me without your support and without your ideas and suggestions, but with your help I am confident that we will present a report which will prove not only constructive but practical. I shall now ask Mr. Chapdelaine to come forward.

Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, Economics Division, Department of External Affairs recalled:

The WITNESS: Gentlemen, we have before us this morning three small items of the four which we have had before us and which were listed in the minutes of our last meeting. We dealt only with the largest item. I might repeat what the three items are: item 52, Portion of expenditure of the Imperial Economic Committee; item 53, Imperial Shipping Committee; item 54, Portion of expenses of International Wheat Council. I shall deal with the first two together, as they are both Imperial committees, both were started about 1925, and their terms of reference were revised in 1933 by a committee of the Imperial conference, of which Dr. Skelton, our late Under Secretary, was the chairman. The two committees bring together the countries of the Empire, as their name indicates, for some studies in trade and shipping.

The Imperial Economic Committee issues bulletins and reports on all kinds of trade subjects from the trade in canned goods to the trade in bananas and sugar, and in a sense we might say that we have full value for our money just in the way of reports which they produce, since the purchase of such market intelligence material would approach the amount of our contribution to the committee.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Would not that normally come under the Department of Trade and Commerce?—A. The Department of Trade and Commerce is the main recipient and user of the information. I do not know what brought that matter into our department originally, but presumably it was because of the fact that the committees were studied and their terms of reference revised at Imperial conferences at which, on the whole, the Prime Minister and his staff were represent-

ing Canada. As you know, matters of trade have always been very closely dealt with by what were often called the Three Musketeers: Mr. McKinnon, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Wilgress. Mr. Wilgress has since been replaced by Mr. Mackenzie at the head of the Department of Trade and Commerce. These committees were dormant during the war. During 1945-46 the provision for the Imperial Economic Committee was \$1,500, one-tenth of the pre-war vote; this year it is rising to \$7,900 which is half of what was paid before the war. If the committees are continued, because of the increase in costs it is expected that this year we shall be paying half of what we paid in pre-war times, next year we will pay the same as we did in pre-war years, and the following years we will pay one and one-half. I say, if the committees are continued, because with international organizations such as the FAO coming into existence there might not be the need for a committee which would duplicate that work. The Shipping Committee is not entirely in the same position.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Are we going to deal with these estimates one at a time, or shall we deal with the three of them together? There are some questions which I should like to ask on the first estimate.—A. I had thought of giving brief explanations and afterwards, in as far as I am able, answer questions. I thought it might be well to consider these two items together since they are closely associated.

The CHAIRMAN: Will that be satisfactory?

Mr. FLEMING: Yes, whichever way you wish to proceed.

The WITNESS: Now, the same thing applies to the Imperial Shipping Committee. For this year the provision is up to one-half of what it was in pre-war times; next year it will be the same as it was in pre-war times, and the years following it will be one and one-half.

The Imperial Shipping Committee does not produce weekly or monthly bulletins but makes general studies on request of the member. It is a small body, as you can see from the amount of its budget. Canada pays about 15 per cent of the budget. It will make studies on request. It has done a number of reports at the suggestion of Canada; reports which Canada found of great value. I have a list here on Canadian marine insurance rates, rates of freight on Canadian flour, certain aspects of the Canadian cattle trade, rates of freight on Canadian apples to the U.K., questions relating to the shipment of grain from Canadian ports at Halifax and Saint John, and Hudson Bay marine insurance rates. The results of these investigations of Canadian problems have been most helpful. The Department of Trade and Commerce is the department primarily interested in these reports.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Who are on the Shipping Committee from Canada?—A. Usually an official from the High Commissioner's Office in London. The work was not done by the committee's members, but by the research staff, and then discussed in committee; one of the officials at Canada House who was responsible to deal with trade and such matters represented Canada on the committee.

Q. I suppose the same thing would apply with respect to the Imperial Economic Committee?—A. Yes. I remember Mr. Pearson, in the years before the war, was the Canadian representative on the committee jointly with the present Acting High Commissioner, Mr. Hudd. In a general way, that is all I have to say on those two items.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. May I ask in what year the Imperial Economic Committee was first set up?—A. 1925.

Q. Has it had a continuous existence since then?—A. It was dormant during the war years. Most of the personnel was loaned during the war, mainly to the Ministry of Economic Warfare and to the Ministry of Food.

Q. How did the committee come to be set up in the first place? It is purely an advisory body, I take it?—A. Yes it produces facts and studies and recommendations. It really does not give advice, except on request and as it arises from the statements of fact which it produces. It was set up on the recommendation of the Imperial Conference.

Q. And have subsequent Imperial conferences had reference to it?—A. From time to time the terms of reference have been revised to the present terms of reference as established by the Imperial Conference of 1933. I might put on the record the purposes and functions of the committee as established in 1933:

2. The functions of the committee are:

(1) To complete the series of investigations into the possibility of improving the methods of preparing for market and marketing within the United Kingdom the food products of the overseas parts of the Empire with a view to increasing the consumption of such products in the United Kingdom in preference to imports from foreign countries, and to promote the interests of both producers and consumers.

You can well see the date stamped on that statement—1933.

(2) To undertake enquiries into the production for export and the marketing in various parts of the world of the raw materials enumerated in the Fifteenth Report of the Imperial Economic Committee.

(3) To prepare, on obtaining the approval of the governments of the Commonwealth, preliminary surveys of any branch of Empire trade and marketing, such as were contemplated in the recommendation of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

(4) To carry out any investigations arising out of recommendations contained in reports submitted by the General Economic Committee and adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1930.

(5) To facilitate conferences among those engaged in particular industries in various parts of the Commonwealth.

(6) To examine and report on any economic question which the governments of the Commonwealth may agree to refer to the committee.

(7) To undertake the following services transferred from the Empire Marketing Board, viz.:

(a) periodical market intelligence notes, and

(b) world surveys of production and trade (including those embraced by the "Commodity" series issued by the Empire Marketing Board).

(8) To make proposals to governments in regard to other economic services and enquiries which, in its view, should be conducted on a co-operative basis, it being understood that this does not give to the committee any power to initiate proposals regarding consultation in respect of economic policy.

Q. Those are the present terms of reference?—A. Yes.

Q. When were they established?—A. In 1933.

Q. There has been no variation since?—A. No.

Q. You mention the reports of the Imperial Economic Committee; to whom are those reports made?—A. To the different countries which participate.

Q. I take it they are made to the governments?—A. Yes, to the governments.

Q. And in the case of Canada the reports go to the Department of External Affairs?—A. They would go, in fact, to the people who represent us on the

committees. They are transmitted by them and are used here by the different government departments interested. Publications, which were by far the more numerous, were mailed direct for time saving.

Q. I take it that these are not public documents?—A. The publications were. They were also on sale to interested parties. They are a collection of statistics, such things as you would get, I presume, from the Bureau of Statistics here, except that they were probably fresher than when they were published in annual statistical reports.

Q. That document you are reading from, containing present moment references, also had reference to reports of Imperial conferences in 1926 and, I think, other years?—A. 1930.

Q. And 1926?—A. Yes, there is reference to them.

Q. Actually the relative or relevant extracts from these reports contain complete—A. I do not have them here, but I could easily have them given to the reporter and have them put on the record.

Q. Are they very lengthy?—A. I do not think so. I am afraid I have not gone that far back but I believe there would only be a few paragraphs in each case.

Q. It would be helpful to have that on the record. May I ask this question: has the government attempted at any time to issue in print these reports for public consumption or to compile them for a period of time?—A. I believe a great deal of what appeared there was put into the Commercial Intelligence Journal of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. Do other countries issue publications for public consumption?—A. Empire countries?

Q. Yes.—A. They probably would make them available to the public through publications of their own. That I would expect, but I am not certain.

Q. The terms of reference you read were made in the light, I suppose, of the Imperial agreements at Ottawa?—A. I made a casual reference at the time to the year they came out. The United Kingdom was at that time revising its economic policy toward Empire trade in part as a result, I expect, of the difficulties in world markets.

Q. Did I hear you say that this committee had not been sitting during the war?—A. No, not during the war. Nor have any of its publications been issued for the main reason that they gave valuable trade intelligence which there was no point in circularizing for use by other than our own people.

Q. And when do you expect they will resume their sittings?—A. They are beginning to sit this year. There is a meeting called for this summer at which the main item on the agenda will be whether there is any advantage in continuing the work of the committee in view of the parallel services now being initiated by such organizations as the Food and Agriculture Organization.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. These matters should be under Trade and Commerce, except that the Department of External Affairs is the agent for them?—A. Yes, they are of much greater interest to that department in its day to day work than they are to our department, I agree.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. What is the view of the department as to the desirability of continuing the Imperial Economic Committee in the light of the Food and Agriculture publication?—A. It is difficult for me to elaborate on future policy.

Q. I will not press that question. We are asked to approve an estimate, and if the decision should be adverse, or if the Canadian representatives on the committee should in any way oppose the functioning of the Imperial Economic Committee there would not be very much point in approving this estimate?—A. Except for the present year. We would have a certain responsibility in regard to the winding up of the committee as we have participated in it, and the winding up may involve certain expenses. I do not know whether if in these particular cases it would involve pension schemes, but certainly separation payments to the small staff that is now coming back from their wartime employment.

Q. I should like to hear some statement from the department as to its policy with regard to the continuance of the Imperial Economic Committee. I do not know whether Mr. Chapdelaine is the person to give us that statement.

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chapdelaine said just now that there would be a meeting.

The WITNESS: There will be a meeting this summer at which this matter will be threshed out.

Mr. LEGER: Therefore, there will be expense incurred for the meeting?

The WITNESS: No, delegates to the meeting would have their expenses paid out of the funds of the committee. In fact, they would quite presumably be people who are at our High Commissioner's Office in London.

Mr. MACINNIS: I do not think we need press the matter here as the item will come up in the House of Commons when we have the Secretary of State for External Affairs before us.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is a matter of government policy, I take it, as to whether or not the committee will be continued. I am rather inclined to think that Mr. MacInnis' point is well taken there, because I fancy Mr. Chapdelaine is not in a position to indicate government policy with respect to matters as broad as this.

The WITNESS: I agree.

Mr. GRAYDON: It seems to me, however, that we ought to stop, look and listen before we finally decide to abandon the Imperial Economic Committee. That is a matter that can be threshed out later, as Mr. MacInnis said a moment ago.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I have a couple of questions to ask about the Shipping Committee. I wonder if Mr. Chapdelaine would indicate when that committee was first set up and would say something about its continued existence and its status? That is much the same question as I asked about the Imperial Economic Committee.—A. I think the answer to that question is very much the same as the answer to the other one. It was set up at the same time and the terms of reference revised in 1933 and was dormant during the war. At the moment there is a question mark as to its future. Again, that committee will meet this summer to decide on its future. The decision as to its future might be influenced in a different way from the Economic Committee by the fact that there is no international body as yet constituted which would provide parallel services. There might be something in the International Trade Organization, but that is still very much in the realm of discussion, and I do not know what the I.T.O. will end up being and doing.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. In any event, the I.T.O., according to the information given in parliament the other day, will not meet in its plenary session until 1947?—A. Correct.

Q. There is a preparatory committee meeting at the instance of the Social and Economic Council this fall, but the plenary session could not possibly be convened until 1947—the middle of that year?—A. Yes, it would not be

established and functioning until later in the year. There is another point of difference. In a sense this committee is more ad hoc; it does not provide a constant flow of services; it performs services on request; it studies questions when it is requested to do so.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. How many times did it sit between 1933 and 1939, approximately? Did it hold one meeting a year or two meetings?—A. No; more often. I would say it met 3 or 4 times a year, it held meetings of the representatives on the committee to receive the reports of the working staff on any particular subject of which they had been asked to make a study.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Do you know the estimate of the expenditure for this particular item, say, in 1938?—A. It was double what it is this year. This year it is half of what it was pre-war; next year, if the committee continues, it will be the same as it was pre-war; and the year after it would be one and one-half because of the increased costs of help, stationery, office space, etc.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. What are the expenses as broken down between the participants?—A. In both cases the share of expenses is the same. The United Kingdom and the Colonial Empire pay 35 units of contribution; Canada pays 16 units; Australia pays 14 units; India and Burma together pay 12 units; South Africa pays 8 units; New Zealand pays 8 units; Ireland pays 4 units; Southern Rhodesia pays 2 units, and Newfoundland pays 1 unit.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. If we are to have closer co-operation between the various parts of the Commonwealth and the Empire, and I think we should have—I think that is the policy now—I think we should consider changing "Imperial" to some less undesirable connotation; use the word "Commonwealth" or even "Empire".

Mr. GRAYDON: "Imperial" means "Empire", does it not?

The WITNESS: There is one additional point in connection with both these matters. There are more and more of these services which have been in a sense duplicated within governments. During the war the Ministry of Economic Warfare and the Ministry of Food in Great Britain had taken over the personnel and had done for themselves much of this kind of work; and the same thing was being done in Ottawa by the Shipping Board with the expansion of Canadian interest in wartime shipping; in the case of the Economic Committee we have more trade commissioners abroad who report on each of these items on which the Committee worked; this work might make the central service less valuable because of the fact that we can compile pretty much the same information here from what we receive from the four corners of the globe. That would be a point which would be given consideration at the meetings, this summer.

Mr. GRAYDON: Apropos of Mr. MacInnis' suggestion that the word "Imperial" has some significance which "Empire" has not, is not "Imperial" simply the adjective and "Empire" the noun? I do not think one is different from the other.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Actually, the committee is wider in scope than the Commonwealth because it takes in the Colonial Empire; the committee is wider than the Commonwealth because it embraces as well the Colonial Empire.—A. (Witness answers off the record.)

Mr. FLEMING: Mr. Chairman, these two items are to provide for a portion of the expenditure. I take it that the expenses of the Canadian delegates attending these two conferences this summer would be charged to another item?

The WITNESS: The general conference item. In fact, I would expect that these meetings would be attended by persons from the High Commissioner's Office in London, either in the trade section or from the High Commissioner's own staff.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. These two meetings are to be held in London, are they?—A. Yes.

Q. Has any attempt been made to secure the holding of the meetings in Canada?—A. The committees have their home and abode in London; the offices are there and the staffs are there. As I said, in the years before the war the members of the committees were persons who were attached to the offices in London of the different countries represented.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. Is there a permanent secretariat?—A. Yes, the expenditure is in part for wages for the permanent secretariat and in part for the collection of information and its distribution.

Q. Who is the permanent secretary?—A. The secretary was Sir David Chadwick, who recently resigned and who has been replaced by Mr. G. S. Dunnett.

Q. Can they be replaced without the question being decided?—A. The question was decided at a meeting of the financial committee not so long ago, when the present budget was discussed.

Q. Has this general Economic Committee subcommittees?—A. Yes, it has a financial committee.

Q. Has it power to replace the permanent secretary if necessary?—A. After Sir David Chadwick's resignation the former assistant secretary was considered a good man to replace him, and his name was suggested.

Q. Temporarily?—A. Yes, at the moment he is acting.

Q. Most of your remarks concerning the Economic Committee apply also to the Shipping Committee, do they not?—A. In a general way, except for the two or three differences to which I have referred.

Q. Do you expect the Shipping Committee also to wind up its operations?—A. In a sense it is less likely because there are certain considerations which apply in its case which do not apply in the other case, such as the fact that there is no parallel service.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the item carry?

Carried.

Now, Mr. Chapdelaine, can you deal with item 54?

The WITNESS: Yes, that is the next item: "Portion of expenses of International Wheat Council, \$3,000." The International Wheat Council has an allocation this year of \$3,000 compared with \$4,000 last year. I may say that the main reason for the reduction is that the Council is in the process of expanding its membership and, therefore, there will be more countries contributing to the small fund required to keep the secretariat going.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Where is it situated?—A. In Washington. I shall give some facts with regard to its history.

Q. And its purposes?—A. The International Wheat Council was set up in August 1942 by the signing of a memorandum of agreement between Canada and four other countries: Australia, the Argentine, the United States and the United Kingdom. The memorandum of agreement has as its appendix a draft

agreement which has not come into force except in one respect, by which a Wheat Relief Pool was provided for. In time of war, it was expected that there would be need of a relief pool. The memorandum of agreement came into force on the initialling by the five countries concerned.

Q. Could we have a copy of the proposed agreement on record?—A. I have it here. It is published in the treaty series of our department, and is a matter of some twenty pages.

Mr. FLEMING: Will you give us the reference for the record?

The WITNESS: Treaty Series, 1942, No. 11.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Will you tell us now which paragraphs are in force?—A. In the memorandum of agreement, which is the first part of this booklet, it refers to the sections of the draft convention annexed thereto which are coming into force; it might be interesting to have on the record the section which refers to Relief Pool, it gives the quantities which were expected to be provided by each of the member countries which initialled the memorandum of agreement. It is article 6, section 2:

The governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America shall give to the pool, as and when required by the Council, 25, 25 and 50 million bushels respectively of wheat, or its equivalent in whole or in part in flour, f.o.b. seaboard port in the country of origin.

It was later agreed by the Council that the organization which would be the recipient and distributor of this pool would be UNRRA and those quantities were transferred to UNRRA, I think, the first year of UNRRA operations, that is the summer of 1945.

Q. As a gift?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Russia was never on the International Wheat Council?—A. No. At the moment the Council consists of these five countries, and at a recent meeting of the executive committee of the Council—in February or March of this year—they issued invitations to some twelve countries interested either as exporters or importers to become members of the Council as it stands at the present time, and to discuss whatever revisions might be required in the agreement for ultimate signature by all.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. Originally were five signatory states the minimum required for the coming into force of the agreement?—A. I am sorry—

Q. Originally when this was first formed, were five signatory states the minimum required for the coming into force of the agreement?—A. No, it was intended from the first that at some future date these five key countries would invite other countries interested in international trade in wheat to discuss this convention and join together in a general convention. At the time, as you can imagine, there was not much room for international discussion of wheat because of the war. Hungary, for example, which is an important wheat-producing country, was not only in the war but was on the side of the enemy.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. What is the advantage in carrying on the International Wheat Council if we have the establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization?—A. Well, that is, I am afraid, a very complicated question. I say that to explain in advance the inadequacy of my answer; but both under the Food and Agricul-

ture Organization and under the International Trade Organization it is expected that there will be room for the establishment of commodity agreements in regard to a number of the main commodities which move into international trade. It is expected that wheat might well become one. You might have some general agreements as there was before the war in rubber, tin, and other raw materials, not necessarily in the same form and with guarantees that both producers and consumers would participate fully in the management of the commodity.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Does the convention itself make provision for the admission of other countries?—A. The draft convention?

Q. Yes.—A. The convention itself was not signed; it is only an appendix to the memorandum of agreement for later discussion and signature by a large number of countries; out of the discussions this convention was drafted for presentation to the interested countries at a general meeting on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the item carry?

Carried.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. I think it would be interesting to have on the record, as we have had in the case of other officials, some statement about the background of the witness and his position in the department?—A. I might start with the present and go back. I am a member of the Economic Division of the department doing some of the work of the division as well as acting as assistant to the Under Secretary in his office. I have done this work for over a year. Before that I was in the division proper. I had three years of service in the Embassy in Washington—from 1940 to 1943—and entered the department in December 1937 as a third secretary.

As to education, I attended St. Mary's College in Montreal—

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. You qualified for the position according to Civil Service requirements?—A. Oh, yes, I took the examination.

Q. I do not think you have to go into your past history as far as your education is concerned.—A. I have my B.A. from the University of Montreal and I studied at Oxford for three years afterwards. At the end of that I was a successful candidate in the examination for the Department.

By Mr. Fleming:

Q. Are you a Rhodes scholar?—A. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: We have dealt with item 55, which was taken up with item 47. Do you wish to enlarge on that?

The WITNESS: No, I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN: There is the item of the annuity to the Hon. Philippe Roy; there is the item of salaries and expenses of the International Joint Commission; there is the Department of External Affairs in the estimates on page 66, items 485 and 486, to provide for payment of employees' claims for loss or damage to personal effects.

The WITNES: I am not in a position to discuss those items; they fall under another division in the department.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions? If not, I believe I am in order in thanking you for the information you have given us this morning and at our last meeting. I thank you very much.

Mr. FLEMING: Were any of the supplementary estimates referred to us?

The CHAIRMAN: I understood they were fully covered by a motion of the Minister of Justice.

Mr. FLEMING: A later motion?

The CHAIRMAN: Page 66, item 485 of the Estimates, to provide for payment of employees' claims for loss or damage to personal effects which they were compelled to leave behind when they had to leave their posts due to the war, \$10,000. Will it be necessary to bring an official of the department to deal with that item?

The CLERK OF THE COMMITTEE: Mr. Chairman, votes 485 and 486 and the supplementary estimates have not been referred yet to the Committee and they do not, of course, appear on the official order of reference.

Mr. LEGER: We could get that information in the House of Commons when the estimates come up.

Mr. MACINNIS: I believe the matter was raised by Mr. Fleming.

Mr. FLEMING: What about items 632 and 637 in the supplementary estimates? How do they stand as regards the terms of reference?

The CHAIRMAN: The Minister of Justice gave me the impression he was absolutely satisfied to give us the items apertaining to External Affairs.

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chairman, if we have no term of reference I do not think we can deal with these matters.

The CHAIRMAN: I will see the minister this afternoon. It will not take very long, because he is familiar with our request. Will you leave that matter to the chair? At the next meeting we could have the proper official here and I think we could finish the study of these items. I was going to mention the matter that was brought up at our last meeting, I am sorry that Mr. Graydon has left the room. The following suggestions have been made by the following members:

Mr. COTE,—

That C.I.S. be asked to supply parliament with an up-to-date synopsis of all international conferences in which Canada has an interest and that this be done promptly and frequently.

Mr. GRAYDON,—

That the House be given a verbal report by the Minister of External Affairs or the minister responsible, regularly on all affairs, conferences, etc., dealing with matters of an external nature.

Mr. GRAYDON,—

That the House devote one hour per week to keeping members informed on latest developments in international conferences, etc.

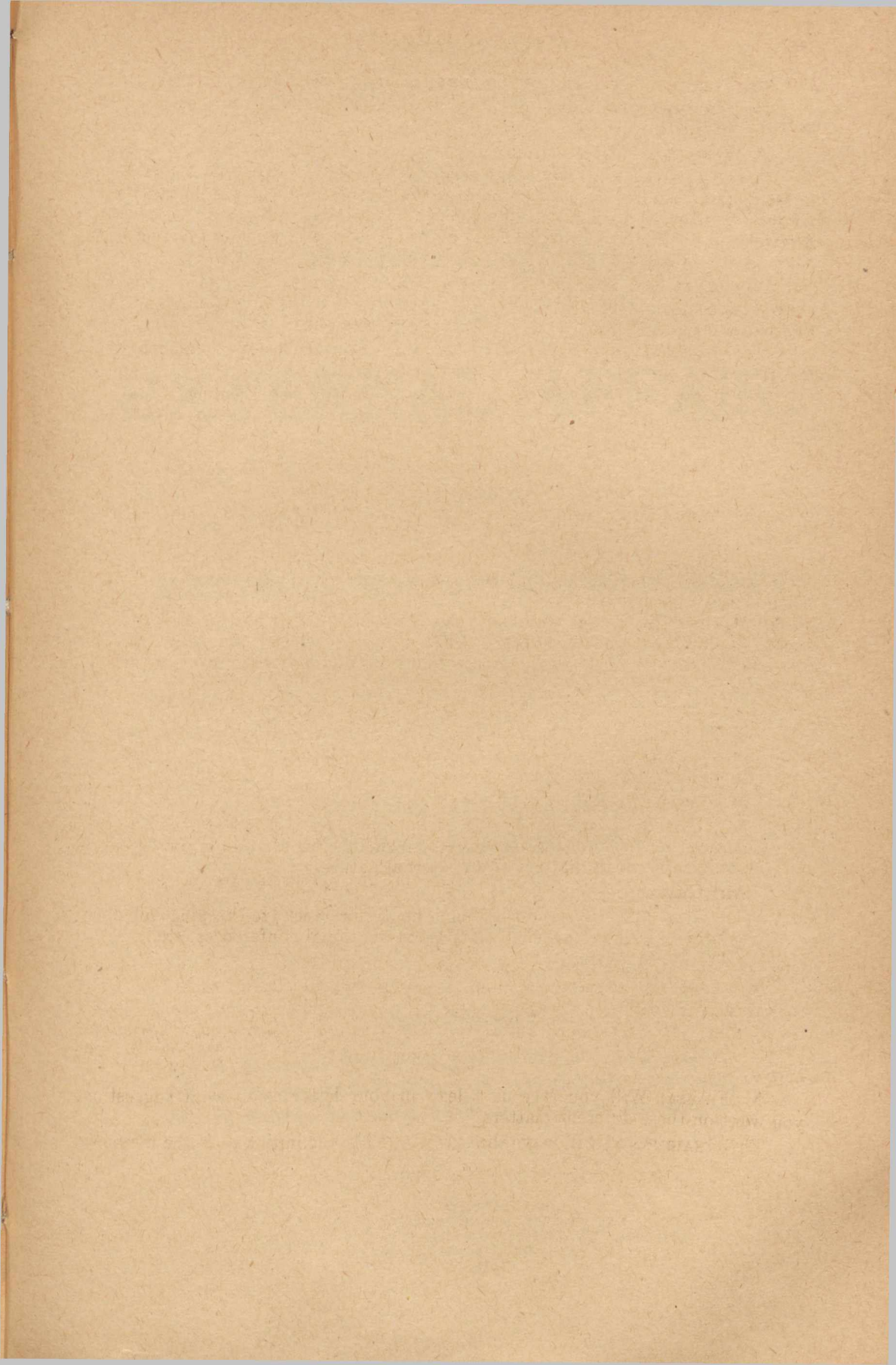
I believe we will leave that for our report.

Before we adjourn may I repeat my earlier request to the members of this committee that they express to me their sentiments and opinions on what should be included in the report, both orally and in writing. I shall send the members a letter in this regard. I believe such expressions of opinion would be of great help to me.

Mr. FRASER: Will you give us a lead in your letter as to what suggestions you want on these different matters?

The CHAIRMAN: I will leave that pretty well to the initiative of the members.

The committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chair.



SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 14

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1946

FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1946

WITNESSES:

Mr. S. J. Zacks, President, Zionist Council of Canada.
Mr. M. Garber, Vice-President, Zionist Council of Canada.
Mr. H. Mowat, Secretary, Canadian Palestine Committee.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, B.A., L.Ph., C.M.G.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, July 12, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Benidickson, Bradette, Diefenbaker, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, Winkler.

The Chairman announced he had received a telegram from the Zionist Organization of Canada, and also a telephone request from the Canadian Palestine Committee requesting permission to have representatives appear before the Committee and make statements as to the present situation in Palestine.

On a motion by Mr. MacInnis, it was resolved that both organizations be heard at the next meeting.

On a motion by Mr. Low, the Committee agreed that if representatives of the Arab Organizations wished to make representations also, they be given the same facilities as the Zionist group.

At this point the Committee met in camera to discuss its next report to the House.

At 12.25 p.m. the Committee adjourned to meet again at 10.30 a.m., Tuesday, July 16.

FRIDAY, July 19, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Beaudoin; Benidickson, Bradette, Coldwell, Croll, Fraser, Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacInnis, MacLean, Mutch, Sinclair (*Ontario*), Winkler.

In attendance: Messrs. S. J. Zacks, President United Zionist Council of Canada; M. Garber, Vice-President United Zionist Council of Canada; H. Mowat, Secretary Canadian Palestine Committee; J. Jacobson, Halifax; N. Levitsky, Montreal; H. Freedman, K.C., Edmonton; M. Gelber, Toronto, L. Freiman, Ottawa; Mr. and Mrs. Batstone, Toronto, and Mrs. Raginsky, President, Hadassah, Montreal.

The delegation in attendance to present the Zionist views on the Palestine situation were introduced by Mr. Croll who also gave a short address on the question.

Mr. Zacks read a brief on behalf of the Canadian Zionist Council.

Mr. Mowat read a brief of the Canadian Palestine Friendship Committee, supplemented by extemporaneous remarks.

Mr. Garber gave a short address.

The witnesses were questioned by members of the Committee and the time for adjournment having been reached, it was decided,—

On the motion of Mr. Leger to resume examination of witnesses at the next meeting of committee to be held on Monday July 22, 1946, at 10.30 a.m.

On motion of Mr. Low the meeting adjourned at 1.15 p.m.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 12, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have a quorum and I shall call the meeting to order. This morning we shall likely spend most of our time formulating our report, but before we proceed to that I wish to get the feeling of the committee on one matter. On July 10 I received the following telegram:—

Montreal, Que., July 10, 1946.

Joseph Arthur BRADETTE, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

In the light of the present situation in Palestine and of the interest of the Canadian public in developments in that country over which Great Britain holds a mandate endorsed by Canada we respectfully request the External Affairs Committee of the House of Commons to give the representatives of the Zionist Organization of Canada an opportunity to appear before the committee sometime next week to discuss with them the issues involved. Will telephone you to-morrow to ascertain decision.

SAMUEL J. ZACKS.

President, Zionist Organization of Canada, 527 Sherbrooke St. West.

Yesterday I had a visit from Mr. Herbert A. Mowat who, I believe, is president of the Canadian Palestine Committee and who also would like to appear at the same time Mr. Zacks appears. I shall leave the decision to members of the committee. Discussion is welcome on the point.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Is there any reason why we should not hear them? It is a subject that is very much to the fore at present and it is of interest everywhere in the world.

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chairman, we have had a reference from the House to examine External Affairs estimates and I believe we have reached the end of our work. Considering the telegramme you have read to us I do not see what good could result from our taking any action on it. It is a situation that Great Britain is taking care of, and I cannot see what we can do to remedy the situation. I think we should leave that matter to the nation which is looking after it.

Mr. LOW: There is no reason why we should not grant this privilege to the Zionist organization. In fact, I feel that the committee might glean a good deal of information by doing so and obtain a better understanding of the whole situation. I do think, however, Mr. Chairman, that as there are two sides to the question, if we agree to allow the Zionist Committee to make a submission to this committee we should accord the same privilege to the Arabs.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Diefenbaker was speaking on this subject too.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: My view is that there has been a request, and I think it is a reasonable request. I see no reason why the Jewish people should not be given an opportunity of making their representations here with regard to this situation.

Mr. MACINNIS: I move that these people be notified that we are willing to hear them.

Mr. JQUES: I have been advocating this from the very first meeting, in fact before that; but I agree to this on the understanding that if we hear one side we will also hear the other side. If we are going to hear only the Zionists then I am absolutely and utterly opposed to this motion.

The CHAIRMAN: You understand, Mr. Jaques, that this matter does not originate with our committee; it originates with a wire which came from Mr. Zacks. There has been no pressure from this committee. I suppose it will be in order to notify the Arabs after we have heard Mr. Zacks and Mr. Mowat.

Mr. Low: Let them make their own request. If they do make a request to be heard I would like to have it understood that this motion includes our willingness to hear both sides.

Mr. MACINNIS: May I say for Mr. Low's benefit that I am quite in favour of hearing the other side if they want to be heard.

Mr. Low: That is right; if they want to be heard.

Mr. JACKMAN: If they apply.

Mr. MACINNIS: This matter should be made public so that the Arabs will know that the Zionists have asked for this privilege.

Mr. LEGER: Before we decide to hear these two witnesses I would like to mention that we are getting close to the end of the session.

Mr. MACINNIS: He is an optimist.

Mr. LEGER: Within a month, anyway. We all belong to a good many committees. Personally I belong to two committees, and I cannot spread myself in more than one place. We have been sitting in this committee for quite some time, and it is only for that reason that I am opposed to this action. May I say that we should be careful that no reflection is made regarding Great Britain who has that situation in hand.

The CHAIRMAN: Of course, we are protected to the extent that we are not going to make any recommendation on these representations.

Mr. Low: That is right.

The CHAIRMAN: We will give both sides all the latitude they want but we cannot make any recommendation.

Mr. Low: That is my view.

The CHAIRMAN: It has been moved by Mr. MacInnis and seconded by Mr. Knowles that the two organizations which have made application to be heard by this committee be informed that the committee will hear them.

Mr. Low: Does that motion include both sides of the case? If the Arabs make a request we should also hear them.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe we should have a separate motion. Shall we carry this motion?

Carried.

Now, Mr. Low, will you present your motion?

Mr. Low: I move that if the Arabs wish to make a submission to the external Affairs Committee and express their desire to you to do so, sir, that we also accord them the same privilege as we have accorded to the Zionist organizations.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall that motion carry?

Carried.

We all realize that we are treading on new ground. Personally, I am not afraid of that new ground because it might afford a way for this committee to keep the public alert on this contentious question.

(The committee continued in camera.)

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 19, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we will now call the meeting to order. This meeting will be almost an epochal one as far as the activities of the committee on External Affairs is concerned, because we have before us today a body of men and women who are going to bring to our attention and to the attention of the country at large, through this committee, a very very important problem throughout the whole world. We have with us this morning Mr. S. J. Zacks, president of the United Zionist Council, Mr. M. Garber, K.C., of Montreal, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Batshaw, K.C., of Toronto, Mr. Harry Friedman, K.C., of Edmonton, Mrs. A. Raginsky, president of Hadassah, Montreal, Mr. M. Gelber of Toronto, Mr. S. Jacobson, of Halifax, Mr. N. Levitsky, Barrister, of Montreal, Mr. Herbert A. Mowat, of the Canadian Palestine Committee, and Mr. Lawrence Freiman of Ottawa.

In this instance, as in an ordinary meeting of the committee we shall follow the usual procedure. The speakers will present their briefs, and following that, they will be open for questioning by members of the committee. I shall now call upon Mr. David Croll, a member of this committee, to make the opening remarks.

Mr. CROLL: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say just a few words by way of introduction and by way of introducing this very distinguished committee which is here this morning.

The Zionist organization of Canada, of which I am, of course, a member, for your information reaches into every home in every Jewish community in the country. Even people who are not members of the Zionist organization—a very infinitesimal number—are very interested in its activities and they make contributions.

There are a great number of lesser Jewish bodies in the country, but I think it is fair to say that the Zionist organization represents the Jewish mind as does no other group in the Dominion of Canada. I want to thank the chairman and particularly the leaders, Mr. Graydon, Mr. Coldwell, and Mr. Low, with whom I have discussed this matter before. It was decided to hold this meeting with their cooperation. They were not only cooperative, they were enthusiastic about it, because of the significance of the present events in Palestine is, I believe, imperfectly understood by a large number of the public.

It is not, perhaps, for Canada to propose a final solution to the vexing problem of Palestine, although as one of the fifty-two signatories of the League of Nations Mandate, Canada has a responsibility. It is that responsibility that we want to bring to your attention today.

From the standpoint of humanity, we cannot stand aside and refuse to interest ourselves in a problem involving the fate of millions of men and women—and I emphasize—who fought on the side of the allies in this war, and who were the earliest and most defenceless of Hitler's victims.

We may not be called upon to solve the problem, but I think we have a duty and a responsibility to inform ourselves of the facts of the situation and to try to ascertain on which side justice lies. This we can do best by examining, for just a few minutes, the background against which the events of today are projected.

There seems to be a pattern of violence running through the history of contemporary Palestine which may seem inexplicable to many people. Our purpose here today is to try to understand what is happening in that very small, very lovely, but very strategic area of the world. When I listen to discussions on events in Palestine, I hear from many quarters this question: "Well, what are they fighting about anyway?"

Perhaps it is a little hard for some of us here in Canada who have never known want or fear or starvation, who have never witnessed the brutal slaughter of our loved ones, to understand just "what they are fighting about". But I think the answer is a very simple one. They are fighting for justice.

I recall to this committee that some thirty years ago Britain, partly for reasons of strategic importance, and partly through genuine humanitarian motives, offered the Jews a national home in Palestine. This offer was embodied in the Balfour Declaration and in the League Mandate and was signed by fifty-two nations including Canada. The signatories to this document have pledged themselves to a course of action, and it becomes a question of honour that their pledge be fulfilled. That is my first point.

My second point is that in the past ten years the Jews of Europe have suffered untold horrors. Six millions of them were put to death—more than half the population of Canada—and the remnant that has been saved from Hitler's slaughter-house finds neither haven nor peace in Europe to-day. Their families are dead, their properties destroyed or disposed of, often legally, to people who don't want to give it up. In other words, they are excluded socially and economically from Europe which was their home. The Jews of Germany and Poland have passed through a bondage infinitely worse than that they knew in the land of Egypt. It becomes a question of humanity that we render them all the aid in our power.

While I do not condone terrorism, I do condemn heartily a policy which makes violence inevitable. For thirty years, from the Balfour declaration to the Anglo-American Committee's report, the pledge of Palestine as a Jewish haven has been reiterated. That pledge must be fulfilled. Justice asks it and humanity demands it. The Jews of Europe who were always Britain's friends, are to-day in concentration camps, while Britain's arch enemy, the Mufti of Jerusalem, goes free to do his mischief. Moshe Schertok, the man who raised 25,000 fighting soldiers in Palestine, is now behind barbed wire. The Jews of Europe who suffered so grievously cannot go back to a land of barbed wire and pogroms. They have always been a freedom loving people. They must be given the opportunity to live again free lives.

What is Canada's duty in all this? We cannot sign documents without taking some of the responsibility. We have, with others, jointly pledged ourselves to help reconstitute the Jewish national home in Palestine. Events of the past thirty years have shown difficulties in the way of bringing that about—yet they are not insuperable. The Anglo-American committee has proposed, if not a solution, at least a *modus vivendi*. All that this committee asks is that some method be found whereby these findings may be implemented. That, in the name of justice and humanity, is the very least that we can do.

I want to put on the record—and all the members of the House have received the speeches on Palestine in their mail—the statement made by Dr. Hugh Dalton in May, 1945.

Mr. GRAYDON: His speech was made in the British House?

Mr. CROLL: Yes, his speech was made in the British House.

It is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine now of any Jews who desire to go there . . .

What we have declared at this stage, however, is that if they, the Jews, desire to go to Palestine we should not stand in their way, but,

on the contrary, we should facilitate their going by the provision of various kinds of economic assistance in various forms for the development of the Land of Promise and Hope in a world which, for the Jews, has been blackened to an extent which none of us who are not Jews can begin to appreciate or to understand.

That is by Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Then there is a very interesting statement made in December, 1944 at the Annual Conference of the British Labour Party by a distinguished gentleman, who is now the Prime Minister of England, the Right Honourable Mr. C. R. Attlee. It says:

Here we have halted half-way, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home" unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to exterminate all Jews in Europe. Here, too, in Palestine surely is a case, on human grounds, and to promote a stable settlement, for transfer of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries, by agreement with Egypt, Syria or Transjordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support both of the American and Russian Governments for the execution of this Palestinian policy.

Then one more word. I picked up a *Toronto Star* of yesterday, and this article came to my immediate attention. It is dated Rio de Janeiro, July 16.

Joao Alberto Lins de Barros, president of the Brazilian immigration council said to-day on his return from the U.S. that it was proposed to take 100,000 central European immigrants to Brazil, the majority from displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. Special United Nations commission would leave for Brazil July 25 to study the possibilities of moving the immigrants, he said. Mr. Lins de Barros formerly served as Brazil's diplomatic representative in Ottawa.

I have no doubt he learned considerable about immigration while in this country.

I am sorry, but there are at least four of us here who must leave before 11.00 o'clock to attend another committee, but I feel sure, and I say to all people in the room, that they are in safe hands, and that this committee will give this matter not only study but will make some report with respect to this matter.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call on Mr. S. J. Zacks, president of the United Zionist Council.

S. J. Sacks, President of United Zionist Council, called.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, before entering into a discussion of the problem at hand, I should like to express the gratitude of the United Zionists' Council and affiliated bodies for the courtesy shown us in allotting this time for the presentation of a brief to your committee.

I would like to apologize if there is in this brief a repetition of some of the statements made by Mr. Croll. We did not get together beforehand, and the logic of the case and the sequence of the case mentions some of the matters of which Mr. Croll spoke.

We are all very much disturbed by reports of the recent events in Palestine. We come here to-day in the hope that we may be able to shed some light on the events of the last few years. As Canadians and persons earnestly concerned with the equitable and peaceful solution of world problems, we also come here asking for your help.

The pre-war tragedy of European Jewry, which concerned us all, has become dwarfed in comparison with the torment wrought by the German hordes. The enormity of the suffering that took a toll of 6,000,000 Jewish lives has not yet been understood by those who live beyond the pale of tyranny. Members of this committee might picture half of the population of Canada brutally despoiled and done to death with a savagery beyond the ken of civilized men.

A remnant persevered. Through all the horror and infamy, in simple men and women burned deep the hope that some day they would find freedom and live to see a world where love of God triumphed over the tyrant's creed.

Now, fourteen months after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, more than 100,000 displaced Jews live unwanted behind barbed wire in camps administered by Allied Military Government. In addition, many times that number merely exist from day to day among the 6,000,000 graves in that Europe where Hitler's legions have been vanquished, but where his spirit lives on. The almost daily reports of the murder of hapless Jews gives bitter reproof to those, who, like Mr. Bevin, would send them back to be the keepers of the gravestones of their people. Recent events in Poland, where 800 Jews have been murdered, will make for an immediate increase in the displaced person problem to, possibly, many times that faced by the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry. And wherever these Anglo-American investigators went on their tireless missions they met the same cry—either Palestine or death. We are tired; we cannot remain here. We are tired of resisting. We would like to go to our home. Naturally, every person who is uprooted wants to go home.

I would like to submit a few statements of well-known figures on the historical and legal aspects of this problem.

Speaking in the House of Lords, June 27, 1923, the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Devonshire, stated:—

The mandate is not merely a national obligation; it is an international obligation, and the Balfour declaration was the basis on which we accepted from the principal allied powers the position of mandatory power in Palestine.

Field Marshal, Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, informed the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry:—

All I wish to emphasize in this statement is that the Balfour declaration, made by the British government, assented to by the American and French governments, and subsequently solemnly confirmed in the mandate by the nations of the League—is a solemn and sacrosanct document, embodying a long range policy of Jewish immigration into Palestine, that it should be treated with respect as such, and that the fundamental rights thereby assured to the Jewish people should not be abridged or tampered with more than is absolutely necessary under the circumstances of the case.

The Royal Commission of 1937 under Lord Peel answered the claim put forward by those who would whittle away the obligation to the Jews by stating:—

Unquestionably, the primary purpose of the Mandate, as expressed in its preamble and its articles, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish national Home. (p. 39)

The touchstone of Zionist policy has always been co-operation with the mandatory power and the failure to carry out its commitment to the Jewish people has been viewed more in sorrow than in anger. Despite such co-operation, the government of Mr. Neville Chamberlain in 1939 announced the White Paper, which renounced the most solemn international engagements to the Jews. The Mandates Commission of the League declared this new policy to be illegal and the Labour Party refused to be bound by it.

Zionist efforts in Palestine which provided a new home for more than half a million Jews opened up wide opportunities for Arabs as well who have flocked in from all over the Near and Middle East.

Incidentally, more Arabs came to Palestine than to any other country. The Arab population in the last 25 years in Palestine has doubled. I do not know of any other country in that part of the world where that has happened.

Though they own less than 7 per cent of the soil of Palestine, by reclamation and irrigation, Jews have provided a firm base for their own economy, while indirectly providing room for an expansion of the Arab economy.

We all know some of the industrial development of Palestine. Palestine became a virtual arsenal in the last war. They saved many lives by their tremendous production of war supplies. We had every man, woman and child in the fight against Fascism.

The feudal stratification of Arab society has led many Arab politicians, who are largely drawn from those classes thriving upon the exploitation of their fellows, to reject the social advances which the Jews have brought to the country. This is the language of reaction and it should be remembered that the oppressed masses are not represented when the name of the Arab peoples is invoked in the chancellories of the world. A leadership that appeals to the prejudices and does not represent the interests of the Arab masses must be treated as suspect. The world has yet to be told of one significant social achievement of the Palestine Arab nationalists for their own downtrodden brethren. Persons really concerned with the welfare of these people might well ask if the Arab case has yet been made by those who claim to speak in the Arab name.

The outbreak of war was truly a test of common interest. In answer to an appeal by the Jewish Agency, a mass registration of Jewish volunteers for war service totalled 85,800 men and 50,400 women. It was proposed that a "Jewish fighting force" open to volunteers from Palestine and neutral countries, be formed. After protracted negotiations, the cabinet in 1941 took a favourable position, but opposition in the Middle East from officials who had been engaged in minimizing the role of the Jews in Palestine, brought the decision to nought. It was due to the personal interest of Mr. Churchill that late in 1944 a Jewish brigade group was organized.

In the first year of the war, Jews were only allowed to enlist in the proportion of one Jew for every Arab who came forward. When the British position in the Middle East became critical, the bar was dropped and more than 25,000 Palestinian Jewish volunteers saw service. The House of Commons was officially advised that 1,040 Palestinian Jewish soldiers were casualties, left behind in Greece when that small, but heroic British expeditionary force was evacuated in 1941. What percentage of the thin, valiant line that held Egypt and Suez for Britain was composed of Palestinians, we have not been allowed to learn. Sur-

rounded by treachery, Palestinian Jews volunteered by the thousands to fight. The role of others in the Near and Middle East is well known. Have not the rewards been uneven?

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish agency for Palestine, expressed the paradox when he said that Hitler's collaborator, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem "lives in a place in Egypt and Moshe Shertok, who recruited 25,000 young Jews for Britain's armies, is behind bars in the Latrum Detention camp". Why?

From two world wars, in which their contribution has been but small, the Arabs, largely through the efforts of others, have gained much and are now represented in the United Nations by five sovereign states. The recent declaration of His Majesty's Government before the Assembly of the United Nations foreshadows the entrance of another independent State, Transjordan, into the comity of nations. From one million square miles, which the Arabs had liberated for them, the nations have set aside only 10,000 square miles for the building of a national homeland for the Jewish people. But what have the Jews actually received? As a reward for their efforts, the Jews have been given barbed wire, blood and tears—barbed wire in Europe and now barbed wire in Palestine. They have a national homeland which the harried remnants from Europe may not enter. The *Illustrated London News* printed pictures of police dogs being trained to hunt down refugees on the frontiers. An iron curtain of cruisers, scouting planes and patrols has been set up to trap the harassed wanderers. Is this to be the reward of loyalty? Is this to be the peace that more than 1,250,000 Jews fought for in the armies of the United Nations? Must the leaders of the Jewish agency be spirited off to prison on the Sabbath morning and held for weeks without the laying of a charge? Must wanton destruction and the shooting of unarmed Jews be the best that the Atlantic Charter has in store for the land of Israel?

Mr. Attlee said that he would not impose a policy on Palestine by force, but what has he been doing? Why are those who were the mainspring of the Jewish war effort in concentration camps, if a policy of suppression is not being attempted?

Let us examine the history of violence in Palestine. For three years from 1936 to 1939, Jews were subjected to violence on the part of Arab gangs that were financed by Hitler and Mussolini and which got much of their support outside the country. More Arabs were the victims of this terror than Jews. Despite the presence of large bodies of troops, the violence was not suppressed. The Royal Commission of 1937 was of the opinion that the incipient revolt was not put down with sufficient vigour as a matter of policy. And yet the Jews maintained their patience.

As a result of this reign of terror, the government retreated from their obligation to the Jews.

Irresponsible, extremist Jewish groups denounced by the Jewish agency could no longer be controlled by the Zionist leaders. With the mounting tragedy in Europe, the spectacle of Hitler's victims being driven away from the very portals of freedom and the memory of the Arab victory, the strong hand of Esau rather than the wise counsel of Jacob appealed to a few.

The government say that the Jewish defence organization, Haganah, is armed. But this has been known for more than a decade. In fact the government helped to train Haganah personnel before the war and during the war many of the best people in this defence organization were used as intelligence agents and dropped by parachute behind enemy lines. To-day the government are exercised because Haganah is armed. It is also claimed that the Arabs are armed. Why has no attempt been made to disarm the Arabs? Because it is known that the Arabs can readily renew their supplies from the neighbouring countries. And that is why the Haganah must retain its arms, because

experience has shown that Jewish self-defence is Jewish security. That is true of history in all pioneering communities. Arabs respect Jewish self-defence. The government have not provided that protection. They cannot disarm the Jews and have only embarked on a policy of irritation. Peace will be restored in Palestine by statesmen and not by the police.

I must bring this to your attention, at this time, that the Jewish agency asked the British Government for permission to wipe out terrorism, and less than one per cent of the Jews in Palestine have been engaged in this work. The Jews abhor terrorism more than anything else.

The Labour Party came to power in Great Britain more heavily committed to a Zionist program than any previous administration. It made demands on behalf of the Zionists in excess of any ever made by the Zionist organization itself. But now, in power, it has been using British troops to make up for its failure to keep its pledged word.

Despite the bitterness sown by the present situation and the straining of the alliance, which has been the cornerstone of British and Jewish activity in Palestine, the long run needs of both parties must bridge the gap so that British interest and Zionist achievement can continue to make of Palestine a bastion of western democracy. The incidents and recriminations of the moment must not be allowed to obscure the great common tasks. Friends of Britain must wonder whether the present government will not have to retire from an impasse which has been created. When the present policy of irritation has been cast aside and the overwhelming necessities of the situation are recognized, will it not be asked whether the humiliation of two proud peoples could have been avoided?

We feel that the common interests of Jews and Britain in Palestine bring us much closer together, regardless of the many differences.

Canada has many interests in the situation in Palestine and six points are noted below:—

Firstly, British rule in Palestine is a trust, based on a mandate, approved by the League of Nations; and as a member of the League, Canada is one of the powers to which the Mandatory has been answerable.

And certainly, the notable financial contribution which Canadians have made for more than a quarter of a century towards the upbuilding of the country should direct that concern which our government always show in the welfare and protection of the interests of Canadians abroad, towards Palestine.

As for the immediate situation in Europe, Canada is making a generous contribution through UNRRA to ameliorate the lot of displaced persons and is therefore vitally interested in a permanent solution of this problem.

And possibly of more immediate concern may be the question of the maintenance of peace in the Middle East where a group of member states of the United Nations, is presently organizing trade boycotts and threatening war in violation of the terms of the Charter. Canadian representatives in the various bodies of the United Nations may be called upon to face a breach of the peace by Arab member states and therefore it is believed that the Canadian government should be informed of the issues at stake.

We certainly feel that the present boycott is something which the United Nations must deal with because it is a violation of the terms of membership.

Another reason for formulating official policy on the Palestine problem at this time is the imminent departure of the Prime Minister and his associates for the Peace Conference at Paris where problems, such as the disposition of Displaced Persons will be discussed. It is important that the official Canadian delegation bring to bear in the councils of the nations that informed and constructive counsel which has obviously been lacking in the handling of the Palestine problem.

It has always been the proud boast of Canadians that history has cast them in the role of interpreter between the two great English-speaking powers. The problem of Palestine has certainly caused much criticism of British policy in the United States.

Canadians, who understand well the language of their two partners, are uniquely equipped to carry the torch of understanding in the name of justice and fair play. Let the voice of Canada be heard.

We feel that Canada, as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, should see that fair play is observed at this instance.

We believe that a statement by the government of Canada, at this critical time, in support of the fulfilment of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, would be a material contribution towards the solution of this vexing problem.

Yes, we would even go further. We believe that bloodshed and the present difficulties in Palestine would be completely averted if Britain announced the acceptance of this recommendation. We believe that if Canada and the Canadian people raised their voices at this time, it would do much in alleviating our problem and in settling the great difficulty which faces all of us in Palestine and which threatens the peace and security of the world. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Zacks. I now call upon Mr. Mowat who is the Executive Director of the Canadian Palestine Committee.

Mr. H. Mowat, Executive Director, Canadian Palestine Committee, called:

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and members of the External Affairs committee of the House of Commons: I wish to express regret that Sir Ellsworth Flavelle who is the national chairman of the Canadian Palestine Committee is unable to be present. To-day I am acting as his deputy. We thought we would like to render a separate brief on this subject, the information in which and the point of view of which would be supplementary to the brief which has just been tendered by the United Zionist Council through Mr. Zacks. It would give us an opportunity of presenting what, perhaps, would be an approach more kindred to the members of this committee who are not Jewish because we, of the Canadian Palestine Committee, are non-Jewish.

Our text in relation to Palestine is the Balfour Declaration policy. All who are associated with the Canadian Palestine Committee are associated with it on the basis of the British policy for Palestine being the Balfour declaration policy and the mandate, of which that Balfour declaration is the text.

We are in touch with the non-Jewish people in the United States who are interested in the Palestine issue, some of them, for political reasons of their own. When I am in Washington or in New York I find myself in the position of one who is strongly pro-British, and who seriously limits the ground on which he meets these people.

For example, when the World Committee for Palestine was formed last November in Washington, there was a putsch put on by the Latin-American delegation who brought in an amendment that the mandate for Great Britain should be immediately cancelled because of the failure to execute the pledge inherent in the mandate, and that the United Nations, which was an organization largely on paper at the time and incapable of assuming detailed responsibility of this kind, should immediately take over and execute the mandate of the League.

of Nations from Great Britain. Now, that amendment was killed and it was killed by the debating power of the Canadian delegation at the world committee. We refused to go there unless certain pro-British guarantees were given.

Under the chairmanship of Senator Roebuck, the resolutions committee brought in a resolution for adoption by the World Committee. That resolution corresponds with the brief which is known to members of this House, which was tendered to the Canadian government by the Zionist organization of Canada and by the Canadian Palestine Committee. The Americans played a passive role. We fought it out in debate with the anti-British elements in the World Committee for Palestine. The American delegation came behind me with their representatives, while I was in the chair. They were supposed to take the chair at 11 o'clock, but they would not do so because they did not want to commit themselves. They felt that the seat was too hot! They whispered to me that if it came to a showdown, I could count on the votes of the American delegation to defeat the anti-British amendment.

After luncheon recess, the Latin-American delegation withdrew its amendment to the resolution. They wished to have the concession that, into the minutes of that session, should be written a statement in regard to Palestine, that the ultimate sovereign authority should be the United Nations. To that we were all agreeable.

I was interested in the sessions of the committee which sat in January. I have the greatest respect for the personnel of the Anglo-American committee, both British and American. They are human and they are highly competent. In this brief I have documented what I have to say with the report, with passages from the report of this committee. I did so because these men of the committee have been in a position to study all the facts for months, and most accurately, and because they have gleaned those facts from the people who are most intimately concerned with those facts and who are suffering the penalties which the report of this committee says it was designed to remove.

For instance, the British administrators pleaded with them that the Haganah be disarmed. They made a strong case for the disarmament of the Haganah, but six British members of this committee and six American members of this committee, making an assessment of the facts, supported by the strongest partisan proponents of the disarmament of the Haganah, refused to recommend that the Haganah be disarmed. The situation in the Middle East and the pledge of the British government to maintain public security in Palestine did not justify a recommendation of Jewish disarmament from the committee, which took into consideration all the facts.

This brief, gentlemen, is, as I say, documented from the Anglo-American committee's report on the Palestine issue. I have great confidence in the judgment of these men. I believe that any other document, even the statement of the British government, is junior in importance to the pronouncements of this committee who have studied all sides of this question so intimately. They are very human.

I remember at one of the sessions there was a rabbi sitting in the witness chair giving evidence. He had been expounding upon the economic character of life in the Jewish community in Palestine and said that while it had not made people exceedingly rich, neither were the people impoverished to the low level of subsistence living in the Middle East. The committee room was filled with twice the number of people we have here today—he said that such equal sharing was based on the principle suggested in the lines of the English poet, "A man's a man for a' that." The chairman of the American section looked at the rabbi and turned to the MacDonald in the American Section and said: "Good heavens, rabbi, the MacDonald will have your head for an error like that. You cannot credit England with that line. That is the line of a Scottish poet. It would be treason to credit that line to England!"

I mention that to show the human character of the people. They were decidedly human; yet the most rigid legal type was represented. That type, Mr. Chairman, which we all view sometimes with trepidation, was present.

This brief is an attempt to give definition to the position of Britain in Palestine in terms of obligation to the Jews of the world in general and the Jews of Palestine in particular, and then, too, the claims of the Arabs, from the British point of view. The foundation of British policy in Palestine is the Balfour Declaration.

When the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire was taking place at the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain was the one power represented which had matured a policy in respect to Palestine. She had a policy also for the Arab provinces of that Empire. That policy was independence for the Arab countries, over a million square miles in extent, exclusive of Palestine. Thus the policy of the British government was a policy friendly both to the Arabs of the world and to the Jews of the world, and it had an appeal to the patriotic instincts of each.

The Balfour declaration was addressed to the Jews of the world—that is in the text of the Balfour declaration, “the Jewish people”.—and its implementation meant the green light for those Jews who desired to enter and settle Palestine. Not that the British government felt that it was advantageous on the basis of ordinary standards of living for anyone to enter Palestine as a colonist. There was no stable dynamic economy to which the individual could become related, no untilled fertile soil which could be cultivated. Pioneers had to make the fertility of the soil by irrigation or other artificial distribution of water, or drain it of malarial swamp water before they could even make a start on a productive basis as colonists. But the British government reckoned, and not in vain, that there was a fair chance of Jews colonizing Palestine because of the historical association of their race and religion with the Holy Land. It was worth a try to see if they “would respond to the opportunity offered them” as Earl Lloyd George, war Prime Minister, stated before the Peel Royal Commission in 1937.

It was stated in the Balfour declaration that the Jews were to be offered a national home. It has been asserted that on this basis the Jews were never offered a Jewish state. But all official British pronouncements on this point assert that a Jewish state was not precluded under the original offer to the Jews of the world. The offer in Palestine was an offer of liberation from omnipresent minority status to the Jews all over the world who were suffering severe penalties from the defencelessness imposed by minority status. If the offer of the Balfour declaration did not mean the achievement of ultimate majority status for the Jewish community in Palestine, it meant very little indeed. Wherein would such a minority Jewish community differ from any other minority Jewish community in any other country. Certainly not in respect of being free of the dire penalties of homelessness.

This is important, gentlemen; it has not emerged with great clarity. But listen to this.

It was basic that a national home itself should provide a status for that transition and probationary period when a majority Jewish community was being built up in the Holy Land. Naturally no Jewish state could be set up after World War I when the Jews constituted only a small proportion of the inhabitants. If the prospective Jewish record and achievements merited consideration of statehood such record and achievements would win it,—as Lord Balfour said: “an independent Jewish state . . . was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution.”

Thus the Jewish people after World War I started the enterprise of settling Palestine under the Magna Carta of the Balfour declaration and the Mandate, which had the Balfour declaration as its text.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What was the date of the Balfour declaration?—A. November 2, 1917, is the date of the Balfour declaration. But, more than this, it was the Magna Carta on which the British position as an administration in Palestine was based. *Chamberlain White Paper of 1939*

As an appeasement measure to the Arabs the White Paper was, in the words of Churchill, "a breach of faith" to the Jews and a repudiation of the Balfour declaration. It laid down three departures from the initial Palestine policy of the mandate:

1. Rigid curtailment and in effect ultimate cancellation of the Jewish immigration.
2. Curtailment of the Jewish right for land purchase to 5 per cent of the area of Palestine.
3. The regulation of the population of Palestine so that it would be permanently frozen in the ratio of 2 Arabs to 1 Jew.

No more comment on this is necessary than to state the fact that the enforcement of such a policy over a period of years would make of the national home only a shadow of what the Jews had expected. It constituted a violation of and repudiation, as Churchill claimed, of the Balfour declaration.

The legal anachronism resulting from the passing of the White Paper has been described by Lord Samuel in a speech in the House of Lords last September:

Now, the lawyers can pay special attention to this because this is the pithiest and most convincing condensation of the legal situation in Palestine that I have read. It is worth noting.

The policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the council, the (League of Nations) Permanent Mandates Commission had always placed on the Palestine mandate.

There we have the present position in which we meet this afternoon to discuss the question of Palestine. The essence of the position is this—that the White Paper of 1939 is now in force, the five years are over, and the Balfour declaration never withdrawn by any government, is also in force, and that the one is in direct contrast with the whole spirit of the other.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Do you mind reading the Balfour declaration?—A. His Majesty's government views with favour the setting up in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing would be done to prejudice religious or civil rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. That gives you the substance of it. The positive aspect of that mandate is to set up a national home for the Jewish people, and in setting up that home, no non-Jewish community is to be injured with respect to its civil or religious rights.

Q. Who is to decide?—A. Would you mind letting me proceed with my brief and then I shall answer your questions afterwards. I do not want to deprive those with legal acumen of this text; consequently I shall read from my brief.

"But there is this difference between these two important instruments, and it is a very fundamental difference. The Balfour declaration was endorsed by all the allied and associated powers engaged in the first World War, including the United States of America. It was embodied textually, the very words of the Balfour declaration, in the Mandate for Palestine conferred by those states upon Great Britain, and approved

by the League of Nations itself. Consequently the Balfour declaration, embodied in the mandate, has the validity of international law; and if the question were ever to come up before an international court of arbitration, they must hold that it is valid in law, whereas the White Paper, which contradicts it, is the unilateral action of the British government alone, and therefore cannot be held to be valid when it is in conflict with the prior and more authoritative document."

To sum up—the mandate was awarded His Majesty's government in London on the strength of a British undertaking to sponsor the settling of Jews in a national home in Palestine, a recognition by Britain and of the world of the historical connection of the Jewish people with that country. An essential part of the arrangement was the formally expressed desire on the part of world Jewry to have the Palestine mandate given to Great Britain. How essential this was may be judged from the attitude of the Arabs who saw no reason for the British remaining in Palestine. The policy of their leaders was the same as it is in Egypt to-day—to have the British leave, and as quickly as possible.

How essential this may be when we consider the attitude of the Arabs, who saw no reason for Great Britain remaining in Palestine. This was the attitude then as it is to-day! Their policy was to have the British leave as quickly as possible.

Had the Jews not wanted Britain as mandatory it would have been difficult to reconcile the continuation of British occupation of the country with any sanction of international law. It had been agreed that conquest did not provide a legal basis of possession after World War 1, which the great allied powers had entered for two main reasons—and with the pledge that they were not going to add a single square mile of conquered territory to their already extensive territories—to defend the rights of small nations and to make the world safe for democracy. Had not the Jews, with their historical root in Palestine, invited the British to occupy the country as mandatory, it is difficult to imagine on what basis the continued presence of a British administration and military forces in the country could have been sanctioned by the allied and associated powers and approved by the League of Nations and the United States of America.

THE ARAB AND BRITISH PROMISES

For the Arabs the British policy was independence for the Arab lands of which Turkey had been sovereign prior to World War 1. Palestine was the exception to this offer of independence. One would have thought that such independence achieved by the might of British arms would have been a cause of Arab gratitude to Britain, but on the contrary the Arab politicians, instead of using this new independence to bring the blessings of modern progressive life to the Arab masses, have become engrossed with the exception, have villified Britain for it and have achieved a unity among the conflicting factions of the Arab world by their unanimous opposition to it.

Their claim of the British promise is based on the correspondence in 1915 of Sir Henry McMahon with King Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. His Majesty's Government has never admitted this claim and the last official statement of denial was in the White Paper of 1939, paragraph 7, as follows:—

His Majesty's Government . . . can only adhere, for the reasons given in the report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab state.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The most authoritative analysis of the factors which have been at work and which are still dynamic in Palestine is contained in the report of the Anglo-American committee. After analyzing the party differences among the Zionists of Palestine the report states that on the other side stands the Revisionist Party, numbering one per cent of the Jewish community, and beyond it the various more extreme groups, which call for active resistance to the White Paper, and participate in and openly advocate the present terrorist campaign.

The present resistance to the British policy in Palestine is elaborated by the committee as follows:—

The Jew who lives and works in the national home is deeply aware both of his achievements and of how much more he could have achieved with the whole-hearted support by the mandatory power. His political outlook is thus a mixture of self-confident pride and bitter frustration: pride that he has turned the desert and the swamp into a land flowing with milk and honey: frustration because he is denied the opportunity of settlement in nine-tenths of Eretz Israel which he considers his own by right: pride that he has disproved the theory that the Jews cannot build a healthy community based on the tilling of the soil: frustration that the Jew is barred entry to the national home, where the community is now in being.

8. The Jews in Palestine are convinced that Arab violence paid. Throughout the Arab rising, the Jews in the national home, despite every provocation, obeyed the orders of their leaders and exercised a remarkable self-discipline. They shot, but only in self-defence; they rarely took reprisals on the Arab population. They state bitterly that the reward for this restraint was the conference and the White Paper of 1939. The mandatory power, they argue yielded to force, cut down immigration, and thus caused the death of thousands of Jews in Hitler's gas chambers. The Arabs, who had recourse to violence, received substantial concessions, while the Jews, who had put their faith in the Mandatory, were compelled to accept what they regard as a violation of the spirit and the letter of the Mandate.

9. An immediate result of the success of Arab terrorism was the beginning of Jewish terrorism and, even more significant, a closing of the ranks, a tightening of the discipline, and a general militarisation of Jewish life in Palestine. The agency became the political headquarters of a citizen army which felt that at any moment it might have to fight for its very existence. Deprived, as he believed, both of his natural and of his legal rights, the Palestinian Jew began to lose faith in the mandatory power. The dangerous belief was spread that not patience but violence was needed to achieve justice. The position of the moderates who urged self-restraint and a deliance on Britain's pledged word was progressively undermined; the position of the extremists, eager to borrow a leaf from the Arab copy book, was progressively strengthened.

Chapter V of the report concludes with "Any decision on the future of Palestine will be futile and unrealistic unless it is made in full cognisance of the political tension among the Jews and the reasons for it."

With all the facts before them the committee made a recommendation (A) that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution and (B) that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit.

The above recommendation together with Recommendation Number 7, the replacement of the land transfers regulations of 1940 with regulations based on a

policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land irrespective of race, community or creed marks the repudiation of the White Paper in this report. But the White Paper is still in force. It weighs more heavily than ever on a people, that Jews of Palestine and Europe, who have endured years of greater devastation and torment than any other groups in history. The steady deterioration of the physique and morale of the Jewish survivors in Europe would indicate that humanitarian considerations are not given a high enough rating by the British government. The report of the British and American committee members who surveyed all facts for months had a definite humanitarian urge. The situation today is this:

If a refugee Jew in Germany or Austria is successful in escaping from a concentration camp and reaching Palestine, he is ushered into another concentration camp—this time a British concentration camp—for an indefinite period.

At the conclusion of this informational memorandum we wish to mention that our committee has maintained that the way of greatest justice and of least injustice to all concerned with the problem of Palestine, living inside and outside its boundaries, is the setting of British policy back on the rails of the Balfour declaration and the Palestine mandate. On grounds of humanitarian considerations we agree with the Committee that the short-term policy recommendations of the Anglo-American committee should be implemented, the 100,000 Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution admitted to Palestine in 1946, and the discriminatory land transfer regulations rescinded. Such action on the part of His Majesty's Government would do much to restore the confidence of the Jews of the world in the desire of Britain to keep faith with those who, on her invitation, became her wards in Palestine. It would reassure those Jews who to-day fear the British intention of abandoning their outpost of western civilization in an area of feudalism dominated by a reactionary Arab hierarchy.

In recent months the British government seems to have taken the position that it is not now strong enough to go the course of mandatory in Palestine, and it must be admitted that there are so many evidences that this is the case that the claim must be taken seriously in any informational memorandum such as is now submitted to the External Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. The most significant statement which has emerged recently has come from Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, member of the Anglo-American committee and of the British House of Commons, and who moves in a circle which to-day has great influence on British foreign and colonial policy. At a recent meeting of the Anglo-Jewish Association in London Mr. Crossman concluded his address by mentioning the Jewish grievances against the White Paper which, many Jews remarked, had forced them to organize themselves against their friends, a most tragic thing to have to do. He continued:

The necessity of getting unity between the governments of Great Britain and America on this subject of Palestine is absolutely par amount, for Great Britain cannot carry on a sound policy in Palestine alone. *I mean that quite seriously.* (our italics) A steady course in Palestine really demands a UNO, applied by a single power. But there must be behind a single power a common agreement with a policy that has to be carried out. Somehow we have to work out a world policy in regard to world Jewry, Palestine and the Arabs, and get world backing for its enforcement.

It is possible that to get justice for the Jewish people in the Palestine issue the United Nations must be invoked. In such an eventuality the role of Canada in its United Nations membership may be a beneficent one in regard to the vindication of the international pledges to the Jewish people approved by the League of Nations, belief in which caused so many to settle in Palestine. There

is no doubt, however, that settlement in Palestine, in which the government of the United States agrees and in which it shares responsibility with Britain, would meet with the approval of the United Nations.

The backing received by His Majesty's Government from the League of Nations was exceedingly weak. With stronger backing, as suggested by Mr. Crossman, Great Britain could function with greater success as mandatory in Palestine so long as a mandate is required in Palestine. The ultimate development of a Jewish Commonwealth, if the Jewish people of the world sufficiently support the settlement of Palestine to make that possible, will prove, in our opinion, the same bastion of strength to the British imperial security in the Middle East that it was in World War II. And their record in World War II as well as the Balfour declaration cry aloud that justice be accorded Jews in the matter of their ancient homeland.

Gentlemen, I have one or two items to add to this brief.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. May I ask a question? You quoted from Chapter V of the Jewish Report, the last paragraph. Did you quote the whole of the paragraph?—A. I think I quoted paragraphs 7 and 8.

Q. Did you quote the whole of that?—A. I didn't have time to quote the whole of it. It is all relevant.

Q. I think it would be worth while for you to read that?—A. I have read that.

Q. You did not read the whole paragraph?—A. No, I had to leave most of it out. I brought out the relevant parts in my brief.

I want to mention one or two things in closing that show the danger of a continuation of the White Paper policy, which is unjust. I can quote charges to this effect from men who have the respect of every person in this room, beginning with Winston Churchill. The danger is that these Jewish people in Palestine will become embittered with the application indefinitely of this unjust measure, which has been in force for seven years.

The Canadian Palestine Committee believe there is a basic gratitude on the part of the Jewish people to Britain that they have been given an opportunity to establish the framework of a homeland in Palestine. Where else would they have got that except in association with the British people? Everything they have to-day in substance of a national home in Palestine they owe to British instrumentality. That is basic in the platform of the Canadian Palestine Committee, and Canadian Jews appreciate that.

The Jews fought for the British cause in this war and they were ready to sink differences and place their talents at its disposal. They did that without stint. That sense of gratitude and goodwill has not yet been annulled by seven years of the White Paper, but it might be!

I submit to this committee the consideration of the proposition that there is basic gratitude on the part of world Jewry. When Crossman says implement the mandate by a single mandatory power, I agree with him. I want that mandatory power to be Great Britain. We will have the same kind of effective relations with Jews throughout the Holy Land that we had before the war. General Paget, G.O.C., was converted to the view that if the British troops pulled out of Palestine next month that there was no force in the Arab world that they could muster that would seriously embarrass the Jewish people in Palestine in the Haganah. They would be able to take care of themselves. They would be able to hold their gains without assistance. That was the opinion expressed by both the G.O.C. of British troops in Palestine and by the G.O.C. of British troops in the Middle East.

A strong position in the Middle East is necessary to the British people. In Palestine 15,000 troops could maintain order with machine guns, tanks, mobile artillery, motorized and parachute troops with aircraft cooperation. Members of the Anglo-American Committee stated there was a British force of 100,000 in Palestine last April.

Palestine is being used for the evacuation of British troops from Egypt. The strong British forces at present in Palestine are a military counterpoise to Russian in the Middle East.

One personal word as I conclude. You wonder why a person like myself, not being Jewish, should be concerned in this matter. In 1932 I was entertaining an old German Imperial Army officer in my home and in the confidence of the fireside he told me that in troubled times after world war I he had shot fourteen Jews in Germany, and he told me if I dropped into his home he would show me a Leuger revolver with fourteen notches in it. Each notch represented a Jewish life he had taken; and he showed me that with the same pride with which he would exhibit an Iron Cross if he had one.

I would not like to be at the mercy of people like that. If Germany is filled with men and sons of men like that there is something to be said for the Balfour declaration when the position of Jews became insufferable in that country. They had not sufficient numbers to fight back, and were at the mercy of people like my German officer acquaintance.

I never spoke to this officer again except when I met him outside my house to tell him what I thought of him. He told me that he had knocked down a man at the cenotaph in Toronto who had insulted the German army, that he had cheerfully paid a fine in the Toronto police court for the privilege of knocking down a man who had insulted the German army and that he would do that to any man who insulted the Kaiser or the Germany army. The next time I met him on the street I insulted the Kaiser and the German army and he made no attempt to knock me down. I concluded he was pursuing the traditional German line of not attacking anyone as big as himself. After that he always looked the other way when he saw me coming.

Gentlemen, the Balfour declaration has the sanction of humanitarianism on the very highest level.

In submitting this brief, which deals with the political aspects of a Palestine settlement, I say it is not merely a matter of politics but it is a matter which challenges our sense of justice and our finest humanitarian instincts in the interest of the afflicted who are helpless in the circumstances in which they are to be found to-day.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call upon Mr. M. Garber, K.C., vice-president of the United Zionist Council.

Mr. M. Garber, K.C., vice-president of the United Zionist Council, called.

The WITNESS: Gentlemen of the committee, I take it that you gentlemen are very anxious to ask questions of Mr. Zacks and Mr. Mowat, and I do not see any necessity for my addressing the committee, but while I am on my feet, I would like to make one or two statements.

Mr. Croll, in his able introduction, quoted from a speech made by Mr. Attlee wherein he went to the extent of suggesting that the Arabs of Palestine be moved out so as to enable Jews to move in. I want to state emphatically that this is not the policy of the Zionist movement. Throughout the past 25 years, while we were anxious to have Jews come in, we never suggested that the Arabs get out, nor did we raise any objection to thousands of Arabs coming in.

The result has been that the standard of living of the Arab was raised considerably with the influx of Jews and the introduction of western methods of production and agriculture. The standard of living of the Arabs in Palestine is higher than that prevailing with respect to Arabs in any other country.

Walter Clay Lowdermilk, noted soil conservationist of the United States Department of Agriculture, after making a survey of Palestine came to the conclusion that what we call the absorptive capacity of Palestine is considerable. He said probably 4,000,000 people could make their homes in Palestine, provided proper irrigation of the soil be carried out.

A gentleman asked for the wording of the Balfour declaration, and I would like to draw your attention, also, to some portions of the mandate which is contained in the report of the Anglo-American Committee. The mandate begins on page 76 and runs along the following pages. I am not going to read the whole preamble. The first paragraph laid down, as Mr. Mowat said, what was the basis of the mandate, namely the Balfour declaration.

The third paragraph is very interesting. It reads as follows:—"Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the ground for reconstituting their national home in that country."

Gentlemen, I draw your attention to the word "reconstituting". It is not something new, subject to debate as to what form it should take. We all know what the Palestinian home was, say 22 centuries ago. It was a home like Canada. The mandate specifically says it should be "reconstituted", and the mandate was given in a formal, legal way and Great Britain is given the authority of mandatory. Canada is one of the members of the League of Nations, and Canada should be interested in the carrying out of the mandate.

Then there is Article 2:—

The mandatory should be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

And then there is Article 4:—

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

The second part says that the Zionist organization should be such agency until a broader agency is set up. It ends by saying that the agency shall engage the interest of all Jews throughout the world in the carrying out of the mandate. There is no similar Arab body appointed. The positive charge of the mandate is to reconstitute the Jewish national home; that appropriate conditions be set up for carrying it out and that a Jewish body be created for that purpose, but nothing of the same nature was contemplated for the Arabs.

The agency is a public body recognized internationally and receiving its authority from the same source as that vested in the mandatory power. For that reason we feel rather aroused when members of the agency, against whom no

charges are being laid, have been held in a detention camp for almost a month without warrant, without due process of law. We maintain that that is illegal, and while it only affects a small number of individuals, Jewish people throughout the world have been aroused at this unjustifiable act on the part of the mandatory power.

May I say in conclusion that while all this political discussion and spirit of the mandate are important, our main purpose is to obtain some immediate, practical results. It has been shown that hundreds of thousands of our fellow Jews are in detention camps in various parts of Europe.

I ask that the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine receive the support of the dominion government.

Mr. S. J. Zacks recalled:

The WITNESS: Some eight months ago the President of the United States sent Mr. Earl Henderson to investigate at first hand conditions in Europe, and he brought back a report that the 100,000 Jews in concentration camps should be transferred immediately to Palestine.

Following this the British government asked the American government to appoint six members of a twelve member committee to investigate this whole situation, and testimony was taken in Washington and in London and in Palestine, and there was an unanimous recommendation. That was the suggestion of Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Truman has been asked that this be implemented. He has intimated that technical and financial assistance would be given. I have never heard of the suggestion that there may be military support, but I do not think there has been any formal request for that, but I believe Mr. Truman has stated that they will assure military aid. I believe, when the United States goes further, if it be necessary to go further, she is a responsible person and will realize what is involved in giving this type of undertaking. I know that the United States in the last few days has sent over a committee of some seventeen, consisting in part of technical experts; and I know that a counter part to that committee from England is considering ways and means of facilitating this recommendation. I know that one of the big problems is that of housing in Palestine. I believe this has been overcome also partly as a result of the intervention or the assurances by the United States.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask Mr. Zacks this question? Is there any difference between the American official policy and the British official policy in this respect?—A. Britain has not accepted, in principle, the main recommendation of the Anglo-American committee, although the United States has.

By Mr. Beaudoin:

Q. Why do European Jews want to go to Palestine?—A. In my brief I mentioned there are between one and one-quarter to one and one-half million Jews alive in Europe but they are uprooted. They are living almost in graveyards. When they eat some food, they may think they are eating food that might have grown from, or been saturated with Jewish blood. It is a very hostile and inimical atmosphere. We have seen, in Poland, notwithstanding the fact that the government there has made anti-semitism a crime, there is a great deal of anti-semitism. Pogroms break out almost daily and the Jews live in constant fear. Naturally, they want to get out. They are afraid. You cannot

continue to live in fear. Most of the families are broken. Maybe only one or two members of a family are surviving, and they feel, if they are to start afresh, they should go to their own homeland where they are wanted. We have not heard of any other place where they can go. We feel that those who want to go to other countries should go; but 70 per cent of the people have already indicated a preference to go to Palestine because they are wanted there.

We were very much interested in the offer made by Brazil but we do not know how many will benefit from that offer. The main hope has been the haven of Palestine. There is, of course, this connection. Many of the Jews, during the war, inspired for hazardous service, were parachuted down into enemy lands to help in the ghettos. Many of the Jews in Europe escaped from Europe and went to Palestine. There are close relatives, sometimes of the first degree, in that country, and it is natural that they should want to join up with the remnants of their families. That is why they pin their great hope on Palestine.

By Mr. Fraser:

Q. How long would it be before Palestine could look after the food and clothing needs of its people without help from outside?—A. The Jews in Palestine have been very generous and have offered to share, without any restrictions everything that they have. They say: send us the Jews from Europe, and we will take care of them. There is always room, as Dr. Wiseman says, in your own home for the family. They are willing to share anything that they have without limitation. We feel that if 100,000 were brought in immediately, they could be taken care of and adequately looked after. It would be to the great relief of the whole situation. We would like to see larger numbers come; but we realize there are only 600,000 Jews in Palestine, and when they take in 100,000, with the help of Jews in other parts of the world, and perhaps with some governmental aid—when they do that that will perhaps be the limit for the present; but it is not the final limit. They could very easily take in and absorb into the economic life of that country 100,000 Jews.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Leaving aside the leaders of the Jews and the Arabs in the Palestine area, do the ordinary rank and file of the Jews and Arabs get along harmoniously?—A. I understand that there is very little tension even in recent months, between the Jews and the Arabs. I have talked to people who have come back from Palestine within the last few months. For instance, in connection with the co-operative marketing of oranges, Jews and Arabs came over together and sat around the table. Even in putting into effect the boycott, it is really not applied even in Palestine. There are certain needs coming from Palestine and they have been purchased from the Jews. I would say, for the most part, there has been very little difficulty, I think, as far as the masses of the Arabs are concerned. They feel that the Jews have been real benefactors in the upbuilding of their standards of living, more so perhaps than any other group.

By Mr. Knowles:

Q. Are there organizations in Palestine of which both Jews and Arabs are members?—A. They are both members in the trade unions. We understand that Arabs belong to the same trade unions as Jews. We have seen them, even in the strike recently. There were 50,000 people who went out on strike because of the very low wages. Both Arabs and Jews went out on strike together notwithstanding the fact that the Arab leadership tried to recall the Arabs from the strike, not wanting them to strike with the Jews; but nevertheless they struck together and won.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Do the findings of the commission bear you out in that statement, the evidence of the joint report?—A. There has been some reference, but I would like to see an even closer relationship. I feel that the Jews and Arabs have got to get along together in Palestine. I know that the attitude of the Jewish leaders is one of friendliness. I know that the committee, too, in one part of its report, felt there was a responsibility upon the Jews, even further, to help to bolster the standard of living of the Arabs; and they placed some of that responsibility on the Jews. I think, in a measure, we have done so. We have set up hospitals in Palestine; the major hospitals there have been set up by Jews and the Arabs have used them. Also physicians and universities as well as educational institutions have been provided and are available to the Arabs.

Q. I would draw attention to a point which bears your answer given to Mr. Graydon's question, which is on page 17 of the report, section 6, or rather paragraph 6. It says, in part:

In short, the absolute unqualified refusal of the Arabs to acquiesce in the admission of a single Jew to Palestine is the outstanding feature of Arab politics today; and the newly formed parties of the left, based on the embryonic trade union movement display as intransigent a nationalism as the old leaders.

I think that refers to the Arabs in Palestine. I may be wrong, but that is my opinion.

Mr. BATSHAW: In answer to the question, I think you may have read in the magazine, "P.M." about four or five months ago, a series of articles written by Mr. Stone who went there when tension became so acute. He said that the astonishing thing to him was that, as you went through the country, you did not see many signs of tension between the Jewish peasants or Jewish worker and the Arabs. The actual worker in Palestine lives in peace even to-day. I have recently seen elsewhere references to that fact made by observers who got through the country. I myself was there in 1932 which was not long after the disturbances of 1929 in the city of Haifa. In the south of Palestine there was still some buildings that had not been reconstructed, but I found the common people going about their daily tasks uninfluenced by the intrigue that was going on in the higher circles.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Is your organization in favour of the implementation of the whole of the joint report?—A. Of course we feel that as far as Palestine is concerned we look upon that as the future homeland of the Jewish people, and I do not think we would retract from that stand, as far as the Zionists are concerned. Nevertheless, we feel that, and there is a majority of us who feel that, due to restrictive measures and difficulties, it is not possible for the Jews to go in there and constitute a majority. We would never believe in having a Jewish homeland unless the Jews were to be a majority there. The recommendation from that report, that a solution would be found for these 100,000 needy ones, that is the main recommendation. We agree with it in principle. As far as the long range recommendation is concerned, we may have some difference; but we do not think it is paramount or as important as the principal recommendation on which we are placing the greatest stress at the present time.

Q. You do not answer my question. My question is: is your organization in favour of the implementation of the whole of the joint report?—A. I cannot speak for the whole organization; I do not think they would be in favour of the whole report, but they are in favour of the short range immediate report.

By the Chairman:

Q. You are aware that there are also some very influential Jewish people both in America and in Europe that are anti-Zionists. I have received correspondence about it. Being Jewish, naturally, their statements will receive wide publicity and will be cited by all people who are interested in the solution of the Zionist question. Would you care to give us your reaction to that movement?—A. There is only one point I would make. They all agree there should be immigration of this 100,000. We are agreed on the "open door", and on the opening up of Palestine as a haven of refuge to the Jewish people. We do not agree with them politically; but they have rights to their thinking. We think the only answer to the homelessness of the Jewish people is the Jewish homeland; but they do not think so.

Q. In some of the difficulties would you have to face in Palestine, I understand they are not only geographical or regional because the country is a small one. Are there any language and cultural difficulties?—A. I would like to say that in Canada almost every Jew is a Zionist. The percentage of those people—and some of them are very influential, who are opposed to Zionism, might only constitute less than 5 per cent. Your question was?

Q. Are there cultural and language difficulties, and if so, are they insuperable?—A. I do not think there are real difficulties. There are three official languages and we respect them, the Arab, the Hebrew and the English language. The culture of each is certainly respected and the religion of each is certainly respected. There is not intention of the Zionist—which, after all, is a democratic movement, basically—to violate any of those fundamental precepts, in a matter such as this which we ourselves hold to be so important.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I have a question growing out of the one asked a few minutes ago. Is there any authoritative work on the number of Jews which the country of Palestine could absorb and keep in a decent standard of living?—A. There are many authoritative reports, notably that of Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk who is a soil conservationist and one of the heads of the Department of Agriculture in the United States. Another report is by a great irrigation expert, Mr. Russell. They claim that by irrigation and by damming the Jordan River it would be possible to increase the agricultural lands available for development and also help industry by providing additional power for at least 4,000,000 people to enable them to gain a livelihood in Palestine. It would be of great benefit to the peoples of the Near East. The American government has investigated this question and has sent over technical experts, Mr. Liliensell and Mr. Hayes who are very familiar with the Tennessee Valley authority. They think that in Palestine a comparable and similar type of development could be brought about and they have figures on expense. It is estimated that the preliminary steps would not cost over \$250,000,000 and that it would be economically feasible. As a result of those expenditures, in the first stage, to provide occupation for at least one and one-half to two million people. That would be the first step.

Mr. BATSHAW: There is also a book based on the testimony of Mr. Nathan, a farm economist in the United States. The book is called: "Nathan Reports Nathan on the Palestine Problem", which deals extensively with the past, present, and the future as far as the absorptive economy and capacity of Palestine is concerned.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I had a reason for asking that question. There are two or three other questions that grow out of it. I have seen so many conflicting statements regarding the capacity of the land of Palestine to absorb an adequate

number of Jews that I wanted to get something authoritative on that question. Now my next question is this: how many would go back to Palestine?—A. We have heard that in Europe 70 per cent of the one and one-half million surviving Jews are ready to go back. There may be a few in other parts of the world too, but there would not be any great number. I would say about one million Jews would like to go back to Palestine.

Q. You say that about a million Jews want to go back to Palestine. Could Palestine then be a national home for the Jews in a physical sense? You see what I mean? You have partly answered it already, but let us go just a little further. How many Jews are there in the world?—A. About eleven to twelve million.

Q. Well, suppose six million of those Jews wanted to go back to Palestine, would it be physically possible?—A. The absorptive capacity of a country—Sir John Simpson in 1930 said that Palestine is not big enough to swing around a cat. But since that time we have had three hundred thousand people come in, and the country has prospered. We have developed a lot of the resources there, such as the chemicals in the Dead Sea, and we have established new industries. People did not think we could have a diamond industry but through the war there was one established, and we exported during the war, \$25,000,000 worth of products from that industry which netted the British over \$25,000,000 in American credits which the British needed. Over 2,000 factories have been developed in Palestine which is becoming an industrial as well as an agricultural centre. So with ingenuity you can certainly extend the absorptive capacity of that country. It has been said that for every person who settles a land, about three other people will be gainfully employed in the country. According to the Lowdermilk scheme, it is estimated that 250,000 people can be accommodated or provided for in the farming settlements which would mean, perhaps, 750,000 people who would be made employable. Multiply that by three or four times and you will get the total number who could come to Palestine and find gainful employment. I do not say that Palestine could absorb six million people. We do not know. Industry is constantly changing. It might change. From 1930 to the present we have seen tremendous changes. Necessity and invention constantly change the nature of settlements. It is something which is not static. It is a very hypothetical question, and is not a real question.

Q. I thought I recognized in Mr. Mowatt's remarks allusion to another sense in which Palestine was to be a national home for the Jews. I do not think that the average person understands that sense. Certainly it could not be purely physical, because the land now is incapable of absorbing two million Jews even if they wanted to go back. There is another sense in which Palestine is to be the national home of the Jews. I would like to have someone who is confident to do so, explain that for a moment.

Mr. GARBER: In the initial state of our movement we did not emphasize a great deal what we hoped that Palestine would be a sort of spiritual centre for the Jews throughout the world. In other words, we would all look with pride upon Palestine, and we ourselves will derive a certain amount of spiritual sustenance; our ancient language of Hebrew would be revived. A good many of us still speak Hebrew. Our prayers are said in Hebrew. Our Hebrew literature would grow up again, and Hebrew teachers would come from Palestine and in a sense, the law will again emerge from Palestine for the Jews throughout the world. But we are not emphasizing this at the moment, due to practical problems. We have hundreds of thousands of Jews who need Palestine as a physical home. We harbour the thought that a community of from one to two million Jews in Palestine will develop a Jewish culture which will grow to be a credit of the Jewish people and which people would benefit culturally.

But that was never meant to apply with respect to the Jew in South America or in Canada or in the United States, that he should consider himself to be a citizen of Palestine. Here in Canada we consider ourselves to be citizens of the English speaking community. This is entirely overshadowed by the physical and economic requirements of hundreds of thousands of Jews over the next twenty-five years.

By Mr. MacInnis:

Q. Regardless of the future possibilities, the absorptive possibilities of Palestine, to the extent that Mr. Low has mentioned, there is no doubt as to the ability of Palestine to absorb 100,000, that he has mentioned?—A. No doubt at all. There has been no unemployment in Palestine. Every time we were wrangling with a mandatory power about an attempt to enter ten thousand or twenty thousand Jews, the answer always was that the absorptive capacity of Palestine would not permit it. Dr. Weizmann once answered it when a British statesman came to his laboratory and asked: "What are you doing?" He said: "I am creating absorptive capacity." The result was that throughout fifteen years they got in 10,000 Jews, although it was contrary to the expressed opinion of Downing Street. But we have proved that we could do it.

Mr. JACQUES: May I say that I was the first in this committee to request that the Zionists be heard before it, and I made myself quite a nuisance every time I came here. I do not say that in the last analysis that my request was granted. I do not think it was. I just want to put that on record that I was the first one to request that these people be heard, and I said we might get some truth on the matter, and we can hear both sides of the question. I made a few notes while Mr. Mowat was talking and I would like to ask him a few questions.

Mr. Herbert Mowat recalled

By Mr. Jacques:

Q. Mr. Mowat, you admit that Palestine is sacred to Christians and Mohammedans?—A. Yes, I admit that, Mr. Jacques.

Q. A national home was not exactly what was meant in the Balfour declaration? Does it not say here that nothing shall be done which may prejudice civil and religious rights on non-Jewish communities?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you consider a Jewish state in the spirit of the Balfour declaration?—A. I consider that the rights, civil and religious, would be mandatory for all and would be observed in a Jewish State. As I say, I regard Palestine as a holy land. Jews, Moslems and Christians all look to Palestine as a holy land, but those two latter religions have a common parent, Judaism. The people who formed that religion with its inspired Old Testament literature are the only people of these three religious groups that ever constituted a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine. Always it has been a branch of a larger political group. So there is a priority of consideration there for the cause of a Jewish state.

Q. You will admit that the Arabs have rights?—A. Yes.

Q. I believe in a letter you stated: "I do not think Arab threats directed at Great Britain, the United States and other members of the United Nations Organization should be taken too seriously. They are a species of blackmail from a primitive people by which they have profited in gold and various concessions in the past. Threats of violence have been the Arabs most profitable stock in trade. How much longer are the great powers going to appease them? There is no doubt that a policy on Palestine agreed upon by the United States, Great Britain, and the other United Nations will be one to which the Arabs will

be forced to adjust themselves." Is that observing Arab rights?—A. Yes; that their political and religious rights, of course we can take for granted will be observed under a United Nations settlement. Protests of the Arabs, which is directed at Great Britain and world opinion are the protests of the feudal leaders of the Arab world, who see their entire system being broken down.

Q. In other words, it is proposed to impose an alien culture on the existing and original Arab culture?—A. No.

Q. Do you call that culture primitive and feudal?—A. Yes; no more than you can say that the culture of Canada in its Anglo-Saxon fashion is imposed upon the French-Canadian population in Canada. Any settlement of the United Nations would respect their rights, but not necessarily their interpretation of those rights. There is no such thing as a perfect settlement based on justice in any political sphere. We in Canada know that. The United Nations would see that they are not forced to surrender their existing and original Arab cultural rights mentioned in your question.

I think the letter which you quoted takes no exception to my present interpretation of a settlement favourable to the Jewish national home.

Q. With regard to the land, you will admit that the Arab people have been there for time immemorial; that even before the first children of Israel entered Palestine, they were on the land? Is it or is it not a fact that to-day in Palestine when a Jew or Zionist acquired land from an Arab that in the agreement of sale, it says that never again can that land be owned or even worked by an Arab?—A. That is self-defence on the part of the Jews. There are Moslem areas in Palestine unalienable from Moslem ownership, and the Jews, in self-defence, are forced to make that land their own when it is purchased by the National Fund.

Q. Is that not one of the points of contention for the British government to amplify?—A. I think if the mandatory prevailed upon the Moslems to surrender their unalienable rights to land, the whole matter might be opened up for resettlement. This is just my personal opinion.

Q. With regard to the first war, is it not a fact that the Arabs in Britain's hour of need, when the Suez Canal was threatened by the Turks, that under Lawrence of Arabia, the Arabs were persuaded to join in against the Turks, provided Britain guaranteed their rights?—A. Have you read the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* by Lawrence? If you read that, you will see that they did not have great value. Lawrence said two Turkish battalions could disperse the whole of the Arabs. At the end of World War I Turkish Garrisons were unconquered in the cities of Arabia. For what measure of work they did, they were well paid, but Lawrence's opinion of the Arabs is given in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. As a matter of fact, Lawrence was a great friend of the Jewish national home. He said that the successful development of the Jewish settlement would raise the level of subsistence living of the Arab masses more than anything else would, and would provide a ferment powerful enough to penetrate the whole of the Middle East.

Q. The Arabs gave every assistance they could in the first Great War, and also Lawrence of Arabia was offered very high honours for services rendered. He refused because he said the British faith had been broken, and another great authority as to the value of Arab armed assistance is Liddel Hart, one of the great military critics?—A. In the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, Lawrence of Arabia said:

I do not wish to publish secret documents, nor to make long explanations: but must put on record my conviction that England is out of the Arab affair with clean hands. Some Arab advocates (the most vociferous joined our ranks after the Armistice) have rejected my judgment on this point. Like a tedious Pensioner I showed them my wounds (over sixty

I have, each scar evidence of a pain incurred in Arab service) as proof I had worked sincerely on their side. They found me out-of-date, and I was happy to withdraw from a political milieu which had never been congenial.

Q. What about Zionist threats; for instance, referring to the United States loan to Great Britain?—A. I am glad to answer that. A formal statement came out last week from Rabbi Wise, who is president of the Zionist organization, who said that although he was critical of the British policy in Palestine, he said he was personally supporting the loan, and asked everybody else to do the same. We have not been happy over the people in the United States who talk anti-British on the loan. We repudiated them. I noticed that the Committee of Political Action on Palestine had an advertisement in which they advised the people to write their congressmen to kill the loan. I noticed the resignation from that organization of people who were members of the American Palestine Committee—the non-Jewish organization in the United States corresponding to our Canadian Palestine Committee.

Q. You will admit that there is, at the present time, very violent Zionist anti-British propaganda on foot?—A. Yes, I have read it.

Mr. ZACKS: By a very small group. I would say that group would represent less than five per cent of the Zionists.

Mr. JAQUES: Has the Zionist movement repudiated this?

Mr. ZACKS: Yes. I would correct Mr. Mowat. Rabbi Stephen Wise is president of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Mr. JAQUES: Do you admit that all Jews are not Zionists?

Mr. ZACKS: Oh, yes. There is a small fraction of them who are not Zionists.

Mr. JAQUES: There is a law in Palestine at the present time against the carrying of arms by private citizens. It is a capital offence. A question was asked in the British House of Commons as to how many had been executed for carrying arms in Palestine, and the answer was given by the present Colonial Secretary. Do you know the answer he gave?

Mr. ZACKS: No.

Mr. JAQUES: I think you said the well-armed Zionist forces could defend themselves even if the British Army were to retire from the scene?

Mr. ZACKS: I gave that as an opinion of a G.O.C. before the committee.

Mr. JAQUES: May I say that according to the present Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, of 133 persons who have been executed for carrying arms that 132 were Arabs. We have the statement here that the Zionists could defend themselves.

The WITNESS: I do not think they carried their arms around on the roads and highways of Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall we continue on? We had hoped that we would be finished by now. There are four other committees sitting, and I would ask the members to remain for another ten or fifteen minutes.

Mr. LEGER: I think we should have the privilege of asking these gentlemen some questions.

The CHAIRMAN: When should the next meeting be?

Mr. LEGER: Can we not meet this afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN: I doubt if we can get a quorum.

Mr. LEGER: Can we meet to-morrow?

The CHAIRMAN: Why not on Monday?

Mr. Low: I think that would be satisfactory.

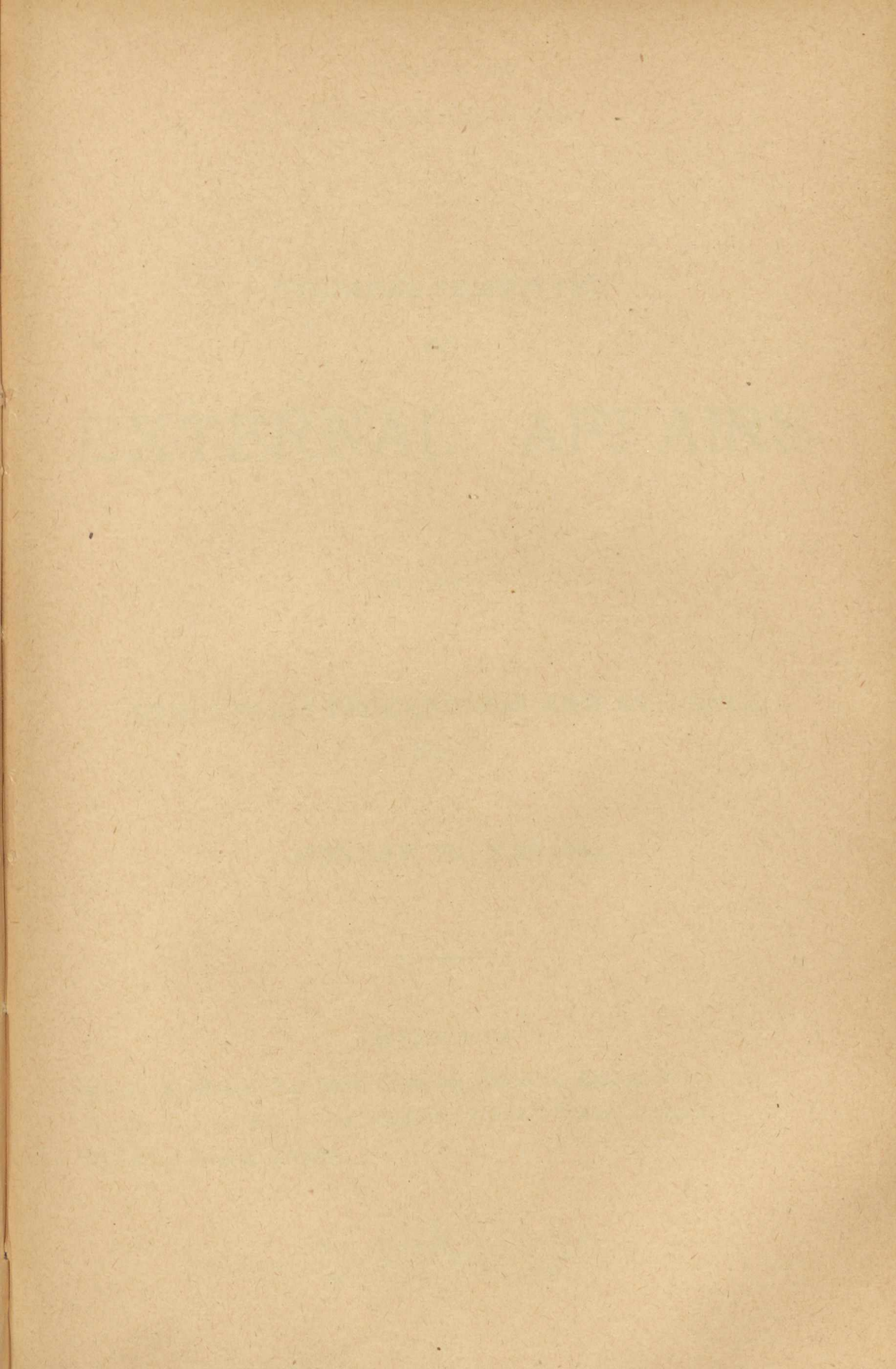
The CHAIRMAN: I will try to have the committee meet early.

I believe I voice the sentiments of the committee when I say I appreciate what material has been given to us this morning. I know that we all realize the function of the committee. We cannot make a recommendation on a matter of this kind, but you all must realize that we are getting much information, which will receive national publicity.

Mr. LEGER: Would it be possible to have copies of the record in our mail as soon as possible so we may have them before we meet again?

The CHAIRMAN: You realize how hard it is to do that. However, we will do the best we can.

The committee adjourned at 1.00 p.m. to meet again on Monday, July 22 at 10.30 a.m.



SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE
No. 15

MONDAY, JULY 22, 1946.

WITNESSES:

Mr. H. A. Mowat, Secretary Canadian Palestine Association;
Mr. M. Garber, K.C., Vice-President, United Zionist Council;
Mr. A. A. Heaps, Ottawa.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, B.A., L.Ph., C.M.G.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, July 22, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this date at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Benedickson, Bradette, Coldwell, Croll, Fleming, Fraser, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Knowles, Leger, Low, MacLean, Marquis, Winkler.

In attendance: Messrs. M. Garber, K.C., Vice-President United Zionist Council, H. A. Mowat, Secretary Canadian Palestine Committee, A. A. Heaps and Lawrence Freiman, Ottawa.

The Committee resumed examination of witnesses from meeting held 19th inst.

Messrs. Garber, and Mowat were called, examined and retired.

Mr. Heaps described a tour of Palestine he made twelve years ago, he portrayed the agricultural, industrial and economic development, was examined by the committee and retired.

It was decided to hear representations from the Canadian Arab Association on Friday, July 26.

On motion of Mr. Leger committee adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.

F. J. CORCORAN,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 22, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 10.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Now we have a quorum, and I shall call the meeting to order. I want to thank the members of our committee for finding it possible to come at this early stage of the week. I want to compliment them in this instance.

At the Friday meeting the witnesses and members of our committee deserve to be praised for the manner in which they dealt with the very delicate and educated questions. It was a new experience that we tried out in our activity. I would like to quote what the Prime Minister stated on the 16th of this month dealing with the Palestine question:

I do not believe that any useful purpose would be served by a statement on the situation in Palestine by the Canadian government at the present moment. Representatives of the United Kingdom cabinet, the foreign office, the colonial office and war office are discussing in London with representatives of the United States state department, war department and treasury, the recommendations recently submitted to the governments of the United States by the Anglo-American committee of enquiry which examined the problems of European Jewry and Palestine. The Canadian government hopes that the conversations now in progress will lead to a decision which will do justice to the various groups having a legitimate interest in Palestine.

It will be noticed that I have placed emphasis on the present moment. I believe there are times and seasons for all things, but this I submit is not the moment, while these negotiations are on, for the government of Canada to take a particular part by way of making the statement such as the hon. members suggest.

That was given in answer to a question asked by a member of parliament. I reiterate the statement because again I must compliment all the people who were present here last Friday for the attitude they took. In dealing with a matter of this kind we may, if we are not guarded in our statements, touch upon the natural sensitivity of other governments. It is a sensitive and delicate question, but the way in which it was dealt with by our committee was of wonderful help, I believe, towards the solution of that great, great question.

The idea of the committee now is to continue with the questioning. I must apologize to Mr. Mowat for telling him that the next meeting of the committee was to be on Tuesday. I had forgotten that we were to meet again this morning. Now I believe it will be in order for Mr. Jacques to continue the questioning that he started last Friday.

Mr. JACQUES: The Jewish persecution in Europe has been mentioned; but now that Hitler is dead and the Nazis are dead, who is responsible for any persecution or persecutions there may be in Europe today?

Mr. GARBER: Hitlerism is still alive.

Mr. JACQUES: What do you call Hitlerism?

Mr. GARBER: The doctrines that Hitler disseminated during his lifetime are bearing fruit in many parts of Europe to-day.

Mr. JAQUES: May I observe that, according to the Communists, anybody who was not a Communist is a Fascist or a Nazi. Complaint has been made in the House more than once of Jewish persecution in Canada. Do you say that there has been any such action by anybody in Canada?

Mr. GARBER: Decidedly not.

Mr. JAQUES: You say "decidedly not"?

Mr. GARBER: I say, "decidedly not".

Mr. JAQUES: I think the statement was made on Friday that the Balfour Declaration excluded Palestine. That statement was made, I believe.

Mr. MOWAT: I made the statement that the British ruling on the promises made to the Arabs world excluded Palestine from any promise of Arab independence, and I quoted the British official dictum on that point contained in the White Paper of 1939. I should be glad to place the quotation again in the record if you wish to hear it. In 1939 we had the latest official British pronouncement in regard to promises of Arab independence which rules anything on the basis of the McMahon correspondence out of court.

Mr. JAQUES: Then there should be no need for me to read the Balfour Declaration which states specifically that His Majesty's government views with favour the setting up in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing would be done to prejudice religious or civil rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and privileges enjoyed by Jews in any other country. That seems to me to be a most definite inclusion of Palestine.

Mr. MOWAT: Political promises were made to the Jewish people and the protection of civil and religious rights were guaranteed to the non-Jewish communities in Palestine but not any political status of the Arabs as a group in Palestine.

Mr. JAQUES: Then what about the McMahon Agreement?

Mr. MOWAT: As to the McMahon Agreement, the validity of this claim for Arab independence in Palestine—I am reading from the 1939 White Paper on Palestine—of the British government:

Based on the correspondence passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sherif of Mecca was thoroughly and carefully investigated by British and Arab representatives during the recent conference in London. (Command Paper 9574). His Majesty's government adhere to the view that the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab state.

Now, the argument is that of the British government, and I do not think that any person should be examined by this committee on that point.

Mr. JAQUES: Articles of Agreement were signed by Emir Feisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann. Emir Feisal added the following rider:

Provided the Arabs obtain their independence as demanded in my memorandum dated the 4th of January, 1919, to the foreign office of the government of Great Britain, I shall concur in the above articles. But if the slightest modification or departure were to be made, I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present Agreement which shall be deemed void and of no account or validity, and I shall not be answerable in any way whatsoever.

That rider was added by the Emir Feisal. I get that from a book by George Antonius entitled, *The Arab Awakening*. Then we have President Roosevelt's promise made to King Ibn Saud—

Mr. Low: Is that the one made during the war?

Mr. JAUQUES: Yes; I might say that in 1922 the United States Congress passed the following resolution:

That the United States favoured the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights enjoyed by all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine which shall be adequately protected.

Mr. MOWAT: Are you asking a question? What about Ibn Saud? What is your question about Ibn Saud, Mr. Jaques?

Mr. JAUQUES: I was going to ask you if this was so: that on the 5th April, 1945, President Roosevelt stated in a letter to King Ibn Saud:

Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action in my capacity as chief of the executive branch of this government which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

Then, on October 27, 1945, President Truman, in a speech on Navy Day said:

We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their freely expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, just as well as in the western hemisphere.

Mr. MOWAT: My answer to that point is the evidence of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was giving evidence in regard to her husband's conversation with Ibn Saud. She revealed that the late President told her about his conversation on Palestine with King Ibn Saud, and emphasized that she considers it "not only unfair but very unwise" to use past utterances to influence new decisions. The statement made in her syndicated column, was prompted by Mrs. Roosevelt's desire to clarify the rumours surrounding the exchange of correspondence between her husband and the ruler of Saudi Arabia which was made public by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. Pointing out that one can really never tell what a man who has been a thinker and a leader in either public or private life, would think or do if he were alive and facing new circumstances. Mrs. Roosevelt writes:

I had heard my husband, on a number of occasions after his return from Yalta, give an account of the visit paid him by King Ibn Saud. My husband stated that he felt his conversations with the Arab King had been a failure since the King had told him that as long as he lived he did not wish any change.

An influx into Palestine of Jewish people from the big cities of the world like London, Paris, Berlin, New York, would meet resistance because it tended to change the way of life of the whole land. "The Arabs," said King Saud, "are of the same Semitic race as the Jews and get on well when their backgrounds are similar." My husband said that King Ibn Saud had been a warrior all his life; he was not interested either in farming or forestry; his people were herdsmen and nomads, and he wished no change. My husband felt that a later generation might feel differently, but at present there was very little hope of a changed attitude on the part of the Arabs where Palestine was concerned.

Mr. JAUQUES: That, of course, is merely Mrs. Roosevelt's interpretation.

Mr. GARBER: May I supplement? Our claim is based on the Balfour declaration and on the mandate which flows from the Balfour declaration. The mandate was approved by the council of the League of Nations consisting

of 52 nations. The United States not having been a member state of the League of Nations entered into a treaty of its own with Great Britain whereby the terms of the mandate were approved as far as the United States government was concerned. Now, any utterance made by any political personage on the particular circumstances which would be in violation of those three documents, the Balfour declaration, the mandate and the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, would not affect the basic question of the rights granted previously.

Mr. JAQUES: All those statements as to policy date from the Balfour declaration, but personally I have never understood on what Mr. Balfour based the right to issue the declaration in the first place?

Mr. MOWAT: It was a right contingent upon the sanction of the international authority, a right in the first instance of the allied and associated powers who won the war, and in the second place by the approval of the League of Nations which represented and spoke for the international community. It was contingent upon that authority.

Mr. JAQUES: In other words, it was a right which was conferred upon Great Britain or the British government or Mr. Balfour, whichever you like, by right of conquest, and I have always understood it was not a war of conquest; it was just the opposite?

Mr. MOWAT: It was contingent upon the validity of international law which was a matter of world agreement, and approval of the League of Nations. The Balfour declaration was contingent upon that. What Great Britain had been doing was formulating a policy in regard to Palestine.

Mr. JAQUES: Because they had a mandate?

Mr. MOWAT: No, they did not have a mandate until 1922. They formulated a policy in regard to Palestine and when the treaty of Versailles was in process of formation Great Britain appeared before the people who were the contracting parties to the Treaty of Versailles in the unique position of being the only great power that had a mature policy in regard to Palestine. Therefore she was in a unique position to receive the consideration she did receive in having the mandate conferred upon her. She got the mandate conferred upon her on the basis of an interested party who had a stake in Palestine extending an invitation that the mandate be conferred upon Great Britain by the League of Nations.

The Arab policy was clear. When the war was finished Great Britain should get out. If Great Britain had waited for an invitation from the Arab world or from the Palestinian Arabs to remain in any capacity in Palestine she would be waiting yet. But here was a people, the Jews, who had an incontestable historical association with Palestine. That was represented to the League of Nations as a basis for a mandate to a power that would sponsor a national home for the Jewish people validated by the incontestable historical association, and that gave legal sanction for the mandate.

If that had not been provided what would have been Great Britain's position in Palestine? She would have had no possession on the basis of Arab cooperation, but she had a legal position in Palestine that the League of Nations saw fit to validate because world Jewry, to whom the Balfour declaration was addressed, cooperated and asked that the mandate for Palestine be conferred on Great Britain. Had they refused to extend that invitation possession of Palestine by conquest was not on the score of settlements in World War I. That point has been raised by Mr. Jaques. Great Britain and the United States had abjured any pretention to the extension of their already generous territories by conquest, so they were not in a legal position in which to set up continuous holding of Palestine territory in any administrative or other capacity.

Evidence on this point was submitted to the Anglo American committee by Field Marshal Smuts. This is what he says:

I shall have no opportunity to give oral evidence before the committee, but consider it right and proper to clear up one point, which I consider of great importance for the information of the committee.

That point is the question whether the Declaration was at its inception meant to be a mere temporary expedient out of a present difficulty, or was intended to be a declaration of long range policy for the future. It must be important for the committee to know whether, in the minds of the original authors of the Declaration, it was planned as a firm policy for the future, or merely as a temporary plan to deal with an existing problem of a passing nature. Clarity on this point must have a close bearing on the question of large-scale revision, or even abandonment of the plan embodied in the declaration. It is on this particular point on which I wish to make the following statement of my clear impression and understanding of the scope and intention of the Balfour Declaration.

I am quite clear that the Declaration was meant to be a statement of long-range policy for the future. Of course all human policies are subject to change of circumstances, and to revision in the light of such change. But there is no doubt in my mind that the Declaration was meant to affect permanently the future course of events in Palestine, and was so conceived by those who took part in its formulation.

When the Declaration was made in 1917 there was no sudden emergency calling for an executive plan. There was no problem of large-scale Jewish persecution at that time calling for such a plan. Jewish persecution in its intense form is a phenomenon of postwar developments. The concept of nationality was coming very much to the fore, and in the subsequent Peace Treaty led to the recasting of the political map of Europe. The Jews were considered a people who had been expatriated from their own homeland and scattered over the world. In that sense they were a homeless people, and historic justice demanded a policy of their return to the ancient homeland. That land was at the time under the domination of an enemy power, the Turkish Empire, from which every effort was being made to expel the Turk.

The situation was therefore ripe for a declaration about the future of Palestine, and the Balfour Declaration emerged as a statement of policy whereby the Jews would be provided after the war with a national home in their historic homeland, from which they had been expelled by Romans and Turks in the course of the centuries. The Declaration in its very essence aimed at a long-range national plan for the future.

I think that deals with the point raised by Mr. Jacques so far as the question of sovereignty in Palestine is concerned. The Balfour Declaration was merely a statement of policy, and it was contingent upon its being sanctioned by the sovereign power after the end of the war. At the time of the Treaty of Versailles this sovereign was the allied and associated powers which took care of the disposition of the conquests from World War I, and under whose auspices at the Treaty of Versailles the mandatory system was produced. They stated that the League of Nations should be the body exercising sovereignty in Palestine by reason of the fact that the mandatary was made responsible and had to report every year on his trust to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

As I say, it was not an arbitrary action on the part of Great Britain, which is the point you raise, of disposing of Palestine by the Balfour Declaration. It was not disposed of by that declaration but by international authority which placed Great Britain there as a mandatary.

Mr. JAQUES: You will admit that the terms of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 are one thing; and you will admit that the present claims of the Zionists to-day are something different.

Mr. MOWAT: No, I do not admit that. What I do admit is that a Jewish state was not promised in the terms of the Balfour Declaration. I do admit that. But I wish to assert that the framers of the Balfour Declaration told the Jewish people, when they assumed the mandate, that the national home was of the status of a minority, the Jewish community in Palestine, and that if the Jews took advantage of the opportunity offered to them to colonize Palestine, in the words of Lloyd George, then Palestine would become a Jewish state.

Mr. FLEMING: Did you say "could become"?

Mr. MOWAT: No, I said "would" become a Jewish state; and Mr. Balfour said the same thing in his statement that the Jewish state could not be immediately set up in Palestine, but was something to be developed by a process of political evolution.

Mr. JAQUES: In other words, they said one thing and meant another.

Mr. MOWAT: No, they brought out the national home status, as distinguished from the status of the Jewish community as it existed before the war as a "bridge status" to a Jewish state which would be possible when and if a Jewish majority was achieved in Palestine; when that community was still in a minority status under the mandate it would permit a national home; but the word "national" is of great significance there because it is a recognition of the craving need of the Jewish communities throughout the world for a national status of its own. In that regard I would like to supplement what has been said in regard to nationality by mentioning the definition of the Jewish state which the Zionists themselves, through their most representative men, have submitted before the Anglo-American Commission. Professor Brodetzky, chairman of the Board of Deputies in Britain, testified before the committee during its December sittings and the question was raised: when excessive nationalism has made the world bankrupt, what is your justification for setting up another national status for people like the Jews? You will simply be compounding the position we are already in? And his answer to that was this. In reply, The British Zionist leader said:—

The essence of a Jewish state is: wherever Jews are now, their position is determined by others. They wish to live in a country where their civilization, their status, and similar matters are determined by them. Our conception of a state is not that Jews should become a power, but that they should live freely with their traditions and not have a minority status.

Liberation from the ubiquitous minority status of the Jews throughout the world implied or pledged in the Balfour Declaration. If it meant liberation to Jews in countries of persecution from the penalties of the minority status, then the Balfour status meant something. If it did not mean that, it meant very little to the Jewish community.

Mr. JAQUES: Just what is the status of a Jew in any country? For instance, take a Jew in Canada, is he a Jew or a Canadian or what?

Mr. MOWAT: Mr. Garber will answer that question.

Mr. GARBER: Mr. Jaques I would like to explain the question by drawing suggestions between country and country. Take the British Empire, or a member of the British Empire. They do not visualize any Jewish problem in the national sense. There might be problems of individual adjustment; there might be slight acts of irritation when a Jew cannot get into a certain hotel and things of that sort; but in the political sense, Jews are not complaining, nor are they here to make any plea on behalf of the Jews of Canada.

But take a country such as Poland or most of the countries of Europe, or Germany, since the defeat of Hitler; take some countries of Europe where apparently the Jews are well treated; there is no guarantee that in twenty-five years' time the situation may not be completely changed because, in all those countries, the Jews are not in control of the legislative machinery. As Mr. Mowat has said: they did hope there would be one small spot where the Jews could make their own laws with due regard to the rights of a minority, or under the protection of the League to see that the Jews themselves did not abuse their rights as a majority. But at least in Palestine they would be a majority, and if it were not for that hope, the Jews would never have accepted the terms of the Balfour Declaration or mandate and put that tremendous machinery into action and spent that vast sum of money and energy to build that country with no intention that it be left in the hands of an Arab majority. Look at what happens to the Jews in some of the Arab lands?

Mr. JAKUES: May I say for the benefit of those who are not members of the committee, that I am a very strong nationalist myself and I have every sympathy with the Jew or with anybody else who believes in nationhood. I am anxious to preserve the national homes of all people from international control. My only doubt is as to the propriety of setting up a home in a country which, for the last 1,300 years, has been the home of other people who, apparently, are not willing to surrender their sovereign rights in that country. I may also say that I am an Englishman by birth and I feel very very keenly any departure from what I was brought up to believe: the sacredness of the word of the British government. I don't think there is any doubt, since the last war—I would not put a date on it—that the prestige of the word of the British government has deteriorated, and that is the reason for the deterioration of British prestige throughout most of the world.

Mr. BENEDICKSON: You mean since World War I?

Mr. JAKUES: Yes, I would say so. When I was in England two years ago, I discussed these questions with some of the members of parliament over there and they actually admitted it—I won't mention the names publicly, but I am willing to give them privately.

Mr. FLEMING: Are we confined now to questions or to statements? If we are going to have questions, very well. Mr. Jaques has the floor, but if it is a matter of statement, I would not want a statement such as Mr. Jaques has just made—that British prestige has deteriorated throughout the world, or that the sacredness of the word of the British government has deteriorated—to be passed unchallenged.

The CHAIRMAN: On Mr. Fleming's point I would say that Mr. Jaques should give the name of the member of parliament who made that statement, otherwise we should not have it in the record.

Mr. JAKUES: I will make it on my own responsibility then. I think it is pretty obvious that the prestige of the British government has deteriorated, and as I said in parliament last December, Palestine is one of the graveyards of that prestige. Is this a fair statement?

Mr. GARBER: Quite so; and I think that if the British government were to redeem its pledge to the Jews in Palestine, its international prestige would be brought back to its former undisputed position.

Mr. JAKUES: In 1915 the British government, or the British Commonwealth of Nations if you prefer it, found themselves threatened by German-led Turkish forces in Palestine with respect to the Suez Canal for one thing, and they sent Lawrence and some others.

Mr. LEGER: I believe this is a repetition of what was said on Friday. I do not think we should have a presentation like that. A good many of us want to ask questions. To ask questions is the right of every one of us.

Mr. JAQUES: This whole question of Palestine is not one to be treated lightly. What I was trying to say was: that when Great Britain or the British Commonwealth of Nations found themselves threatened by German-led Turkish forces in Palestine, which threatened the Suez Canal, Sir Henry McMahon made overtures to the Arab leaders that if the Arab leaders would bring in their Arab forces and join the British against the Turks, then the British would guarantee Arab independence. Now, I think that is a pretty fair statement; but at the same time, or perhaps shortly afterwards, owing to the damage by German submarines, there were certain key materials which were absolutely necessary to the making of munitions which were cut off from Great Britain. Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions, was faced with a crisis. Then Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who was a great chemist, solved that problem by producing synthetically, the basic key material which was essential to the manufacture of explosives. Mr. Lloyd George asked Dr. Chaim Weizmann in what way he could reward him? And Dr. Weizmann said: "I want nothing for myself, but I would like Palestine for the Jews." That is roughly what took place. Would you say that that is a fair statement?

Mr. MOWAT: You ask me if I think that the Arab contribution to the winning of the war deserved more generous treatment than it got?

Mr. JAQUES: I do not think that is the point.

Mr. MOWAT: You are stressing the value of the Arab contribution to the war in that they helped to destroy the Turks.

Mr. JAQUES: No, I stressed the value of the promise given before that; if the Arabs joined and helped the British, then they would be guaranteed their sovereign independence which included what then was a part of the Arab territory which certainly would include Palestine.

Mr. MOWAT: I have already made the point of the British governments attitude in regard to Palestine. We do not admit—and I agree with the government in this—that any promise was made of handing over Palestine to the Arabs when the war was finished. The legal position of the British government on that is well stated. But as to the Arab contribution towards the winning of the war being worth more than the \$55,000,000 in gold which was paid to them by the British government—they were paid to fight for their own freedom. Sir Philip Grave states:—

"The Land of Three Faiths" London, 1923, pp 112-113: . . . but the Palastinians (Arabs) confined themselves to deserting in large numbers to the British, who fed and clothed and paid for the maintenance of many thousand such prisoners of war, few indeed of whom could be induced to obtain their liberty by serving in the Sherifian Army.

And T. E. Lawrence on the tribesmen:—

T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, pp. 103-104: Fighting qualities of the tribesmen from the Hejaz and Transjordan. "Blood feuds were nominally healed. . . . All the same, the members of one tribe were shy of those of another, and within the tribe no man would quite trust his neighbour. Each might be, usually was, whole-hearted against the Turk, but perhaps not quite to the point of failing to work off a family grudge upon a family enemy in the field. Consequently they could not attack. One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them; and a pitched defeat with its casualties, would have ended the war by sheer horror.

That is the estimate of two outstanding men who knew what they were talking about as to the value of Arab military contribution towards the emancipation of those Arab lands which fell within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. As far as the British promises are con-

cerned, I have stated opinions in regard to them, and, I submit, as to whether the Arabs were treated generously on the basis of the co-operation they provided to win World War I in the Middle East, and I have quoted authorities on the subject. I leave that to the consideration of the committee.

Mr. JAKUES: There is no question of judging, afterwards, the value of the Arab contribution. If it was useless, then I do not know why Lawrence of Arabia was offered such high honours for helping to lead them in the war. The point comes to this, really, that afterwards the claim of Dr. Weizmann for having solved this chemical puzzle was given priority to the promises given to the Arabs for helping to expel the Turks from Palestine.

Mr. GARBER: May I say, Mr. Chairman, that this story of Dr. Weizmann is a true story; but it would be simplifying matters too much if we were led to believe that that alone was responsible for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. We all know the whole story. First of all, there was an age old association between the British people and the Jewish people through the Bible. Balfour and the people who surrounded him were great students of the Bible and they thought this would be an historic opportunity for Britain to do something on a grand scale for the people of the Book. Secondly, we come to the British practical sense which seems to have led Britain into helping the Arabs.

In 1916 and 1917 Britain wanted to get help wherever she could and she did want to enlist the support of world Jewry on her side. The United States was still neutral and there was a powerful Jewry there, a lot of whom were of German stock. There was great pro-German sentiment in the United States which the British were anxious to swing over to our side. But the most fundamental reason for the Balfour Declaration was this: that Britain was afraid for her position in the Middle East. She knew that eventually these Arab lands would become independent. The Arabs having nothing to complain about because they have obtained independence in six or seven different countries, Palestine excluded. The British did want to establish in that strategic spot a strong Jewish community which would be grateful to Britain and act to guard the life-line of the Empire. The Jews readily agreed to it. A great many of the Jewish people were English speaking and they wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to form a partnership with Great Britain in Palestine. That was their primary response to the Balfour Declaration. As far as the Jewish people were concerned, if the pledge of partnership were lived up to, Britain would have her strongest ally at a point where she needs an ally.

Mr. JAKUES: In the White Paper of 1939 there is a very important point that has been denounced by Zionists. Malcolm MacDonald, who was then colonial secretary, called both the Zionists and the Arab representatives together in London, in the Spring of 1939, and having digested the viewpoint of both sides, he issued the well known White Paper of 1939 which was not favoured by the Arabs and was very strongly objected to by the Zionists who have been endeavouring to get it abrogated by Great Britain ever since. I think you denounced the White Paper of 1939 on Friday. Could you tell us on what grounds you did denounce?

Mr. MOWAT: Because it is not authoritative in international law. The Balfour Declaration is part of the international law of the world; but the White Paper of 1939 is a uni-lateral Act of the British government and it can be cancelled by international authority. If Great Britain sees fit to act on the recommendation of the Anglo-American committee to-day, that is Great Britain's responsibility; but the White Paper was thrown out by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as a violation of international law. General Smuts has agreed it is involved and it is subject to cancellation legally by an international authority.

Mr. JAQUES: Did you say that there was established a valid international law?

Mr. MOWAT: Yes, through the League of Nations.

Mr. KNOWLES: I have a question I would like to have discussed, Mr. Jaques.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like, after Mr. Jaques is through, for Mr. Leger to have the floor and to ask the next question.

Mr. JAQUES: I have only a few more questions.

Mr. LEGER: We have given Mr. Jaques fifty-five minutes of our time.

The CHAIRMAN: This is a committee of the House of Commons and we must give all the leeway possible to all the members of the committee.

Mr. JAQUES: There is another question. Should it come to war with the Arabs, and it looks as though it might, who would fight the war on the side of the Zionists, who would help to expel the Arabs?

Mr. MOWAT: There is no question of expelling the Arabs. They are welcome in Palestine. There are half a million more now than there were when the Balfour Declaration was implemented. Such a war would be fought in the whole of the Middle East, if these Palestinian Arabs fight. But if the Arab world fights—

Mr. JAQUES: Have they resisted the Zionists claims?

Mr. MOWAT: I think the Jewish Resistance Group in Palestine will take care of the situation.

Mr. JAQUES: You think that is right?

Mr. MOWAT: I think that is right, yes. They have offered to do so. When the G.O.C. of the Middle East Command testified before the committee in Jerusalem, he stated that if the British were to withdraw from Palestine, the Jewish Resistance force there was well disciplined, well armed, and well trained in the technique of fighting a modern war, something which the Arabs are not, because they did not fight in any numbers in this last war; and that the Hagana could take care of the defence of Palestine. He said he was not persuaded that the whole Arab world, even with its 33,000,000 in the middle East, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, would rise in sufficient strength to give the Hagana much trouble. That is what the G.O.C. of the Middle East, and General Officer commanding the British troops in Palestine, testified before the committee.

(Authority Mr. Bartley Crum, member of the American section of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.)

Mr. JAQUES: Who supplied the arms, Is such a Jewish army in Palestine legal, nationally or internationally?

Mr. MOWAT: 15,000 rifles were supplied by the British during the war at a critical period when the Arab world was very hostile to allied and British interests, and when the Mufti from Berlin, was exorting an Arab revolution in the Middle East. The British gave 15,000 rifles and machine guns to the Hagana, for the defence force which was not serving outside of Palestine. That accounts for the 15,000 rifles. That is a statement on the British military crisis in the Middle East about what was contributed in arms to Hagana as a means of stabilizing the British military situation in the Middle East during the most critical days of World War II.

Mr. JAQUES: But the army has not national or international status.

Mr. MOWAT: It was a very present help to the British in a time of trouble. For them to try to disarm the Hagana now is something that the Anglo-American committee would not agree to, based on the protection or lack of protection of the public, or lack of public security, during the period of the mandate. The

decision of the Anglo-American committee was that to disarm the defence force of the Jews in Palestine would not be just.

Mr. JAQUES: Has your organization anything to do with the new Zionist organization of America?

Mr. GARBER: No, absolutely not. They are not affiliated with the World Zionist Organization.

Mr. JAQUES: Have you taken any steps, any effective steps?

Mr. GARBER: To repudiate them? They have been repudiated in the metropolitan press of New York many times. Their delegates are not admitted to the congress of the Zionist organizations of the world.

Mr. LOW: Do you know Colonel Morris J. Mendellson?

Mr. GARBER: He is one of those.

Mr. LOW: How strong is this organization?

Mr. GARBER: We think it is merely an organization that exists on paper and backed particularly by some non-Jewish isolationists and notorious anti-British politicians in the United States, men like Senator Edmund Johnson and some others who have always been anti-British, and they are merely jumping on this band wagon.

Mr. LOW: You have seen this advertisement that appeared in the New York Post on Tuesday, April 16?

Mr. GARBER: Unfortunately it also contains a statement of one Canadian, and he is certainly repudiated by our organization.

Mr. FLEMING: Who is that?

Mr. GARBER: A Montreal lawyer, unfortunately. We have had him at our round tables many times to try to reason and argue with him, but he is notoriously obstinate.

Mr. KNOWLES: Put it down for being a lawyer.

Mr. GARBER: This is a democracy and one cannot do anything with the man.

Mr. FLEMING: Is there any reason why his name should not go on the record?

Mr. JAQUES: The newspaper *P.M.* was mentioned on Friday as endorsing your policy. I was going to ask if you were aware of the political leanings of *P.M.*?

Mr. GARBER: I do not really know but I understand it is very much to the left of centre.

Mr. JAQUES: It is Communistic, in other words.

Mr. GARBER: It is a millionaire's privilege, I suppose.

Mr. JAQUES: It is a Communistic paper. There is no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN: If Mr. Jaques is finished Mr. Leger will be the next one to ask questions. Before we proceed I believe that the members will approve my calling on Mr. Heaps before we adjourn this meeting. As most you know Mr. Heaps is an old parliamentarian and has made his mark in the House of Commons. I believe he will have something to contribute to the present discussion. I will now call upon Mr. Leger.

Mr. LEGER: I want to clarify the stand I took when the question arose as to whether we should hear the Zionists. I opposed hearing the Zionist association because the order of reference did not permit us to do so. The order of reference given us was to go over the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. I now want to ask a few questions. I shall ask Mr. Garber and Mr. Mowat to be brief and to the point. I shall do the same. Who is in charge of the government in Palestine at the present time?

Mr. MOWAT: His Majesty's government in London is in charge of the government in Palestine through a high commissioner's administration headed by General Cunningham.

Mr. LEGER: Are there any Arabs or Jews in the present government?

Mr. MOWAT: Only in the lower grades of the civil service.

Mr. LEGER: To whom do you attribute the disturbances in Palestine at the present time?

Mr. MOWAT: Two groups. There are two terrorist groups operating in Palestine. There is a group known as the Urgan and another group known as the Stern gang.

Mr. LEGER: Are they Arabs?

Mr. MOWAT: They are Jews who are using terrorism as a weapon against the policy of the mandatory which they oppose and which they say needs to be resisted by violence.

Mr. LEGER: Are they Zionists?

Mr. MOWAT: They are not members of the Zionist group that is represented in the Jewish agency.

Mr. LEGER: What are their reasons for creating such disturbances?

Mr. MOWAT: The degradation of Jewish citizenship by the mandatory in Palestine. I will illustrate that by mentioning what was told me at an Institute of International Affairs session by a Canadian major who spent the winter of 1944-45 at Benevento in Italy with the Canadian infantry. He said, "I knew two Palestinian Jewish officers with whom I shared a collapsible bath during four months in the winter." They often discussed the white paper. They said they were submitting to that policy without act of protest during the war but when it was over they would protest. They would return to Palestine and take up resistance. If they wanted to buy land on which to settle they were confined to 5 per cent of the area of Palestine; 95 per cent of the area of Palestine was closed to them as an area in which they had the right of land purchase. That is due to one of the clauses in the white paper. If they wanted to bring some of their relatives from Europe, whom they hoped might survive, to Palestine to start life anew the mandatory said that they might not bring them in but an Arab neighbour who had not fought for freedom in this war, and who might have been a Quisling, might send to Iraq or Egypt or Syria and bring in any relative of his without reference to a quota, and he had the right to buy land in any part of Palestine by the authority of the mandatory. In other words, the Arab who had not fought in this war was a first class citizen of Palestine while the Jew who had fought for freedom in this war against the dictators was a second class citizen of Palestine. They said they would resist that, possibly violently.

In addition to that you have a third group, the Haganah, a passive resistance group which has used diversionary tactics in order to get entrance legally, as they say, under the Balfour Declaration policy, of Jewish people into Palestine.

Mr. LEGER: Who are they?

Mr. MOWAT: Practically the whole of the Jewish population in Palestine is directly related to what they call their resistance force, but they are quite different from the terrorist groups, which are a very small group in Palestine.

Mr. LEGER: Has the British parliament promised the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine?

Mr. MOWAT: Have they promised it?

Mr. LEGER: Yes.

Mr. MOWAT: No, they have not.

Mr. LEGER: Can you tell the committee if there are any Jews seeking entrance into Palestine without first obtaining permits or papers enabling them to do so? If so, why?

Mr. GARBER: They definitely do because the government operates under a quota of 1,500 a month.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: 1,500?

Mr. GARBER: Yes, and the people in Europe are so desperate they try to get to Palestine the best way they can. They charter boats, and they get in.

Mr. LEGER: Is it so that prior to the Jews coming to Palestine there was no irrigation system?

Mr. GARBER: The land was absolutely desolate in 1917.

Mr. LEGER: Have the Jews established an irrigation system and caused non-productive land to produce?

Mr. MOWAT: A very large proportion of the land which the Jews have settled in Palestine is land which has been drained and converted to agriculture.

Mr. LEGER: In other words, it was arid land?

Mr. MOWAT: It was arid land which was not occupied by the Arabs, and they considered this land to be useless.

Mr. LEGER: Now it is producing heavy crops?

Mr. MOWAT: Now it is producing abundantly.

Mr. LEGER: Do the Jews and Arabs seem to assimilate?

Mr. MOWAT: One of the encouraging things about the past few months has been reports of correspondents which have come to the press on this side of the Atlantic stating that tension seems to be on the higher political level, and that most of the people are neighbourly and seem to get on very well together.

Mr. LEGER: Are there any Arabs working for Jews?

Mr. MOWAT: Oh yes, a great many.

Mr. LEGER: Do the Jews pay the Arabs well?

Mr. MOWAT: Can you document that, Mr. Garber? They have a tariff for Arab labour.

Mr. GARBER: There is a very authoritative book published recently. I referred to it the other day. It is called, "Palestine, Land of Promise".

Mr. LEGER: I am only asking a question.

Mr. GARBER: I want to quote from it.

The daily wage paid to a non-skilled Arab labourer in Palestine is 100 to 180 mils while a skilled worker gets from 250 to 600 mils a day. In Syria the wage ranges from 67 mils in the older industries to 124 mils in the newer ones.

Mr. Low: What is a mil?

Mr. GARBER: I guess it is a unit of currency.

A factory labourer in Iraq is paid from 40 to 60 mils. A mil is one-quarter of a cent at the current rate of exchange.

Mr. LEGER: Has the standard of living been better since the Jews have established there?

Mr. GARBER: Decidedly.

Mr. MOWAT: That is mentioned repeatedly by people who travel in Palestine, that the Palestinian Arab is the best off Arab in the whole of the Middle East. He is so well off that the Arab population of Palestine has increased enormously and is the only place in the Middle East where an enormous increase has taken place. That is due to the attractiveness of life in Palestine under the influence of the Jewish national home project.

Mr. LEGER: Will the Zionists admit that Great Britain and the English speaking world have been the very greatest friend?

Mr. MOWAT: Pardon?

Mr. LEGER: The very greatest friend?

Mr. MOWAT: Mr. Garber can answer that question. It is the opinion of myself and all those interested in this problem that the greatest friend the Jewish race has ever had, or still has, fundamentally is Great Britain and the British people. That is why we are so anxious to make good on the Balfour Declaration policy which we regard as an engagement with a people with whom we have a unique association in history.

Mr. FRASER: There was a motion picture shown in the theatres across Canada within the last two months as to irrigation in Palestine. Do you remember what the name of that picture was?

Mr. MOWAT: I do not remember that—it was a March of Time.

Mr. FRASER: That was it. That was a wonderful picture. It was worth while.

Mr. LEGER: I saw it.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed I want to say a few words on the point raised by Mr. Leger. I know that he does it with the idea that the External Affairs committee should be a going concern. It is true our order of references as given to us at this session was the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. That was a departure from the ordinary procedure. It was the first time that the estimates of a department were given to a committee to deal with. In fact, it has been fought against in the House of Commons on several occasions. For instance, members have objected that finances will come before the committee when the different items are discussed. I should like to say that the order of reference is much wider than what we had last year because every time we wanted to deal with something new we had to ask for a new order of reference. It was very unwieldy as far as our committee was concerned.

The moment we began to deal with these items we found wonderful co-operation from every official of the Department of External Affairs, but we were also confronted with this fact that due to their ramifications we had to call in some officials of other departments. For instance, we had to call Mr. Jolliffe of the Department of Immigration. Later on we had to call Mr. Morse, Secretary of the United Nations Society. I believe it was time well spent. At the meeting at which Mr. Morse, addressed questions were asked.

I believe the fact that our committee allowed the Zionist movement to come before us has been vindicated by the questions that have already been asked of the people who appeared before us last Friday. I believe that our committee will be working properly, if, as far as I am personally concerned, it functions fully in dealing with matters in which international interests are involved. I appreciate the comment Mr. Leger has made on that score and the questions that he and previous members of the committee have asked from the people who have appeared before us.

Mr. LEGER: I believe you agree with me that the order of reference does not permit us to make any report regarding the Zionist or the Arab question to the House of Commons. The only thing which will happen will be that the papers will have the privilege of publishing it.

Mr. LOW: That is all it is.

Mr. LEGER: We have no right to do anything.

The CHAIRMAN: I must say by way of clarification that I stated last Friday to the witnesses who were here at the time we had no power of recommendation. To protect the security and activities of the members of our committee I had a personal interview with the Minister of Justice once the request was made to our committee by the Zionists to come before us. I wanted to be absolutely sure I was on safe ground. Personally I also felt very strongly they should be allowed to come here and voice their sentiments so that it would arouse public opinion and there would be more enlightenment on this very important question.

Mr. KNOWLES: May I ask one question? I believe you want to call Mr. Heaps. I should like to hear him.

The CHAIRMAN: We are still open for questions.

Mr. KNOWLES: My question is this. While recognizing the relevance and the importance of the Balfour Declaration and the whole past history of this question is not the immediate matter, and the one we should be directing our attention to so as to be of some help, that of the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission that 100,000 Jews be permitted to go to Palestine right away? Is it not true by all this other discussion we are not facing the issue and are defeating the purpose some of us had in wanting the matter discussed?

Mr. Low: I would suggest that all these things that are relevant must be discussed and must be brought before the public in order that they can properly assess whether or not this is the time to bring in 100,000 Jews. If by making the decision to bring them in you are going to throw the world into a war that our boys and girls will have to get into I tell you it becomes a very serious matter.

Mr. FLEMING: If Mr. Knowles has completed his question I should like to follow that with a question which I think shows clearly the relevance of this review. I should like to ask Mr. Garber and Mr. Mowat if the aspirations of those they represent at the present time do not go beyond mere sanctuary for Jews who are displaced persons in every part of the world and still look to Palestine where they hope to build a Jewish national home in the sense that would be a Jewish political state? That is correct, is it not?

Mr. GARBER: Yes.

Mr. FLEMING: So that the Balfour Declaration and the action of the League of Nations in mandating Palestine to Great Britain have a direct bearing on the question of the selection of a Jewish national home quite apart from any question of providing sanctuary at the present time for displaced persons. The next question is this. The aspirations of those who are represented are that the whole of Palestine—that is the present political state of Palestine—is to be embraced within the area within which the Jewish national home is to be founded?

Mr. GARBER: 10,000 square miles. The original Palestine was larger because it also had a much larger area across the Jordan but that was taken away in 1922.

Mr. FLEMING: Let us go back and clarify the question which has been raised from time to time about the partition of Palestine. There have been some suggestions recently about a further partition of Palestine as perhaps a contribution to the settlement of the present difficulties.

Mr. KNOWLES: It is in this morning's paper.

Mr. FLEMING: And in some of last week's, too. What is the official view of those represented by the witnesses this morning on that question.

Mr. GARBER: It is quite likely in order to get out of this terrific impasse—everybody is tired of the issue—that Zionists throughout the world may say,

"Well, let us call it a day. We will have a smaller area and we will build more intensively in the smaller area."

Mr. FLEMING: But the legal claim is, as things stand, to the creation of a Jewish national home in the light of what remains of Palestine?

Mr. GARBER: You know we might have difficulty with extreme groups. Sometimes a moderate party is forced not to say "yes" to a proposition but rather to wait until it is sanctioned by some law and not be asked to say "yes" because there is pressure of other groups. Then they might call us traitors, and all sorts of things.

Mr. FLEMING: Has Mr. Garber any figures on the number entering Palestine now in the course of what is commonly called illegal immigration but which is justified by Mr. Garber and Mr. Mowat on the strength of the Balfour Declaration?

Mr. GARBER: It is a little more than the 1,500 a month we are entitled to but not very much more. We are watched by the whole British fleet and air force.

Mr. WINKLER: I should like to ask Mr. Garber a question. Is there any estimate of the number of homeless Jews at the end of the first world war as compared to the estimate of Jews who are homeless after this war?

Mr. GARBER: There were comparatively few homeless Jews at the end of the first world war.

Mr. WINKLER: They would be largely confined to Poland?

Mr. GARBER: They were driven out by Hitler and transplanted from one country to another, so that to-day there are only a million and a quarter Jews in Europe. The Jews in Belgium, France and Holland are not homeless but about 600,000 are uprooted completely; 400,000 or 500,000 are in the camps for displaced persons.

Mr. KNOWLES: May I proceed a little further on the line which I started a moment ago? It apparently drew a bit of fire. I am sorry but I will have to make a three-sentence statement first. At one stage of the game the Zionist movement and world Jewry generally felt it would not be satisfied with anything less than the implementation of the Balfour Declaration in full, as Mr. Fleming has outlined it. Then there came a time when the Anglo-American committee made its report and both sides were dissatisfied. It did not take any intelligence on the part of any of us to realize that would be the case. The Arabs were certainly opposed to it and the Jews were opposed to it, but is it not true that the way the situation has developed, with deterioration and all the rest of it, that it has now reached the point where the issue is that 100,000?

Mr. GARBER: The main issue.

Mr. KNOWLES: And while there might be other things to settle afterwards it would be an immediate settlement of the disturbances and of all the feeling of having been let down that exists if the 100,000 were permitted in?

Mr. GARBER: It would ease the political tension considerably and give relief to 100,000 desperate people.

Mr. Low: If it can be done peacefully.

Mr. GARBER: Yes.

Mr. FLEMING: When Mr. Knowles says it is the main issue I think he means it is the main immediate issue. It does not solve the long term problem as to whether Palestine is to be the Jewish national state in a political sense. It is only the immediate issue.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you make a distinction between a national state and a political one?

Mr. FLEMING: I am trying to make it quite clear that over a period of years there has been a good deal of discussion revolving around the word "national" as it appeared in the Balfour Declaration because it was interpreted by world Jewry as involving the establishment of a Jewish political state in which sovereignty would be vested in the Jewish residents there. That has always raised this problem about the handing over of sovereignty. As we all know there have been long debates over the proper interpretation of that word "national" as it appeared in the Balfour Declaration. The only point I am making at the moment is that while the tension, as Mr. Garber has said, would be eased by the admission of the 100,000 displaced Jews from Europe to Palestine giving them a refuge there it still leaves unsolved this question of the creation of a national political state of Palestine.

Mr. GARBER: Except that some formula might be found by way of partition. I want to remind you that the whole issue of the Jewish state has really come to the fore only since 1942 as a result of a conference that took place at the Biltmore hotel in New York and which is referred to as the Biltmore program. Before that we did not stress the issue of the state too much because we are democratic enough to realize that we cannot expect an act creating a Jewish state while the Jews are still a minority of the population. We have always realized that first we have to become a majority, that is why we stress the importance of getting people in there, but before we are a majority we realize there will not be a Jewish state.

Mr. LEGER: What is the number of Arabs and Jews in Palestine?

Mr. GARBER: I would say 1,200,000 Arabs and 600,000 Jews.

Mr. MOWAT: It is referred to in the white paper that it should be in the permanent ratio of two Arabs to one Jew. I should like to add to what Mr. Garber has said that the attitude to world Jewry of the League of Nations and Great Britain and the mandate was this, that if you make good colonizing Palestine you have the opportunity to achieve statehood in Palestine. In other words, if you can earn in Palestine the status of a state by the way you colonize the country and develop it then it is yours to earn. They were faced with two possibilities. There were 55,000 Jews in Palestine in 1917. Suppose only 10,000 Jews had settled in Palestine between then and 1946. Suppose only 10,000 Jews had gone to Palestine. We would be in the position of saying to the Jews, "Look here, all these protestations of homelessness and the curse of homelessness are just so much wind. You have been vociferous for a national home, but you have had the opportunity to earn that and you have failed to qualify. Only 10,000 people have gone to Palestine out of the millions in the world that were suffering the terrors of homelessness, so we had better take Palestine and review the situation and put it to a purpose that will serve some human need because your need is not a need."

Just the opposite has taken place. The colonization of Palestine has been highly successful.

Mr. Low: How many are there there?

Mr. MOWAT: 600,000 are there; 550,000 more Jews are in Palestine to-day than there were in 1917. They have shown the genius of relating themselves in a normal way to a balanced economy basic in agriculture. That is to their eternal credit when we consider the ghettoizing of Jews in urban communities and their disenfranchisement through the centuries in a way that did not permit them to be owners of property and therefore agriculturists.

They have had the most dynamic economy that was in operation between the two wars, and the most rapidly expanding population in the world in any similar or greater area. We are in the position of reviewing the Palestine situation and saying, "Good, you have made a tremendous success but we are going to

compromise the deal on it and cut you out. You are damned if you fail and you are damned if you succeed." This is a heads I win and tails you lose proposition as far as the Jews are concerned. They cannot win no matter what they do, no matter in what good faith they launched and carried out the enterprise of the development of their national home in Palestine in a way that was monumental and with credit to themselves throughout the Middle East. No Middle East economy has been no successful since the Babylonian days when Iraq, which to-day has a population of 3,800,000, sustained 30,000,000 people in the areas of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

These people have the magic touch. They can make this country thrive in abundance. They have been overwhelmingly successful. Because they have been, we are in a very weak position to go to them and say, "Because you have made good we are going to compromise the deal on which you have been working." It is a heads I win and tails you lose proposition for the Jew. The opportunity to achieve statehood in their national home in Palestine was an opportunity quite openly offered to them by the responsible leaders of the British government in the time of the Balfour Declaration and in the years immediately afterwards. The white paper said that a state was not precluded under the terms of the Balfour Declaration. As recently as the white paper of 1939 the statement was made that a Jewish state is not precluded under mandate or under the Balfour Declaration policy.

To come along and say now, "You are not going to have a state after the successful enterprises you have launched and tended to in Palestine" is scant justice to people who have gone there in good faith.

Mr. LEGER: Was the Balfour Declaration sanctioned by the League of Nations?

Mr. MOWAT: Yes.

Mr. JAKES: Was it promised or implied that if the Jews made a commercial success in Palestine that Palestine would be their state? Was that implied or promised in any way at all in the Balfour Declaration?

Mr. MOWAT: Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill—

Mr. JAKES: It is something new to me.

Mr. MOWAT: Mr. Amery. I can give you the quotations. I can quote these men. They are on the line stating that a Jewish state is right within the range of possibility. Mr. Churchill said that if at some time in the future there should rise on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state comprising 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 people something would have happened which would be, from the point of view of British interests, of great value.

That is approximately Mr. Churchill's statement.

Mr. JAKES: Then the Balfour Declaration was just nonsense because it said one thing and meant something entirely different?

Mr. MOWAT: I am just giving you the interpretation that is placed on the Balfour Declaration policy by the leaders of the British government.

Mr. JAKES: It said that nothing should be done.

Mr. MOWAT: I do not think anything has been done either.

Mr. JAKES: Now, the witness tells us in 1917 it was said that if they make a commercial success in Palestine, they will be rewarded by being given a Jewish state. I have never heard that before this moment.

Mr. FRASER: At the last meeting we had on Friday it was brought out that Palestine could absorb 100,000 Jews and look after them. Now, to-day it is stated that the quota is 1,500 a month. How many can Palestine take in a month and look after?

Mr. MOWAT: They can distribute them and look after them among the 600,000 Jews in Palestine.

Mr. FRASER: No. They could not take in 100,000 in one shot in a month.

Mr. MOWAT: No.

Mr. FRASER: How long would it take?

Mr. MOWAT: By the end of 1946 they could absorb and take care of the whole 100,000.

The CHAIRMAN: What was the highest peak of population in Palestine history, that would be within the territory of the 10,000 square miles?

Mr. MOWAT: In the lifetime of our Lord, at the beginning of the Christian era, that area had between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 people; but there were artificial systems of water distribution and irrigation in force at that time and the country was capable of supporting them. Lawrence went through there on a hiking tour in 1909 and this is what he wrote to his mother, giving his views of Palestine. He wrote to her at page 73 of his "Letters of Lawrence", edited by David Garnett:

It is a comfort to know that the country was not a bit like this in the time of our Lord. The Renaissance painters were right, who drew Him and his disciples feasting in a pillared hall, or sunning themselves on marble staircases: everywhere one finds remains of splendid Roman roads and houses and public buildings, and Galilee was the most Romanized province of Palestine. Also the country was well peopled and well-watered artificially. There were not twenty miles of thistles behind Capernaum: and on the way round the lake they did not come on dirty dilapidated Bedouin tents, with people calling to them to come in and talk, while miserable curs came snapping at their heels: Palestine was a decent country then and could so easily be made so again. The sooner the Jews farm it all the better: their colonies are the bright spots in a desert.

That was what Lawrence of Arabia said in 1909.

Mr. GARBER: Loder milk quotes an authority as saying that assumes the population at the time of Christ to have been 5,000,000, including Transjordan.

The CHAIRMAN: That would be a larger territory than Palestine to-day?

Mr. GARBER: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Larger than the 10,000 square miles of the new Palestine?

Mr. GARBER: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Have they got access to the sea?

Mr. GARBER: Yes, they have the coast, Haifa, Tel Aviv, and all those ports.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there a blood affinity between the Arabs and the Jews.

Mr. MOWAT: They have common Semitic origin.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fraser has asked me if it would be possible to have the publication of our reports increased. I sent word that Mr. Mowat had made arrangements last Friday at his own expense to have a special issue of 5,000 copies printed in English and 1,500 copies printed in French.

Mr. FRASER: Yes, I asked the question because I thought that members of parliament or other people interested could buy extra copies if such copies were printed.

Mr. KNOWLES: Would it not be true to say that the intense interest on the part of both Jews and Goya in getting 100,000 Jews into Palestine at the present time is due more to the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe than to the Zionist ideal?

Mr. FRASER: You mean the humanitarian side.

Mr. GARBER: Quite so.

Mr. KNOWLES: Would it not be true to say that before the days of persecution, world Jewry was not so closely knit in getting people into Palestine as it is now because of the humanitarian needs?

Mr. GARBER: We always had a small but wealthy class of Jews who did not co-operate and were, in fact, antagonistic, men like Rosenwald of Chicago; but the vast mass of Jewish people supported the Zionist movement.

Mr. KNOWLES: So the non-Jews who are not interested in the Zionist ideals should be interested in it upon humanitarian grounds?

Mr. GARBER: We have a partnership agreement.

Mr. KNOWLES: I am trying to put it on the ground of support.

Mr. GARBER: Before the persecution of Jews started, we had large immigration into Palestine; there were always 25,000 to 30,000 Jews going in there every year.

Mr. JACKMAN: Prior to the first Great War, were there many Jews in Palestine?

Mr. MOWAT: Prior to when?

Mr. JACKMAN: Prior to 1914?

Mr. MOWAT: It started from a community of 15,000 to 20,000. At the turn of the century there was a Zionist movement in course of development in the world; and in 1917 there were 55,000 Jews in Palestine.

Mr. JACKMAN: Have there always been Jews there throughout history?

Mr. MOWAT: Yes; there have always been Jewish communities in Palestine, although sometimes they were very small.

Mr. JACKMAN: Have you any idea how many Arabs were there in 1917?

Mr. MOWAT: About 600,000 Arabs were there in 1917. Sir Wyndham Deedes, the president of the British Organization for the Jewish National Home, who was one of the most brilliant intelligence officers of the British army in the Middle East, said that it appeared in 1870, prior to the Zionist development, that in Palestine there were 250,000 people of all races; 156,000 of whom were settled Moslems; and if that community in 1870 included 156,000 Moslems, at the normal increase, according to the natural increase of population, they should to-day number about 250,000 in 1946; so that the majority of the 1,200,000 of Palestine Arabs must be accounted for by means other than relating them to the 156,000 Moslems who were resident in Palestine in 1870. It is a significant thing that around 1880 Zionism started to plant these Jewish colonies in Palestine. The rapid development of Palestine took place to the point where the population numbered close to 700,000 in 1917. That population increase is something directly related to Zionism in Palestine during that period of Zionist enterprise.

Mr. JACKMAN: Until 1914 was this whole area under the Turks?

Mr. MOWAT: Yes, until 1914 the whole area was under the Turks; and the local chieftains acted in the capacity of representatives of the Ottoman's Imperial government, as tax gatherers.

Mr. JACKMAN: And those figures you gave us include Transjordan?

Mr. MOWAT: No, Transjordan itself has about three times that much area. There are 10,000 square miles of Palestine supporting some 1,800,000, and, on the density of the population of Belgium, it would support in the neighbourhood of 7,000,000.

Mr. GARBER: Transjordan is ten times as large with a population of only 300,000.

Mr. MOWAT: It is about 35,000 square miles in area.

Mr. GARBER: With a population of 250,000 to 300,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN: What is the present Christian population of Palestine including all denominations?

Mr. GARBER: About 165,000.

The CHAIRMAN: What was it after World War I?

Mr. GARBER: I do not imagine it has changed an awful lot.

Mr. JAQUES: Does that exclude the Christians?

The CHAIRMAN: No, I meant all Christians.

Mr. JACKMAN: Did the Arabs in their own territories mistreat the Jews?

Mr. GARBER: The Jews in Yemen have always been mistreated. That place is down near the Red Sea. I would say, in the main, they were probably not treated any worse by the Arabs than they were by a lot of non-Arabs in certain European lands.

Mr. JACKMAN: On Friday some one asked the question whether or not there was any real difficulty between men of the Jewish population in Palestine and men of the Arab population. The answer was that they got along very well together, and that it was the hierarchy of the Arabs that seemed to stir them up to antagonism. How does that work out in these Arab countries where it is the Arab himself who holds sway?

Mr. GARBER: It varies. For instance, in some parts of Africa the Jews are degraded and still have to live in ghettos. In general their civilization and economy is so low that it does not count for anything. But I would say that socially they do get along well. They speak the same language. They all speak Arabic.

Mr. JACKMAN: Would you say that since the Belfour Declaration there have been as many Arabs as Jews immigrating to Palestine?

Mr. GARBER: More.

Mr. JACKMAN: More have come in since then?

Mr. GARBER: Yes.

Mr. JACKMAN: May I ask with respect to the 100,000, which is an arbitrary figure and based upon humanitarian grounds as much as upon any other grounds, if that figure were achieved, it would by no means solve the problem of distressed Jews in Europe, and it would only lead to their asking for permission for a larger Jewish immigration into Palestine. What significance can be attached to the 100,000 figure?

Mr. GARBER: We take it that the 100,000 are the neediest cases and that once you relieve that pressure, it does ease the position of the others and something can be done. Let us not forget that the committee in its report also urged that other countries take in some of these people, these displaced persons, both Jews and non-Jews.

Mr. JACKMAN: We have in the Balfour Declaration the statement that there should be a Jewish national home. I think you said yourself a little while ago that the only way to have a Jewish sovereignty in the country was to have a majority of the population and thereby allow the ordinary democratic processes go to to work. What protection is there under the League of Nations mandate or any other existing fundamental document at the present time which would ensure the Arabs, if they should be in a minority, or the Jews if they should be in the minority, their constitutional rights as free citizens of the world and the right of Palestine to control all the area to be turned over to the residents in Palestine? What protection have you for the minority whether it be Jewish or Arab?

Mr. GARBER: I would say that we would reach a population where the statehood would be declared and the nations would have set up something like the B.N.A.

Mr. KNOWLES: Heaven forbid

Mr. MOWAT: I would say that it would be done by a body like the United Nations, when civilian rights would be guaranteed to Jews and Arabs by treaty. Statehood would be something that the country would be accountable for to the sovereign international authority. That is what we understand by sovereign statehood for Palestine. But it is a concept which it may be necessary to realize in the world of the future. In so far as organizing the world into communities where minority rights are protected is concerned, there is very little chance in a state like Palestine, which is surrounded on every side by Arab states, that anything arbitrary would be done by any government in Palestine that would hurt the citizenship of Arabs. Arab lands touch every boundary of Palestine and the accountability of the state itself would be bound by treaty. The only Arab citizenship would be a first class citizenship.

Mr. JACKMAN: That concept is one which is thoroughly understood by Jews as well as by the Zionist organizations?

Mr. MOWAT: Oh, yes, I would not be associated with this movement unless that were thoroughly understood.

The CHAIRMAN: You are perfectly at liberty to state that, since Palestine is the birthplace of Christianity.

Mr. MOWAT: Yes; and as a Christian I certainly insist that Christians have equal rights with every other group in Palestine. I feel that to be what is in view through the effect of the development of the Jewish national home. The turning of it into a Jewish state is not beyond the bounds of possibility from the Christian point of view and it would be in the highest humanitarian interests because it would normalize the life of these people to whom the Balfour Declaration was addressed, the Jewish people. It would normalize their lives in giving them a land base to which they could look as the centre of inspiration; it would maintain intact, for the future, their culture and traditions; and it would be a very present help in trouble if it were a place where they could go as of right. That point was brought home to me by a man who was the best man at my wedding. He went to Japan to teach in the Canadian Academy. He taught there for years until 1937 when the atmosphere in Japan was so hot and anti-foreign that he took counsel with himself and said: "I must get out of here before the storm breaks." So he came back to Canada with his family.

Now, supposing that man had no citizenship in Canada; where could he have gone as of right? Supposing every country in the world was closed to him and he had no place of his own to go as of right? Supposing he had been only enjoying what is known as second class citizenship in Japan his state would have been something we would not like to share with our families. In countries where they were minorities the Jews for centuries have been in the same position as he was in; but they have had to stay and face the music of discrimination, hatred, persecution and violence. Their traditional role is that of being on the receiving end of violence, of having violence administered to them and being able to offer none in return. Anybody with a knowledge of Jewish culture knows that it was very pacific and that it counselled the Jews not to offer violence in exchange for violence. So what is taking place in Palestine to-day is something we witness with regret. Jews look upon it with hostility because it is a departure from their traditional policy; although understanding human nature, we can explain it on the basis of our own experiences under such circumstances.

Here in Palestine you have a land base for a homeland where a person in the position of these people may normalize his life and where he can say, "Civis Palestinus Sum"—I am a citizen of Palestine, if other countries are unable to give him citizenship under conditions that are endurable. If Palestine

becomes a national home for Jewish people it is a place for them as of right and not of sufferance. It offers the hallmarks of citizenship. If that position can be achieved, the position of the Jewish people can be normalized as a world community in a sense in which it cannot otherwise be normalized. With a national home or with a Jewish state, when conditions become unendurable to them in the countries in which they are living as a helpless minority, such as in Germany in the decade just preceding this one, they will have a place where they have a right to be, where they can enjoy the normal privileges of citizenship.

That is what interests me so much in these Palestine issues, the very need Jews have for such a place of their own where they can be Jews as of right, rather than as they are in other countries where they naturally have to adjust themselves to the prevailing culture. That is something that was inherent in the pledge of the Balfour Declaration and I believe that the admission of 100,000 or so, if that is worked out, and if the Jews throughout the world are normalized as are other people, such as the Danes, the Norwegians and the Swedes, by having a land base of their own, then the largest single contribution to the solution of the Jewish problem will be made by this coming into effect.

Mr. JAQUES: May I ask if the Jewish home which was originally promised has now become a Jewish state, what guarantee is there that the Jewish state in time will not become a Jewish empire starting with Transjordan, for instance?

Mr. MOWAT: The guarantee is that such matters are regulated by the United Nations authority.

Mr. JAQUES: What is the United Nations? Who is it?

Mr. MOWAT: Well, we belong to it, Canada belongs to it.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe the questions are pretty well exhausted and I believe the members of the committee are pretty well satisfied with the information they have received. I take pleasure in introducing to you now a man who is well known to you, Mr. A. A. Heaps. I believe Mr. Heaps has been one of the primary causes of getting Palestine oranges to us during the war.

Mr. HEAPS: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I might explain in the first instance how I come to be here this morning.

Mr. JAQUES: Do you mind standing up, Mr. Heaps?

Mr. HEAPS: I would prefer to sit down. Let me start all over again. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I might say how I come to be here this morning. I noticed in the press the other day that this committee was in session; and naturally being interested in the question, I telephoned to your chairman this morning and asked him when the committee was to meet. He told me it would meet this morning and I told him I would come down and listen to the deliberations of the committee on account of the great interest I have in the question under discussion. Then I was requested by your chairman, very kindly—although I do not know if it was very wisely—to say a few words on the question because he knew I had been to Palestine, had seen things there at first hand, and that, under the circumstances, I might be able to give a certain amount of information to the members of this committee which he hoped would be useful to them.

I might explain at the outset that I have never belonged to the Zionist organization. I do not say that with any feeling of boastfulness, but I state it as a matter of fact. The Zionist organization had no knowledge of my coming here this morning. I came here entirely on my own. I do not represent anyone. Anything I say here is entirely my own view on the question. Most of my information has been gathered at first hand on the spot.

Now, the question was raised here of the attitude of the Jews towards Great Britain. I shall speak as one who, like Mr. Jaques, myself was born and raised there; and who, like Mr. Jaques, decided to emigrate to this country at a later date. We both came here. We think that the British people, if there is such

a thing as the British people, or the Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain, have no greater friend or admirers in the world than the Jewish people, practically, in all parts of the world; and there has been no question about the loyalty of the Jews to Great Britain. And I do not think there can be any question about the loyalty of the Jew here in the Dominion of Canada.

The British people have so many remarkable things to their credit, that some things go quite unnoticed. For instance, at the present time, knowing as I do, at first hand experience, the hardships that they have gone through during the war, during the past six years, yet, at this very time, when the world is suffering, the British people in particular are suffering as a result of what they have gone through, with a shortage of practically every commodity.

When I visited Britain during the war, I experienced the scanty rations on which they have had to live. Even now the British people have decided to tighten their belts another inch or two in order to feed their enemies. It is because of that attitude, which indicates the very fine qualities of the people of Great Britain, that the actions of the moment in Palestine are almost inexplicable to many people.

I say there is a fine tradition in Great Britain. Then, with respect to the revolution that is taking place in Palestine against British rule and authority, we still have to bear in mind the thought that probably the most glorious pages in British history are those which deal with revolution in Great Britain, right from the time of Magna Carta down to the period of the Chartist movement, about 100 years ago. However, I want to say a few words about my own impressions of Palestine so that you may have, I hope, an impression of what conditions of life are like there. Some years ago I received an invitation from Jewish people in Palestine to visit their country and, naturally, when that invitation included my expenses, I could not resist the opportunity.

Mr. FRASER: May I interrupt you, Mr. Heaps, to ask what your business is now?

Mr. HEAPS: I am in the civil service at the moment, in the Department of Labour.

Mr. FRASER: I wanted that upon the record.

Mr. BENIDICKSON: You are a former member of the House of Commons?

Mr. HEAPS: Oh, yes. I have got some of my old colleagues around the table. When I received that invitation to go to Palestine I went there with as open mind as any person possibly could. I did not know what to expect or what I should see, a country that was more or less primitive in its character or almost nothing. My first impression of the country was when the ship landed at the port of Jaffa, if you can call it a port. The ship waited outside about a mile from the shore on account of the rocks. It could not get in closer. An old fashioned boat came to the ship. From the ship people were taken on to the mainland in small boats.

There came to me the assistant secretary of the citrus exchange. They took me off in the boat. They spoke perfect English. The first question I put to him was, "In what part of England did you learn your English", because he had an Oxford accent. He said, "I learned my English in Telaviv; I have never been out of the country."

I landed there and I had an opportunity to try to understand the people and their problems, because I met the leading Jewish organizations; I met Arabs. I met Arab workmen; I met Jewish workmen. I was taken in hand by the citrus exchange for a part of the time and for another part of the time I was in the hands of what is called the Histadruth which is the Hebrew term for the Jewish trade union in Palestine.

Then I had the opportunity of discussing the problems with officials of the government, with the then high commissioner of Palestine. I must say

that my impressions of the country were of such a nature that I became very pro-Palestine after I visited it. I saw most of the developments that have taken place there. This is some twelve years ago since I was there, but conditions have not changed very much recently between then and now, except as has been pointed out by Mr. Leger, the chairman, and other members of the committee who asked questions that it is a tragic situation in the world. I think it is one of the most tragic situations the world has ever faced where you find 5,000,000 Jews have been exterminated in Europe, and to-day there are 1,500,000 left, most of them crying for a refuge somewhere where they know they will be safe in body and limb, at least.

To come back to Palestine I visited the first class city of Telaviv. I remember discussing the situation there with the then mayor of the city. He told me some rather remarkable stories. We stood there on the balcony of the city hall. They had a population of 75,000 where at the beginning of the century there was hardly a soul there. He told me that when he got there the land on which Telaviv was built was sold for a load of tobacco that a camel could carry but when I was there land was selling at \$4,000 per lineal foot. I cannot say what the population is to-day, but it must be almost doubled.

Mr. JAKES: 200,000.

Mr. HEAPS: I am glad that you have taken such an interest in the Palestine question that you know it much better than I do. It has grown in ten years from 75,000 to approximately 200,000, and there has not been one Arab who has been displaced in the whole country as the result of that influx of population.

May I state here that I do not think there is a Jew that I know of anywhere in the world who wants to do the least bit of harm to any Arab either inside or outside of Palestine. Unfortunately there are certain conditions under which most of the Arabs have been raised. I saw things there that aroused my pity more than my anger. I remember going past one of the buildings where the pogroms of 1929 had taken place, where Jews were killed in fairly large numbers. I went by one institution which had been a children's orphanage. It had been ransacked and burned and many of the children there had been slaughtered.

To go a little further along those lines the Jewish organizations of the world have brought into being in Palestine a great many medical clinics. Unfortunately the Arab of Palestine is a very backward person. I am speaking of the masses. I think we are dealing with the masses of the people principally. I was told that 90 per cent of the Arab population was suffering at that time from trachoma in one form or another. The Jewish women's organization had established these clinics which were patronized almost exclusively by the Arab population.

Mr. LEGER: Suffering from what?

Mr. HEAPS: Trachoma. It is an eye disease and one of the most contagious diseases known to medical science.

Mr. FRASER: And no cure.

Mr. HEAPS: They have some method of alleviating it. It is not an entire cure but it helps.

Mr. FRASER: To hold it at its present stage but not to make it any better.

Mr. HEAPS: I believe you are right. I am not a medical man, but I was told by one of the medical men, Dr. Granofsky, who was there at the time, that 50 per cent of the cases they had treated for that disease had been arrested, and in mild cases they had probably brought about a cure. Yet when the riots took place in 1929 the very first places that the Arab population plundered,

burned and destroyed were these very clinics which were helping the Arab population.

As I said I do not say this in any anger. I say it more in pity for people who could be led into such an avenue of action. I mentioned to you the growth of the population of Telaviv. I was shown around the industries there. You might be interested because we are in Ottawa to-day. I went into an artificial teeth factory there which had just recently been established and which employed about 300 people. A certain party in the United States could not get a patent for a new kind of patent tooth in the United States so he went to Palestine and got a patent there. Then he repatented it in all parts of the world. I do not know whether any of you have false teeth in your head but you may be wearing teeth that have come from Palestine. I told the owner of the factory that I came from Ottawa. He immediately went into his inside office and brought out invoices showing that he had obtained felspar, the stone from which teeth are made, which was actually obtained in the Gatineau valley near Ottawa, sent to Palestine and came back to Canada in the form of false teeth.

In the same city I saw a textile mill where formerly there was nothing but sand dunes. I saw candy factories, brass factories and even leather goods factories. I was amazed when I saw leather goods there. I said to the owner of the factory, "How do you come to have leather when there are no cows and no skins?" He said, "We manage it somehow. We have set up a goat farm and make these leather goods out of goat skin." I opened one of the bags there and in French was written "Latest Parisian creation". They were going to Paris. I am just showing you the development that has been carried on there by enterprising Jews who have come there from different parts of the world.

Then you can go, as I went, and see the electrical works. It was stated by engineers in all parts of the world that the old staid Jordan could never be harnessed for electrical development, but the Jordan was harnessed. To-day you have hydro electric energy in practically all parts of Palestine, but when I was there the Arabs still refused to use the electricity because it was owned by a Jewish company.

You have those problems, and I will deal with them in a moment or two. I want to say when I came here this morning, as I said to you at the outset, I had no intention of speaking, and I have no prepared statement. What I am saying is entirely of an extemporaneous character.

I remember another occasion when I went through the country there. Between Telaviv and Jerusalem there is a very beautiful road through the mountains. I was shown a piece of land which I would say may have been about thirty acres all told. This is not a hearsay story. I said to the man who was showing me around, "Why is it you stop and show me this piece of territory?" He said, "There is an interesting story behind it. I will tell you the story". He said that the priests in the district had been preaching for many months that no Arab should sell his land to the Jews, and the Arab population which is very loyal to their church and to the priests refused to sell the land to the Jews. The result was that the Jews were not buying land and naturally the price of land came down to a very low figure because there were no purchasers.

Mr. LEGER: Pardon me, you mentioned the word "priest". Do you mean Catholic priests?

Mr. HEAPS: Moslem priests; I should have made that clear. The Arabs are usually Moslems. I am glad you questioned me there. The land fell down in value, and finally the priest and those who were with him got an option on the property and in a very short time were in possession of it. They got a very good price for the land. The Arab people get £100 an acre for stony land.

The CHAIRMAN: An acre?

Mr. HEAPS: Yes, £100 per acre for stony land. When the original pioneers went into Palestine they drained these malaria infected swamps with their own hands and whatever primitive tools they could get. When you go through the country to-day you can see here and there in various places little stone monuments to these original pioneers who were victims of malaria when they first went into the country.

Agricultural growth and development has been mentioned. The chairman has mentioned that I had a little to do with the obtaining of the right to entry into this country without duty of Palestinian oranges, which is perfectly correct. Speaking to members of the citrus exchange I asked them if they had the most up to date methods of orange growing. They told me they had the best entomologists and agriculturists from California come to Palestine and discuss the question with them. These professors from the universities in California told them that California could teach nothing to the Jewish agriculturists in Palestine. There you have in Palestine this rather unique situation where former swamps have been turned into beautiful orange groves producing some of the finest oranges you could get anywhere in the world.

Mr. LEGER: May I ask a question? What kind of produce are they growing, just oranges?

Mr. HEAPS: I will come to that in a moment. Where there were swamps now you have orange groves and dairy farms. On the hills which were so bare and barren you have eucalyptus trees planted by the hundreds of acres. Where you had sand dunes before you now have flourishing cities. To say that has hurt the Arab population of the east is something that I cannot understand. I cannot understand how anyone could ever say that could have hurt the people who originally lived there, because if you want to know what that means you have but to stand on the west bank of the river Jordan and face east towards Transjordan. When you look at Transjordan, a country that is larger in square miles than Palestine is to-day, you see a barren wilderness with people living there as nomads. Then you turn around and face west and you see a country that in the space of 40 years or less has grown into a modern small country, and those with whom I have discussed it believe it is still capable of absorbing great numbers of people.

One very great problem was the problem of milk supply in the country. Children had to be fed on canned milk imported from other countries. The agricultural scientists they had at the university in Jerusalem spent five years in experimenting with cows. Finally they were able by cross breeding to produce a cow that could stand the Palestinian climate. To-day the children of Palestine, whether they are Arabs or Jews, are able to obtain milk from the cows and have a fresh supply of milk as they need it, and in fairly good proportion.

Mr. JACKMAN: What is the climate like?

Mr. HEAPS: It depends. When you get into the hills you have a climate something like that out at the coast.

Mr. WINKLER: Have they not got a good deal of goat milk also?

Mr. HEAPS: Yes, they have developed quite a goat industry, too, because the goats are able to graze on the mountain sides there. I went from Jerusalem down to the Dead Sea to see the potash works which are located there. You go down a distance of approximately 40 miles from Jerusalem. Jerusalem is about 28,000 feet above sea level and when you get down to the Dead Sea you are 1,400 feet below sea level.

Mr. KNOWLES: You said 28,000.

Mr. HEAPS: It is 2,800. That was a little slip of the tongue. The Dead Sea is 1,400 feet below sea level. There is a tremendous difference in the climate between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. When I was at Jerusalem it was quite cool and I took an overcoat with me but when I got down to the Dead Sea

I found I had to take my coat off and I would have taken anything else off if I could have.

Mr. JACKMAN: Does it get tropical in any part?

Mr. HEAPS: Yes, it gets tropical in these level parts of the country. Of course, that is one of the reasons why they are able to grow all this produce there. I would not say that it is exactly completely tropical, but semi-tropical.

Mr. KNOWLES: Something like California?

Mr. HEAPS: Yes, very much like California. I could go on a little about my personal experiences there, but I know the limitations that are imposed upon the committee by parliamentary rules and procedure. There is one thing I do not think ought to be lost sight of by this committee in your deliberations. I know you will not report, but a certain amount of publicity has been given to your deliberations and no doubt will be given, as I understand, this morning. We are faced with a great humanitarian question. When you are faced with a humanitarian question, as we are at the present time, it transcends even the nationalism of one particular race or one particular creed or one particular nation. We cannot altogether escape responsibility for what is taking place in other parts of the world. When a hurt is done to one it is a hurt that is done to another. For instance, when fever breaks out in any one part of the world you have a quarantine right away in this country against the plague that may develop here if it is not checked and taken care of in time. When you have this great humanitarian problem with which you are faced in Europe I think it is a good thing for a committee of parliament to consider it so that you may become fully acquainted with the problem even if you cannot report on it. Seventy per cent of the Jewish population in Europe has been wiped out. A good proportion of the other 25 per cent to-day are living in concentration camps. They are living under hardships and do not know what is going to happen to-morrow.

As has been pointed out if 100,000 Jews were moved to Palestine it would to a certain extent ease the problem in Europe and I would say that it would create no hardship for the Arab. If you had 100,000 Jews enter Palestine and had to develop the country further you would find in a very short period there would be 100,000 additional land holdings in the country. I can see that it is about 10 minutes to 1. I know that when you have sat here for two and a half hours, as I have often sat in this room under the same circumstances, you are all anxious to rise and call it a morning. All I can say is I want to thank the members of this committee for giving me their attention this morning.

Mr. LEGER: Do you not think that our Canadian embassy in England is taking up the matter very seriously with Great Britain already?

Mr. HEAPS: I hope so, and very sympathetically.

Mr. LEGER: Do you not think that the mentality of our Canadian people would lead us to believe that?

Mr. HEAPS: What is going on in the state department is usually a state secret, but I have the impression that there will be something done.

Mr. LEGER: I believe that these matters are contentious and that we must proceed in the most delicate manner. I think that is the attitude to-day.

Mr. HEAPS: I am not suggesting that you take any action here at all. I said I knew the limitations that were imposed on your committee here. I know that you can only go a certain length. It was not even referred to you by the House of Commons. It may be that you went a little beyond your jurisdiction in having what you might call this open forum here to discuss the question, but I appreciate it that you have done what you did.

Mr. LEGER: Would you agree that the committee is more or less sympathetic on the question?

Mr. HEAPS: I think that generally speaking I would say yes, and I would say that even goes for Mr. Jaques.

Mr. JAQUES: I think I made my stand clear. My purpose here is purely and simply to elicit information.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Heaps, in listening to you it came logically to my mind the good fortune we have had in listening to you. Although we may have differed with your policies we have never doubted your sincerity. The members of our committee appreciate your contribution to this wonderful debate and presentation.

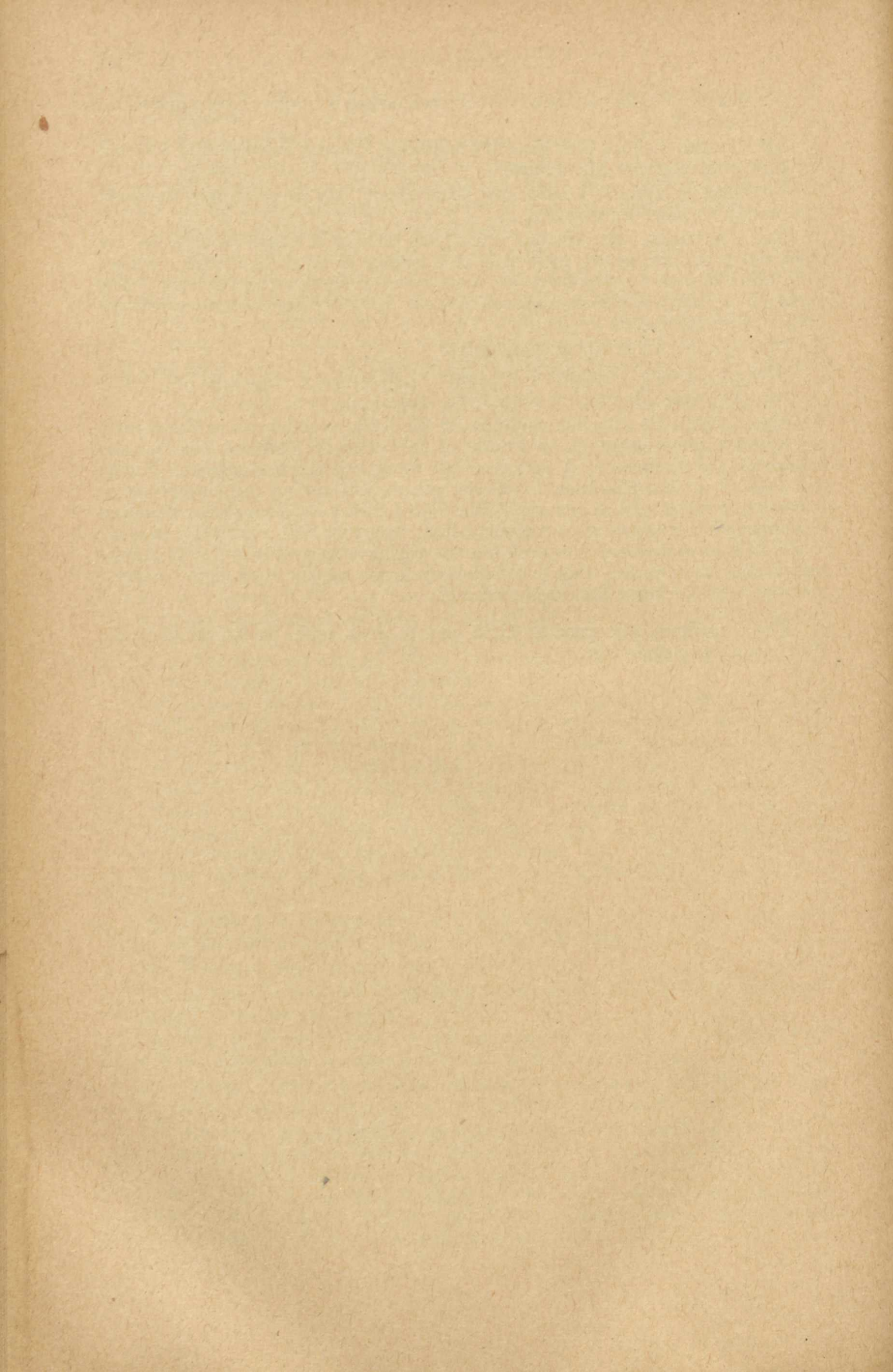
Mr. JAQUES: What about to-morrow?

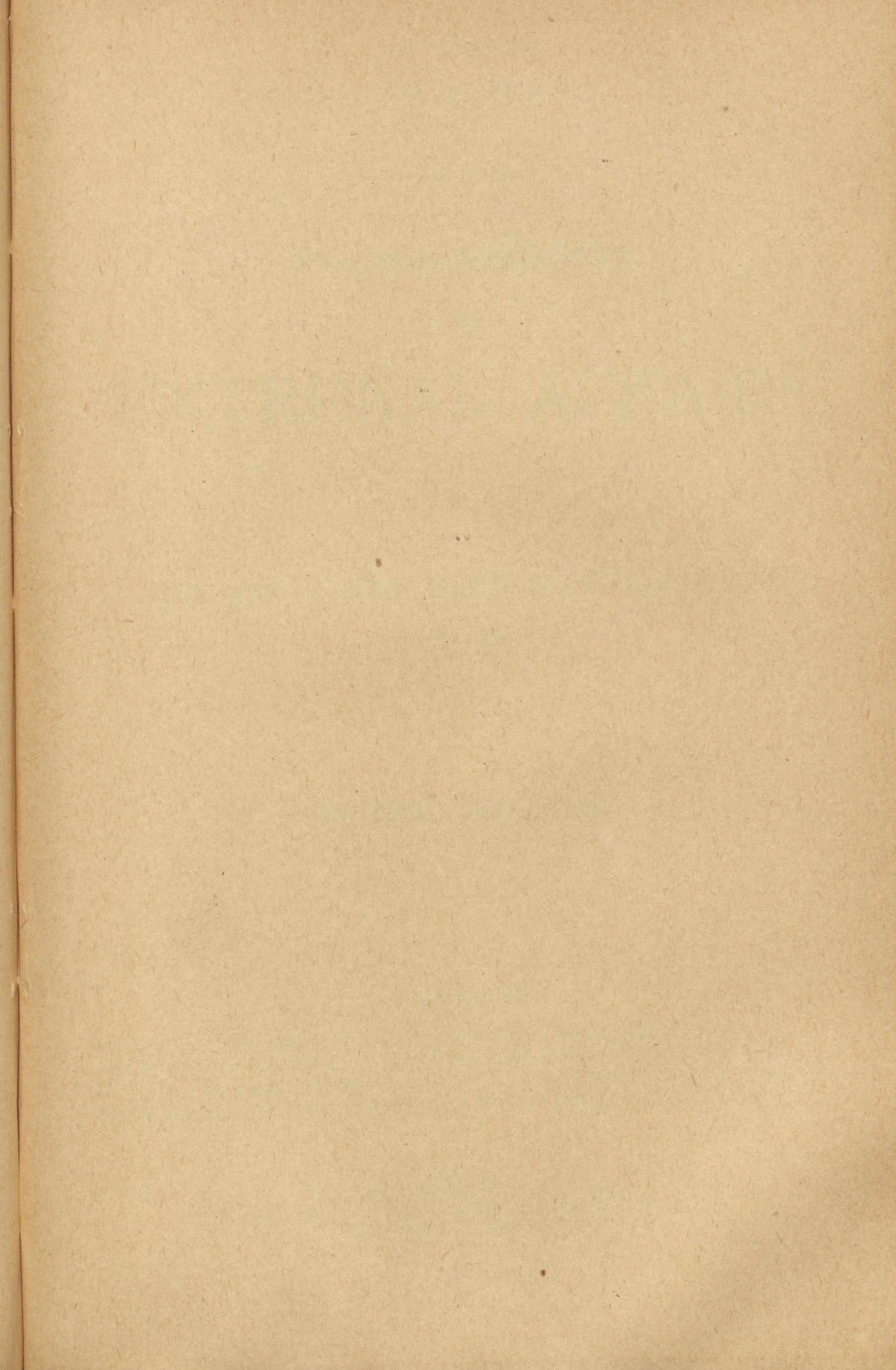
The CHAIRMAN: To-morrow we begin to sit in the morning in the House.

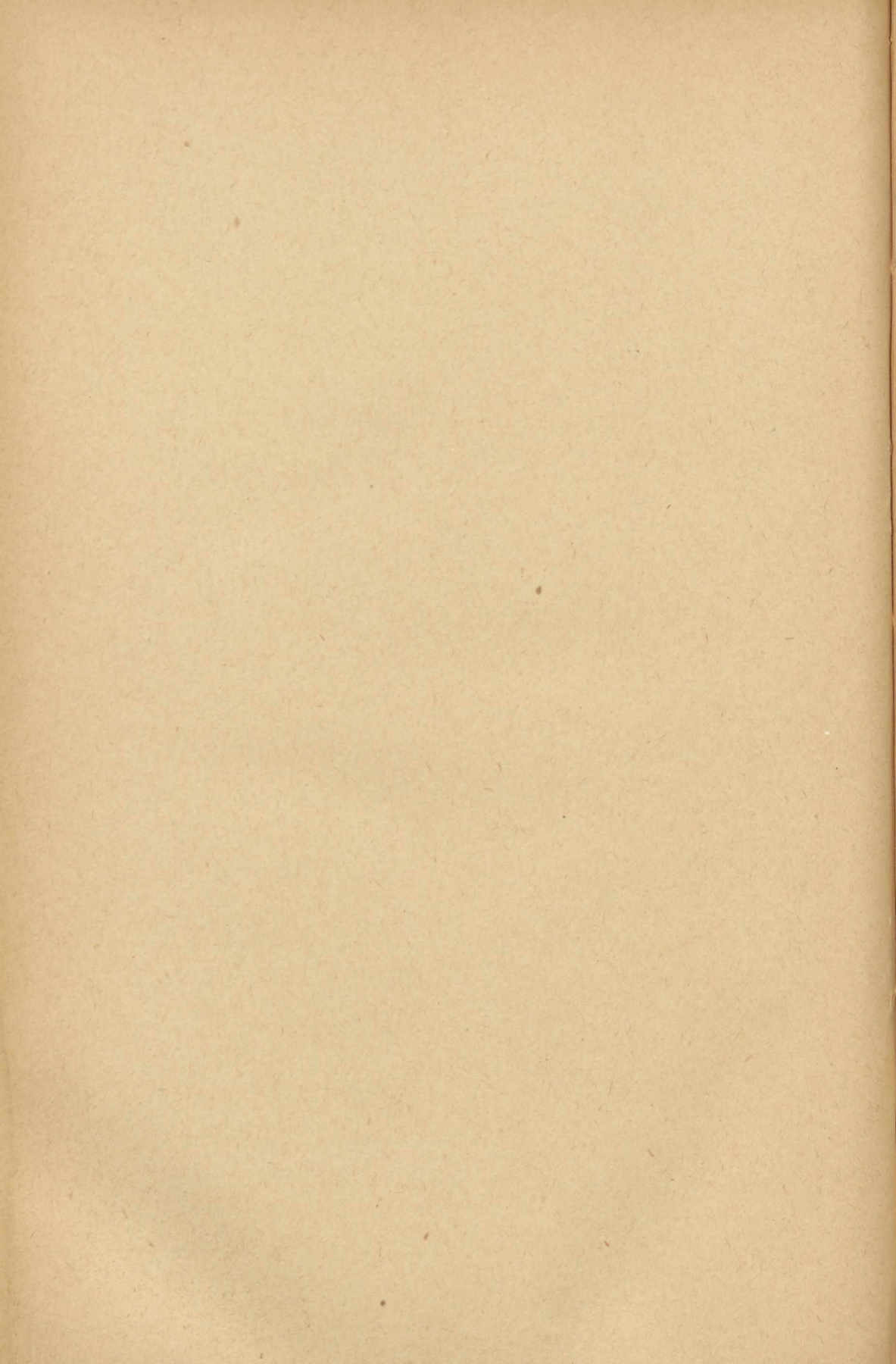
Mr. KNOWLES: It has not passed the House yet.

The CHAIRMAN: No, but we hope we do. We intend to have the Arabic organization come before us on Friday of this week at 10.30. I know it will be hard to have a meeting at that time but we will do the best we can. If you will leave it to the chairman I will do what I can taking the circumstances into consideration. As to our report due to the fact I have asked the members to present their reaction as to making a final report we will not have a meeting of the steering committee this week but we will have a general discussion of the report early next week if that is satisfactory to the members. I want to thank the witnesses for being here this morning.

The committee adjourned at 12.55 p.m. to meet again on Friday, July 26, 1946, at 10.30 o'clock a.m.







SESSION 1946

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 16

FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1946

WITNESSES:

Dr. George Kheirallah, Publisher *The Arab World*, New York.
Mr. K. Hulusy Khairy, Director of the Arab Office, Washington, D.C.
Mr. M. S. Massoud, President Canadian-Arab Friendship League, Montreal.
Mr. E. Karam, Secretary Canadian-Arab Friendship League, Ottawa.

OTTAWA
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1946

SECTION 104
TITLE OF COMMITTEE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

NO. 10

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1942

WITNESSES

Mr. George K. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY, July 26, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Bradette, Cote (*Matapedia-Matane*), Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Kidd, Leger, Low, Mutch, Tremblay and Winkler.

In attendance: Dr. Geo. Kheirallah, Publisher *The Arab World*, New York City, N.Y. Mr. K. Hulusy Khairy, Director of the Arab Office, Washington, D.C. Mr. M. S. Massoud, President Canadian-Arab Friendship League, Montreal. Mr. E. Karam, Secretary, Canadian-Arab Friendship League, Ottawa.

The Chairman asked the Clerk to read three questions which had been asked Mr. Mowat by Mr. Winkler after the last meeting and the answers thereto by Mr. Mowat. The Committee agreed to have them printed as an appendix to this day's report. (See appendix "A").

The Committee resumed the hearing of representations on the Palestine situation, the case of the Arabs being presented to-day.

Dr. Kheirallah opened the Arab submission with an address outlining the historical background of the Arab Race.

Messrs. Massoud and Khairy read lengthy briefs.

It was decided on the motion of Mr. Leger that the Committee meet again this day, to examine witnesses.

At 1.10 p.m. the Committee adjourned to meet again at 3.30 p.m. this day.

FRIDAY, July 26, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met at 3.30 o'clock p.m. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Cote (*Matapedia-Matane*), Graydon, Jackman, Jaenicke, Jaques, Leger, Low, Tremblay and Winkler.

In attendance: The same Arab representatives as at morning meeting and Rabbi Jesse Schwartz, Executive Director Zionist Organization of Canada.

The Committee resumed consideration of the Palestine situation.

Messrs. Kheirallah and Khairy were recalled, examined and retired.

Rabbi Schwartz clarified some statements which had been given in the Zionist case presented earlier.

The Chairman stated that at the next meeting the Committee would consider its report.

The Committee on the motion of Mr. Winkler adjourned at 5.45 p.m. to meet at 11.30 o'clock a.m. Tuesday, July 30, 1946.

F. J. Corcoran,
Clerk of Committee.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

January 1st 1900

The first meeting of the Board of Directors was held on January 1st 1900 at 11:30 o'clock a.m. in the office of the President. Present were the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the members of the Board. The meeting was called to order by the President, who read the minutes of the previous meeting. The minutes were read and approved. The President then reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Treasurer reported on the financial condition of the Association. The report was read and approved. The Secretary reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Vice-President reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Board then discussed the work to be done during the next month. The meeting adjourned at 1:30 o'clock p.m.

January 1st 1900

The second meeting of the Board of Directors was held on January 1st 1900 at 11:30 o'clock a.m. in the office of the President. Present were the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the members of the Board. The meeting was called to order by the President, who read the minutes of the previous meeting. The minutes were read and approved. The President then reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Treasurer reported on the financial condition of the Association. The report was read and approved. The Secretary reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Vice-President reported on the work done since the last meeting. The report was read and approved. The Board then discussed the work to be done during the next month. The meeting adjourned at 1:30 o'clock p.m.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

July 26, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs met this day at 11.30 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, Mr. J. A. Bradette presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call the meeting to order. We know that the people who appeared before us at our previous meetings representing the Zionist movement and the people who are here today representing the Arab movement will appreciate the fact, despite the number of committees and the amount of parliamentary business which is proceeding at the present time, we are able to have a quorum here this morning. Personally I want to thank the members for coming here this morning to attend this meeting which I regard and which I am sure you regard as very important.

Before we proceed with hearing the representations may I say that Mr. Winkler asked some questions of Mr. Mowat, and with your permission I will have the clerk of the committee read the questions and answers and then they can be placed on the record.

(Questions and answers appear as Appendix A to this report.)

Now, we have asked to come before us this morning people representing the Arab viewpoint on the Palestine question, and after this meeting is over we will have had the opportunity of listening to the representatives of two great and noble races with a fine historical past. I know that these gentlemen will realize how serious their representation is and I believe the same line of conduct will be followed in regard to the utterances of these gentlemen, because we are dealing with international problems. Canada is interested in these problems and hopes to play some part in their solution, but we all realize what Great Britain is doing at the present time in conjunction with some other great powers of the world.

We have with us this morning Mr. K. Hulusy Khairy, Director of the Arab Office, Washington, D.C., Mr. M. S. Massoud, President of the Canadian-Arab Friendship League, and we have also with us Dr. George Kheirallah and Mr. Elias Karam, who is the secretary. We will follow the same procedure as in the previous meeting. The speakers will present their case and it will be left to the members of the committee to decide whether they will be interrogated immediately afterwards or after all the briefs have been presented. I shall now ask Mr. Massoud to come to the front.

Mr. MASSOUD: Mr. Chairman and honourable members of the committee, to begin with I would like to introduce Dr. George Kheirallah, who is the publisher of the *Arab World Magazine* of New York, who will give us the basis of the historical relationship of the Arabs and Jews as he is an authority on history and literature as well.

Dr. George Kheirallah, Publisher of the *Arab World Magazine*, New York, called:

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Mr. Chairman and honourable gentlemen, mine is a brief and pleasant task, pleasant because it recalls better times and better memories. I shall watch the clock and not exceed my time.

The Arabian Peninsula is not the southwest corner of Asia; geologically speaking, it is the northeast portion of Africa. This peninsula was guarded on the north by the Taurus mountains. All around the west and south of it, it is surrounded by water; on the east the Persian Gulf and beyond that we had the marshes, and the Asiatic side protected by the steep Zugros mountains. Therefore, that spot was isolated in the early existence of man and its isolation protected that certain family at large living there. These tribes led the life of the reindeer man, going north in the summer to the pastures and coming south in the winter with their flocks. However, that is going back into the past, thousands of years. The country is mostly desert with the habitable tract along the water courses. Therefore settlements were established in Iraq, which is Mesopotamia, in Palestine, Syria and in southern Arabia called Arabia Felix. The rest of it was called Arabia Deserta, because it is a desert. It is a seething cauldron for any man to live in. But in spite of this there are settlements there. People of the desert have constantly infiltrated and rejuvenated habitable parts of the country. I am not going to dwell on its history. Possibly man was well distributed all over the world, but that is the place where man first took the first step in communal living. We find him in early Akkadian times, 3,000 years B.C., then came the days of the great Assyrian empire and then the second Babylonian empire. Down in the southern part we had the Maa'in civilization of the Arabs.

All those people spoke the same language but with a different dialect, because distances then were long and each tribe developed its own dialect: Hebrew is one, Aramean is another, and the Arabic spoken to-day is a dialect of the tribe of Quraish and all these and others belonged to the same family which we call the Semitic family. At one time, somewhere around 1200 B.C., some migration started out of the desert. These were hungry men who wanted better pastures and who looked with greedy eyes possibly on their brothers who were doing better than they were. That is the coming of the tribes, the Israelitic tribes. They were governed by their chiefs; in the Bible they are called judges. Then followed the days of Saul and of David and then the glorious days of Solomon. Solomon was a vassal and paid his tribute to Egypt. The kingdom did not exceed twelve miles in all directions. The part they inhabited was not the fertile plains which were then occupied by the Canaanites and the Phoenicians, but rather the barren hills of Judea. That was 945 B.C. The kingdom of Solomon grew and then disintegrated, but you have followed the course of it. However, these people had not had the benefits of culture or civilization of any kind; they were people whose most precious possession was the Ark of the Covenant and the Tablets of the Law kept until then in a tent. They did not have either architecture or builders, so when they built the temple, they had to call on Hiram the Phoenician to build it for them. Things went along until 722 B.C. when Sargon II, King of Assyria invaded the Arameans of Syria and fought with these cousins of ours, our own people, dwellers of the land. For two years he besieged Damascus, and when it fell there was no resistance left to oppose him. He marched south and carried off the ten tribes. That was the last that was heard of them in spite of the fact that Englishmen and Scotsmen sometimes say that some of them may have come to England. Maybe they did. That was the end of them. They left the tribe of Judah and Benjamin until one hundred and thirty-five years later when Nebuchadnezzar came down and swept them into exile. That is the extent of Jewish civilization.

Now, in 500 and some years B.C. when the Persians conquered Babylon and the remaining Jews were set free they came back as cultured scholars because they had been prisoners in the most enlightened medium of the old world. Babylon then was the greatest centre of learning. They left us great libraries as witnesses. They have one library in the British museum which was found almost intact with 20,000 written tablets. They were competent and good men.

Ezra and his confreres wrote the Old Testament as it has come to us. They borrowed traditions here and there, some of which are perfectly good history because they came back from an enlightened country where they had learned much. After that their existence becomes more precarious until the days of the Romans, and you know what happened then.

Now, in 636 a man by the name of Mohammed arose among the Arabs and promulgated his faith, good or bad, just as you care to look at it; but he united the Arabs. By that I mean that he united the warring tribes, and they came out of the desert to liberate their brother Arabs who were in Syria ruled by the Byzantines. As they moved along this was the admonition which the Caliph, Abu-Bakr delivered to his soldiers:—Betray not, nor take anyone unaware, practise no excesses, nor retaliate in kind, kill not an old man, woman or child, destroy not a planted field, cut not a palm tree, kill not a goat or camel or sheep excepting for food! That was the chivalry that the Arabs introduced into the world and which gave them in a short time a greater empire than that possessed by Rome. They swept aside the Persian empire as well as the Byzantine empire.

Now, when they came into the Holy Land, the Jewish people, who were kinsmen, had reached the lowest state of debasement in all their history. What did the Arab do? They took the Jews under their protection; opened all the avenues for them everywhere in the world; there were no restrictions and no discriminations. The schools were open to them, and as a result there arose what is called sometimes the Golden Age of Jewry, and that age was the product of the Arabian schools. They held in turn high positions like that held by Hasdi, who became the prime minister of the Western Khalifah.

Al Hasdi was a product of the Arabian schools, likewise was the great Maimonedis who studied in Cordova and came to Morocco from 1160 to 1165 and studied at the University of Fez. Later he went into the service of the Children of Saladin and when the British were at Askalon in southern Palestine and begged him to go with them he stayed with his people. He wrote only one book for the Jews and that is the "Guide to the Perplexed" which was written in Arabic. It was translated by Ibn Tibon into Hebrew.

The Hasdi revived the Hebrew language which had fallen into disuse. The Talmud was written in Hebrew, but the Gemara was written in Aramaic. When Jesus spoke, he spoke not a word of Hebrew, he spoke in the Aramaic language or the Aramaic dialect. Why? Because the Hebrew tongue had fallen into disuse. Therefore, this man Hasdi revived the Hebrew language, and that was the first revival of the Hebrew dialect.

Bahya ibn Pacudah, the man who wrote the fine ethics of the Jew, wrote in Arabic. Judah Ha Levi, Ben Gabriol, Ben Ezras, Ben Yusuf, Ben Labrat and others all wrote in Arabic—products of the Arabian schools. I can go on and name many others in the Golden Age of Jewry. They were all scholars of Arabian schools and they prospered.

Then came the time when the Arabs left Spain. That was the time the Jews commenced to feel persecution and hardship. They scattered and many of them came back to North Africa and to Syria, to Turkey and to Salonica. The Arabs and Moslems took them into their homes. Those were the Arabian Jews; the rest were scattered.

Now, after that the Jew remained persona grata in the Arab countries, and this was recognized by the United States government in 1812. President Madison and Secretary of State Monroe, when they had difficulty with the Barbary Coast, picked a Jew from Charleston, South Carolina, and sent him over there from 1812 to 1815 where he collaborated with Commodore Decateur and helped straighten out that matter for the American government. Jews were welcomed in Moslem countries. Thus the U.S.A. delegated as ambassadors to Turkey men like Straus, Morgenthau, Elkus and Steinhard.

Why was this done? Because the world recognized that the Jew was always welcome among the Moslems. That is why the entente lasted 1400 years. Mordecai Noeh, President Madison's envoy, wrote a book on the condition of the Jew and told how Hamouda in Tunis called over the American minister and had him kiss the Jew whom he had slapped in the customs house, and made him make up with him.

Then there was the entry of France into Algeria. That was in 1830, and came about when the pascha there, slapped the French representative with a fan because France had refused to pay two Jews whose ships of grain were sent to France.

The entente was well known. All the Arab Moslem countries received Jews. In Egypt today they are vociferous against Zionism. So are they in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon.

The Jewish merchants from Stamboul went into the Tartary country, the Caspian district and Judaized the Kharzar Tartars. The result is that when you see thousands and thousands of Polish, Russian and Rumanian Jews they have neither the Semitic wisdom or the blood. They are Tartars, and the Arabs to-day are constantly confronted with this invasion—the second Tartar invasion!

Well, gentlemen, this is the case as far as the Arabs are concerned. We were stunned in the beginning and could not realize this condition. We were shocked, we became angry and were resentful. The people we had befriended for 1,400 years did not come to us in a friendly spirit as they used to; they came and said to us: "This is our land." These are Tartars from Tartary coming into a Semitic country because they followed a Semitic religion, and the Arabs have not taken kindly to it.

The campaign in America has been one of vilification. The say: What did the Arabs do? They never did anything! I walked this morning through the hall of this building and I saw the crystal gothic arches which are the product of the Arabian horseshoe arch, the cusped arch and the intersecting arches, products of Arabian architecture. I am not going into that phase of it; I am not going to show what the Arabs have produced and can do again. Apart from the alphabet the Arab has produced a distinct civilization, a distinct pattern of living.

Gentlemen, the Arabs object to having their seaboard taken over. It is not an honourable intention. These people have adopted the refugee question and have put it forward as a smoke-screen for political purposes.

Now, before I leave this matter to my confreres may I just say one word to you gentlemen about Canada. You have the most glorious country in the world. I am not saying that because I am here, because I have repeated it many times from the rostrum. You have the richest country in material resources, and this country will some day, have 200,000,000 people and will support them too. But you have something better: you have the liberal spirit of the French pioneer; you have the sturdy Scotch sense, the canny sense and discrimination of the Scotsman. If you support the Zionist movement just to force upon us anything like 100,000 of these people which is a trick to increase the already overflowing population of the country, what will you do? You would lay yourself open to ridicule by the historians of your own people. Your country will take in 200,000,000 people and you want to force upon us an additional 100,000 which we are unwilling to receive. It would not be fair to your Scotch sense or to your French sense of justice to do that.

Now, I do not mean that you should bring them here; it is the farthest thing from my thought to make out of your country a bed of red roses to all comers.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps you might have mentioned the Irish and the English.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Before making my apologies to the Irish and the English, let me say that I have been very fortunate to have a better-half in my household who is Irish.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call on the next speaker.

Mr. M. S. Massoud, President of the Canadian-Arab Friendship League, called.

Mr. MASSOUD: Gentlemen, permit me to convey to you some of the views held on the problem of Palestine by Canadians of Arab descent, in particular by the members of the Canadian Arab Friendship League, whom I have the honour to represent.

First of all, may I state that the well-timed and aggressively advanced agitation for the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine has been as diligently pursued by the Zionists in Canada as in the United States, and has been the subject of controversy in the press and among members of the Canadian parliament. The majority of Canadians view this whole problem seriously, for tragic mistakes made by diplomats have often resulted in bloodshed and deep suffering. We have had too much of that.

The Palestine issue has reached proportions and has brought consequences for many nations which make it imperative for all right-thinking people to examine the facts underlying the present murder and cold-blooded killing of innocent people and British soldiers stationed in the Holy Land to do their duty.

The recent bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the killing of Lord Moyne and of hundreds of other innocent people during the past few years have certainly provided proof that Zionist terrorists, extremists and whatever you may call them had the approval of their leaders, and we may safely say of the leaders of the Jewish Agency. The British Government must be in possession of authentic evidence, otherwise it would never have taken the steps announced during the past few days, including the arrest of Bernard Joseph, a Montrealer, who served as vice-president of the Jewish Agency and who is known to Canadians as their ace propagandist. He and others like him have tried in vain to condition this continent for Zionist falsehood. There were many who at one time believed them; to-day, people of the western hemisphere through the daily press are getting a better picture of Zionist intrigues. Since the now famous General Morgan incident—which led to the resignation of Governor Lehman as head of the UNRRA—people everywhere have begun to doubt those glowing statements by Zionists about Jewish aspirations to Palestine. To-day we know that Zionists are following a definite plan, not to remove the misery of European Jews in general, but to establish their own political power over the Arabs.

The people who protested against being uprooted in other places should never propose the uprooting of the Arabs from their own soil. The people who prayed for justice should not attempt to get even with the inhabitants of Europe, who committed the injustice against them, by inflicting in turn injustice on the Arab.

The words of the Balfour declaration to the Zionists have become an issue. The Zionists asked for the following wording: "The reconstruction of Palestine as a national home of the Jewish people." This was refused. Instead, the Balfour declaration read: "The establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

In its first official statement before receiving the mandate, the English Government in 1922, while Churchill was minister of colonies, answered the Zionists' request for a change of wording, as follows:—

We draw attention to the fact that the terms of the declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish national home but that such a home should be founded in Palestine . . . What is meant is not an imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole.

Gentlemen of the committee, the Arabs do not come to you with an Arab problem, but hold that it is unbecoming to bring pressure on war-weary England to do an injustice to an ally, and to go against the interests of the commonwealth.

Acting on the experience of 25 years and the findings of thirteen royal commissions, England in 1939 corrected, in a measure, a mistake and issued a specific document, more specific by far than the vague Balfour letter to Baron Rothschild. This correction is unmistakable and clear.

His majesty's government therefore now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligation to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subject of a Jewish State against their will.

Are these unmistakable clearcut pledges to be ignored because the Zionists claim political influence in the United States?

To the English speaking peoples we say, let not a compact, determined political pressure group misguide you in order to coerce a sorely tried England who wants to put her house in order.

The issue of the political Zionists and their objectives are the establishment of a religious state in Palestine, regardless of the natural rights of the people who have inhabited that country twice as long as the English have inhabited England. But I beg to draw your sober attention to the fact that the real issue is being deliberately confused, and the European refugee and his plight—a horse of a different colour, is cleverly used to begot the true purpose and to gain the sympathy of the unwary.

The Arabs make a clear distinction between the Jew who is a follower of the Hebraic faith, and the political Zionist who aims to establish a kingdom or republic on charity (deducted from American, Canadian and English taxes), to arm and equip it at the expense of world Jewry, and to extend it from the Nile to the Euphrates as Hertzl advocated. The reason put forth for this chauvinistic scheme is the desire to accredit representatives and agents to the various countries that they may keep their finger on the pulse of nations, in order to safeguard the interests of Jewry. While this may sound fantastic, we have noted their manipulation in politics where they have been able to use pressure on most candidates and parties. They have committed a sin against American and Canadian Jewry by dragging and injecting the Jew and his affairs into the national conventions of some political parties into the halls of Congress and parliament, and have made Zionism and its endorsement a primary consideration in elections. They have also planted anti-Jewish sentiment in Asia and Africa when none existed before.

The so-called Jewish problem will be solved when the process of integration has been enhanced, when the Jews consider themselves and are considered by others as people different only in their devotion to their religion.

Instead of making Palestine as Jewish as England is English, according to Dr. Weizman, make the Jew in England, English; in America, American, and in Canada, Canadian. Wherever the concept of a separate race or nationality status has prevailed, this process is stultified. The average Jew and the average Arab want peace and happiness; ambitious leaders have deceived the Jew on the Palestine issue and are today creating confusion among English speaking people.

Palestine, the land of the Philistines has an area of 10,000 square miles, two-thirds of which is not fit for cultivation. It has at present 700,000 Jews and 1,200,000 Arabs. The death rate is 24 per thousand; and the birth rate is 52 per thousand; without the addition of a single immigrant, the country will double its population within the next thirty years.

In addressing you as democrats, we ask you to recognize that the land belongs to those who inhabit it. Elementary political sense and democratic feeling must recognize that no people will submit to being a minority in their own home land. Do you propose to force Arabs to accept immigration against their will until they are in a minority in their own land? Do you wish to uproot the Arabs by British or Canadian arms? The intent of the Zionists has come into the open. It is not a humanitarian project but a political scheme. Why the hundred thousand? There are three million Jews in Europe. Why be callous about the rest? The scheme involved is a step towards the Zionists' objectives of establishing a majority. With due respect I wish that this august body who is obliged to look for the welfare of a mere fraction of the millions of humans who are suffering misery to include the other forty millions of non-Jewish children of God who are in pitiful plight.

Listening to American politicians, we are astounded that Canadians who stand for the right and protection of minorities, should disregard the rights of the majority, that taxation and immigration be forced on a voiceless peasantry who have been brought up to believe in democratic fairness.

Gentlemen, in conclusion I should like to draw your attention to some of the outstanding arguments advanced by Zionists before this committee last week.

They spoke of the Zionist or Jewish war effort. By implication, they belittled the tremendous assistance and sacrifices during the last war on the part of the Arabs.

For your information, I wish to state that a great number of the 25,000 Jewish volunteers mentioned by the Zionists were women or non-combatants. Their casualties were nearly nil. The Arabs on the other hand, have suffered 16,500 casualties at the battle of Tunisia alone. Three thousand were left dead on the field of that one battle. The United States equipped and armed 350,000 North African Arabs who broke the Marath Line in Italy and fought gallantly throughout the war. Their estimated casualties were one hundred and thirty some thousand men. Jewish and Zionists in particular have forgotten that 1,500,000 Moslems were serving in allied armies and fighting for the British Empire. Zionists, of course, would not mention that the number of Indian Moslems serving in the British Merchant Marine during the last war was greater than the total number of Jewish volunteers mentioned by them.

If the speaker for Zionists who appeared before the committee last week believes that his assumption regarding the Zionist percentage amongst Jews is correct, I should like to ask you, gentlemen, whether it would not be fair to hold the Jewish people as a whole responsible for the acts of terrorism and for the flood of propaganda lies, now sweeping through Palestine and I might say a large part of the world. I, personally do not believe that 95 per cent of the Jewish people are in favour of a Jewish state in Palestine at the expense of open warfare with Britain and the Arab nations.

Zionist claims that Jewish immigration into Palestine had brought important benefits to Arabs are another fabrication of falsehood. How can Jewish people, liberated by Allied soldiers from the filth of their European ghettos bring wealth, sanitation, or culture to Arabs? Some of these poor people who entered Palestine illegally in the hope of finding the promised haven in the Jewish Agency buildings in Jerusalem and Haifa are already preparing to return to Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other European countries because Zionist hospitality and claims in regard to Palestine do not appeal to them. They believed in their propaganda and have ended in despair.

May our presentation of these facts about Palestine clarify some of the confusing statements made by the Zionist Committee and recently repeated by some Canadians, including members of parliament in their appeal to their Jewish voters. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN: Now I will call on Mr. Khairy.

Mr. K. Hulusy Khairy, Director of the Arab Office, Washington, D.C., called.

Mr. KHAIRY: Mr. Chairman, I suppose you would like to know who I am and where I come from. I come from Palestine. I was born there and educated in the American University of Beirut, and I studied for three years in London University. And I am now working as Director of the Arab Office in Washington. I am not speaking on behalf of the Arab Office in Washington or any other organization. What opinions I express here should not reflect on the views of Arabs on this problem.

Gentlemen although this is my first visit to your beautiful country I happen to know something of the history of its people, of their struggle for freedom and, lately, of their great contributions in men and material for the liberation of small nations. For this reason I feel confident that you as their representatives will also appreciate the sacrifices and efforts exercised for the achievement of the same noble aims by all peoples in any land.

Among the people who have taken up the fight for liberty during the last century are the Arabs; more particularly, those of them who live in the Near East. For the last 75 years they have been engaged in the tremendous task of liberating their countries from the foreign influences which have dominated them for almost 400 years. This struggle took a more active shape in the revolt led by King Hussein against the Ottoman empire and on the side of the allies during the first world war. The participation of the Arabs in that war was in return for a definite pledge guaranteeing the liberty and independence of all the territories within the Turkish empire inhabited by Arabs. The story of the Arabs of Palestine is part and parcel of this struggle and it is precisely for this reason that the political sentiments of the Arabs of Palestine are generally shared, not only by the governments of the neighbouring Arab states, but by the inhabitants of those countries as well. These countries have pledged themselves to support the Palestine Arab to the extent that may be required in order to protect the integrity of that country and secure the independence of its people.

Until 1917 Palestine in its present form never existed as a separate political entity. Until that time it formed part and parcel of Syria. Its population and then amounting to some 750,000 were 90 per cent Arab, 9 per cent Jew and 1 per cent foreign nationals. This carving out of Palestine was carried out against the expressed will of the inhabitants of both present day Syria and Palestine and against the explicit British pledges and implicit international guarantees.

The Arabs of Palestine are descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of that territory who have been in occupancy of it since the beginning of history. They feel and believe that Palestine is their country in the same sense and for the same reasons that England is English, France is French, and Canada is Canadian. They cannot agree that it is right to subject this indigenous population against its will to alien immigrants whose claim is based upon historical connection which ceased effectively many centuries ago. Forming the majority of the population they are also opposed to any policy of immigration which would ultimately lead to reducing them into a minority in an alien state. Further, they claim the democratic right of a majority to make its own decisions in matters of important national concern.

This natural right of the Arabs of Palestine to live in it in full freedom, to remain in undisturbed possession of it, to develop it in harmony with their

traditions and ideas, and to exercise in it all the privileges and responsibilities that are enjoyed by all the majorities in the world, was further recognized and confirmed explicitly by Great Britain and her allies in the various undertakings and statements made during the first world war and implicitly by the principles which underlay the aims of the allies during the first world war and the United Nations during the second world war. Thus any support given by any government to the Zionists is not only contradictory to the rights of the Arabs, but is also a clear violation of solemn international obligations.

Nor was this right ever disputed by any one or any counter-claim ever contemplated against it by any nation: not even by the Jews whose right to raise such a claim as a nation is highly questionable. For they belong to many nations and owe their loyalty and allegiance to the many countries where they live and where they earn their livelihood. It must also be remembered that Jews cannot claim Palestine as their national home and at the same time demand the right for equal treatment. Such, if granted, would amount to a privilege incompatible treatment. Such, if granted, would amount to a privilege incompatible with the principle of equal rights. It is further maintained that not until lately have Zionist leaders made public their intentions of reconstituting Palestine as a Jewish state. In 1931 Dr. Weizmann, in an address to the Zionist Organization of which he is president, said:—

The Arabs must be made to feel by deed as well as by word that whatever the future numerical relations of the two nations in Palestine, we on our part contemplate no political domination.

In introducing the history of Zionism, written during 1918, Mr. Sokolov, at that time president of the Zionist organization, wrote:—

It has been said, and is still being obstinately repeated by anti-Zionists again and again, that Zionism aims at the creation of an independent Jewish state, but this is wholly fallacious. The Jewish state was never a part of the Zionist program.

Nor was such a claim ever sanctioned or approved by any nation or a group of nations. The Balfour Declaration which is often quoted by the Zionists to support their claim for reconstituting Palestine as a Jewish state should be carefully examined. The authors of this document, which was issued in the form of a letter dated November 2, 1917, and addressed to Lord Rothchild and signed by Mr. Balfour, at that time Foreign Secretary, never contemplated such an ambitious scheme. This is how that letter reads:—

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with the Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet. "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

It should be observed that the declaration was made by a group of persons with no international status and responsibilities through an Englishman. In fact, they were members of different nations.

Observe, also, that the letter contains no description of the "Jewish Zionist aspirations" with which His Majesty's Government was in sympathy, nor any definition of the term "a National Home for the Jewish people". Observe,

too, that there was no reference to the political rights in the clause safeguarding other rights of the existing population. The description of the Arabs, at that time constituting some 90 per cent of the total population of Palestine, as an "existing non-Jewish community in Palestine", is contemptuous and insulting. The last sentence of the letter is humourously superfluous, unless used as a smoke screen, as it subsequently became known that the Zionists themselves took the major share in drafting the document. As a whole the Declaration must indeed be unique as a State paper in obscurity of its phrasing, its gratuitous insulting reference to a people who at the time were the allies of Great Britain, and its careful concealment of the ultimate object to which His Majesty's Government hoped to attain.

However, five years after the issue of the Balfour Declaration the British Government realized the necessity of removing these obscurities in order to put an end to the wild interpretations that were being put to it by the Zionists. With this object in view the command paper of 1922 was issued. It contained a clear picture of the intentions of His Majesty's Government and a rather detailed definition of the term "a National Home". This is how it reads:—

Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become "as Jewish as England is English". His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated the disappearance or the subordination of the Arab population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the Balfour Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded in Palestine.

The nature of the National Home in Palestine was further described in a detailed form in the same official statement, as follows:—

During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community now numbering 80,000, of whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers on the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concern; elected councils in the towns and an organization for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabinnet and Rabbinical Council for its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language and a Hebrew press serves its need. It has its distinguished intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community then, with its towns and country population, its political, religious and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has, in fact, national characteristics.

When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine on the whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take on the grounds of religion and race, with interest and pride.

Since then, gentlemen, this community of 80,000 has increased into a community of something like 600,000 and their holdings in Palestine have multiplied enormously, and in the same white paper of 1939 the British government declared in unmistakable terms that as far as this obligation toward the Jewish national home in Palestine is concerned they regarded that as having been fully discharged.

Even after this interpretation of the Balfour Declaration the Arabs continued to denounce it. They have never recognized, and will never recognize, either the Declaration or the Mandate which embodies it. The first contained a promise which Great Britain was not entitled to make without Arab consent, and which in any case was invalid since it conflicted with a previous and binding British pledge. The second is an illegal document. The terms of the Mandate, which could only have derived their sanction from the Covenant of the League of Nations, are in conflict with the letter and spirit of the relevant article, namely, Article 22 of the Covenant which reads:—

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a state of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of a mandatory.

The Arabs also continued their opposition to the policy initiated in Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration and the provisions of the Mandate, which opposition manifested itself soon after the issue of that declaration in 1917. Until then the Arabs had always lived in peace and on friendly terms with the Jews who were in Palestine from devotional motives. It was only after the issue of the Balfour Declaration, when the Zionist-Jews began to exhibit political pretensions and revealed their real intentions that Arab fears and opposition were aroused.

Nor were these fears of the Arabs groundless—the policy pursued by Great Britain in Palestine since 1918 has shown that these fears were fully justified. The Arabs have been denied their independence which had been promised to them in the British Government's pledges of the 24th of October 1915, and confirmed in several subsequent pledges in return for their share in the allied victory. A Mandate was imposed upon them of which the terms were a flagrant violation, not only of the promises made to them and of their own natural rights, but also of the right to political independence, which was specifically recognized to them in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

An administration was set up in Palestine, which, for the last 25 years, has exercised unfettered power equivalent to an absolute dictatorship in all the domains of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—thereby denying the Arabs of Palestine, who before the war had enjoyed the privileges of parliamentary representation and ministerial responsibility, the most elementary right of self-government.

The terms of this Mandate were the product of close consultation by the British Government and the Zionist Jews, from which the Arabs, whose country was at stake, were deliberately excluded. In virtue of its provisions and in spite of constant Arab protests, the Mandatory power has enacted legislation to enable the Zionist Jews to pour their immigrants into the country and buy up all the lands they could, with the result that in 20 years the ratio of Arabs to Jews has dropped from 10 to 1 in favour of the Arabs in 1919, to 2 to 1. The Zionists have also made land purchases which are estimated at one-third of the cultivable area in Palestine. Furthermore, these purchases were made in the most fertile tracts of cultivable land in the country, and have resulted in the steady deposition of an increasing number of Arab cultivators, who have been driven to seek a make-shift livelihood elsewhere than on the soil which they had been cultivating for centuries. Arab villages have been razed to the ground, their homes and mosques and their cemeteries entirely wiped out, and their names (which in some cases had historical association) officially erased from the map and replaced by the Hebrew names of some of the new Zionist colonies. Moreover, this acquisition

of land by Jews has led to such congestion in the rural districts that the present average holding in Arab hands is, as has been ascertained by many British commissions of inquiry, no longer sufficient to provide the holder with even the bare needs of subsistence.

By 1936 Arab resistance and opposition had assumed serious proportions. For three years the Arabs revolted, with the consequence that there was complete dislocation of the administration and anarchy prevailed throughout the country. The Arabs suffered heavy casualties: they lost 15,000 men in dead alone, to say nothing of the enormous material destruction which this struggle entailed. By 1939 the British Government was faced with a situation which was described in the following passage of the White Paper:—

The alternatives before His Majesty's Government are either, (1) to seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country, or (2) to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it. The former policy means rule by force. Apart from other considerations, such a policy seems to His Majesty's Government to be contrary to the whole spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as well as to their specific obligations to the Arabs in the Palestine Mandate. Moreover, the relations between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine must be based sooner or later on mutual tolerance and good will; peace, security and progress of the Jewish National Home itself requires this. Therefore, His Majesty's Government, after earnest consideration, and taking into account the extent to which the growth of the Jewish National Home has been facilitated over the last 20 years, have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle, the second of the alternatives referred to above.

That is to say that no immigration to Palestine will take place against the will of the Arabs. In the same white paper of 1939 the British government has declared that her obligations for the establishment of a national home for the Jews has been fully discharged.

Gentlemen, it is beside the point to argue that Jewish immigrants have benefited the Arabs materially. The argument is demonstrably false. When account is taken of all the changes brought into the economic and social structure of the country by the influx of Jewish money and immigration, the result is found to be on balance dangerously detrimental to the material interest of the Arab population. But even if it were true, the argument is beside the point. In the eyes of the Arabs, the issue is not primarily one of material consequence, but first and foremost one of moral and political values.

Here I should like to add that the density of population in Palestine has been estimated lately. The latest census has not been carried out—no census has been carried out for nearly ten years, but we have a department of statistics which has been working on the basis of the census of 1933. According to this the density of the population in Palestine is something like 175 persons per square mile while in America it is something like 42 persons per square mile, and I think in this country it is less—something like 4 per cent.

Mr. GRAYDON: If those figures are correct that would mean 1,750,000?

Mr. KHAIRY: That is right. It is over that. There are now almost 1,800,000.

Mr. GRAYDON: I think someone in the committee said there were 650,000 Jews and 1,250,000 Arabs.

Mr. KHAIRY: I have not got the exact figures because there has been no official census for the last ten years. It is approximately 1,200,000 Arabs and 600,000 Jews.

Mr. GRAYDON: Someone said there were 650,000 Jews.

Mr. KHAIRY:

Is it right that the Arabs, who have been in continuous occupation of Palestine for over 1300 years, and whose life is deep-rooted in its soil and its countryside, should be either forcibly ejected or squeezed in order to enable the Zionist Jews to establish the Jewish National Home in their midst? That is the real issue.

As to the problem of finding a home for the homeless Jew, it is one that concerns the whole of the civilized world. It is generally conceded that Palestine cannot provide a solution of the Jewish problem and in any case the country has already a far larger population than it can support. It is essential for a comprehensive understanding of both the Palestine problem and the Jewish problem that a distinction be drawn between the two issues. Any attempt to treat them as one can only result in confusion and would render both almost insoluble.

Regarding the relief of Jewish distress in Europe, it is now obvious that only by the joint effort of the Western Powers can this problem be solved. The numbers involved are too large to be affected by any quota which the small land of Palestine can accept. Moreover, those who have studied the problem are more and more convinced that the democracies have no moral justification for imposing upon the Arab World a burden which they themselves are not ready to share. In a united effort to afford relief to suffering Jewry the Arab countries have, through their spokesman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, expressed their willingness to play their part in the solution of this problem on an international basis. It is essential that the Western Powers, more particularly Great Britain and the United States, must set the example by such relaxation of their present restrictions against Jewish immigration as may be required. This, gentlemen, applies to all the countries who claim to have any real, genuine sympathy with the suffering of European Jewry.

With this Jewish relief problem solved the sympathy of so many honest people which has been so efficiently exploited by the Zionists to camouflage their political ambitions would come to an end. The Palestine problem in its true perspective as essentially and basically one of territorialism and the right of self-determination becomes clear. The solution also becomes obvious, which is to restore to the inhabitants of Palestine the right of self-determination which has been promised to them and which has been guaranteed by political undertakings and by the principles of the United Nations. Thank you, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN: With the agreement of the members of the committee we will meet again at 3.30.

The committee adjourned to meet again to-day at 3.30 p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 3.30 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, the briefs have been presented and the meeting is open for interrogation.

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask a few questions of Mr. Khairy.

Mr. K. Hulusy Khairy, Director of the Arab Office, Washington, D.C., called:

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Are any Arabs working along with the English in the Palestine government?—A. Government officers? Yes, I was myself a government officer until last year, until I resigned to come to Washington.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. What was your position?—A. A district officer, an officer in charge of the administrative area of Jaffa.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. To whom do you attribute this present disturbance in Palestine?—A. To the activities of Jewish terrorists.

Q. Do the Arabs believe in freedom of speech and religion?—A. Well, in the countries where the Arabs were independent and ruled themselves there was a free press.

Q. And is there freedom of religion also?—A. Yes. I will give you as an example Egypt where there are a million Christian Copts, also Iraq and Syria where there are religious immunities.

Q. In Palestine?—A. We have never had an independent government in Palestine; it is a mandate.

Q. Is there freedom of speech and religion?—A. Well, as far as freedom of religion is concerned, yes, but as to freedom of speech and of the press, the degree of freedom of the press depends upon circumstances. For example, under conditions of disturbance naturally the freedom of the press is restricted.

Q. Now, do the Jews in Palestine believe in freedom of speech and religion?—A. Well, I do not know about that. I have a feeling, however, that the Jewish terrorist movement in Palestine does not make it easy for some Jews to express their views on matters of important concern to those people.

Q. Does the average Arab in Palestine assimilate with the Jews?—A. The average Arab? What do you mean by assimilate? The Arab is distinctly Arab and the Jew is Jew.

The CHAIRMAN: Do they inter-marry?

The WITNESS: No, there is no inter-marrying between Arabs and Jews. But they bear no hatred against the Jews.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. To what extent do they work with each other?—A. As far as I know, and as you may have known from the presentation, the Jews live in a closed economy. The whole economic planning of the Jews in Palestine is directed toward one single objective, namely, the disposition of the Arabs and the gradual alienation of their lands and the conversion of the country into a Jewish state. I would like to mention in this connection that in 1919 President Wilson sent to Palestine a committee, which became known as the Crane-King Commission,

to investigate into the wishes of the Arabs with respect to their political future. In that report which, unfortunately, has been suppressed, the committee said that from interviews with Zionist leaders in and outside of Palestine they have been told openly and frankly that their policy is to gradually dispossess the Arabs in Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: Why do you say "suppressed"?

The WITNESS: Dispossess. The report was suppressed because of Zionist influence in the United States.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Suppressed by whom?—A. I should not have said suppressed; it was not published.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Was it shelved?—A. It was not shelved, but it was not submitted to the peace conference either.

Q. Do you mean to say the government of the United States appointed a commission that went to Palestine and did not report officially?—A. I did not say the government. It was President Wilson himself who sent these gentlemen to the Near East to investigate into the wishes of the population there as to their political future.

Q. For the President of the United States?—A. For the President. When they came back to the United States they found him ill and later he died. Would you allow me to read these two paragraphs with regard to this report? This appears in the book *Palestine the Reality* by J. M. N. Jeffries:—

But at this point the question will surely come: how was it possible to disregard the report at all since thus to act counter to the findings must have been to arouse some degree of international feeling against themselves. The answer is a simple one and possibly may not prove so surprising in the light of the previous doings of men of mark. No public feeling was evoked by the report and no member of the general public read a line of it: there was not a paragraph concerning it in the press—for the sufficient reason that it never appeared—the Crane-King report was suppressed.

DR. KHEIRALLAH: I was rather shocked at the question whether Arabs believe in freedom of religion or not. I was shocked because we are so close to the Arabs and the Moslems of the world. They are situated not only at the cross-roads of the nations, but also at the heart of all strategic and important points, and have been in close touch with them ever since the Crusades. Now, I am not going into any detail, but Lebanon has absolute freedom of religion, Syria has absolute freedom of religion, Iraq has absolute freedom of religion, Egypt has absolute freedom of religion. In Morocco, long before French occupation, the Jews had their own courts presided over by their own learned rabbis. There is only one section, and that is Hedjaz Hedjaz, which has for centuries been closed to all outsiders, other than Moslems, because in a sense it is considered to be their Holy Land.

Now, on this point of tolerance, as far as the Moslems are concerned—and when we talk about Arabs I realize that in certain sections the Moslems predominate—they came out of Arabia like a flaming sword. They found the Chaldeans with their churches and monasteries and they did not interfere with them, and they moved to where the Christian sects were and when they found them they left them, and they moved into Lebanon and they came to Palestine and to Byzantium with its Orthodox and Greek Catholics and then into Egypt with the Copts with their monasteries and churches. Now, we had one thousand years of Moslem supremacy and those other people are still there with their convents and

their monasteries and their churches. In India where the Moguls ruled and where the Moslems ruled for a thousand years the people who had their temples still have them. There is occasional friction between the different peoples, but this also happens between Methodists and Baptists and has happened between Protestants and Catholics; but there is no question that the Moslems teach tolerance. In Palestine there is a different situation to-day because of the hateful feeling engendered by this Zionist movement.

Mr. LEGER: I will ask you to be very brief and to the point. I asked the same question of the Jews. We are a committee trying to clarify this matter. You said you were shocked.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Yes.

Mr. LEGER: You should not be shocked because we asked a question, and I am asking the question and I ask you to be very brief and to the point.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Leger, it is hard for the chair to decide these matters as regards questions which involve a number of problems.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. We were told that Palestine is 10,000 square miles in extent.—A. That is right.

Q. We were told that there are 174 persons per square mile in Palestine.—A. Yes.

Q. That would mean a population at the present time of roughly 1,700,000?—A. That is right. I did point out that these figures are approximate, and they are rather on the conservative side.

Q. That is what I said—approximately. The other group said the same thing. You told us there were approximately 600,000 Jews in Palestine at the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. That would leave 1,200,000 Arabs?—A. That is right.

Q. Did you not tell us this morning that the population would more than double itself in thirty years?—A. I did not say that myself, but I think that is a correct statement. Through the figures of the statistical department in Palestine it has been actually calculated that if the rate of birth continues to be as it was during the last five years and the death rate continues to be as low, the population, without the immigration of one single person, would double in even less than thirty years.

Q. Could you tell the average family in Palestine; how many people are there per family?—A. Actually it has been calculated by Sir John Simpson, who was appointed especially to investigate into the economic life of the Arabs in Palestine, that there is an average of five persons per family.

Q. And what would be the average of the Jewish family?—A. I have no figures to give, but it would be definitely less.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there anyone who can answer that question as regards Jewish families?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ (Executive Director of the Zionist Organization in Canada): I would say that the average Jewish family in Palestine would number four.

Mr. LEGER: Two children per family?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Yes.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Did you not tell us this morning that at least two-thirds of the area of Palestine was non-productive?—A. I did not say that exactly, but I think that it is a correct statement—two-thirds is incultivable.

Q. I presume you mean to say that two-thirds of Palestine would be a desert?—A. A desert or rocky mountains.

Q. Could that portion, the desert, be made productive through an irrigation system?—A. This is a very complicated question. In the first place it is a question of economics rather than a question of possibilities. Of course, you can spend 100 pounds on rocky soil and make it productive, but whether this production is economic or not, whether it is worth while or not, is another question. I understand on authority that it is almost impossible to increase appreciably the productivity in Palestine on an economic basis. I would like to make that very clear. It is not a question of possibility only.

Q. Would you explain to the committee how many Jews and Arabs fought in this last war, and what their casualties were?—A. I have not that figure for the Arabs. I would ask my colleague, Mr. Massoud, about that. He mentioned this point. It was reported in the brief this morning.

Q. If it was reported in the brief I will not ask for an answer now. Could you tell the committee if there are many Jews seeking entrance into Palestine without first obtaining their permits or papers?—A. Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, the Jewish organization and the Zionist sympathizers in the United States are rather proud of it. I think I could use the word "shocking" this time with full justification. It is shocking to see that statement in the papers in the United States. There was an advertisement which ran something like this: Contribute so much and we will undertake to bring into Palestine against the laws of the country so many Jews from Europe. They were calling for contributions to enable them to break the law.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Would you answer that question more definitely by confining your answer to within the past ten years? What would you presume to be the number of Jews who have gotten admission into Palestine other than by legal means?—A. I have not got the means. I do not think the government has the means. There are estimates. I heard Mr. Bergerson testify before the Anglo-American committee in Washington that in one year they have succeeded in having 12,000 get into Palestine. He is the chairman of the league for Hebrew liberation.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Is it true that prior to the Jews going into Palestine there was no irrigation system?—A. That is not true at all. I am one of those who own an orange grove. It is only twenty-five acres in extent. I share it with four of my brothers. This orange grove was planted by my father long before the Jews came to Palestine, and you cannot have oranges without irrigation.

Q. Are there any Arabs working for the Jews in Palestine?—A. I dare say there are. There is a limited number of Arabs engaged by Jews, but it is only for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour.

Q. Are the Arabs who work for the Jews well paid; are they paid as good wages as other people?—A. I will tell you this. It is a curious fact. In 1933-35 I was the district officer in Jerusalem and at the time we had a very serious problem which was known then as labour picketing. The Jewish Labour Organization organized a campaign to drive out by force Arab labour from public works—all government works within the Jewish area as well as from Jewish-owned property in Palestine. It was a very serious problem, and the government had to interfere and put an end to it.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. To what extent are Jewish workers engaged by Arabs?—A. Very few of them are engaged because they ask for high wages.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. May I ask this question? While the Jewish witnesses were here, I asked this question: how do the ordinary rank and file—outside of the leaders of Jewry and Arabs in Palestine—get along together in a general way?—A. As I said a moment ago, until the time when a change in policy was made to undermine their national existence. After the white paper of 1939, which safeguarded the rights of the Arabs in Palestine, the Arabs did not mind associating with the Jews and buying and selling to and from them until the campaign of the Zionists started to abolish the white paper and until they had succeeded in killing the White Paper the atmosphere was calm, but now it is tense and it will continue to be tense, until the Arabs' fears are removed.

Q. In that event your evidence is directly contrary to the Jewish evidence which was that the Arabs and the Jews—the ordinary people among them—get along well together in Palestine.—A. If what they mean is that the rank and file of the Arabs are not conscious of their political rights that is absolutely wrong. The average Arab and the simplest of them knows and is fully conscious of his political rights and he is prepared to fight for them now as in the past.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Would you say that the standard of living in Palestine is better since the Jews have come in than it was before?—A. I would like the question to be asked differently. The standard of the Arab has risen since 1919, but this is not due to the presence of the Jews. The standard of living throughout the Arab countries including Palestine has risen since 1919 because of the impact of western civilization, the interchange of commerce between the Near East and the west, the development of the natural increase and potentialities.

Q. My reason for asking you these questions is that most of them were asked to the other group that was here.—A. I understand.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. I understand that the witness stated this morning that the Balfour Declaration was drafted or was influenced by the Zionist society. I would like to know on what ground you said such a thing.—A. I did not say that; but I do say now that the Balfour Declaration was given for the asking. Who could have worked for it except the Zionists? The Balfour Declaration did not come from heaven as a gift. It was worked for and asked for and it could not be asked for by anybody else except the Zionists.

Q. I understood the gentleman said this morning it was drafted. We have not got the minutes of this morning's meeting in order to clarify the point.—A. I said that they had a share in the drafting of the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

Q. Was there any immediate response, any negative response from the Arabs against the Balfour Declaration at the time it was made?—A. An immediate response was made as soon as they came to know of it. Again I would like to refer to the King-Crain report of 1919 which is a very important document, gentlemen. You should read it.

Q. But it was not published?—A. It was not published at all.

Q. Is there anything official in the way of knowledge by the public that would intimate to the world at large that the Balfour Declaration was not acceptable as a White Paper from the government having the mandate over Palestine?—A. Actually the active opposition of the Arabs to the Balfour Declaration began in 1921. There was a revolt in 1921. There was another in 1923. There was a third revolt in 1929 and another revolt in 1933. And there was one continuous revolt from 1936 to 1939.

Q. And the only alterations or corrections to it were made by the British government in the White Paper when Churchill was secretary?—A. I would like to say there were no corrections, and that these statements were mere explanations. The Balfour Declaration was a very obscure document. It was a mere expression of sympathy, that is all, sympathy with the Zionist aspirations which aspirations were not described. Nobody knew what they were; so the government of Britain had to come out with an explanation. The first explanation came officially in 1922 in the form of a paper issued by the colonial secretary.

Q. Did I understand you correctly this morning when you said that Palestine was ready to accept the world-wide scheme to absorb the overflow of Jews?—A. I said that the Arab world was; I did not say Palestine was.

Q. Would you kindly define to the committee whether the Arab world would be willing to accept, and to what extent, if possible, the overflow of Jews who are wandering all over Europe?—A. I was referring to an official statement issued by the secretary-general of the Arab League who said, in an official statement, that the Arab League was prepared to participate in a solution, on an international basis, with all the countries, to share in the relief of these Jews, and that the Arabs through the Arab League, would take their share.

Q. Would it include or incorporate Palestine?—A. The Arabs of Palestine won't accept one single immigrant, because in no country except Palestine is Jewish immigration of political significance. Palestine in this respect stands unique.

By Mr. Low:

Q. I have two or three questions to ask you. My information is that numerous Jews of Palestine settled in Tel Aviv or Haifa, perhaps in both places, and that most of them were Roman Catholic. Is that information correct?—A. I am sorry, but I have not got any information on the subject.

Q. Yes, so called Jews, and that they were Roman Catholic.—A. I am afraid that I cannot give you any information; I do not know anything about it.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: It is very hard to understand a Jew being a Roman Catholic or a Roman Catholic being a Jew.

Mr. Low: That was a curious bit of information that came to me; I mentioned so-called Jews.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: You mean that they passed as such.

Mr. Low: Yes, that is right.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: There is the possibility, but I am not aware of it.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Is there a proportion of the population of Jewish descent in Tel Aviv who are Roman Catholic?—A. Yes.

Q. And they have a Roman Catholic Church and a Roman Catholic priest?—A. I am not aware of the situation in Tel Aviv now except to say that only Jews live there.

By Mr. Low:

Q. My second question was in connection with something Mr. Leger has already brought up, regarding religious freedom in Palestine. My third question is this: There is military significance to the Jewish national policy from the point of view of the empire security. I am concerned mainly in the part which Britain has played in trying to befriend the Jews and also be fair to the Arabs.—A. This is a very serious question; I shall try to answer it by giving the facts and leaving the conclusion to you. The Near East, as you know, is a

very large area. It is inhabited by some 35,000,000 Arabs and a little over 500,000 Jews. The most important and dominant factor in that area is the Arab nationalism. These 35,000,000 Arabs realize more, every day, that they must work together.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. That is the basis of the Arab League?—A. Exactly; with the result that in 1945, last year, that is to say, in March, the League of Arab States was established. This league was established primarily to protect and safeguard the territorial integrity of that area and to protect and safeguard the independence of the Arab states. There is no doubt in my mind that if any danger threatens the territorial integrity of any of these states, including Palestine, or its independence, it would be resisted by the 35,000,000 Arabs there. The Near East lies across the life-line of the Empire, that the British would not wish to incur the enmity of that great number of people. I would also like to remind the honourable gentlemen that certain points in this area lie very close to important Russian industrial centres. I would also like you to take into consideration that for over a century Russia has been working hard to break into warm waters, and she can only do so through the Near East. These are the factors, and I leave you to draw your own conclusions.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions?

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Yes, I would like to ask a few questions. How much has the population of Palestine increased since the beginning of the century, in the last 46 years?—A. I said in my brief that in 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was issued, the number of people living in Palestine was something like 750,000. Of course, of that number, only 75,000 were Jews, and the rest were Arabs.

Q. Now we have 1,250,000 Arabs or something like that. Would you say that was due to natural increase or due to immigration?—A. Basically it was due to natural increase.

Q. How many immigrants would that include?—A. It has been calculated by the Government that the number of Arabs who came into the country as immigrants was something like 12,000.

Q. Since 1917?—A. That is right.

Q. But the claim made by the Zionists is very considerably more; do you know that?—A. I can tell you this, sir, in support of my argument, that the government in Palestine chases out any Arab immigrant which it can catch. It actually chases him out of the country, while the illegal Jewish immigrants are legalized through special immigration laws.

Q. Where do these Arab immigrants come from?—A. From the neighbouring Arab states; and I would point out that within the 12,000 I have mentioned may be included what we call seasonal immigrants.

Q. Of the irrigated areas where farming is done, what percentage would be occupied by Arabs and what percentage would be occupied by Jews?—A. Of the agricultural areas, I would say, now, the figure would be one-third owned by the Jews and two-thirds owned by the Arabs; and the one-third owned by the Jews lies in the best and the most fertile part of the country.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. What percentage of the land in Palestine, or what value of the lands in Palestine do the Jews own, in relationship to the population?—A. One-third is owned by the Jews, and two-thirds by the Arabs, that is, of the cultivatable area.

Q. You mean of the fertile area?—A. I mean the land that could be cultivated. We have in Palestine, actually, 18 degrees of land. There are 18 categories for tax purposes. The land is divided into 18 categories, varying in fertility; and the taxes vary from one pound per dunam, in the best cultivatable area, to 12 mills in the least cultivatable area.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. It is almost as complicated as our Canadian income tax.—A. Yes, it is very complicated.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. What percentage of the Arabs live on, or work, or use Jewish-owned property?—A. The greatest land owner in Palestine is the Jewish Land Company. In the constitution of this company it is specifically laid down that no Arab should be employed on the land, and that this land is unsaleable.

Q. What about Jews occupying or using Arab-owned property?—A. As I said before, Arabs do not use very many Jews, because of the expense of the labour.

Q. Do they rent real estate to the Jews?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. There has been quite a lot of industry established in the country since the Jews came in.—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Do the Arabs manage any factories?—A. Yes, they have got their own factories, such as textiles, soap, matches; and now there is almost a boom for establishing companies for new productive developments and for new industries.

Q. How much of the industrial production is in the hands of the Jews and how much in the hands of the Arabs?—A. I suppose the greatest part of the industrial productive power of the country is in the hands of the Jews.

By the Chairman:

Q. Would that apply to all the Arab lands?—A. No.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Is that mostly situated at Tel Aviv?—A. It is situated along the coast between Haifa and Tel Aviv.

Q. That is where the Jewish industries are located.—A. Yes.

Q. Those are all Jewish?—A. All Jewish.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Could the witness tell us briefly about the health situation in Palestine, and in Jerusalem particularly.—A. The health situation in Palestine is run like this: the government appropriation is divided into two sections; I am referring to the government health appropriation. One part is given to the Jews, who are allowed to use it according to their likes and dislikes; and the other part is given to the Arabs, when it is worked out between the Arabs and the government; so we have now a government-Arab health service, so to speak, and a Jewish health service.

Q. You mean to say that the government does not interfere in the Jewish zone?—A. Except for matters which are of public interest, it is left entirely to the Jews to do whatever they like, not only with regard to health service but also in regard to education.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Is the amount divided half and half?—A. No, it is not; it is a definite proportion, and the Jews see to it that they get their proper share.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Is it divided pro rata, to the population?—A. I think it is, but I am not sure.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. There is not twice as much given to the Arabs, with regard to education and health, than is given to the Jews?—A. Probably there is.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Why was Palestine put under the mandate in the first instance?—A. Palestine was put under the mandate in consequence of the decision which is embodied, at least in principle, in article No. 22 of the Covenant of the League. The Turkish empire, which has been called the "sick man of Europe" after the outbreak of the first war, was considered by the western powers to be a semi-developed area. During the war, the Arabs, who were living within that Turkish empire, joined hands with the allies under the leadership of King Hussein; and in return for their participation in the war, they were promised that they would have their independence. After the cessation of hostilities, the mandate system was devised, according to which the Arab territory were assigned to mandate (a), which means that the people of those areas were developed to a degree that would warrant provisional recognition of their independence, subject only to advice and assistance. Under this mandate was to be Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-jordan, and Palestine.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. I would like the witness to emphasize more the health situation, particularly since the mandate started, and also in regard to education. Could he give us a brief summary of the situation as it now exists?—A. There is no comparison between the health conditions during the Turkish regime and health conditions under the British mandate. There has been a tremendous improvement; the main power behind this improvement is the British mandate in Palestine. It is the government of Palestine.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Would you say the same in regard to education?—A. There has been a tremendous improvement in education, but not to the same extent as in the health services.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. With respect to the status of the government of Palestine at the moment, how it is set up, and what representation is there in that government of the mandatory power of the peoples who are there?—A. Palestine is ruled directly by Britain. There is no popular representation whatsoever. It is a direct administration.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. There are no Arab members of parliament?—A. No, there is no parliament, no House of Commons, no representation except in local matter.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. You mean local administrative offices?—A. That is right. You have municipalities, for example, but even in the municipalities their power is restricted. Anything they do must be approved by the district commissioner.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Has there been any move on the part of the Arabs towards self-government?—A. Oh yes, from 1936 to 1939 there was a continuous revolt for the purpose of stopping immigration, and instituting self-government; and the White Paper of 1939 promised to free them. It promised that the Jewish immigration would not continue except with the consent of the Arabs; that land sale would be regulated so as to safeguard the interest of the peasant class, the falladien, and that within ten years a democratic government would be instituted in Palestine.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. Has not the White Paper been nullified?—A. For all practical purposes, the White Paper has been nullified.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. The first witness this morning said that Mohamed has united the Arabs?—A. That is right.

Q. What Mohammedan countries lie outside of the Arab League?—A. Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and 90,000,000 Indians in India who are Moslems.

Q. Do you include the North African countries?—A. Yes, nearly all the Arabs there are Moslems.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: There are 50,000,000 Moslems in China, 50,000,000 Moslems in Russia, 60,000,000 Moslems in Indonesia, and 300,000 Moslems in the Philippines.

By Mr. Côté:

Q. I would like to interject a question. Have all these people made representations to British government with regard to the Palestine issue?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean to say beyond the leagues?—A. Beyond the league.

Q. Could you not give us a concrete example of such a move, let us say, from Egypt, for instance?—A. Egypt is within the league.

Q. I mean beyond the league?—A. Yes, 90,000,000 Indians also made a plea to England to stop the injustice that has been inflicted on the Arabs of Palestine, to give them independence, and to stop Jewish immigration.

Q. When was that done?—A. It was done upon several occasions; I cannot give you the exact dates. I would refer you to the statement of Mr. Bevin when he announced the formation of the Anglo-American Committee, when he said in parliament, that the Palestine problem is becoming an international problem, and a matter of deep concern not only to the Aarabs but also to the 90,000,000 Moslems. That was an official statement made by Mr. Bevin last year.

Mr. WINKLER: Mr. Cote has asked the very question that I was going to ask.

Mr. GRAYDON: Great minds think alike.

Mr. COTE: Liberal minds work together.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Where is the Arab centre of culture.—A. Egypt is considered to be the centre of Arab culture.

Q. The witness mentioned that the standard of living has risen since 1917. What portion of the Arab population is literate today—A. There are no official figures, but I would say that 35 per cent could read and write.

Q. One of the witnesses, on the subject of tolerance, stressed the fact that the Arabs were very tolerant.—A. That's right.

Q. What attitude do the witnesses here today take either towards condoning or condemning the activities of the grand Mufti of Jerusalem?—A. Well I think I would rather ask Dr. Kheirallah to answer that question.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Personally, although representing the viewpoint of the Arabs, I hold no brief for the grand Mufti or for any faction, or for any individual on either side; but the majority of the Arabs during the war, as exemplified by the actions of Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and over 90 per cent of Iraq, to say nothing of Egypt and the Moslems of other countries, were certainly pro-ally. We had nothing but the Eighth English army during the critical period in Syria and Lebanon; and had they given the least encouragement, things might have been different. But we will leave that aside. I cannot but think of Mr. Stern who went to Mussolini and came back and strengthened his hand. You would not stigmatize the Jewish race because of that

Mr. WINKLER: But the grand Mufti has returned to Egypt.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: He is an individual. Egypt had given him shelter. Would you want to hang him? He was driven from Palestine to Lebanon where they made it hot for him; then he ran away to Iraq where he was pressed hard and ran to Persia. From there he went to Turkey where they said "We do not want you." He then ran away to the only place for him to go. I do not hold a brief for him. He is only one individual, while you have got 60,000,000 Arabs. I include North Africa as well as East Africa. You cannot condemn them all for the action of one man, or even for the action of a group. Neither would I condemn the Zionists because of the action of the extremists.

Mr. WINKLER: He is the leader of Palestine?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: He was a leader of his people in one particular country, and he was fighting for those rights about which you have heard. He is not a leader to-day, so why bring up one individual and hang the whole thing on him. When I talk with a little heat, do not think that it is anything but a mode of expression, let us say.

Mr. WINKLER: I believe I heard you mention that he did not go to Germany.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: No, he did not go to Germany at the start. You can drive a man to the devil or the deep sea. Maybe he will choose the devil or maybe he will jump into the sea. What has that to do with it?

Mr. WINKLER: But the German press carried the pictures.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: I think they were promulgated here, no doubt, by the powerful Zionist organization. The pictures were such rank forgeries! There was Hitler sitting on one side, and about a mile away was the Mufti looking one way while Hitler was looking the other way. It is like the question: Have you stopped beating your wife? It matters not how you answer it!

Mr. WINKLER: Why did the German papers carry that picture?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: They did so because they were grasping for anything to hold on to, just as every fighting man would, when he is fighting for his very existence and his life. Leave a little thing like that alone. The Mufti is only one individual. How many other instances have we had, in one place or another,

such as Jews who fought against the allies among their own nationals. When those nationals fought against the allies, those Jews were soldiers in the ranks.

MR. WINKLER: But we are talking about Palestine now, of which Jerusalem is the centre, and this is the grand Mufti of a religious organization.

DR. KHEIRALLAH: The grand Mufti was doing what was "kosher" for every other leader we have had of the Zionists. Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

THE WITNESS: Will you allow me to make a contribution to this matter? He asked our own attitude as belonging to the intelligentsia, and will you permit me to make my own contribution? In my view the rapprochement between Hitler and the Grand Mufti is purely accidental such as the rapprochement between Churchill and Stalin was accidental.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. What steps have been taken by the Arab people or the public rulers to repudiate the Grand Mufti, if any?—A. That is part and parcel of the main question. Why should we repudiate a man when we consider that his action at that time was a pure accident. Did the British or those who disapproved of joint action with the Communists repudiate Churchill at the time he decided to put his hand into the hand of Stalin? He had to do it. He was fighting a war. The Mufti's action has no other significance whatsoever. He is in exactly the same position to the Arabs as Churchill was to the British; he is a symbol of resistance. Whenever they feel that their existence is in danger they look to him. Now, if England is again faced with another perilous moment they would go back to Churchill.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Would not the comparison be more apt with Laval?—A. No, it is not the same. Laval agreed to join hands with Hitler to rule France.

Q. I am sorry, but I do not think that Churchill's attitude and association with Stalin could be put on the same level as this association you are speaking of. I resent that.—A. I said one is as accidental as the other. I do not say it is comparable with it, but it is accidental. That is where the comparison is; it is purely accidental. It has all been an accident; a force majeure.

By Mr. Low:

Q. What is the attitude now of the Arabs towards a continuation of a mandate to Britain?—A. As I said before the Arabs do not recognize the Balfour Declaration, and they have never recognized and never will recognize the mandate which embodies the Balfour Declaration. They will resist both to the end.

Q. I thought that would be the answer. Now, is there now any substantial agitation on the part of Arabs against Britain's continuation of her mandate?—A. Yes. The fight from 1936 to 1939 was not only against the Balfour Declaration but also against the mandate. They were promised that within ten years from 1939 they would have an independent government.

Q. Now, does that attitude toward the mandate influence the Arabs against Britain?—A. Not in the least. We might make a distinction between the British government and the British in Palestine. The mandate may not be favoured even by the British. They say they have been entrusted with this mandate, and they have got to get the permission of those who trusted them to make alterations.

Q. The point I wanted to bring out was this: a distinction between the agitation against the mandate principle involved and against the mandatory

state?—A. There is all the difference in the world. The Arabs have not been fighting against the British, they have been fighting against the Palestine mandate as such.

Q. You recognize, of course, that Britain's position has been a difficult one?—A. Yes.

Q. And that at this moment, especially when the world is on the verge of almost anything one can imagine it would be dangerous to interfere so as to make the situation more difficult for Britain?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: I do not think the question has been clearly answered. I am, unfortunately, the editor of a magazine which goes to the eastern world and has a small circulation here. I get the Arabian periodicals and papers. I am in touch with the foremost personalities of the Arab world as well as of the Moslem world at large. Now, I want to say here that England is the only country the Arabs look to. You will see it represented in my editorials. But this is not my opinion alone—England brought order out of chaos in the last 150 years. She found the world in a chaotic condition and by her efforts she made conditions more stable and she did not rule by the spirit of the whip; she ruled by diplomacy and decency and brought forward improvements everywhere, and we Arabs have benefited by that experience. Italy walked into Libya and out of 1,600,000 people she destroyed a million men, women and children. Now, look at the facts; why ask me? Who is the ally of Iraq—England; who is the ally of Egypt, in spite of the fact that Egypt has come of age and wants her independence—England; who is left of the Arab world who is not an ally of Britain? King Iben Saud is Britain's staunchest ally. The majority of us were brought up in American and English schools, and our viewpoint right through is pro-British and pro-American. My friend's statement about the mandate introduces a different question. We object to the continuation of the mandate as long as the mandate is motivated by this Zionist frenzy.

Mr. LEGER: The mandate was given to Great Britain by the League of Nations, was it not?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: That was a question we slipped over. Back of it all was the wish and the will of Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and a division had been made by Sykes and Picot. That is the thing that thwarted Wilson. That is the influence that was not openly arrived at, back of the machinations. It was different. Now the whole Arab question is stabilized. The Arab world is with the English world and the English world should be for the Arabs. We realize that we are wards of her domain and she realizes we are with her. Look at her actions in India. She is going to win that sub-continent with its 400,000,000 people because she has been clean and right. Now, that is the question you wanted to ask.

Mr. Low: Yes. I want to ask also this question: if the mandate should become a United Nations Organization mandate instead of British how would the Arabs feel?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: We would rather have Britain and we would rather have as per her specific pronouncement of 1939. She had tried to do this for twenty-five years. She had sent out thirteen royal commissions. Now here we have pressure put on England by her best friend, a man who was possibly manoeuvred into asking just this personal favour of 100,000, just like I would say to my friend: "Give me a chew of tobacco."

Mr. BOUCHER: Might we for a moment forget the historical background? Could you explain to me what the Arab aspiration is if the Arab were relieved of the mandate? What would the system of government be; what would the system of control and regulation be; and what would they adopt if the mandate were removed?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Just the same as Syria and just the same as Lebanon; just the same as any other Arab state. And do not miss that one thing. This is where the Arab stands to-day. He says, "All right, you have 600,000 Zionists in Palestine although the English government have issued 850,000 ration cards. The Arabs say: "You are here and you are welcome; let you and me endeavour to be Palestinians. Let us have a Palestinian government." The Arab says that; Saud says you are our people, all right, but stop your aggression.

Mr. BOUCHER: What form of government would you set up?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Listen, if you think that the form of a man's religion or the form of his government makes him any better you are mistaken.

Mr. BOUCHER: I want to know from you what form of government you would recommend. It is a fair question.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: I am going to answer it, but I am leading up to this point. I have seen the republican form of government in Haiti and Nicaragua and it was terrible, and I have seen enlightened royal government that was marvellous. It is not the form of government; we want a democratic government. Any man who takes the word and thinks that by the mere mention of the words "democratic government" it becomes a holy sort of thing or a good thing—or because it is a republican form of government—

Mr. BOUCHER: I did not mention a democratic form of government or a republic form of government or a royal form of government. I simply asked a question. I would like to know what form of government set-up you would have if there was no mandate?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: We would have a republican government.

Mr. COTE: Has that ever been expressed by the people in your country—that you would like to establish a republic?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: They have repeatedly stated that they wanted a representative government of all the people who were living in Palestine, who are Palestinians, regardless of whether they be christians, Jewish or Moslems.

Mr. LOW: What is the attitude of the Arabs generally toward Communism?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: No good.

Mr. LOW: Do they actively oppose it, visibly?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: No, but they are not Communists. They have never been Communists. It is not in their grain. They have been liberal. When you talk about democracy, I think the Arabs are the most democratic people in the world. They believe in personal freedom and initiative and cooperation, but they are not Communists.

Mr. LOW: If I remember correctly, when the Zionists spokesmen were here last week one of them stated that by all means the Zionists wished to have the mandate transferred from Britain to the United Nations Organization. Now could you suggest any implications in that?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: Not unless they thought New York was going to run it.

The WITNESS: Actually we do not believe that the United Nations will ever approve the present mandate system in Palestine unless they really wish to commit the same mistake that the League of Nations committed. As I have explained in my brief there is a distinct contradiction between the provisions of the mandate in Palestine and that article which gave sanction to the mandate, article 22. In the mandate for Palestine the provisions are direct contradiction with the basic principle of the mandate. The mandate says that the independence of that territory is provisionally recognized, that they ought to be subject only to advice and assistance, not to uprooting, not to the substitution

by other people from the outside. It is only to give advice and assistance. I do not think that after twenty-five or thirty years of miserable experience in Palestine the United Nations will ever approve such a thing.

By Mr. Léger:

Q. Would you want to have your own government and be a member of the commonwealth?—A. A Palestine democratic government in which everybody who is a Palestinian citizen will share equally in the privileges and responsibilities of that country.

By Mr. Boucher:

Q. Have you any concrete proposal with regard to a democratic government?—A. We have said in the main that we have achieved democracy in so many parts of Arabia and they are capable of achieving it in Palestine. They have achieved it in Egypt and Iraq; they have achieved real democracy in Lebanon and in Syria and there is no reason why they should not be able to achieve it in Palestine.

Q. Probably you would attempt to go further than your friend did in answer to my question. Forget the history and give me an outline of what you think the Arabs ambition is as to a form of democratic government and how that form would be constituted. Could you do that?—A. Yes. The details of such a scheme have never been worked. It would, I imagine, be worked out by a representative assembly. They would sit down and draw up a constitution.

Q. Have you done anything to express the wishes or the will of the Arab in that regard by some concrete form?—A. No, the details of such a scheme have never been worked out.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Is such a scheme as has been pointed out by my colleague in the mind of the Moslem world; a scheme of organizing the Moslem world into a block of nations?—A. There is no idea in the mind of Moslems at present to form a block of their own. The Arabs make a clear distinction between the Arab movement and the Moslem movement. The Arabs are not all Moslems.

Q. I know that.—A. We have a great number of people who are non-Moslems.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. How many?—A. In Egypt there are something like 2,000,000 christian Copts.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. It is a small percentage.—A. 2,000,000 out of 15,000,000 Moslems. There is a small minority in Syria and a majority of christians in Lebanon and a They all participate in the government on an equal footing with the Moslem small minority in Palestine and there is another christian minority in Iraq. Arabs and they do not consider themselves a national minority.

Q. Is there any movement on foot to prepare, with the cooperation of Palestine, an organization that would speak louder to the U.N.O. or anywhere else where a separate representation could be made, if representation is being accorded to any of the countries?—A. I do not understand your question.

Q. If there is self-government in Palestine and if there is self-government elsewhere in the Arab world, is there on foot anything in the way of organizing a block of nations?—A. Arab nations?

Q. Yes.—A. Oh, yes. You see it now with the program of the Palestinians—and I would say that the majority of Palestinians are Arabs—it is therefore their program to join the Arab League as soon as they become independent.

Mr. JAKES: Could I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

Mr. JAKES: I have not got the record, but did the Zionists tell us what sort of constitution they would have?

The CHAIRMAN: I think it is on the record. They gave some answer.

Mr. JAKES: I do not remember it. I do not remember the question being asked.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, the question was asked and answered.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Do you mean what kind of constitution they would have for the Jewish state? Definitely democratic.

Mr. JAKES: What do you call democratic?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: In the sense of one man one vote.

Mr. JAKES: Do you call the Russian system democratic?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: No.

Mr. JAKES: Do you call it a socialist country?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: England to-day is partially socialist and she is democratic.

Mr. JAKES: It is not socialist.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: They call it socialist.

Mr. JAKES: It is not socialist yet.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Not entirely. What the Zionist movement has had in mind from the beginning as to what the Jewish homeland will be is a government in which there will be one man one vote. There is no question about that. Full rights for minorities with their recognition.

Mr. JAKES: One party?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: No, not in Palestine. As a matter of fact in the Jewish community in Palestine we have a dozen parties—too many. Full rights for minorities, recognition for Arab culture and opportunity to develop Arab culture. I have a document here—a resolution adopted only last summer in London—on this question. "The Jewish state will be based upon full equality of rights of all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race in the political, civic, religious, and national domains, and without domination or subjection. All communities will enjoy full autonomy in the administration of their religious, educational, cultural, and social institutions." This was an official statement of the Zionist movement in August 1945 at a meeting held in London.

Mr. JAKES: That is provided the Jews have a majority in Palestine.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Naturally. You could not have a Jewish state unless you had a Jewish majority.

Mr. JAKES: You would not want independence in Palestine until the Jews reached a majority?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: We would not want Jewish independence until we had a majority?

Mr. JAKES: Yes.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: I think we will be willing to wait until we are a majority, and we want such conditions existing which will enable us to become a majority.

The WITNESS: I would like to ask a question. Here is a gentleman who claims to be a democrat. This is a great opportunity for me to ask him a question. Would he go now as a representative of the Zionist organization with a demand to be served on England jointly with the Arabs to the effect that we have a democratic government now?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: What is that?

The WITNESS: Would you join together with me and all Arabs now in a communication to the Prime Minister of England demanding the immediate institution of a democratic government in Palestine?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Provided—

The WITNESS: With no provisions, now?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Provided it allowed for Jewish immigration up to the absorptive capacity of the country as indicated in the Churchill white paper of 1922. The Arabs would remain. We believe there is no need for Arab immigration because they have vast territories. There will be no problem there. Such conditions of democratic institutions in Palestine would allow for one condition. There would be an opportunity for Jewish immigration to come to Palestine, up to the absorptive capacity of the country, in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and mandate, and the White Paper of 1922.

The CHAIRMAN: Order!

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: We stick to the mandate and the Balfour Declaration. We are not ready to abandon the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. That is the official policy of the Zionist organization at the present moment; and to-day, at this moment, the Balfour Declaration is the mandate upon which our rights are founded. We stick to it and we do not ask for its abandonment.

Mr. JAKES: We have not got the record, but I remember asking a question with respect to the White Paper and it was said that the interpretation put on the White Paper here was the issue, I mean to say, the Balfour Declaration.

Mr. GRAYDON: That is to say, the 1917 declaration.

Mr. JAKES: That is right; that the interpretation put on it in 1917 is very different to the interpretation which is put on it in 1946.

The WITNESS: That is right.

Mr. JAKES: What is the Balfour Declaration? Is it the declaration as it was issued in 1917, or is it the interpretation put upon it by the Zionists or anybody else in 1946? The only declaration I know was the one issued in 1917, not the interpretation put upon it to-day. I have a few questions to ask the witness.

The CHAIRMAN: Certainly, it would be in order.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. Can you tell me how many Palestine Jews served in the War?—A. The figure given by the Jews, so far as I remember, is 25,000; I do not know what proportion of that figure were women and what proportion were men. When I say women, I mean in the non-combatant forces.

Q. It is claimed that the British prevented the Jews from raising an army.—A. That is not true; there were no restrictions whatsoever upon volunteers from either the Arabs or the Jews in Palestine. I myself was responsible for recruiting Arab volunteers at the time and I remember that we raised 13,000. A good number, in view of the fact that for the three years immediately before the outbreak of the war, there was a revolt which lasted for three years, in which the Arabs lost not less than 15,000 men in dead alone.

Q. Was Palestine included in the Hussein Agreement?—A. Yes, definitely. We Arabs claim that Palestine was definitely included in the pledges that were given by the British government. I would remind you gentlemen that the pledges of McMahon to King Hussein were given two years before the Balfour Declaration. Actually the only territory excluded from the terms submitted by King Hussein to Sir McMahon was the territory now known as Lebanon where the French, because of the Christian majority there, were interested. Actually, King Hussein in his reply said that because he felt he ought to preserve concord between Britain and her ally, France, he would agree to the

exclusion of this area. It was excluded on account of that, although it was really Arab territory; and King Hussein said, that after the war the people of that country will be consulted and if they wish to join in an Arab state, very well; otherwise they can remain excluded therefrom.

Q. How much have the Arabs profited by the Zionist hospitals, and universities?—A. Very little, almost negligibly. I have already explained, there are two health systems in Palestine, one which is purely Jewish and the other which is English-Arab, that is, the system which is the government's health service. Actually, the number of Jews who avail themselves of the service of this government institution is far greater than the number of Arabs who benefit from the Jewish hospitals. Very few but wealthy people could afford to pay for the Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem. The charges for an operation of appendectomy is something like £75. (\$300) that is something very few Arabs can afford to pay.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. You do not mean that the Jews make a distinction in the way of costs of hospitalization between Jews and Arabs?—A. Oh yes.

Q. Do they charge the Arabs more?—A. There is a special section in the Hadassah hospital for free treatment which is confined to Jews.

Q. Well, it would be a Jewish institution?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Low:

Q. Have you a hospital of your own?—A. We have an Arab-government institution, we do not complain.

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. But by way of fairness, I do not think you want to leave the impression that there is a discrimination in so far as paying patients are concerned?—A. Oh, yes, the Arab pays more than the Jew in the Hadassah hospital.

Q. For the same operation?—A. For the same operation.

Q. Does the Jew pay more than an Arab in an Arab institution?—A. Health appropriation is divided into two parts; one part is given to the Jews and the other is managed by the government. This other service which is run by the government is mainly an Arab one, staffed by Arab doctors, intended primarily for the service of Arab people; but the number of Jews who avail themselves of the services of this Arab-government institution is far greater than the number of Arabs who have benefited from the Jewish institution, the treatment to all is free.

By the Chairman:

Q. Is there any discrimination against Jews in the Arab hospitals?—A. No, there is none whatsoever.

Q. You maintain there is in the other hospital?—A. There is, definitely, a discrimination. In the Hadassah hospital there is a free section to which the Arab is not allowed; and in the other section of the hospital to which the Arab may go, the Arab has to pay as much as £75 for an appendectomy operation.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. To what extent are Jewish hospitals subsidized by the government?—A. I do not know, but I do know that they take their full share from the government appropriation. Of course, they are subsidized by private funds.

Mr. JAENICKE: I would like to get some information upon education.

The CHAIRMAN: If we could just let Mr. Jaques finish.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. I shall include the schools.—A. The medium of expression there is Hebrew, so we do not use the schools because we do not know Hebrew.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. What system of education do both groups have?—A. I would refer you to the section of the Anglo-American Committee's report dealing with education. The education system, like the health system, is divided in two. There is a Jewish system of education and a government system. The government system is run by the Arabs and the government, but the other system is exclusively Jewish.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. Is the Jewish system subsidized by the government?—A. Oh yes.
 Q. Have you a university in Palestine?—A. There is a Hebrew university.
 Q. Is it run by the Jews?—A. Yes.
 Q. And is paid for by the Jew?—A. Yes.
 Q. Is it subsidized by the government?—A. Partly.
 Q. Can Arabs attend that university?—A. They can go to that university, but the medium of expression is Hebrew and they do not know Hebrew.

By the Chairman:

Q. Is there any university in Arabia?—A. In Arabia we have many universities, but none in Palestine. We have three universities in Cairo, and two universities in Beirut.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. What is the highest school grade you have in Palestine?—A. It is the high school.

Q. You have no secondary schools?—A. Yes, we have; that is the secondary school, it prepares for matriculation.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. What about the increase in the Jewish population; does that raise the standard of living of the Arab population?—A. I think I have answered that before; I think I said there was a rise in the standard of living of the Arabs, but that it was due to factors which are entirely beyond the control of Zionism, and was primarily due to the impact of ideas between the east and the west, due to the interchange of commerce, the interchange of trade, and to increased productivity throughout the Arab countries.

Q. With regard to the population, has there been an increase in population in the other parts of Arabia as well?—A. Oh yes; there have been increases all through Arabia; almost double in Transjordan since 1917; they have trebled in Egypt since 1880; and there has been an increase in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon.

Q. The statement was made here the other day that owing to the improved standard of living in Palestine, the Jewish population had increased.—A. The Jewish population increased due to immigration.

Q. But you say that the Arab population has increased in other parts?—A. Oh yes, throughout the Arab country, almost the same ratio.

Q. But it is not due to Zionism?—A. Oh no, it has nothing to do with that.

Q. It is not due to their administration?—A. I do not suppose they are trying to link up our fertility with Zionism; that would be too much to claim of them.

Q. Would you, very briefly, tell us the difference between the Jewish national home, the Jewish national state, and the Jewish national common-

wealth?—A. The Jewish state and the commonwealth are the same, I take it; but the Jewish national home is different, at least, according to the understanding of the British government, who are the authors of the Balfour Declaration. They have described the Jewish national home rather in detail. I shall read it again if the committee is interested.

By the Chairman:

Q. But you read it this morning.—A. Oh yes.

Q. We will have it in the record anyway.—A. If you like I can state it in brief.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. The whole case to me, as I see it, stands or falls on that promise. If I remember correctly, they promised a national home "in" Palestine, not "all" Palestine; it was "in" Palestine.—A. Yes, that was explained in detail in the Churchill Command Paper of 1922.

Q. We hear so much about the Zionist side and so very little about the Arab side of this question.—A. Yes.

Q. I mean, generally, in the press and over the air and everywhere.—A. I think this is a very important question, sir, and I would like to answer it in more detail. I think it would serve a more important purpose if I referred to the United States of America. You are probably aware there are something like 1,000,000 Americans of Arab extraction, and something like 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 Jews in the United States of America. Americans of Arab extraction, when they live in a country, acquire the citizenship of that country. They owe all their loyalty and allegiance to that country; they have nothing but sympathy for that country. They have no loyalty otherwise. I think this is not the case with the Zionist Jews in America. They have been vociferously agitating for the creation of a Jewish state on the plea that they were homeless.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think I would like to allow that statement to go unchallenged because I know, from my own experience, as a Canadian, that the allegiance of the Jewish people to our country is very, very great. They are very, very loyal.—A. If you would allow me, Sir, I have said this only to present the next point. I say that the plea of Zionism is to create a home for homeless Jews. Now, I ask you, gentlemen, if a Jew who is living in the United States of America, or a Jew living in Canada, has got no home, then who has? If a Jew living in Europe has got no home, or a Jew living in England has got no home, or a Jew living in France has got no home, then who has got a home? I ask you? Who has got a home? Why should a Zionist living in France, or in Canada, or even in Germany, or anywhere on the face of the earth where he is treated on the basis of equality with the citizens of that country need a home? Why on earth should he need a home? Has he not already got his home?

By Mr. Graydon:

Q. I would like to ask you this: I do not think the Jewish people are asking for a home.—A. But I said the Zionists.

Q. All right, I will substitute the word "Zionists". I do not think the Zionists have in mind bringing Jews from places where they have homes to-day. You have referred to places in Central Europe where the persecution of Jews has been very great.—A. Excuse me, sir, Zionism existed before Hitler; it existed when the Zionists were living in Germany on an equal footing with the Germans; it existed in Czechoslovakia where the Jews were living on equal footing with Czechoslovakians. Even at that time they held the claim that they needed a national home.

Q. I was just thinking of what the Jewish witnesses said here.—A. The Zionists put their case before the war that the Jews need a national home. They do not make a distinction between Jews who live in Poland, Jews who live in Czechoslovakia, or Jews who live in the United States of America.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. I would like the witness to clarify my mind with regard to the Zionist organization. I have always had the impression that the Zionist organization was an organization to counteract what is known all over the world as anti-semitism. The history of anti-semitism is, I am sure, well known to all the members of this committee and as being a sort of Hitlerism towards Jews all over the world. If I am not right, I would like to be corrected. Is not the Zionist organization somehow trying, all over the world, to counteract that idea of anti-semitism? Wherever persecution took place the Zionist organization would come out and say, "We will see to it that those of our people who are being persecuted here and there should at least have a land where they can go and live forever after as free men." That is the idea I have always held, and I would like to have it clarified.—A. There has been a lot of debate on the question of Zionism. For a clear and true picture of it I would refer you to a book written by Rabbi Berger, and to the many writings of Rabbi Rosenwald, who is the head of the American Council for Judaism, where he explains that Zionism is injurious to the interests of Jews. It is a national movement which strikes at the roots of loyalty of the Jews wherever they are. These are the words of a great and learned man, whom, I think, should be treated as an authority on the question.

Q. I appreciate your suggestions, of which I will take advantage; but my question is: Am I right or wrong when I think that the Zionist Society is an organization to counteract anti-semitism in the world?—A. I do not know about the Zionist Society. If they are truly Zionists they mean this: that they work for the building up of a nation on the basis of race and religion. This is really the essence of Zionism; it is purely a national movement built upon concepts of race and religion.

Q. That is the positive factor of it; how about the negative one; is it not anti-semitism? I am sure you have heard a lot about it in the world; I want to be clarified because I know you have more knowledge of it than I have. Am I correct in thinking this organization is aimed at counteracting the activities of anti-semitism in the world?—A. I would say that part of its activity, I believe, is to counteract anti-semitism, but it is not the main purpose of the society.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. Would somebody, either Zionist or Arab, define semitism and define anti-semitism? That is something about which I would like to have a clear definition.—A. I would like to ask the Rabbi to explain it.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: I do not think I should be asked. The Jews are the victims of anti-semitism. I cannot see the fairness of that question being addressed to a Jew. However, I think anti-semitism is an attempt to discriminate against the Jew and make it impossible for him to enjoy equal rights with his co-inhabitants in any particular country.

Mr. JAQUES: Would you say that there is anti-semitism in Canada?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: According to press reports I understand there is.

Mr. JAQUES: According to the press?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: According to what I hear or am told; according to my knowledge of certain aspects of life in Canada there is unfortunately, in certain parts of Canada, anti-semitism.

Mr. JAQUES: Was there any anti-semitism to speak of before Hitler?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: There was anti-semitism before Hitler, but perhaps not so much. But there was a measure.

Mr. JAQUES: Hitler has got nothing to do with Canada.

Mr. LEGER: You have your right to elect members of parliament and to vote.

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Jews enjoy full and equal rights in Canada. The problem of anti-semitism is that there are certain individuals and groups in this democratic country who would like to deprive Jews of those equal rights.

Mr. LEGER: There are some people who would like to put down the Jews?

Rabbi SCHWARTZ: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Order. If I may be allowed at this stage—I hope it is relevant, because I do not want to curtail discussion at this time. But we are now dealing with the Palestine question.

Mr. JAQUES: It is the whole basis of the claim.

Mr. WINKLER: Does not semitism include the semites as well as the Arabs?

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. The Arabs are a semitic people.—A. That is right. Actually, we Arabs are more semitic than most of the Jews.

Q. But anti-semitism does not apply to the Arabs.—A. There must be something wrong. I do not know why. If people are really anti-semitic, they must also hate the Arabs. I do not know which is correct.

Q. Can you define semitism, speaking as an Arab?—A. To me it has no significance at all. I am a semitic, but I do not think anybody is trying to rob me of my rights, except in Palestine.

By Mr. Winkler:

Q. Are Syrians or Armenians classed as semites?—A. Syrians, yes.

By the Chairman:

Q. The witness spoke of the Jews wanting a national home. It would be a natural instinct for that fine race to want a national home on account of their historical background and on account of the fact that they had kingdoms and national homes and governments at one time. In fact, they had two kingdoms; and it is natural for them to want a national home. I would mention the Jews in France. We have no attachment to France, but we do know there is a centre of culture there which means something, not only to us, but to the rest of the world; and it would be a natural thing for the Jewish people, eventually, to want a national home, no matter how small or how large it may be. I would like the witness to say that he is tolerant on that point and is not set against a national home for the Jewish people.—A. I think the Arabs have made it clear on all occasions that they have no objection to the Jews having a cultural and social centre in Palestine, a cultural centre of which they can be proud and to which they can contribute; but the Arabs will not tolerate political ambition; they will not allow an alien people to come in and dominate them politically in their own country and reduce them to a minority in an alien state because they believe that no other people on earth would tolerate it and they are just as human as anybody. They have no objections, however, to the establishment of a cultural centre or a social centre in which they could take pride and to which they could contribute.

Q. What would be the attitude of your people? In our discussion we must always keep in mind that the only nation in the world, during, let us say, twelve centuries that has tried to solve the Jewish question has been the British nation, the English-speaking countries. That is in their favour in the eyes of the world.

It is a mooted question; it is a very very intricate question. What would be your attitude towards eventual zoning in Palestine?—A. As I said before, gentlemen, I am speaking in my own personal capacity; I do not represent any organization, but I have a feeling that there is no desire whatsoever on the part of the Arabs to dominate—and I expressly stress the word “dominate”—the Jews in Palestine; but the Arabs do have every intention of preserving their territorial integrity of their country. There is a distinction. The Jewish community may enjoy local self-government in Palestine to an extent that will not conflict with the principle of the territorial integrity of Palestine. We have no desire to dominate their local affairs. We have no desire to tell them how to run their own local affairs in their towns, villages, and settlements; but it is essential, and I think you will all see my point, that the territorial integrity of Palestine should be preserved. Within that principle the Arabs would not object to giving them local self-government.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. How do you define “integrity of territory”?—A. The Arabs would not agree to a separate state in Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: One who studies impartially the Palestine question will hardly fail to realize what you stated so fairly and broadmindedly, that the Jewish population have been of material benefit to the whole of Palestine, that they brought with them the characteristics of their race, thrift and industry, that they benefit the interests of the rest of the country, both Zionist and Christian through the money, the tremendous sums of money, that were contributed towards the success of their movement. It might be due to the threat of the Arabic countries, but it has been maintained time and time again. It is not a prejudice of mine or any member of this committee. Generally speaking the Arabs are naturally nomads due to their geographical position. They are not particularly interested in industry. I do not mean they are not thrifty or industrious as a lot of people are led to believe, but the suggestion is made that they get into competition with the Jewish world and that they are not ready or willing to carry the pace with them in industrialization or as regards the new code of living in our present civilization.

The WITNESS: I wish to correct a few statements—

The CHAIRMAN: They are not statements. This has been said.

The WITNESS: Yes. You have said the Jews introduced industry to the country, but I do not think in the long run or taking the long view that the Arabs materially have benefited from the Jewish schemes.

The CHAIRMAN: But the country has.

The WITNESS: Yes, the country, but what of the people? When you speak of Canada as a country primarily you mean the people of Canada. If the development of Canada is not for the benefit of the inhabitants of Canada that development I would say is definitely undesirable. Unless it is for the benefit of the people of Canada you are not going to allow the United States of America to bring capital into Canada to make it a paradise for the people of the United States of America; you want them to come to help you to develop the country for your own benefit. I say and I maintain that the Zionist scheme in Palestine has never been designed for the benefit of the inhabitants of Palestine. They have a closed economy for the benefit of that section of the people of Palestine known as the Jews. It was planned solely for that purpose. As I said before it was stated in the Crane-King Commission interviews with Zionist leaders that they (Zionists) plan to dispossess the Arabs of Palestine.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. Was it not published in the New York Times also?—A. Yes. I can send a copy to you if you like. I have a photostat copy.

Q. Was it not published in the New York Times?—A. I think it was published in the New York Times.

By Mr. Leger:

Q. The members of this committee have asked numerous questions with a view to having the Canadian public enlightened on the Arab problem as well as on the Zionist or Jewish problem. We also asked numerous questions of the Jewish representatives. I wish to personally thank you very kindly for the information you have given us to-day.—A. Thank you very much. We appreciate and we are very grateful for this privilege of appearing before this august body.

Mr. JAQUES: I have one question I would like to ask.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. What would you regard as Canada's responsibility in regard to Palestine?—A. We are discussing to-day in a committee of the House of Commons the Palestine question, and I think it is pertinent to ask how Canada comes into this matter.

Mr. COTE: I think it is easy to understand. I will ask the chairman to explain. I think the world has shrunk, and the time has gone for England or the U.N.O. or any other international organization to decide on the Palestine issue unless we are consulted.

The CHAIRMAN: And to do our duty we have to be well informed on this subject. These meetings have been a privilege to us.

The WITNESS: The privilege is ours. There are legal responsibilities which bind Canada to this question. As you may know the Canadian government has been a signatory to the covenant of the League of Nations; they have a responsibility with regard to the Palestine question as part of the mandate. In that section which your government has signed, gentlemen, there is a specific obligation. You are among those who recognize the provisional independence of Palestine. That was in 1922, and it is your responsibility, gentlemen, to see that that responsibility is carried out.

Mr. LEGER: Are you fully aware that the order of reference given to this committee does not permit us to make a report to the House of what we have heard either from the Zionists or from the Arabs?

The CHAIRMAN: It is recorded then in the record.

Mr. LEGER: Our order of reference does not permit us to make a report. The only thing is, we will have that on our record. That is all.

By Mr. Jaques:

Q. With regard to General Morgan's statement, what is the usual condition of Jewish refugees arriving in Palestine?—A. Would you allow me to ask Dr. Kheirallah, if he could answer that.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: I think, gentlemen, you have all read about General Morgan and how he has been villified, although he was a man of great accomplishment and true sincerity. You will remember that they tried to throw him out and the press, under the thumb of certain people who pay for the advertisement, villified him. You know as much about it as I do. Really the question should not be asked. I leave it to you.

Mr. JAQUES: When did these Jewish refugees arrive in Palestine?

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: The whole scheme, ever since the war, has been that the Zionists have been permitted to go and run through all the camps everywhere and to encourage and promote these people by telling them there is no place open for them to go to but Palestine, where we will do this and do that for you. I had a discussion with the president of the Zionist organization, Dr. Goldstein, and with Mr. MacDonald. They both stressed the point of the desire of these people, and both men had gone through the camps. What I said to Mr. MacDonald over the radio, slowly and specifically is this, that to desire a thing or to covet it is not a sufficient reason to possess it. And this is the case. When General Morgan saw them coming, by the hundreds and the thousands, he saw the situation and felt it to be his duty to state the facts, for this he was villified beyond measure. It has been a very nasty sort of fight. We semites have been villified, by the Zionist and have let go. We say: "May the Lord take care of the hindmost."

The CHAIRMAN: Are you finished with your questioning, Mr. Jaques?

Mr. JAQUES: I think so, yes.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. I should like to have a short explanation of the system of taxes in Palestine?—A. There are both direct and indirect taxes. The direct taxes are such things as customs and income tax, and there are also agricultural taxes.

Q. Are there land taxes?—A. Yes, it is called there the rural property tax. For the purpose of taxes, land in Palestine has been divided into eighteen categories according to fertility, and each category has to pay taxes so much per dunam.

Q. Is that the largest source of revenue, that tax?—A. No, direct taxes are by far the heavier source of revenue.

Q. Is there an income tax?—A. There is an income tax and there is customs.

The CHAIRMAN: They have a high degree of civilization there as well.

By Mr. Jaenicke:

Q. The income tax is mostly borne by industry?—A. No, it is paid according to income. Even the government officers have to pay it. I had to pay it, and everyone has to make an annual declaration of his income according to the law.

Q. What would be the years' budget at the present time?—A. Last year it was something like £18,000,000.

Q. What would it be for the year 1917?—A. It was very small.

Q. Would you venture to guess?—A. I would not venture a guess; it was much smaller then.

By Mr. Cote:

Q. That means that there is a tremendous increase in the national wealth?—A. No, there was this change during the wartime; to a certain extent, yes, but what I meant to say was that it does not mean a proportionate increase in the wealth for example, the government budget before the war was something like £7,000,000 or £8,000,000; whereas now it is around £18,000,000. The increase is due to inflation and not increase in national wealth.

Q. It has more than doubled.—A. There was inflation; the rise of the budget was due to inflation of money, and that is explained by the fact that a lot of fiat money had to be issued during the war, with the result that the cost of living rose. It is a very complicated matter. You cannot say that because during the war taxes have doubled, your budget has doubled, that there was double capacity of the country. It does not follow.

By the Chairman:

Q. You do not know the answer about the Arabs being nomads and primitive?—A. Only a small section of the Arabs of Palestine live in the nomadic state; they are treated by the government statisticians as a constant figure and have been so treated for the past ten years. They number some 50,000. They do not increase or decrease;

The CHAIRMAN: I believe that one of our members, Mr. Leger, has already expressed the general sentiment of our committee by way of appreciation of your presence here and your fine behaviour and delivery. As Mr. Leger has said, we have no power of recommendation in our committee on External Affairs; but we have the power to report everything said. Consequently, everything said here will be reported and mentioned in our report. It was one of the finest national forums one could have on behalf of both sides, to provide them with the opportunity of voicing both sides of the question. Both sides loyally recognize what Great Britain has done in the matter, and they realize the sacrifices. She was the only nation to attempt to tackle the intricate problem. I, for one, believe it will be possible to find a solution. I am not a married man, but I believe marriage owes much of its success to compromise.

I would thank all the members of this committee, not only for their patience, but for the interest they have shown in our deliberations. It is our intention to proceed as quickly as we can with our report which is in embryo form at the present time. I would not take upon myself the responsibility of formulating it; but if you will leave it to me, I shall call a general meeting of all the committee in order to discuss what should be included in that report. I offer a tentative date at this time, which will likely be half past eleven next Tuesday. Thank you again.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: And we thank you, sir.

The committee adjourned at 5.50 p.m., to meet again at the call of the chair.

Dr. KHEIRALLAH: The whole scheme, ever since the war, has been that the Zionists have been permitted to go and run through all the camps everywhere and to encourage and promote these people by telling them there is no place open for them to go to but Palestine, where we will do this and do that for you. I had a discussion with the president of the Zionist organization, Dr. Goldstein, and with Mr. MacDonald. They both stressed the point of the desire of these people, and both men had gone through the camps. What I said to Mr. MacDonald over the radio, slowly and specifically is this, that to desire a thing or to covet it is not a sufficient reason to possess it. And this is the case. When General Morgan saw them coming, by the hundreds and the thousands, he saw the situation and felt it to be his duty to state the facts, for this he was villified beyond measure. It has been a very nasty sort of fight. We semites have been villified, by the Zionist and have let go. We say: "May the Lord take care of the hindmost."

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By the Chairman:

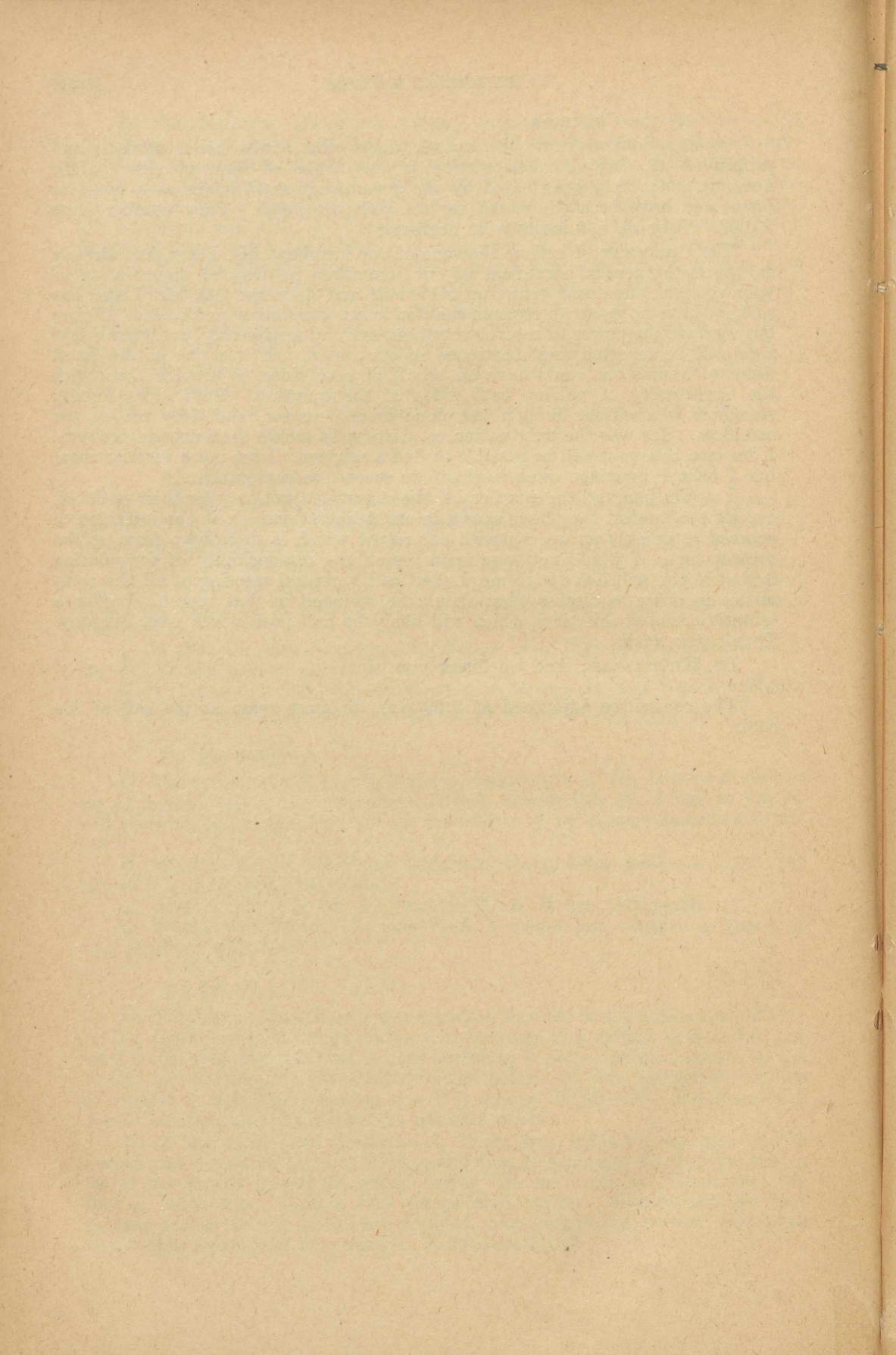
Q. You do not know the answer about the Arabs being nomads and primitive?—A. Only a small section of the Arabs of Palestine live in the nomadic state; they are treated by the government statisticians as a constant figure and have been so treated for the past ten years. They number some 50,000. They do not increase or decrease;

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Dr. KHEIRALLAH: And we thank you, sir.

The committee adjourned at 5.50 p.m., to meet again at the call of the chair.



APPENDIX A

The following questions are rendered by H. W. Winkler M.P. of the External Affairs Standing Committee of the House of Commons and answered by Herbert A. Mowat, Executive Secretary of the Canadian Palestine Committee.

1. On British Security in the Middle East.

What would be the effect of a strong Jewish national home of the British position in the Middle East from the point of view of security?

A.—It is claimed on the highest level of military authority that the security factor of the British Imperial Policy in the Middle East would be best served of a progressive and flourishing National Home or State for the Jewish people. It is claimed that the late High Commissioner of Palestine, the Late Field Marshal Lord Gort, leaned strongly to this view.

The strategical concept of a strong Jewish community in Palestine has been developed in detail by W. E. Hart, a British military correspondent, who has written a brochure on the subject entitled *Defence of the Middle East*. The introduction to the brochure is written by General Sir G. Le Q. Martel, K.C.B., D.S.O. etc. late Director of Armoured Warfare in the British Army and Chairman of the British Military Mission to Russia in 1942. He accepts the author's view as worthy of the most serious consideration. The following from *Defence of the Middle East* is worthy of special mention:

... strategical problems ought to help us to understand the most pressing and urgent problem of the Palestine of today that is the immigration policy. To discontinue full immigration into Palestine means to deny to the British Empire the finest recruiting material that could be found in the Middle East. Why should Jewish immigration be stopped or limited to a minimum? Because Arabian interests have to be safeguarded? Because Arabian activities might in reply to a full immigration policy disturb the peace of the Middle East? Because the Arabian section might be inclined to put their own immediate interests higher than those of the British Empire? The questions carry their own answers.

Why does not the Arabian world itself endeavour to produce an industry and a population with conditions that would make possible the installation of an almost self-sufficient defence force? The reason is not only that they are incapable of doing so, but that they have no interest in seeing a strong British Middle East position in the military field.

No one could mistake sporadic outburst by Jewish extremists for a general pan-Zionistic or other fantastic scheme. They are signs that already a negligible proportion of the Jewish population in Palestine are discontented and are mistakenly irritated into using the wrong language, that of violence.

Here lies the difference between the Arab and Jewish community in this region: the first (Arab) has always sought development outside the framework of the Empire; the second has never schemed or planned any future except within that Empire The cut in Jewish immigration into Palestine means a reduction in manpower necessary for the defence of the Middle East. Or can there be any suggestion that a large majority of the manpower and recruiting material that has come into that part of the Empire—well-educated and highly civilized people—could be found anywhere else in Europe or America? Hardly an Englishman or an American, unless he is a Zionist, could be induced to settle in Palestine

for its better defence . . . Why does not the Arab section (of Palestine) produce the technically minded majority? Does any sensible recruiting officer recommend an illiterate man for an anti-tank crew, as the driver of a Sherman tank, or an air observer?

Any enemy of the British Empire, realizing that he would face in his attack on Suez and Alexandria some three or four locally recruited armoured divisions and even a comparatively small force of airborne troops plus trained desert and mechanized infantry, will hesitate and may well be deterred.

2. Q. The American stake in the Middle East.

What are the stakes of the United States in the Middle East at present and how are they related to the question of Zionism?

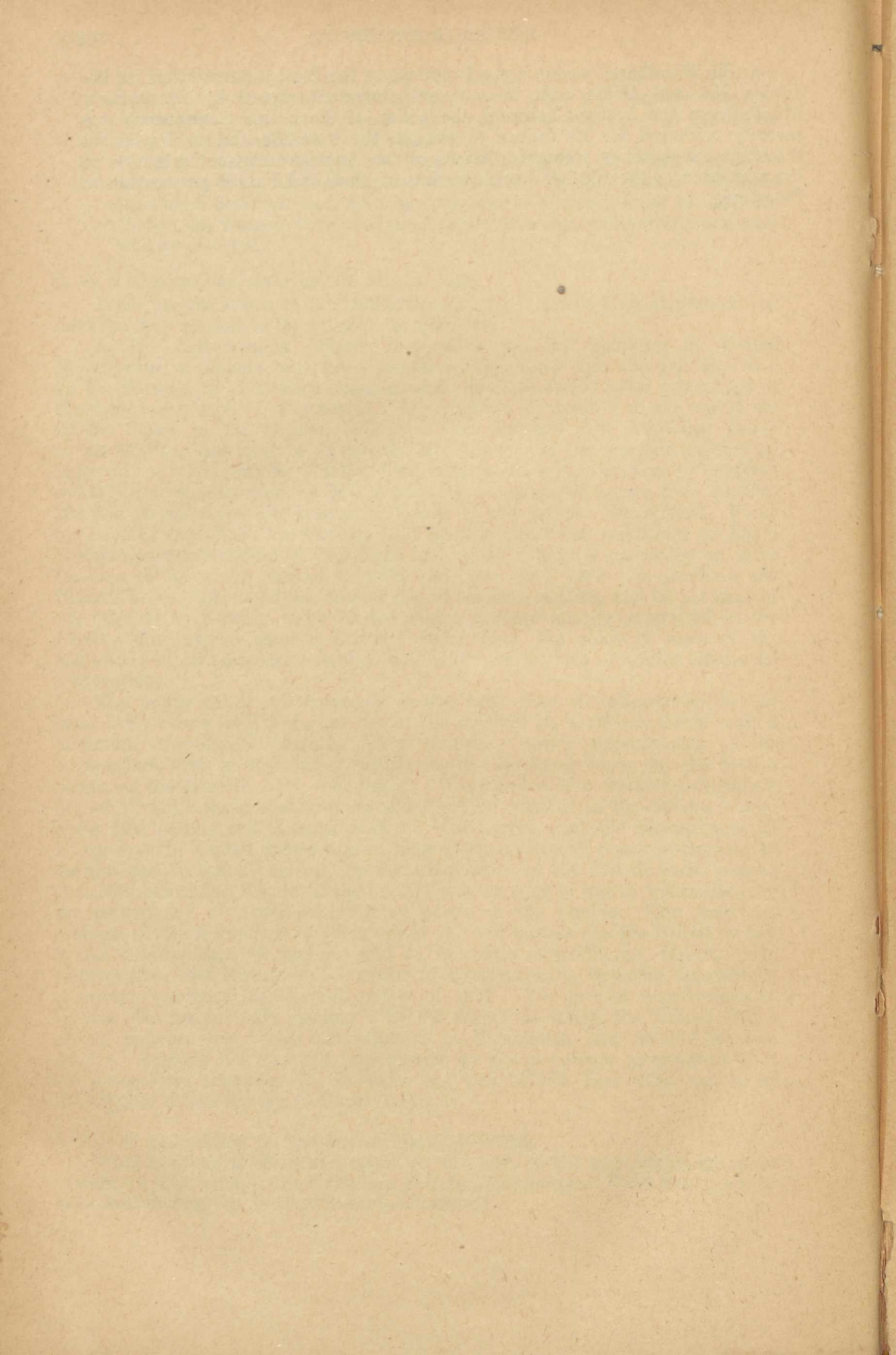
A. The high-ranking officers responsible for the planning of United States security already have been protesting vigorously that the war was won by the burning up of western hemisphere oil reserves to the great advantage of the eastern hemisphere oil reserves. The greatest oil reserves of the world are in the region of the Persian Gulf and they contend that American policy in the Middle East must be as realistic as the needs of the greatest oil-burning power of the world require. Persian Gulf reserves are said to be close to 100,000,000,000 barrels (one hundred billion barrels) as compared to less than 40,000,000,000 barrels under the control of U.S.A. in the western hemisphere. Forty per cent of the oil of the Persian Gulf area is under the territories of Saudi Arabia and the Standard of California and Gulf Oil have a concession on these reserves of oil which started in 1933 and runs until 1999. In addition the United States controls 23 per cent of the oil reserves of Iraq, and 50 per cent of the reserves in Kuwait. The United States is more heavily interested in the Persian Gulf region than is Great Britain, from the point of view of the magnitude of oil resources potential within the concessions of United States oil corporations.

The policy of the oil corporations has been that of appeasement of the local Arab rulers, to get the oil out of the country on a royalty basis with a minimum of political friction. They therefore advise appeasement of the Arab rulers, even at the cost of liquidating the National Home for the Jewish people as the price of Arab conciliation. The spectre of a western hemisphere dry of oil while there is still an abundance of oil reserves in the eastern hemisphere still haunts the General Staff at Washington, and the maintenance at all costs of the United States title to these Persian Gulf oil reserves depends, at the moment on the strength of the British position in the Middle East, just as the resources of the British in the Pacific area or zone is to-day guaranteed by the ascendancy of American military power in the Pacific. The American problem at the moment is to what extent she will underwrite the British policy in the Middle East in general, and in Palestine in particular, especially in collaboration with Britain on the matter of a settlement in Palestine satisfactory to Britain's original pro-Zionist policy of 1917. The present negotiations in London are undoubtedly dealing with the extent to which the United States should increase her active participation in Palestinian and Middle Eastern Affairs. Zionists are strongly representing to the American government that the prospective settlement in Palestine and the Middle East must not be at the expense of the Jewish National Home.

3. British Association for the Jewish National Home.

What attitude is there at present on the part of the non-Jewish group in Britain corresponding to the Canadian Palestine Committee? Have they recently expressed themselves on the Palestine situation?

A. Sir Wyndham Deedes is the President of the British Association for the Jewish National Home and, in a recent statement signed by Sir Andrew MacFadyean the Acting-Chairman, the policy of the British Government was severely criticized for its failure to execute the mandate and to implement the short range policy recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee re the admission of the 100,000 Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution to Palestine.



SESSION 1946
HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND EVIDENCE

No. 17

TUESDAY, JULY 30, 1946

Including
SECOND REPORT

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, July 30, 1946.

The Special Committee on External Affairs held an executive meeting at 11.30 o'clock. The Chairman, Mr. Bradette, presided.

Present: Messrs. Boucher, Bradette, Breithaupt, Coldwell, Fraser, Graydon, Hackett, Jackman, Knowles, Leger, Low, Mutch, Picard, Sinclair (*Ontario*), Tremblay and Winkler.

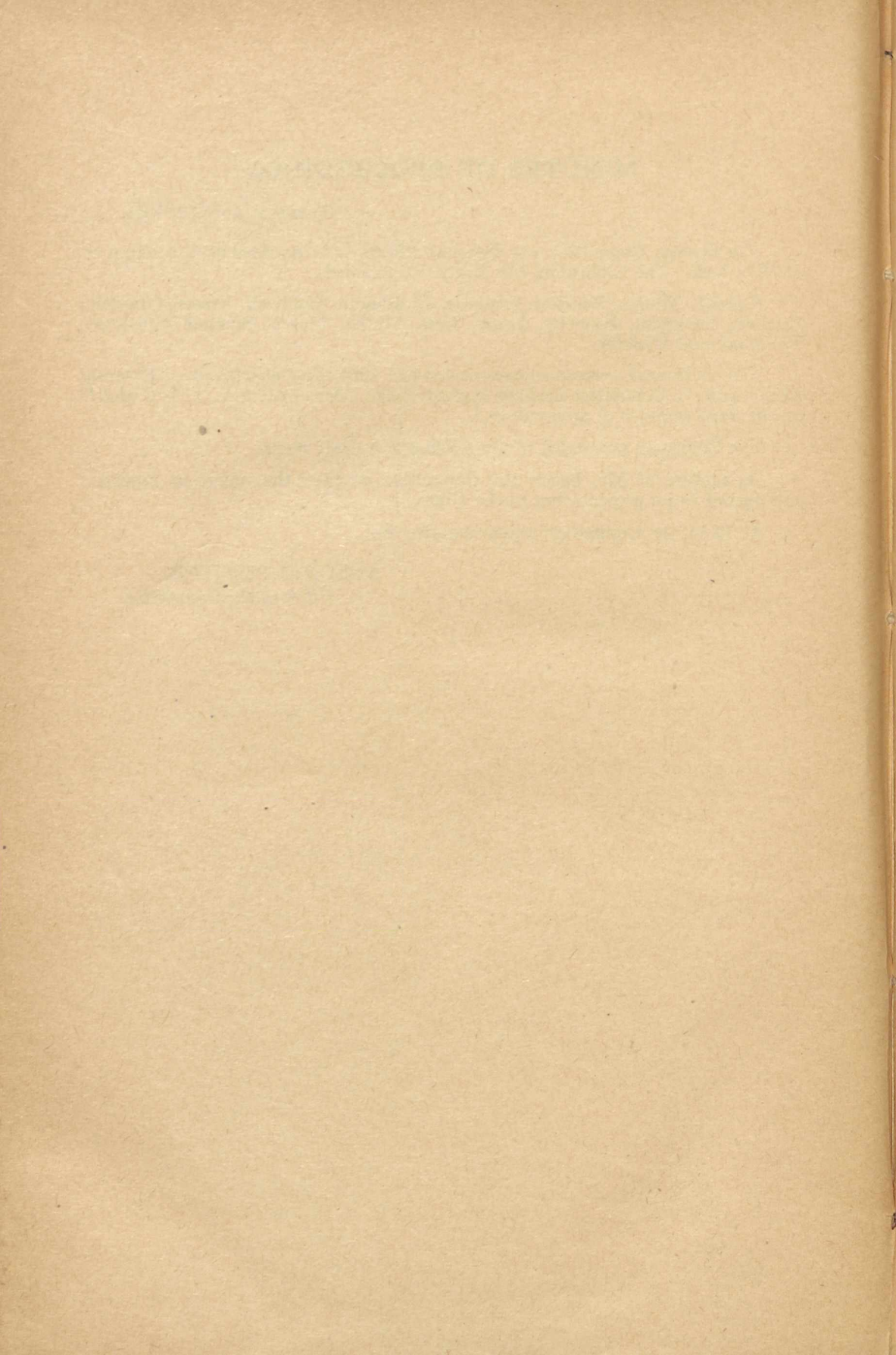
The Clerk read correspondence exchanged with the Department of External Affairs and the Committee decided to print same. (*See appendices A, B, C and D to this day's minutes of proceedings.*)

The Chairman proceeded to the reading of a draft report.

On motion of Mr. Leger, the Committee adopted the report as amended and agreed to its presentation to the House.

At 12.45, the Committee adjourned *sine die*.

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,
Clerk of the Committee.



APPENDIX A

OTTAWA, June 25, 1946.

SIR,

Herewith, a copy of a telegram relating to the Passport Office and read by Mr. Low, M.P., at the opening of the last meeting of the Standing Committee on External Affairs.

Yours truly,

ANTONIO PLOUFFE,
Secretary of the Committee.

Enclosure: as stated.

H. H. WRONG, Esq.,
Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
East Block,
Ottawa.

APPENDIX B

To Mr. SOLON LOW, M.P.,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir a large number of men who have returned from overseas are deserting their wives and families and are returning to England to women who they have been associated with for the past few years stop the passport officer states that he cannot refuse passports to these men as they would be interfering with their civil rights stop I consider it is the duty of your government to prevent this as if it had not been for the fact that your government declared war these men would have been happily settled with their wives and families stop while it is true that a man has civil rights it is also true that his wife and family have rights too stop this is a very serious matter and I trust that you will take the necessary steps to see that the men concerned are compelled to remain in this country and shoulder their responsibility of providing for their wives and families and not throwing this responsibility on the shoulders of the municipalities

(Signed) Williams Secty Mgr Canadian Legion Edmonton

APPENDIX C

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

OTTAWA, July 26, 1946.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter, dated June 25, enclosing copy of a telegram relating to the Passport Office and read by Mr. Low, M.P., to your Committee, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which has been sent to Mr. Williams, Secretary-Manager of the Canadian Legion at Edmonton, Alberta.

Yours very truly,

H. H. WRONG,
*Acting Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.*

The Secretary of the Standing
Committee on External Affairs,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

APPENDIX D

OTTAWA, July 26, 1946.

DEAR SIR:

The Prime Minister has referred to me your telegram of June 22 concerning the possibility of refusing to issue passports to former members of the Canadian armed forces who wish to leave Canada and desert their wives and families in this country.

Your telegram has received careful consideration and, while I fully realize the desirability of endeavouring to protect the interests of the dependents to whom you refer, I do not think that the method suggested would be a practical or desirable one.

A passport is not an exit permit. It is really a document of identification which is acceptable in all countries. As such it is normally and should properly be issued only to certify nationality for external purposes. If it were to be used for other purposes, such as to prevent the movement of certain persons out of Canada, it would be necessary to alter the entire basis of administration of passports. If passports were to be refused to ex-servicemen going to the United Kingdom to desert their wives and children, it would be necessary to have some adequate method, both of identifying such persons and of ensuring that perfectly legitimate travel was not impeded by frivolous complaints. There would have to be enquiries as to service, check with defence department, notification to wives of requests for passports; and an adequate period of delay to enable a wife to file a protest against issuance. Finally there would have to be some procedure for hearing disputed cases and determining the facts. There would have to be decisions which would really amount to judgments as to dependency and desertion. There would have to be provision for appeal and so forth. I think you will readily appreciate that all this would be a problem of very great difficulty, and would really be a case of handling in an administrative department what is essentially a judicial problem and function.

Whether it would be feasible for a provincial legislation or for the federal parliament to devise legislation that would adequately meet the problem of desertion, I do not know. However, I feel convinced that it would not be possible to approach it in the manner you suggest.

Yours sincerely,

H. H. WRONG,
*Acting Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.*

W. J. WILLIAMS, Esquire,
Secretary-Manager,
Canadian Legion,
Edmonton, Alberta.

WEDNESDAY, July 31, 1946.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs begs leave to present the following as its

SECOND REPORT

Complying with an Order of Reference dated May 10, 1946, your Committee has given consideration to Votes 41 to 56, both inclusive, of the Estimates of the Department of External Affairs for the current fiscal year.

Your Committee has held twenty meetings in the course of which Mr. H. H. Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and chiefs of the various divisions of that department have been heard.

Evidence has also been taken from Mr. F. P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, with respect to War Crimes Regulations (Canada), and from Mr. A. L. Joliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources, regarding the regulations affecting the admission of immigrants to Canada.

One sitting was devoted to the activities of the United Nations Society in Canada, when Mr. Eric W. Morse, National Secretary, was heard.

Your Committee approves of the said Estimates, Votes 41 to 56, and commends them to the consideration of the House.

Your Committee recommends that the Government consider the advisability of extending the validity period of passports from two to five years and of having passport application forms available in all appropriate government offices including post offices in all cities, towns and centres of population of 1,000 or more in Canada.

Your Committee suggests that the Government consider the possibility of devoting one hour per week in the House of Commons to international developments and conferences.

On the question of Financial Commitments, your Committee recommends that the Department of External Affairs take whatever steps are necessary to insure adequate controls over expenditures of Canada's contributions to the various International Bodies on which Canada is represented.

A request to appear before the Committee having been received from the Zionist and Arab Organizations of Canada, your Committee felt that it should grant their request and consequently both Organizations were heard on July 12, 19 and 22.

Your Committee wishes to pay tribute to the co-operation afforded by the officials of the Department of External Affairs and to other witnesses.

A copy of the proceedings and evidence taken is appended.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE,
Chairman.

