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# *The United Nations General Assembly*

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION — THE SECOND SIX WEEKS (1)

## **Plenary**

In addition to voting on resolutions recommended by the main committees, plenary sessions also debate and vote on items directly. Plenary has so far concluded debate on two items.

The first of these, the admission of Communist China (somewhat contentiously entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations") is a perennial of UN debate, and familiar positions were defended with predictable arguments. The "important question" resolution (as a result of which a resolution on the substantive issue requires a two-thirds majority for adoption) was again passed, Canada voting in favour, while both substantive resolutions were defeated. One resolution, sponsored by Albania, would have seated the People's Republic of China and expelled the Republic of China; the other, sponsored by Italy, called for a study group to re-examine the whole question.

Canada abstained from voting on the first resolution since, while it met the Canadian desire to see the People's Republic of China participate in the UN, it deprived the Republic of China of the representation to which it had an equal right. Canada voted for the second resolution because it seemed to promise a different, and possibly fruitful, approach to the issue.

The second item, on the need to "expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression . . .", was brought up by the Soviet Union. Defining aggression, it is said, would facilitate the identification of aggressors and thus strengthen the United Nations' ability to restore and maintain peace. The Canadian view, based on past experience (the search for such a definition has continued for over 40 years), is that it will be virtually impossible to reach consensus on a definition, though studies have clarified many of the intrinsic difficulties of the subject. One of these is that most of the proposed definitions have themselves contained undefined terms. Another problem is that a definition enumerating situations which would qualify as aggression would not be comprehensive, while a general definition would do nothing more than duplicate the provisions of the Charter. Moreover, it is possible that an aggressor could justify his acts by arguing that they did not fall within the definition. The Charter leaves it to the competent organs of the UN to decide what constitutes

(1) See the December issue for the first six weeks of the session. A concluding report will appear in the February 1968 issue.

an act of aggression, and it seems that a definition could easily complicate, delay or circumscribe action by the Security Council. The plenary debate unfortunately consisted mostly of a citation and rebuttal of alleged instances of aggression, rather than of efforts to discuss the problem.

Partly for these reasons and partly because the subject is closely connected with the work of the Special Committee on Friendly Relations, the item was referred to the Sixth (Legal) Committee for consideration in the light of the plenary debate.

### **First Committee**

The First Committee continued debate on the "Maltese item" on reservation of the sea-bed for peaceful uses, concluding by adopting, virtually unanimously, a resolution co-sponsored by Canada establishing an *ad hoc* committee with broad terms of reference to study the question. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to seek the views of the governments of member states and "render all appropriate assistance" to the committee.

The First Committee also concluded debate and adopted a resolution on an item inscribed by the Soviet Union proposing the "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons". This convention would, it is claimed, reduce the high level of international tension which results from the accumulation of large stocks of nuclear weapons. This argument, however, recognizes only one side of the question, since it is equally, if not more, cogent to argue that high levels of tension lead to large accumulations of weapons. In any case, past experience with similar agreements scarcely creates confidence in their efficacy. Similarly, genuine progress in disarmament is more likely to result from a case-by-case approach — denuclearization of Antarctica, test-ban treaty, UPT, Outer Space Treaty — than from wholesale outlawing of the use of nuclear arms, which would not, in fact, reduce or eliminate the stockpiles of such weapons.

For these reasons, Canada, though in sympathy with the aim of ending the possibility of the use of weapons of mass destruction in time of war, believes that specific and practical measures, such as UN peacekeeping operations and disarmament negotiations, are the most effective method of reducing international tensions. Declaratory measures, like the convention discussed above, would create the illusion but not the substance of genuine peace and security.

### **Special Political Committee**

In November, the Special Political Committee considered the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the second-last item on its

agenda (the last is the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine). The Special Committee had no opportunity to meet during the summer because of the Middle East crisis and so it made no proposals beyond recommending its continued existence. Debate was cautious in tone, there was no change of position by any party and no substantive proposals were introduced. The only new feature of the resolution adopted was the expression of the belief that a technical study of the kind advocated this year by the Secretary-General on standby forces "would be appropriate". Canada welcomed this resolution as possibly a faint indication of a trend towards more flexible positions on the part of different member states, and expressed particular interest in a study focused on such questions as the standardization of equipment and training, without necessarily excluding a study of broader scope.

### Second Committee

During the first two months of the twenty-second session, the Second (Economic) Committee held wide-ranging discussions on the need for intensified action by the United Nations to accelerate the economic development of the less-developed countries. The Committee reached agreement on recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) scheduled to be held in New Delhi from February 1 to March 25, 1968, and on the preparation for international action in the period following the expiration of the current development decade.

### Third Committee

The Third Committee was unable to give substantive consideration to all items on its heavy agenda during the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. However, an outstanding achievement was the adoption on November 7 of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (Item 54). The Declaration was approved by a vote of 111 to none, with 11 countries abstaining.<sup>(1)</sup>

On November 22, after discussing the question of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the General Assembly adopted a resolution extending the High Commissioner's term for another five years, from January 1, 1969. As the problem of refugees appears to have become a persistent feature of the international scene, the Assembly requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to pursue his activities of protection and assistance, and to continue to make every possible effort to

(1) The provisions of the Declaration were discussed in the December 1967 issue of *External Affairs*.

facilitate the repatriation, local integration or resettlement, on a voluntary basis, of the refugees within his mandate, bearing in mind the ever-increasing number of refugees in Africa. The Assembly invited the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue to report to, and be guided by, the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme with regard to refugee situations, in accordance with the Committee's terms of reference. Finally, the resolution urged countries to ratify the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol.

Another subject was the International Year for Human Rights and the Tehran Conference. In previous resolutions, the Assembly had designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights and reaffirmed its belief that the Year should be devoted to intensive efforts in the field of human rights. To give focus to the Year, a Conference will be held in Tehran to review progress in human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration on December 10, 1948, and to determine what remains to be done. The Assembly, on December 10, approved the provisional agenda for the Tehran Conference, which had been drawn up by a Preparatory Committee, of which Canada is a member.

The Third Committee also considered the Question of the Punishment of War Criminals. At its forty-first session, the Economic and Social Council, in Resolution 1158, invited the Commission on Human Rights to prepare a draft convention for consideration by the Council and adoption by the General Assembly which would provide that no statutory limitation should apply to war crimes and crimes against humanity, irrespective of the date of the commission of such crimes. The Commission on Human Rights did not finish its preparation of a draft, but a preliminary draft convention was prepared, and was considered briefly by the forty-second session of ECOSOC in the spring of 1967. This session of ECOSOC transmitted the preliminary draft convention, a report of the working group established by the Commission on Human Rights, and all proposals submitted to the Commission to the General Assembly, and asked the Assembly to take them into consideration in the preparation and adoption of a Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitation to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. The Third Committee was unable to complete consideration of this item during the twenty-second session, and adopted a resolution recommending that high priority be given to the item at the twenty-third session.

#### **Fourth Committee**

Colonialism in Southern Africa took up the lion's share of the Fourth Committee's attention at the twenty-second session. A lengthy debate on Rhodesia centered largely on how to bring about the downfall of the illegal régime. Commenting on assertions that the existing sanctions programme was

ineffective, the Canadian representative, Gérard Pelletier, M.P., admitted that sanctions had been less rapid in bringing results than had been hoped, but said that their cumulative effect over a longer period should be much greater. Referring to calls on Britain to use force, Mr. Pelletier expressed Canada's belief that the right course was to seek a peaceful solution to the problem. The Committee's majority, however, supported a resolution which affirmed that the only effective and speedy way for Britain to bring down the Rhodesian rebellion was through the use of force.

Also adopted after a thorough debate was a resolution condemning Portuguese colonial policy in Africa. The situation in Southern Africa also dominated the debate on two new items before the Committee: the effect of foreign economic interests on colonies, and the role of Specialized Agencies with regard to non-self-governing peoples. The Committee adopted resolutions condemning the activities of outside economic interests in hindering the achievement of independence by colonial peoples, and calling on the Specialized Agencies to take steps to help de-colonization, in particular by extending aid to African liberation movements and by withholding assistance from South Africa and Portugal.

Among the non-African territories discussed, Gibraltar was the subject of a particularly bitter debate, in which two principles which had guided the General Assembly on de-colonization — self-determination of all peoples and maintenance of territorial integrity — were invoked against each other. The Committee adopted a resolution which, in effect, censured Britain for holding a referendum to consult the people of Gibraltar about their future status before coming to an understanding with Spain. When Aden became independent, the Committee adopted a consensus expressing its wishes for peace and prosperity in that new country. It also welcomed the announcement by Australia, Britain and New Zealand that Nauru would become independent on January 31, 1968, and agreed to the termination of the trusteeship agreement covering that territory.

### Fifth Committee <sup>(1)</sup>

During November, the Fifth Committee, which deals with administrative and budgetary questions, concluded its general debate on the United Nations budget estimates for 1968 (58 countries having made statements during October and November), and continued its examination of individual budget sections.

The Committee, beginning its annual discussion of United Nations personnel questions, examined the Secretary-General's report on the composition of the Secretariat. By the end of November, two draft resolutions had been introduced. The first resolution, co-sponsored by nine countries, requested the Secretary-

(1) A comprehensive article dealing with the work of the Sixth (Legal) Committee during the twenty-second session will appear in a forthcoming issue of *External Affairs*.

General to achieve a better geographical distribution of Secretariat staff at all levels. The second resolution, co-sponsored by 38 countries including Canada, invited the Secretary-General "to continue to take steps, and to strengthen those taken, so that real progress may be achieved . . . with a view to a better utilization of the linguistic abilities of the staff and a balance among the working languages in the recruitment of Secretariat staff at all levels . . .". Although French and English are the two working languages of the Secretariat, the fact that UN headquarters is in New York has meant that, to a certain extent, English has become the dominant working language. Canada and the other co-sponsors, therefore, introduced this resolution in the belief that a more equitable balance in the use of both working languages would contribute to the continuing development of a truly international civil service.

The Committee also recommended, after election by secret ballot, that the General Assembly appoint the Auditor-General of Canada, Mr. A. M. Henderson, to the UN Board of Auditors for a three-year term beginning July 1, 1968; approved unanimously a draft resolution containing proposals to limit UN documentation; recommended that the General Assembly approve the scale of assessments to govern contributions by member states to the regular budget of the United Nations in 1968, 1969 and 1970 (according to which Canada's rate of assessment will be 3.02 per cent); discussed the Secretary-General's proposals for the reorganization of the senior levels of the UN Secretariat; noted the 1967 report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board; and began consideration of a draft resolution, co-sponsored by the U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R. and France, requesting the Secretary-General to suggest to each regular session of the General Assembly a "planning figure" for the UN regular budget for a forecast period two years hence.

## *A Truly Canadian Policy*

*The following article by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, was published in the Paris newspaper Le Monde on December 12, 1967 :*

Canadians are questioning themselves with honesty about the future of their country. This is a time-honoured custom. From the very beginning, geography, internal dualism and the massive influence of our neighbours to the south have seemed to make Canada's future problematical; nevertheless, for 100 years, Canada has grown and asserted itself thanks to the steadfast determination of its two main communities. Throughout its entire existence, Canada, the product of a daring political idea and a creative compromise, has been in a state of permanent invention. Thus, in this centennial year, while anxiety mingles with our feelings of pride, Canada is trying harder than ever to discover and create its future image. The incredible strides which French-Canadian society has made and which delight us all represent for Canadians less a problem than a magnificent chance for growth. Thanks to the painful but promising dialogue which has been taking place for years between the French-speaking and English-speaking communities in Canada, Canadians are on the way to coming to terms with one another. At the same time, they are providing themselves with safeguards to protect their respective identities and to give these identities full expression.

For many years, the Canadian Government has been trying to draw up an external policy which would represent Canada's internal reality as accurately as possible. This policy would, in effect, be deceptive if it did not distinguish the permanent characteristics of the Canadian personality and if it did not first address itself to the countries in the best position to support its development. For Canada — I am giving a very simplified picture — this reality can be reduced to certain basic elements : two main cultures, French and English, which are offshoots of Europe and whose defence and development alike require Europe's assistance; an immense territory whose scattered population is spread along a boundary almost 4,000 miles in length; an expanding economy, abundant natural resources whose development calls for a constant influx of capital and human resources; and, finally, the proximity of the United States, whose economic and cultural influence represents both a contribution and a challenge to Canada.

In order to show how the Canadian reality is translated into Canada's external policy, I intend to emphasize the two factors which seem most important to me : biculturalism and Canada's North American affinities.

In its search for a distinct personality to express abroad, Canada is fortunate to begin with a great advantage. The presence of two of the world's greatest cultures, shared by men of every race on every continent, gives Canada an

incomparable opening to the world. In its concern to preserve and develop its European heritage, Canada is taking advantage of the two channels abroad offered by its origins. In this way it hopes to ensure the development of its national cultures and its distinctive identity while sharing in the universal mission of French and English civilization. It follows, as a matter of course, that our relations with France — and also with other French-speaking countries — are one of the foundations of our foreign policy.

However, we cannot limit the ties between France and Canada to the traditional attachment toward the mother country and the moving recollection of our common struggles on the battlefields of the twentieth century. A solid substructure of shared interests and concrete relations must be added to the bonds which history has woven between us. In recent years, after far too long a period of mutual lack of understanding, we have been working to build just such a substructure. Following Prime Minister Pearson's trip to Paris in January 1964, Franco-Canadian relations underwent a deep change. In the cultural, scientific and technical areas, the "umbrella" agreement signed between France and Canada in 1965 marked the beginning of a co-operation which has since been extended to the whole of Canada. In addition, the agreement offered the Canadian provinces — Quebec in particular — the opportunity to multiply exchanges of this nature with France. Thus, ever-increasing contact with French culture has resulted in Canada, while in France an expanded awareness has been brought about of Canadian possibilities and achievements. I can list only the areas of co-operation: creation of the France-Canada Interparliamentary Association; expansion of commercial exchanges through special missions and regular consultations; a programme of scientific co-operation; a recent agreement signed for research in the field of defence; frequent consultations at all levels; exploration of the possibilities for co-operation offered by the atomic and space age. These activities represent a vast effort which has already given a radically new character to Franco-Canadian relations. Does it mean that these results are sufficient? On the contrary, I believe that much remains to be done and that our relations with France can and must undergo another phase of expansion.

During this next stage, we must look at the relations between the two countries within an enlarged context, within the very dimensions of the future we are building in Canada. Our country is, in fact, moving towards a reorganization of its institutions which will enable the French community to radiate fully across the country on equal terms and to associate freely with other communities in a joint effort. To achieve this end, it is not only necessary to develop relations between France and Quebec but also to exploit to the fullest all chances for co-operation with the other provinces and the Federal Government.

Canada's contribution to French culture must also be felt in the French-speaking world. Through bilateral measures, Canada is seeking to expand its relations with all the French-speaking countries in Europe. We have recently signed a cultural agreement with Belgium which offers broad opportunities for

co-operation between our two countries; the Canadian provinces can also benefit from this agreement. We have also striven to broaden our ties with the numerous French-speaking countries of Africa and Asia which gained independence after the last World War. We have increased our diplomatic representation in these countries and have rapidly multiplied our external aid credits. For French-speaking Africa, they will amount to approximately \$12 million for 1967-68. Our activities have been mainly in the area of technical assistance — in particular, education. At the moment there are more than 250 Canadian professors and teachers in French-speaking Africa and approximately 180 African students are studying in Canada. Canada intends to do even more in the future and to open new channels for co-operation.

From the very beginning, Canada has been interested in the efforts made to establish *francophonie* on an international scale. What a magnificent ideal is represented by this conception of a French-speaking brotherhood uniting the most diverse civilizations and races across the continents! The idea is taking shape. Many plans have been put forward both by governments and private bodies to provide an initial structure and means of carrying out the project. A founding member of the Association des parlementaires des pays de langue française (Parliamentary Association of French-language Countries), of the Communauté radiophonique de langue française (French-language Radio Community), of the Committee for the Promotion of the French language at the United Nations, and still others, Canada has supplied considerable financial support to AUPELF, which is an association of universities either wholly or partly French-speaking. Canada intends to participate actively in the development and spreading of *francophonie* in the world. Like *francophonie* itself, this effort has hardly begun. However, this beginning promises a rewarding future.

It is obvious that Canada's Department of External Affairs, more than any other in the Canadian Government, must reflect the bicultural character of the country to support this policy. The Department is undergoing a rapid development. Bilingualism, merely encouraged in the past, has become the rule for all officers today and a noticeable increase can be seen in the employment of French-Canadian elements. Thus increasingly favourable conditions are developing for the general use of French as a working language for officers and staff of French origin, whether stationed abroad or at headquarters. (We should mention in passing that our Department now has a Direction de la francophonie (Division for Relations with French-speaking Countries) to promote extensive co-operation between Canada and the French-speaking world.) Not only our diplomatic missions but also our delegations to the most varied international meetings include a large proportion of French-speaking Canadian delegates. Provincial representatives often form part of Canadian delegations to meetings which might be of interest to Canadian provinces. Like their Minister, Canada's representatives consider it an honour to speak on behalf of their country — especially in the United Nations — in the two official Canadian languages.

I mentioned earlier the full support we gave to the efforts of French-speaking countries to assure the French language its full rights at the United Nations.

The whole federal administration is involved, not only one or two departments. Last year, the Government initiated a daring policy of promoting bilingualism on a large scale — even among the highest echelons — in the public service. As a result, we are presented with the rather pleasing picture of ministers, department heads and high officials dutifully attending French classes or spending a whole year in Quebec with their families in an exclusively French-speaking environment. The distance to cover is considerable; however, the effort which has been made is also considerable, and will become even more so.

For a long time, many people considered Canada almost exclusively an English-speaking country. This time has passed. Today, at the national level and abroad, Canada is emerging more and more as a country whose French roots and English origins inspire policies and direct action.

### **Canada, a North American Country**

Canadians are North Americans. This is a self-evident fact, but also a significant one. The currents of North American economy, science and technology sweep across our country. The immensity of our surroundings has penetrated our art, our literature, our very souls. From these surroundings we have acquired a taste for vast undertakings: the daring construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, which cuts to the very heart of the continent; mammoth mining and power projects; everything that Expo 67 symbolized. Our geopolitical horizon is on the same scale — two gigantic neighbours, the United States and the U.S.S.R. Canada, from sea to sea, joined by the Atlantic to a friendly Europe, also looks towards the Pacific and Asia. In a world very different from millennial Europe, Canada wishes to remain faithful to its two great European cultures, to represent all Europe on North American soil.

This is not easy. How can one retain one's identity so close to an extremely powerful neighbour, ten times wealthier and more populous? The United States certainly provides an indispensable contribution to our economic and cultural development. The press, broadcasting and visitors, inundating us with a popular culture which is often rather turbid, also bring us all the advanced and daring developments in science, the humanities and technology. However, this contribution presents serious problems to us.

In the cultural sphere, Canada can find the elements for a solution to this problem in its own vital forces. In the first place, there is the French "fact", which is at the very heart of Canadian identity. In its resolution to grow and spread, French culture in Canada gives Canadian life a powerful impetus and an indomitable element of originality. English-speaking Canadians, more subject to American influence because of a common language, are the first to recognize this fact. On the other hand, they are no less deeply attached to the culture of their origin. The Canadian Government gives strong encouragement to this

attitude, since it has always seen the central support for Canada's personality and the basis of its unity in its very differences. Our national structure will be no weaker for being rich and varied. In short, all Canadians wish to preserve and develop their European heritage. To this end, we have for some time been developing a policy of strengthening our ties with Europe and of ensuring the development of an original cultural life in Canada, French-speaking as well as English-speaking. Grants from the Canada Council and other agencies enable Canadian talent to make a start in literature, the arts and sciences. Canadian productions are encouraged on the national television and radio networks. The new National Arts Centre will be the focal point from which our two great cultures radiate. For many years the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board have been producing a vast Canadian output in both languages. Canada's foreign policy gives indispensable support to this effort by favouring agreements and cultural exchanges of all kinds with Europe and the French-speaking world. In this day of communications satellites, Europe's most recent creative and cultural achievements are within our reach. We intend to make full use of these advantages.

There is an economic problem as well. More than any other industrial country, Canada relies on foreign capital and its own exports to support its economic development and its high standard of living. As our immediate neighbour, the United States, with its gigantic economy, is our main source of capital and our largest market. Thus our exchanges with that country have, and will no doubt continue to have, a role of the first importance in our economic life. However, Canada cannot restrict its economy to the North American continent alone if it wishes to retain control of its economic and political future. Canada's identity is at stake. For this reason, the Government gives strong encouragement to the directing of Canadian capital toward leading industrial areas. It urges the branches of foreign enterprises to orient their activities, especially where exports are concerned, in such a way as to accord with Canadian interests and policies. Finally, the Government is constantly making efforts to extend its market and to develop commercial and cultural relations on the widest possible base. We are well aware that such diversity assures Canada of the stability essential to its independence. It is only natural that Canada, in search of markets and investments, should turn to Europe, whose economy is enjoying a renewal of vigour and unity.

It is obvious that our efforts would be useless if, in the first place, Canadians did not share a common determination to preserve Canada's political, economic and cultural autonomy. This determination, supported by the promising dialogue between the French-speaking communities, has become very obvious.

However, Canada alone cannot bring an effort of this dimension to a successful conclusion. For this reason, it intends to expand and deepen its exchanges — particularly with France and the French-speaking countries — in economics, science, technology and culture. We hope to develop the friendly

relations established with Europe within such international bodies as the OECD and the Council of Europe. We take a very great interest in the new Europe which is growing up about the European communities.

There is no doubt that Europe will hear Canada's call. Our shared cultural heritage, the opportunities for investment and trade that the Canadian market offers Europe, the increased importance that an independent Canada, dynamic and strong in the knowledge of its unity, represents as a stabilizing influence in North America, and, finally, the role which Canada can play in the world — all these factors lead us to believe that Canadians and Europeans are entering into a new era of increased co-operation.

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## *Prime Minister Pearson's Visit to London*

**A**CCOMPANIED by Mrs. Pearson, the Prime Minister visited Britain as the guest of the British Government from November 21 to 27, 1967. He received an honorary degree from the University of London on November 23 and the Freedom of the City of London on November 27. The visit coincided with the devaluation of the pound on November 18 and with the Cyprus crisis, and thus facilitated a direct exchange of views between the Prime Ministers of the two countries on these and other current topics.

Mr. Pearson's schedule began with a press conference on the afternoon of his arrival. On November 22, after a meeting with Prime Minister Wilson at 10 Downing Street, Mr. and Mrs. Pearson were guests at a lunch held in their honour by the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. George Thomson. Mr. Pearson later met with representatives of the Salonika Reunion Association, the members of which had taken part in the 1917 campaign in Salonika, in which he had participated. He then received the provincial agents-general resident in London.

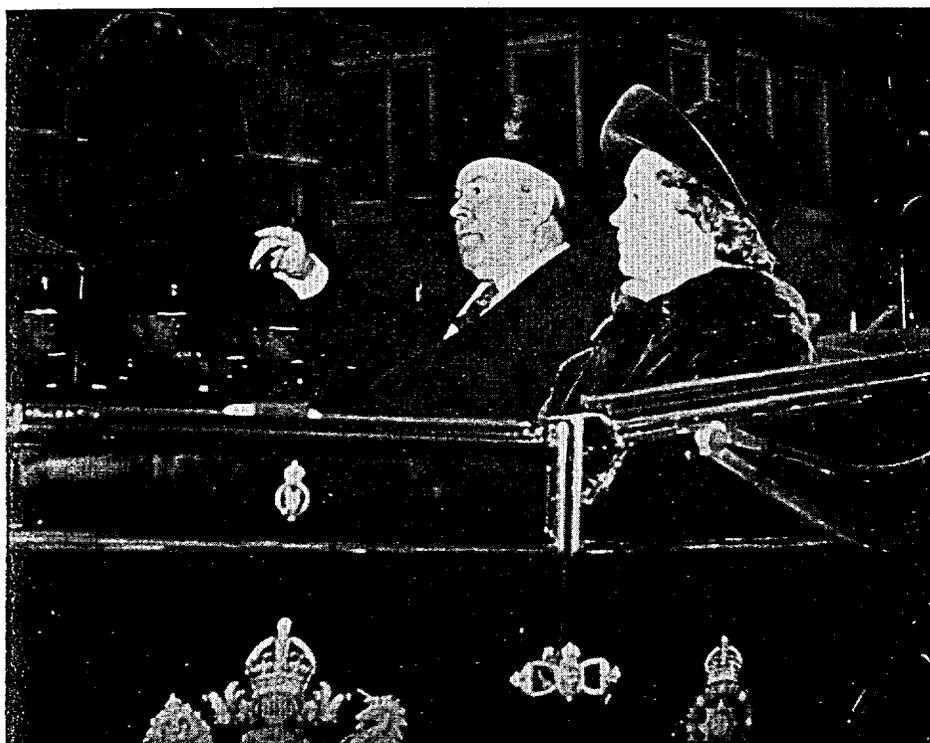
### **Social Events**

On November 23, the Prime Minister was host at a lunch at the residence of the High Commissioner. Among those present were the Right Honourable James Callaghan, the Right Honourable Denis Healey, the Right Honourable Anthony Crosland, the Right Honourable George Thomson, the Right Honourable Frederick Mulley, Lord Chalfont, the Right Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Right Honourable Jeremy Thorpe and Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat. In the evening, Mr. Pearson received an honorary doctorate of laws from the University of London. The degree was presented by the Chancellor of the University, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother. The following day, November 24, Mr. Pearson was received in audience by Her Majesty the Queen at Buckingham Palace. Later, he and Mrs. Pearson were guests of Her Majesty at lunch.

On the weekend of November 25 — 26, Mr. and Mrs. Pearson were guests of the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Thomson, at Dorneywood, the official country residence at the disposal of the Foreign Secretary and the Commonwealth Secretary, and at dinner with Prime Minister Wilson at Chequers on the Sunday afternoon.

### **Guildhall Ceremony**

The major event of the Prime Minister's final day in London, November 27, was the presentation to him of the Freedom of the City of London. The ceremony began at noon with the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Pearson in an open



*Prime Minister L. B. Pearson and Mrs. Pearson arrive at the Guildhall, London, for the presentation to Mr. Pearson of the Freedom of the City.*

carriage, accompanied by a Royal Canadian Mounted Police escort, at the Guildhall. The Prime Minister was greeted at the porch by the Chairman of the City Lands Committee and, after inspecting a guard of honour, was conducted by the Chairman into the Guildhall, where he was received by the Lord Mayor of London. After the presentation to the Lord Mayor, the business of the Common Council began with the Town Clerk reading the Order directing the presentation of the Freedom of the City.

In accordance with an ancient custom, the Principal Clerk of the Chamberlain pronounced the Declaration of the Compurgators, which testified that Mr. Pearson :

... is a man of good name and fame; that he does not desire the Freedom of this City whereby to defraud the Queen or this City of any of their rights, customs or advantages, but that he will pay his Scot and bear his Lot; and so they all say.

The Chamberlain then administered the Freeman's Declaration to the Prime Minister and his name was added to the Roll of Fame. After mutual exchanges of greetings between the Chamberlain and Mr. Pearson, the Chairman of the City Lands Committee moved that the addresses be entered on the Journal of the Court.

### **Mansion House Address**

After the traditional Mansion House luncheon, the Prime Minister delivered the following address which, as is usual on such occasions, deals with a number of important policy matters :

"...I've already expressed my feelings, my Lord Mayor, at becoming a Freeman of this great city and joining the roll of illustrious men and women, some of whom you have mentioned. I think of London as the heart of Britain, just as I have always thought of Britain itself as a repository of steadiness and good sense in a world where these qualities are, more than ever, needed.

"Nor do I forget that Britain remains the centre of our Commonwealth of Nations. This association of free states is going through difficult times. But no international arrangement or system offers a more hopeful example of the kind of flexibility and adaptability that is required internationally to meet the challenges and the demands of today's sweeping changes and new conditions.

"Both Britain and Canada can take pride in the development of the new Commonwealth out of the old Empire and the earlier Commonwealth — a development which, as you know, has now reached the point where we have an association of, I believe, 26 member states from every part of the world, varying greatly in size, in power and in wealth — different creeds, different forms of government, different ways of life. But the Commonwealth, with all its frustrations but with all its promise too, has established a bridge between these different cultures, these different races, at a time when there aren't many bridges of this kind left in the world. Some parts of the bridge seem at the moment to be rather shaky, but that means not that we should scrap the bridge but that we should strengthen it and thereby increase its value to ourselves and to the world.

"While the Commonwealth is now of special importance because there is racial and geographical variety, its heart and its soul remain here in London. Without the vision and leadership of Britain, the Commonwealth could not have evolved from Empire in the way it did. Without the goodwill and support of Britain, and the older members of the Commonwealth, including my own country, the Commonwealth will not survive. If it should fail, let the failure not be through any fault of understanding, patience or effort on our part.

"Britain's role in the transition of Empire into Commonwealth is only one reason why as a Canadian I'm proud of our British heritage, and, as I have already said earlier this morning, why I honour our British traditions. I do not forget how much Canada — indeed, how much the world — owes to this mother country, how much we owe to its institutions, based on law and justice and freedom, which are the source of so much of our own strength.

"Britain has a constructive and indispensable role to play in the world of today and tomorrow. Current financial and economic difficulties should not be permitted to obscure this fact. We in Canada have watched with sympathy and concern the efforts made by this country in recent years to resolve these

difficulties. We have helped when we could and when it was required. We have, for instance, shared in the co-operative arrangements to support sterling when such support was necessary, just as Britain helped to support our dollar in 1962 when it was necessary. We have worked together to fashion means to improve general international liquidity in the future, and recent events have underlined the importance of this task and how essential it is that it should proceed and should succeed. Recent events have also exposed some of the obstacles in the way of such success which should be removed. Our two countries have also taken leading roles in the series of negotiations in the past two decades that have brought successive reductions in trade barriers, culminating in the Kennedy Round arrangements, which we are at the moment hoping to implement.

"The economic problems you face today are not unique to Britain. They confront, in varying degrees and at various times, all states. Britain has had longer experience than most of us in finding solutions; often they have had to be improvised for these problems. We've all benefited in the past from your practical genius in the art of government, in its economic as well as its political aspects. I am confident that this genius — with the hard work that alone makes genius effective — will enable Britain to overcome present difficulties.

"I hope, also, that we shall all learn something from these difficulties, because their significance goes beyond your boundaries. In particular, we should now realize, if we didn't realize it before, that co-operation between nations, in finance, monetary policy and economics, is almost as important as it is for defence and security. And its breakdown can be almost as disastrous.

"In my own country (and not for the first time, as anyone familiar with Canadian history knows), we are also facing problems — economic problems, financial problems, but especially problems of federalism and national unity. They are our problems, to be solved, as they will be solved, by us and not by outside intervention in our domestic affairs. Let me add that no country in the world has the possibility of a greater future than ours, and no country is more likely to realize that future.

"We are trying to find a strong and enduring foundation for political unity and individual opportunity within social, cultural, and geographic diversity. And it's not an easy problem to solve. But this search is not confined to Canada. It is part of the larger search for new dimensions of individual freedom and personal opportunity in a world where man's fantastic technological and scientific progress has only emphasized the primitive character of so much of his social and political behaviour. That is why I believe it to be a chief purpose of the members of the Commonwealth today to work together in the knowledge that the fundamental needs and aspirations of man are universal — whatever his language, whatever the colour of his skin, whatever his race or his country. And this purpose, as I have just said, is wider than our own country, wider than our Commonwealth. It encompasses the family of man, and its full recognition

should be the basis of international relations on this small and crowded planet. But the contemporary world gives little evidence that such a basis is likely to get general acceptance in the immediate future.

"We had a vision of what might be done at San Francisco in 1945. That vision soon disappeared. And the cold war came and destroyed the hope that the United Nations would soon ensure freedom, fraternity and security for all men. As a second best, you remember, we formed a regional coalition spanning the Atlantic Ocean — a coalition through which member states could work together for political co-operation and collective defence. This was another postwar dream, this Atlantic dream — the building of an Atlantic community of interdependent states willing to pool their sovereignty in the interests of their security and their progress.

"We ask ourselves why has NATO not realized more fully these hopes and these aspirations. Well, I might mention one or two reasons — there are many — for this. NATO concentrated on the single, if vitally-important, task, of collective military defence. It was not able to take effective measures for collective political action. National decisions were rarely subordinated to collective decisions, or national policy to collective policy. The United States, whose power dominated the alliance, largely determined the strategy and policy on which collective defence was based. The other members, it should be added, would probably not have acted differently if they had had the same super-power.

"France, in due course, repudiated the whole ideal of collective security, falling back on the old and, as I believe, discredited, doctrine of national defence by national action — co-ordinated, if you like, in a military alliance, but with national sovereignty unimpaired. There are governments that still think that nationalism is not only sacred, which it is, but is sufficient, which it is not, and that national problems can be solved within purely national terms of reference. The lessons of history are depressing because they are usually learned too late, even by those who have suffered most from the failure so to learn.

"There are other reasons for NATO's inability to realize its full collective potential. One of these, paradoxically, is its success in helping to lessen the fear of an attack on Western Europe. This reduction of tension and fear is not only a tribute to NATO, it's a danger for NATO. After all, fear was the father of the North Atlantic Treaty. And now, with the European member states stronger and more confident, with the Eastern European members of the Warsaw Pact more independent, the Soviet supremacy in the Communist world challenged by a bitterly hostile Peking, collective security, though essential as ever, has lost some of its immediate urgency. Fear of attack has lessened so we may feel that it is safe to relax.

"The European — indeed, the whole world — situation has become fluid. The polarization of all power between the U.S.S.R., determining the policy of the Communist world, and the U.S.A., dominating that of the democracies, has been altered on the Communist side by Peking and on the Atlantic side by

Paris, which hoped to develop a strong and independent European third force of which it would be the leader.

"In short, the political and military realities on which NATO was originally founded have changed. The threat to Western Europe was, if not superseded, at least supplemented by tensions and conflicts in other parts of the world, in the Middle East, in Africa, and, above all, in Southeast Asia, where these tensions exploded into bloody and confused war in Vietnam. There was no Atlantic solidarity in policy for these areas and, to this extent, NATO ceased to meet the vital requirements of some of its members.

"NATO, in short, having accomplished its original strategic purpose, as it did (and thank God that it did), has not yet been able to adapt itself adequately to changing conditions both strategic and political. But the need for such adaptation is recognized and is now being faced. If any changes are to be effective, they must take into account the fact that Western Europe has emerged from the postwar condition of political and economic weakness into a position of strength and confidence, grateful for the American support and assistance which has done so much to bring this about but with the desire for a greater share in the control of the alliance and its policies.

"Undoubtedly, a greater immediate menace to NATO is the threatened conflict between two of NATO's members, Greece and Turkey, over Cyprus, which is a member of the Commonwealth. It is to be hoped that this conflict, senseless as it would be, can be averted. I think it can, on terms honourable and acceptable to the three governments concerned. We have more hope than we had a day or so ago that this can be done. If it were not averted, then armed conflict between two NATO members, using military equipment provided by other members for other collective defence purposes, could have a fatal effect on the NATO alliance.

"One other point. If arrangements are agreed on to avert conflict which call for a stronger United Nations force (and both our countries are serving in that force now) to supervise their carrying-out and to maintain security on the island during that period, then these arrangements must also provide that this United Nations force has the necessary authority and support to discharge its mandate. We must not again have the United Nations force called on to discharge a new responsibility without adequate means for that purpose — political, juridical and military.

"I have been talking about NATO and a changing Europe, and a changing world. These changes are not only a challenge for NATO. They are, as I see it, also a challenge for progress toward a European unity which would include Britain — a Europe with a political, economic and defence role of its own, but one which should remain closely associated with the United States and Canada in a European-North American partnership.

"The idea of a strong and united Europe is surely a wise one, but only if it can be worked out without isolation from North America. That is why, as

I see it, Britain should be a central and integral part of the new Europe, politically and economically. I see this as something which need not weaken ties across the Atlantic or with the rest of the Commonwealth. I see it rather as something which would help prevent Europe from becoming an isolated third force. If you like, I see Britain in the role of link between Europe and America, the position which has so often been given to Canada in relations between this country and the United States. Maybe we can give you some advice on how to perform that role ! Feeling this way, I naturally think it is wrong and unwise for any European country to oppose or put unnecessary obstacles in the way of Britain playing a full and constructive part, as I am sure it would be, in the evolution of a united Europe . . . .”

## *The Inauguration of Mangla Dam*

ON November 23, 1967, President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan formally inaugurated the Mangla Dam, which had been designed to conserve and control the waters of the Jhelum River for irrigation and hydro-electric purposes. He also inaugurated its supporting works—four link canals and three barrages (dams). These composed the first phase of perhaps the largest engineering undertaking in the world today, the Indus Basin Project.

The facts about this first phase are impressive in their own right. For example, the earth dam consists of three sections which total seven miles in length, have a maximum height of 340 feet, hold 140 million cubic yards of fill (more than any other earth-dam project) and were completed a year ahead of schedule. Five tunnels, each 2,000 feet long, bring water to the power-station, which will ultimately have a capacity of 1000 MW. The dam creates a reservoir with a 250-mile shore-line encompassing nearly a 1000 square miles of water, the flooding of which displaced 82,000 people.

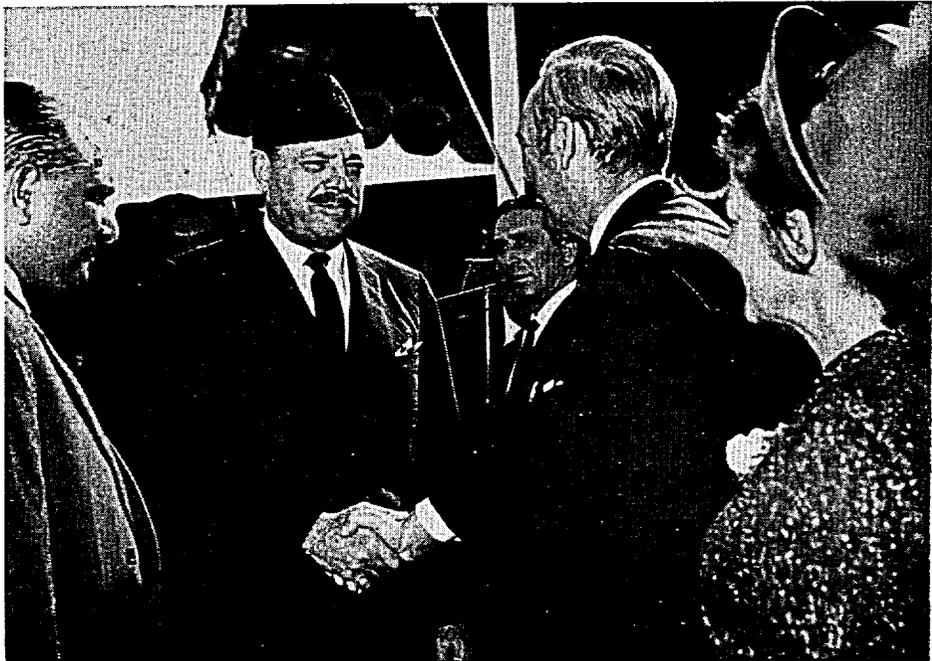
In his address of welcome to the President at the inauguration, the chairman of the Pakistani agency responsible for executing the Indus Basin Project described it as a unique example of international co-operation "conceived as a result of international conciliation". It marked, President Ayub said in reply, the beginning of an era of hope—"a tribute to sanity, good faith, reason and international co-operation".

### **Origin of Indus Treaty**

The Indo-Pakistani Canal Water Treaty, which gave rise to these words, was signed by President Ayub and the late Prime Minister Nehru of India in Karachi on September 19, 1960. <sup>(1)</sup> When the subcontinent was divided in 1947, most of the irrigated land in the Indus basin went to Pakistan but the head works of some of Pakistan's major irrigation systems went to India. The two countries soon found themselves disputing over the water they shared. For years they made no headway in reconciling their differences. Then the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) decided to try to help.

In the event, the Bank produced the plan on which the Treaty of 1960 was founded. In essence, this instrument assigned to Pakistan the use of the waters of the Indus and its two western tributaries, the Jhelum and Chenab, and to India the use of the three eastern tributaries—the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. This division entailed the Indus Basin Project, i.e. the construction of a system of canals and reservoirs primarily to enable Pakistan to replace, in its irrigation system, the water which had originally come from the eastern tributaries of the Indus with water from its part of the basin.

(1) See "The Indus Waters Settlement"; *External Affairs*, November 1960, Page 847.



*President Ayub of Pakistan greets Senator Maurice Lamontagne on his arrival at the Mangla Dam inauguration ceremony, as Mrs. Lamontagne looks on.*

To meet the costs of the undertaking, Australia, Britain, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United States and the IBRD executed at the time the Treaty was signed the Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, with the IBRD as administrator. The original amount of the fund was \$895 million.<sup>(2)</sup> The principal contributors were the United States (\$482 million), India (\$174 million under the terms of the Treaty) and the Bank (an \$80 million loan). In order of magnitude, the balance of some \$158 million came in the form of grants from Britain, Germany, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The Canadian contribution was \$20.6 million, or more than 2 per cent of the total.

After work on the project got under way, it soon became apparent that it was going to cost much more than the fund had provided for. In these circumstances, the contributing countries signed a supplementary agreement in 1964, under which their additional subscriptions to the Fund, together with a new bank loan of over \$58 million, totalled \$315 million. Canada's share was \$15.5 million, or about 5 per cent of the total, for a total of \$36.2 million.

#### **Inauguration Ceremony**

The site for the inauguration ceremony was Mangla Fort, perched on a hill which anchors one end of the main dam and looks across the water of the

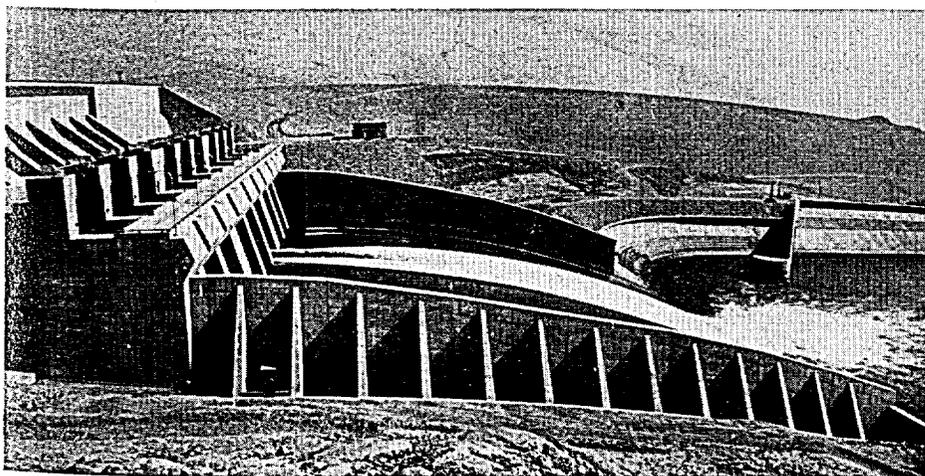
(2) All dollar amounts are quoted in United States dollars.

reservoir to the mountains of Kashmir. The origins of the fort lie deep in the unwritten part of history, but it probably was in use when Alexander the Great fought his major battle in the subcontinent about 40 miles away. The day was clear as spring water, the air warm and still. At one point a large flock of wild ducks flew overhead. Only last year this was still largely camel country.

As an indication of the importance Pakistan attached to the occasion, the President presided over the ceremony with the support of the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Governors of East and West Pakistan. Almost his entire Cabinet was in attendance, with senior civil servants and representatives of the armed forces. Also seated along the raised sward with the President were the special representatives of all the signatories of the Fund Agreements. They included the Right Honourable Paul Hasluck, Australian Minister of External Affairs; the Honorable W. Averell Harriman, the United States Ambassador-at-Large; Mr. George Thomas, the British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations; and the Honourable Maurice Lamontagne, of Canada's Senate. Each took his turn in moving to the lectern to deliver a message of goodwill. Senator Lamontagne conveyed to President Ayub the warm greetings of the Prime Minister and the congratulations of the Canadian Government for Pakistan's splendid achievement in constructing the dam. He saw it as a vivid material manifestation of Pakistan's will to promote national development and raise living standards. The inauguration was a tribute to what could be achieved through friendly international co-operation. For Canadians, such co-operation was not an act of generosity but a duty.

#### **Speech of President Ayub**

When it came his turn to speak, President Ayub wholeheartedly acknowledged Pakistan's debt of gratitude to the World Bank for resolving a grave human



*Spillway of the Mangla Dam on the Jhelum River in Pakistan.*

problem with great perception and vision. In referring to the assistance of the Fund members in the execution of the Indus Basin Project, he said :

I am sure that every Pakistani will join me in thanking all these friendly countries most sincerely for all the help they have given us.

He interpreted the completion of the project as meaning freedom from fear for every farmer in the area, a lasting factor of stability in Pakistan's irrigation system and a development which would permit Pakistan to pursue its programme of increased agricultural production with greater vigour and assurance.

After his speech, President Ayub held an investiture, during which he decorated with various civil awards 23 Pakistanis who had rendered particularly meritorious services to the construction of the dam and its canal system. He also gave commemorative gold medals to 47 representatives of various foreign engineers and consultants associated with the project and other medals to a number of officers of the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority, the agency charged with implementing the entire Indus Basin Project.

The time had come for the President to press the button; water broke foaming over the mighty spillways below the main dam; balloons sailed into the air; and hundreds of white doves took flight. East and West had met to good advantage, in a way Alexander and his soldiers would probably not have understood.

# *Disarmament*

EXCERPTS FROM A STATEMENT IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 12, 1967,  
BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL E. L. M. BURNS, ADVISER TO  
THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT ON DISARMAMENT

## **Secretary-General's Report on the Effects of Nuclear Weapons**

I should like to say a few words about the report which has been prepared by the Secretary-General on the effect of the use of nuclear weapons, and on the security and economic implications for states of the acquisition and further development of these weapons. The Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada, has described the report as "an important and constructive contribution to the continuing international discussion on this question". These are a few points in the report which our delegation feels should be emphasized.

The Canadian delegation would like heartily to commend the members of the Secretariat concerned with this report, and also to thank most warmly the experts who participated in compiling it. We think that they have succeeded admirably in the first part of the task which was set before them: to put in clear and unmistakable language, with all the weight of their renown as authorities on the subject, the horrific effects which will be produced by nuclear and thermonuclear weapons if they are ever used. No one can deny that, if the thousands of weapons in the stockpiles are loosed, they will cause horrible, almost inconceivable, death and destruction. But the impact of this knowledge has been softened by much repetition. It is a truth which has regrettably become a platitude, and perhaps a bore. The world would like to ignore it, to forget about it. To offset this dangerous tendency it would be good if all of us in this Committee would read and re-read the first chapters of the Secretary-General's report. It would, I hope, bring us to a realization of the sort of questions we are dealing with. These are questions of the life or death of hundreds of millions of men and women — of the death or crippling of civilization as we know it. With the continuation of the nuclear arms race, there is no end in sight except nuclear war. If there is shortsighted concentration on supposed national security interests and prestige, and a refusal to agree to any measure which will check or prevent further expansion of the nuclear armaments race, those who refuse are voting for nuclear war — nuclear war that may be decades away, but which will surely come.

I wish to draw attention to the sections on the economic and security implications of acquiring nuclear weapons, in the light of our hope that we

shall have a non-proliferation treaty open for signature before long. The Secretary-General's report points out the many implications and problems involved in the decision to become a nuclear-weapon state and argues strongly against further spread of nuclear weapons.

### **Cost of Acquiring Nuclear Arms**

There is no doubt that the cost in economic terms would be high; an additional annual expenditure of \$170 million to develop a modest nuclear armament. Yet, even this estimate should be considered on the low side, since, as the report notes, this figure is derived from a comparison of government expenditures on defence, education and health, and such expenditures are subject to different systems of accounting and rates of currency exchange throughout the world. Furthermore, defence expenditures vary from year to year, and proportionally from country to country. I believe we should pay attention not to the bare statistics but to the experts' observations about potential cost. A large number of variable factors indicates that nuclear-weapons cost could be much higher than annual expenditure of \$170 million. Some of these variables mentioned in the report are: expected increase in cost in countries lacking highly-developed scientific, technical and industrial capability; probability that possession of unsophisticated nuclear weapons will lead to the demand for more elaborate and costly nuclear weapons; liability of delivery systems to very large overruns in development costs; and relatively greater impact of reallocation of funds away from peaceful development in developing countries with a relatively low standard of living. It should be noted that the report states that the acquisition of a nuclear-weapons system could, under certain circumstances, cost in the vicinity of \$800 million to \$900 million annually for a ten-year period of development of the system, rather than \$170 million.

We think it evident that the cost of developing nuclear weapons systems would be very high, no matter what country, at whatever level of development. But let us suppose that a country decided that the cost was bearable; would development of nuclear weapons necessarily enhance that nation's security?

### **Security Implications**

As regards security, the report makes several points which we feel are of deep significance. The authors observe that it is possible for a country to possess both prestige and security without being a military power, and, similarly, that the possession of nuclear weapons does not necessarily prevent decline in political influence. Furthermore, even nuclear powers have not been able to exercise political and economic influence in consistently effective fashion. Nor have states without nuclear weapons been deterred from battle with nuclear powers. In these instances, mere possession of nuclear weapons has not contributed to the achievement of national objectives by nuclear powers.

As a country with a well-developed nuclear industry, oriented strictly towards peaceful uses, we believe with the authors that the solution of the

problem of ensuring security cannot be found in further spread or elaboration of nuclear weapons. The world now has a choice between two courses — either a continuation of the arms race, which in turn enhances insecurity in continuous spiral, or to begin a process of arms control and disarmament through measures which will enhance international security and effectiveness of this organization. It is our belief that this process of arms control and disarmament must start now, with a non-proliferation treaty, which must be followed by further measures of arms control or disarmament.

I should also like to mention another very useful initiative taken by the Secretary-General in connection with disarmament negotiations. This is the compilation and publication of the book *The United Nations and Disarmament 1945-1965*. This is a concise history of the disarmament negotiations through those years; and in fact, in spite of the title, the record goes on to 1967. It contains the most important documents of the negotiation or discussion of disarmament. I commend it to the attention of all members of this Committee who may not yet have studied it and, on behalf of the Canadian authorities, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for having the book produced.

### **Report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee**

As the interim report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee informed you, not very much time was devoted during our long sessions this year to the subjects of general and complete disarmament, cessation of nuclear tests and the elimination of foreign bases — all of which we had been requested in resolutions of the twenty-first session of the UN General Assembly to take under urgent consideration. But the elaboration of a treaty to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons had the priority (and rightly so, in the opinion of the Canadian delegation). So, in speaking on the subjects mentioned, none of the delegations of states members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will have much to say to you — if anything — other than what has been said before. However, it seems to the Canadian delegation worth while putting on the record of this Committee, once again, our position in regard to the important matters dealt with in Resolutions 2162C, 2163 and 2165 all of the twenty-first session of the UNGA.

One reason for this is that, after this Committee, or some other appropriate organ of the United Nations, has succeeded in completing its consideration of a treaty of non-proliferation (which we hope will be done early in 1968), we must make up our minds which measure of disarmament we can devote our energies to. Which measure of disarmament will afford the best chance of realizing further progress? It is common ground, the Canadian delegation thinks, that, as we have just said, a non-proliferation treaty must be followed — and soon — by other measures of disarmament or arms control, which will slow down, if not halt, the arms race, particularly in the sphere of nuclear armaments.

Such measures should increase confidence among the nations and so improve the prospects of an eventual agreement on general and complete disarmament.

### **General and Complete Disarmament**

It is eight years now since Resolution 1378 (XIV) was passed, which set this as the goal which disarmament negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations should aim at. Regrettably, in spite of drafts of a treaty by the U.S.S.R. and a programme by the U.S.A. intended to set out the way the nations should move towards disarmament, little advance has been registered. No member of the ENDC has disputed the validity of the goal. This body has been negotiating on general and complete disarmament since it was set up in 1961, when it and the principles under which it should negotiate were blessed by a resolution of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. It is not the goal that is at issue but how to get started, how to take the first steps towards that goal. Resolution 2162C XXI states :

*Requests* the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to pursue new efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as well as on collateral measures, and in particular on an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and on the completion of the test-ban treaty so as to cover underground nuclear-weapon tests.

The Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., in his statement at our 1546th meeting on December 11, gave the views of his authorities as to why no progress had been made by the ENDC towards agreement on a draft treaty to establish general and complete disarmament. He placed the blame on the U.S.A. and its allies. We do not wish to enter into a controversy on this matter. However, we do wish to point out that the essence of the disagreement — what might be called the log-jam in the general and complete disarmament negotiations — is on how the nuclear armaments of the great powers shall be reduced and finally eliminated. At present, as we have heard, the nuclear armaments race goes on at an ever dizzier pace. I should say, in spite of the assertions of the U.S.S.R. delegation, that it takes at least two to make a race and that, in the interacting and reacting competition between what are called the super-powers, neither can expect to be exempt from blame in view of the fears which this race excites in the world. I should like also to quote what the representative of Sweden said at our 1545th meeting, on December 11 :

It is not possible, I find, to exclude from a speech on disarmament here in the United Nations a reference to the recent news of further development of nuclear devices for military purposes on the part of both the super-powers. Contrary to the hope of all humanity, the governments of the main powers have not been able to commence discussions even on a mutual restraint as far as the development and deployment of nuclear missiles and anti-missiles are concerned. Both powers seem to have gone ahead instead with decisions to pour money into the further refinement and enlargement of their capabilities in regard to strategic nuclear weapons, both in the defensive and the offensive category. This cannot but have a very unfortunate and discouraging psychological effect. Perhaps it is already undercutting the hopes that this generation, which in the political sphere is sensing a lessening of the risks of a war between the super-powers, should also see them entering

upon a course of gradual nuclear disarmament. There can be no purpose in hiding the sombre truth that signs point in the opposite, the negative, direction in regard to the nuclear armaments race between them.

Can this nuclear arms race be halted? In January of this year, the U.S.A. proposed through diplomatic channels that they and the U.S.S.R. should discuss the stopping by agreement of the production and development of offensive and defensive missiles. It is understood that at the time the U.S.S.R. agreed in principle to hold such talks but since the matter has rested. Must the nuclear missile arms race go on until all concerned reach agreement on a treaty on general and complete disarmament? One hopes not. On the other hand, the prospects for general and complete disarmament would be very much brighter if the nuclear-missile arms race could be halted by preliminary agreement between the nuclear powers.

### **Suspension of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests**

High on any list of partial measures which could lead eventually to general and complete disarmament is a treaty suspending all nuclear and thermonuclear tests — in other words, the comprehensive test ban. I should be less than realistic if I said that the prognosis for an early conclusion of such a treaty is good. On the one hand, the representatives of the nuclear powers in the ENDC have stated that their countries were in favour of arriving at an adequately verified test ban. On the other hand, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. continue to carry out nuclear tests underground, while Communist China and France are testing in the atmosphere. The ostensible obstacle to the early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban is the lack of agreement on what constitutes "adequate verification". As the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, stated at the 332nd meeting of the ENDC this year, the obstacle is simply that "one side is upholding the theory that on-site inspections are necessary to ensure no violations occur, while the other side reiterates that national means of detection and verification are satisfactory and that on-site inspections should be prescribed". There is, fortunately, a more optimistic side to this last problem. Progress is being made and various countries, such as the United States, Britain, Sweden and, in a modest way, Canada, are carrying out extensive and active research programmes devoted to the improvement of seismological recording and the interpretation of the data so obtained. The result of which will, it is to be hoped, yield completely instrumented verification methods which will be generally acceptable. Research by Canadian scientists indicates that this era has not yet arrived, but certainly encouraging progress is being made. It is the Canadian position that such research must be continued and that the information so obtained should be shared internationally. Indeed, as I said in a statement at the ENDC, such an interchange of information and ideas could well contribute to the spirit of mutual trust and understanding necessary to facilitate agreement on the political aspects of a comprehensive test ban. To this end, Canada has played and continues to play an active role in the projects

undertaken by the so-called "seismic-detection club" which Sweden originally suggested and which was adopted in Resolution 2032 (XX).

There is another measure which my Government believes would significantly slow down the nuclear arms race and also would constitute a move towards further disarmament. I refer to the internationally-controlled cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and the transfer to peaceful purposes of such material, which is now being stockpiled for weapons purposes — or the "cut-off and transfer", as it has come to be called. The history of this proposal is, I am sure, well known to all, so I shall not go into detail about it. Suffice it to say that, in our view, the implementation of the cut-off and transfer, following an agreement on a non-proliferation treaty, would demonstrate that the nuclear powers also are willing to carry on the move toward nuclear disarmament. It would also reassure non-nuclear signatories to an NPT who would have forgone the right to possess nuclear weapons. Finally, it would be a step towards carrying out United Nations recommendations on the desirability of reaching agreement on collateral measures of disarmament.

Soviet representatives have characterized these proposals as "control without disarmament" and have rejected the proposals on the ground that verification procedures were simply a cover for the gathering of military intelligence. We share the opinion of the representative of the U.S.A. to the ENDC, Mr. William Foster, when he said at its 256th meeting :

To assert that the cut-off and transfer and weapons-destruction proposals have nothing in common with disarmament amounts to stating that slowing down has nothing to do with stopping.

We remain hopeful that the U.S.S.R. will reexamine its objections to this measure, which we see as an excellent possibility for slowing down the arms race.

Finally, I should like to mention briefly Item 31 — the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As we are all aware, the priorities given the negotiation of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by the ENDC prevented the Committee from discussing this subject in any depth. The Canadian position on this question can, however, be stated in a very few words. It is based on two principles : 1) the right of sovereign states to conclude defence arrangements involving, if agreeable to the parties concerned, the establishment of military bases on their territory; and 2) non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states. Moreover, Canada has always maintained that progress towards general and complete disarmament can best be achieved through balanced and equitable control measures. Proposals regarding bases that we have seen so far do not meet the criteria. In the Canadian view, foreign bases should be, and will be, eliminated in the process of general disarmament. In fact, we have seen many bases disappear in the past decade in response to lessening tensions and changes in strategic conditions; and we shall doubtless see many more disappear, if international relations improve.

# *Peace-Keeping*

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENTS IN THE SPECIAL POLITICAL  
COMMITTEE AND IN PLENARY BY THE CANADIAN DEPUTY PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE, MR. PAUL BEAULIEU, ON NOVEMBER 28 AND  
DECEMBER 13, 1967

## **Special Political Committee**

The fundamental purpose of the United Nations remains the maintenance of international peace and security. Canada has always regarded the achievement of this purpose as an essential feature of its participation in the United Nations. But a purpose must be given practical effect if it is not to remain a noble but unfulfilled promise. We are at present considering one of the methods — peacekeeping operations — by which this can be done. Before dealing with the question of peacekeeping operations, however, I would stress that they represent only one of the methods which can be employed by the United Nations to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes arising among member states. We must never lose sight of the fact that peaceful settlement is our ultimate goal. Peacekeeping operations are, in effect, a means of paving the way to a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter. In his report of July 12 (A/6672) on UNEF, the Secretary-General, in Paragraph 24, has put the issue very succinctly:

Peacekeeping operations can serve their purpose properly only if they are accompanied by serious and persistent efforts to find solutions to the problems which demanded the peace-keeping in the first place.

### **Peacekeeping Role of Canada**

Canada has participated in peacekeeping operations of every type and, with a number of other countries, has gathered extensive experience from our collaboration in these common endeavours of the United Nations. Our contributions of men, money and effort are a tangible proof of the importance which we attach to this conception of United Nations action in the implementation of principles which are basic to the Charter. Thus we should seek to elaborate on the means by which United Nations peacekeeping activity can be made more efficient and sure, once a decision to proceed has been taken by the appropriate United Nations organ. During the twenty-first session, Canada undertook an initiative, in company with a group of like-minded delegations — namely Argentina, Chile, Iran, Italy, Nigeria and Norway — to strengthen the peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations. Our specific proposals were incorporated in a draft resolution

which was adopted by this Committee by a good majority. We regret that the United Nations General Assembly did not take a decision on the proposals in our draft resolution. In the light of this situation, the Canadian attitude was that every effort should be made to co-operate in bringing a substantive result out of the Committee of 33. The Canadian delegation, therefore, played an active part in the Committee's deliberations last spring towards that goal. It is against this background that my delegation has studied the latest report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations.

The report is brief and indicates little progress. This state of affairs might lead some members of the United Nations to think that the issues are so difficult and the disagreements so profound that there is little point in the Special Committee continuing to meet. We do not take that view. We should have been surprised if progress were not to be slow. The questions under study are among those which challenge the most deeply-held beliefs of member states about the nature and purposes of this organization. Differences of a constitutional nature and, indeed, of a political character permeate all our efforts to reach an understanding on practical proposals. While this fact must be recognized, it must also be recognized that, at the last series of meetings of the Committee, concrete recommendations were made which deserve to be explored further. My delegation has in mind proposals for advance planning and for the co-ordination of logistical and other arrangements for peace-keeping, and those proposals which have been made relating to the Military Staff Committee and the role which it might play in this whole area.

The need for pursuit of these proposals has been confirmed by observations which the Secretary-General has made in the introduction of his annual report and, in particular, his recommendation that "it would be helpful in connection with such forward-looking actions if it could at least be agreed among the members that the General Assembly would undertake to study such questions as the standardization of training and equipment for standby forces, the relationship of the United Nations to governments providing such forces, and the constitutional and financial aspects of employing them". We fully agree that training should be standardized and that equipment should be made available when needed.

#### **Problem of Financing**

We are also interested in proposals relating to a special scale for the financing of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures. Canada fully agrees with the view that the principle of collective security entails collective financial responsibility. That is the principle to which we have unfalteringly adhered and one which we believe is expressed in the Charter itself. We do not consider, however, that present conditions are right for elaborating the implications of this principle in a General Assembly resolution. We continue to believe that it is still possible to engage in a fruitful discussion of the establishment of

non-obligatory guide-lines for the apportionment of the costs of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures. The Committee of 33, in its discussions last spring, made some definite progress towards a consensus on this aspect of the question.

In our view, what the Committee should be doing, and, in fact, has begun to do, is to consider and seek agreement on practical arrangements which will minimize the element of improvisation involved and improve preparations for future peacekeeping operations. The establishment of two working groups, one devoted to considering methods of financing peacekeeping operations in accordance with the Charter, and the other to studying facilities, services and personnel which member states might voluntarily provide for these operations in accordance with the Charter was an important step in organizing the work of the Committee so as to facilitate the examination of issues in a pragmatic spirit.

We consider, in order to draw sound conclusions for future action from accumulated experience, that it is essential to bring all points of view to bear at every stage of examining peacekeeping operations. It is only in this way that whatever results are obtained can secure the acceptance of all concerned. That is why we believe the Committee of 33 should continue its work. In addition, however, we should see merit in a more technical study of the kind proposed by the Secretary-General. We think it would be appropriate if this study drew on the unrivalled experience which has been accumulated by the Secretariat as well as by member states which have played an active part in UN peacekeeping operations.

In expressing the belief that we must continue to strive for agreement in the Committee of 33, we do not in any sense mean to imply that concurrent discussions of peacekeeping operations elsewhere among interested member states should not be encouraged. On the contrary, we wish to stimulate productive exchanges of view in whatever forum or by whatever means seems appropriate. We welcome all positive efforts whose aim is to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to act when peace is threatened, and we shall make every effort within our power to ensure their success.

Even if continuing disagreement here prevents the United Nations from doing this planning, my Government intends to explore how peacekeeping arrangements can be improved, and we should hope to consult other traditional participants in that regard. We want to be sure that, if and when we are called upon to take part and if it is feasible and appropriate to do so, we shall be ready to respond.

### Plenary Session

*On December 8, the Special Political Committee recommended to the General Assembly that it adopt a resolution which requested the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations to continue its work, recalled previous appeals*

*for voluntary contributions to liquidate the deficit, and considered that the preparation of a study related to facilities, services and personnel which member states might provide, in accordance with the Charter, for UN peacekeeping operations would be appropriate. The following is the statement made by the Canadian representative in plenary session at the time of adoption of this resolution on December 13, 1967 :*

The complexity of peacekeeping operations, the widely differing points of view on all aspects of the question, the hopes and fears of member states for the effectiveness of this organization in the pursuit of its primary purpose — the maintenance of international peace and security — have been abundantly reflected again this year in the deliberations on this subject in the Special Political Committee. Much comment has been focused on the, at times, painfully slow progress we have made in our efforts towards greater understanding of the constitutional issues, as well as towards the elaboration of more reliable and equitable methods of financing and improved preparations for peace-keeping. As I had the occasion to remark in the Special Political Committee, however, the pace of our progress should cause no surprise. The United Nations even now has not fully recovered from the Article 19 crisis of 1964-65. Suspensions and attitudes developed during that time have not entirely abated. The consensus of the General Assembly on September 1, 1965 — an understanding which enabled the Assembly to resume its normal activities — remains only partially implemented. A deficit in the United Nations financial accounts remains — a legacy of that difficult period when confrontation, not co-operation, was the dominant theme.

Turning now, Mr. President, to the present situation, it is true, I believe, that there have been indications over the past year of some willingness to compromise, of some movement towards more flexible positions on the part of different member states. It seems to us that the consensus on a special scale of financing almost reached in the Committee of 33 last spring, and the endorsement of a study of peace-keeping in the resolution now before us, may be certain, albeit faint, signs of this trend. We earnestly trust that this is so. In that case, the efforts of Canada and the other co-sponsors of Resolution L.130/Rev.4 at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly were not in vain. On the contrary, we may consider that those efforts, combined with the endeavours on the part of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ireland and his supporters, have already set in train processes of consultation and negotiation which will in time lead to practical results.

### **Work of Committee of 33**

The Canadian delegation proceeds on the assumption that a genuine desire to reach agreed conclusions on various aspects of peacekeeping operations does exist in the Committee of 33. Canada will not hesitate to support and help ensure the realization of such a desire. In the light of the resolution recommended

for our approval today, we assume that particular emphasis will be placed in the Committee of 33 on the proposed study of facilities, services and personnel which member states may provide for United Nations' peacekeeping operations in accordance with the Charter. In that case, Canada would be prepared to provide information on all these aspects if that would help the Committee in its work. It is to be hoped that other member states, whether members of the Committee of 33 or not, would do likewise, and that the unrivalled experience of the Secretariat could be drawn upon as well. While the exact nature of the study remains to be determined, the Canadian delegation would particularly welcome a study which would concentrate on technical questions, such as standardization of equipment and training, although we should certainly not exclude a study of broader scope. These matters remain to be worked out in the Committee of 33 where, under the guidance of our distinguished chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, we hope that fresh efforts to achieve positive results will be undertaken.

### **Trends of Opinion**

In regarding positively the resolution before us today, the Canadian delegation does not wish to minimize the number or nature of the problems which remain to be dealt with. On reviewing our recent debate in the Special Political Committee, however, my delegation has noted the following trends of opinion with considerable satisfaction:

- (a) There is general recognition among member states that the Security Council and the General Assembly have roles and responsibilities which need not conflict but, in their different spheres, serve to strengthen the capability of this organization to cope with the vital issues brought before it in relation to the maintenance of peace and security.
- (b) There is very wide support for the conception of a special scale for the financing of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures, with the proviso, in such cases, that the collective contribution of developing countries should not exceed 5 per cent of the total cost.
- (c) There is a growing interest in the need for improving peacekeeping preparations so that the organization can respond promptly and effectively when the need arises.
- (d) There is an increasing concern that peacekeeping operations, valuable as they are, should not become a justification for inaction by the parties to disputes but should be accompanied by progressive moves towards a peaceful and permanent settlement.

I could not hope, Mr. President, to mention all those delegations who spoke during our debate in a constructive way. But I may perhaps draw particular attention to the very pertinent remarks made by the representatives of Ireland, the United States and Pakistan — to mention only three — on the vital relationship between peace-keeping and peacemaking. This relationship is

a matter of continuing concern to my delegation. We are strongly convinced of the need to ensure that peacekeeping operations are undertaken as a useful, but temporary, method of leading towards the ultimate goal — i.e., the peaceful settlement of the disputes which made peace-keeping necessary in the first place.

I believe it is also worth noting the suggestions which have been made that the Military Staff Committee might again have a useful role to play. My delegation believes that the Military Staff Committee has been inactive long enough. The considerable expertise and knowledge of its members, and of those who might join them to carry out a specific task, should be made full use of to the advantage of the whole organization. Although provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, the Military Staff Committee is not precluded by any specific provision of the Charter from doing work which could be of benefit both in the field of enforcement action, which falls clearly under Chapter VII, and in preparations for peacekeeping operations which are of a non-enforcement and voluntary nature.

Mr. President, I could not conclude this brief statement of our views and our intentions without mention of the continuing, and indeed growing, financial deficit afflicting this organization. A deficit does exist, and voluntary contributions to eliminate it are very much needed. This is what concerns us, not the question of where the responsibility for this situation should lie.

We are, of course, aware of the understandings — and the misunderstandings — which preceded and apparently followed the consensus of September 1, 1965. We do not wish to dispute the understandings which may have been reached, or to suggest the existence of understandings where none existed. But we do say this — this organization is in financial difficulties because of constitutional and political disagreements that we are now gradually trying to put aside. What member states must ask themselves is not what other delegations have said and done — or will say and do. They must ask themselves if they are prepared to respond to the consensus of September 1, 1965; to heed the call for voluntary contributions; to act and be treated in this area as the separate, respected sovereign states which they are. Canada pays its assessments under the regular budget and makes voluntary contributions to a variety of international programmes as well. Canada has also, along with 22 other states, made a voluntary contribution to help eliminate the United Nations deficit.

We now urge other member states that have not done so to consider what contribution they may make in response to the evident need and to the consensus reached at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly — a consensus which has been endorsed by Resolutions 2053 A(XX) and 2249 (S-V). It is now more than two years ago that the Secretary-General appealed to member states to make these necessary voluntary contributions so that the future could be faced with renewed hope and confidence. Let those who have not done so now do their part as a demonstration of their faith in the United Nations.

## *Visit to Canada of Japanese Foreign Minister*

**H**is Excellency Takeo Miki, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, visited Ottawa from November 16 to November 18, 1967. During his stay in Ottawa, Mr. Miki held a full day of discussions with the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs. These centered mainly on an exchange of views with respect to Vietnam. Other subjects included Chinese representation at the United Nations, the domestic situation in Communist China, Asian-Pacific regional co-operation and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Prime Minister attended a luncheon for Mr. Miki and received him privately for a brief courtesy call. Mr. Miki also called on the Honourable R. H. Winters, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. Miki, who studied at Southwestern University, California, and at Meiji University, Tokyo, has been an active politician since 1937. He has served twice as Japanese Minister of International Trade and Industry, and he held that portfolio in October 1966, when he attended the fourth meeting of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee in Ottawa.



*The photograph above shows Mr. Martin and Mr. Miki at the Japanese Embassy in Ottawa.*

## *The Canadian Centennial in Ireland*

A CANADIAN representative living in Dublin soon becomes aware of the close ties between Canada and Ireland, and notices that there is a great awareness of Canada in this country. Perhaps this is not surprising, because almost every Irish family seems to have its own ties with Canada, generally in the shape of a relative who has emigrated to make his life in the New World. (At the time of Confederation, the Irish were the largest English-speaking group in Canada.)

The especially close relations between the Governments and people of Canada and Ireland contributed greatly to the regret felt by the Irish Government when they announced that, for financial reasons, they were forced to withdraw from participation in Expo 67. They said at the time that they wished to mark Canada's centenary in a suitable way in Ireland, and there was certainly ample evidence throughout the year of Ireland's desire to help us celebrate.

### **Canada's National Day**

July 1 was, of course, the focal point for centennial celebrations, culminating in the special reception which the Irish Government mounted in honour of the occasion. Invitations were issued in the names of both the *Taoiseach* (the Irish name for their Prime Minister) and the Canadian Ambassador, and on Saturday evening the *Taoiseach* and Mrs. John Lynch and Ambassador and Mrs. Evan Gill began receiving the first of the thousand or so guests who came to historic Dublin Castle, headquarters of the former British administration, where the reception was held. The guest-list included all the Canadian community, and members of the Irish Government, the diplomatic corps and representatives of Irish academic, professional and business circles. The Canadian forces were represented by members of the Defence Liaison staff in London, whose uniforms added an impressive and colourful touch to the scene and made them a focal point as "visible Canadians". President De Valera sent his personal regrets that, because of an indisposition, he was unable to attend.

The guests wandered through the impressive state apartments, which had recently been renovated, including St. Patrick's Hall, where the Presidents of Ireland are inaugurated, and dined on fresh salmon and strawberries and cream. This was the first time, to our knowledge, that a Prime Minister had acted as co-host at a national day reception.

The Irish Government gave several other evidences of their wish to honour Canada. The Canadian flag flew from principal government buildings in Dublin and at the Four Courts, centre of Irish justice, on July 1. This, too, was an unusual gesture, as foreign flags are normally flown only on official visits by heads of state, and then only by the Department of External Affairs. Television watchers were made aware of the Canadian centennial, because Radio

Telefis Eireann transmitted a special message of greeting to the Irish Government and people from Mr. Pearson and followed this message with a showing of two National Film Board films, *The Shape of Things* and *The Drylanders*. This was also unusual, since RTE normally does not mark national days.

### **A Peal of Greeting**

Canada's hundredth birthday began with peals of bells from many of the churches and cathedrals of this ancient land, as the Irish Association of Change Ringers had responded enthusiastically to the appeal by Paul Drolet and the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Alberta, for special peals on January 1 to mark the beginning of Canada's centennial year. Recordings of some of the peals, including one from St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick (800 years old next year), were sent to St. Paul, and the Dean of St. Mary's, the Very Reverend M. J. Talbot, who lived in Winnipeg for many years, sent a personal message to the people of St. Paul.

The first of our special centennial occasions was, fittingly enough, a children's party at the Ambassador's residence in Killiney, just south of Dublin. The occasion was the distribution of centennial medallions to Canadian children in Ireland. About 60 boys and girls and 90 parents enjoyed refreshments in the sparkling afternoon sunshine in the spacious gardens after the presentation.

### **Religious Services**

Several centennial thanksgiving services were held in churches in and near Dublin. The Most Reverend John Charles McQuaid, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, presided over a solemn votive Mass of the Holy Spirit on July 6 in Dublin's pro-cathedral, at which special prayers for Canada were offered and the centennial hymn was sung. The celebrant of the mass was an Australian, Monsignor Edward Cassidy, of the papal nunciature. The Government was represented by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Frank Aiken. During the mass, the Kiss of Peace was bestowed upon Ambassador Gill. This is a very old rite, having its origins in the second or third century, and coming in its present form in a direct line from the thirteenth century in England. The celebrant of the mass kisses the "Pax-Brede", which is then kissed by those receiving the Kiss of Peace.

On July 9, an impressive commemorative service was also held at St. Patrick's Cathedral (Church of Ireland), which had some weeks before celebrated the tercentenary of Dean Jonathan Swift's birth. Dean John Armstrong preached a sermon on Charles Inglis, the first Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, who was born in Ireland and in whose memory there is an intricately-carved brass plaque mounted in the cathedral wall. The attendance at that ceremony, besides representatives of the President and the Government, and the diplomatic corps, included 40 tourists from Ontario. Their unexpected presence certainly added to the Canadian flavour of the occasion and was most welcome. The Irish

Association of Change Ringers again contributed to our celebrations, with a special peal of the cathedral bells.

The Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Right Reverend Dr. G. D. Johnston, preached at a service in the Abbey Presbyterian Church on June 4. Dr. Johnston was born in Dublin and his father was once Minister of Abbey Church. There was also a special commemorative service on June 25 in the Church of Ireland Parish Church at Enniskerry, the home of Viscount Monck, Governor General of Canada at the time of Confederation.

Ambassador Gill read the lesson at each of the Protestant services, and at all of them prayers and hymns from the Canadian Centennial Anthology were used. There was also special mention of Canada made at Methodist services on July 2 and appropriate prayers were offered in Dublin synagogues.

### Other Forms of Salutation

A special centennial stamp was issued by the Irish Government on August 28. The design, by the artist Patrick Hickey, incorporated a cluster of maple leaves and the words "Canada Aontas".



*Aontas* is an Irish term for union or unity. The stamp was issued in two denominations, for air mail and ordinary mail.

The centennial was the subject of widespread editorial comment in the Irish press, which stressed Canada's progress and the Irish connection, and

there was a special edition of the Irish Department of External Affairs' monthly bulletin devoted to the Irish in Canada. The Royal Trust Company of Canada (Ireland) Ltd. presented copies of the first volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography of Canada* to several Irish libraries.

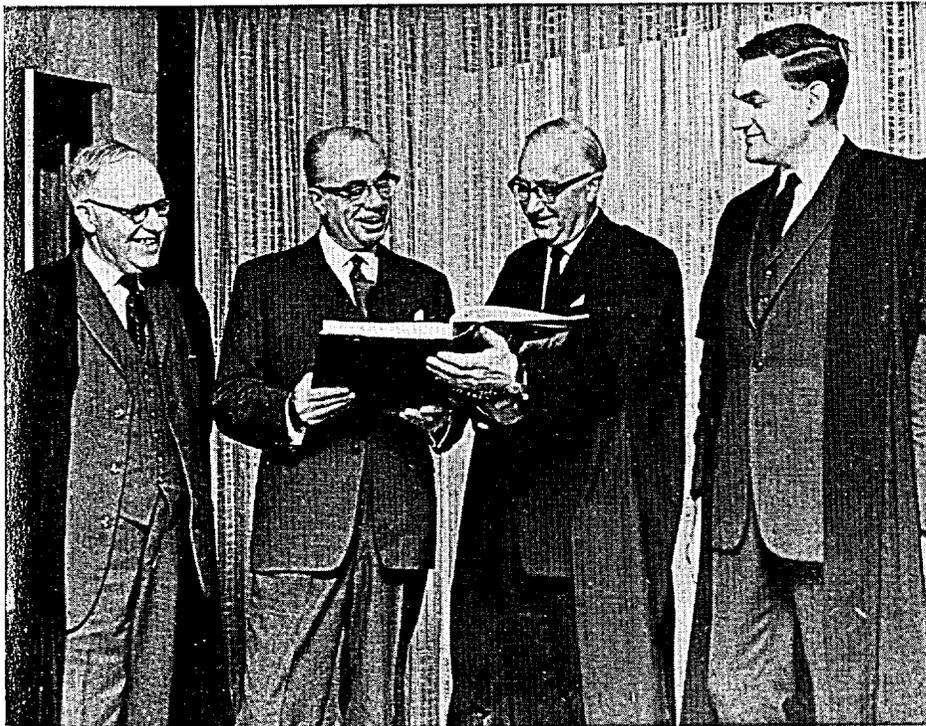
The centennial and Expo 67 kept Canada's name prominent in Ireland during 1967, and led to many invitations for the Ambassador and the officers of the Embassy to speak to groups throughout Ireland and to arrange film showings and exhibitions. The Limerick Wine and Food Society was prompted to feature a Canadian menu at their November dinner, including Canadian wines, which were very well received.

One of the year's most interesting activities took us to the Irish Country women's Association's college, 40 miles north of Dublin, for their annual International Week, which this year featured Canada. The Embassy provided maps, posters, flags and information material, and the 40 or 50 ladies taking the course heard speeches by the Ambassador, the Visa Attaché, Mr. J. McCarthy, the Second Secretary, Mr. G. Buick, and Miss Ann Binchy of Radio Telefis Eireann (Miss Binchy had visited Canada in June as a guest of the Canadian Women's Press Club, taking part in their generous and worthwhile centennial project). The highlight of the week, however, was provided

by Mrs. Gill, Mrs. Holton and Mrs. Buick, who gave a demonstration of Canadian cooking, with samples of such dishes as egg mousse, lemon soufflé, tourtière, cabbage-rolls and almond cake. Mr. Buick performed typical-Canadian-husband-in-the-kitchen tasks such as opening jars and tasting mixtures, and also provided a running commentary on the dishes being prepared, as well as on Canadian cuisine generally. The ladies were unanimous in praising the good humour and lightness of touch that pervaded the Embassy's contributions, and we are proud that they say Canada's was "the best International Week ever".

On October 6 and 9 respectively, the Embassy presented to the libraries of University College and Trinity College, Dublin, collections of about 200 volumes broadly representative of Canadian writers.

The Embassy's *chef d'œuvre* for the year, however, was the Canadian Centennial Essay Competition for Irish students of 16 and over. The winners of the contest, for essays entitled "Canada—Land of Opportunity", were Mary Finn, 17, and Adrian Hardiman, 16. Announcement of the winners was made by the Minister of Education, Mr. Donogh O'Malley, at a reception in



*At the presentation of a collection of Canadian books to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; left to right: Mr. H. W. Parke, Vice-Provost of Trinity College; Mr. Evan W. T. Gill, Ambassador of Canada; Mr. A. J. McConnell, Provost of Trinity College; Mr. C. D. Roberts, Trinity College Librarian.*

the Embassy on October 5. Twelve days later, the winners and their mothers boarded an Air Canada jet at Shannon to begin a two-week tour of Canada courtesy of Air Canada and the Centennial Commission, with the help of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau.

They visited Montreal and Expo, flew to Vancouver, crossed the Rockies by train, drove from Jasper to Banff and Calgary and then flew to Toronto. They spent a day at Niagara Falls and several days in Ottawa before coming back, and to judge from their postcards and their enthusiastic comments they found Canada a wonderful place to visit in centennial year.

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## *Mexico and the Centennial of Canadian Confederation*

A DISCUSSION of the centennial as it affected Mexico must, as with many other countries, start with Expo 67. The Mexican pavilion, containing some of the finest works of art from the pre-Columbian, colonial and contemporary eras, was a gesture of friendship towards Canada deeply appreciated by the hundreds of thousands of Canadians who visited it. Expo 67 itself generated more publicity about Canada—all of it favourable—than had ever before appeared in Mexico. Newspapers, magazines and television networks sent correspondents to cover the event, and articles prepared in Spanish by the Embassy were published as fast as they could be written. A record number of invitations was received to speak to service clubs and other groups. More Mexicans visited Canada than during any previous six-month period.

The impact of Expo is hard to overemphasize. It has made a major contribution to changing the image of Canada held by the average Mexican. Canada is now regarded as a modern, urban, industrial society with high artistic achievements to its credit, as well as a magnificent land of recreation.



*Ten members of the group of Mexican students who won a trip to Canada for their essays on Canada's centennial chat with Governor-General Roland Michener.*

The Pan-American Games reminded Mexico and other Latin American neighbours of Canada's position as a nation of the North American continent. As the Mexicans were to play host to the Olympic Games in October of this year, they were particularly interested in the manner in which the Pan-American Games were organized. They were unanimous in their praise both of the hospitality of the people of Winnipeg and the efficiency with which the Games were staged.

Mexico assisted in the celebration of the Canadian centennial in another way. Architects designing centennial museums in both British Columbia and Ontario looked for inspiration to the splendid new Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City.

A group of seven correspondents from the press and television were invited to Canada last spring by the Canadian Government. They travelled from British Columbia to Quebec City and sent back extensive reports about Canada, Expo and the centennial. They were accompanied by Mr. E. C. LaTour, Third Secretary of the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City.

#### Centennial Receptions

The then Ambassador, Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, marked the opening of the centennial year with a cocktail party for the resident Canadian community. It was attended by officers from the Canadian ships visiting Acapulco, whose uniforms added a touch of welcome colour to the occasion. On July 1, the Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. D. W. Fulford, gave a centennial reception which was attended by leading Mexican officials, businessmen, members of the diplomatic corps and resident Canadians. More than 1,400 persons were invited. Mr. Fulford also gave a centennial party for Canadian children, at which the film *Helicopter Canada* was shown, and a centennial party in Guadalajara for leading citizens of this important Mexican city and resident Canadians. Graduates of Canadian schools and universities living in Mexico were invited to attend a film showing.

The Foreign Press Club and the University Club of Mexico City both staged centennial dinners. Canadian food was imported and Canadian recipes were employed. Canadian films were shown, and the two groups were addressed by the Chargé d'Affaires.

The new Canadian Ambassador to Mexico, Mr. Saul F. Rae, presented his letters of credence to the President of Mexico on September 12. Soon after his arrival, the Ambassador was guest speaker at a "Canadian Night" sponsored by the American Club of Mexico City, at which films on Canada were shown. He was also among the guests of honour at a special night held by the British and Commonwealth Society.

A reception given by the Captain of HMCS *Chaudière* in Acapulco, attended by the Ambassador and local federal, state and municipal officials, as well as resident Canadians, local businessmen and press representatives,

allowed the centennial to be celebrated in appropriate form in this major Pacific port.

### **Cultural and Sporting Events**

Two Canadian high-school bands—those of the York Memorial Collegiate Institute, directed by Mr. Joseph Dvorak, and the Lockerby Composite School of Sudbury, directed by Mr. Donald Buchan—undertook a tour of Mexico as a centennial project. They are the first Canadian high-school bands ever to have visited Mexico. The Embassy assisted in arrangements for their concerts. The bands were well received by the Mexican public, which appreciated not only the quality of their performances but the gesture of friendship by young Canadians who had raised their own funds to make the trip.

With the co-operation of the Embassy, the Canadian Centennial Commission sponsored an essay competition for young Mexicans, with the winners invited to visit Canada. They were asked to write on the subject "Mexico on the Centennial of the Restoration of the Mexican Republic, and Canada on the Centennial of Confederation". It was difficult to select winners from the many essays of outstanding quality that were received. In the end, three young men and seven young women were chosen. Arrangements for their visit to Canada were made by the Experiment in International Living. The group visited Expo, Quebec City, Toronto and Niagara Falls, and stayed four weeks in Ottawa homes. The families chosen were located through the high schools and represented a very good cross-section of Canadian life. The Mexican visitors, coming from a country without a recent immigrant tradition, were particularly struck by the variety of national backgrounds to be found amongst present-day Canadians. They were also impressed by the hospitality they experienced, a highlight being a visit to the Governor-General and Mrs. Michener.

Canadian athletes participating in the pre-Olympics in Mexico City also provided a welcome Canadian presence during the centennial. Their successful role as envoys of goodwill was recognized by the Ambassador, Mr. Rae, at the reception which he gave in their honour. The competition among leading amateur golfers of Canada, the United States and Mexico for the "Copa de las Americas" was held in Guadalajara in October, and the professional tournament for the International Cup (formerly the Canada Cup), in which Canada was also represented, was held in Mexico City in early December.

Towards the end of the year, the National Defence College of Canada paid an official visit to Mexico City, and the Ambassador entertained the members of the College and the various Mexicans who had contributed to the success of their stay in the last official event of this kind during the centennial year.

El Colegio de México, an institution of higher learning in the humanities of great prestige and influence, joined the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in sponsoring a second Colloquium on Mexico and Canada to coincide with the

centennial year. The first Colloquium was held last year in Toronto, and discussions were stimulating but of a rather general nature. This year, attention focused on three fields — political relations, cultural relations broadly defined, and economic relations — where practical steps could be taken to strengthen the ties between Canada and Mexico. There was consensus that Canada and Mexico shared many interests, situated as they were on the same continent and having similar outlooks on many problems.

The following were some of the ideas on which there was a consensus at the meeting. It was considered that the foreign ministries of both countries should develop further the practice of consulting, through their respective embassies and in other appropriate ways, on major issues in foreign affairs, such as disarmament, in which the two countries have a common interest. The possibilities for trade and tourism should be further developed. Canada, it was felt, could make a constructive contribution to Mexico's economic development through the sale of needed capital goods and raw materials on credit terms competitive with those offered by other suppliers, while there were many areas in which Mexican products were only beginning to penetrate the Canadian market. It was suggested that Canadian universities could assist in training instructors required by Mexico's rapidly growing universities, and it was felt that both countries would stand to gain from exchanges of information in such fields as science and technology and research in educational problems.

The report of the second Colloquium, drafted by Mr. Victor Urquidí, President of El Colegio de México, and Mr. John Holmes, Director-General of the CIAA, will be submitted to the interested authorities in both countries. It outlines areas in which private groups, businessmen, and the Governments of the two countries could promote closer co-operation between Canada and Mexico.

The centennial in Canada has been a matter not only of looking back at the country's first 100 years but also of taking stock and preparing for the future. It also seems clear that thoughtful persons in Canada and Mexico are also devoting increasing attention to the possibility of increasingly effective relations between Mexico and Canada as two North American nations destined to develop far closer links in the next century than during the past one.

## *The Middle East and the Security Council*

THE fifth emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was called on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. in June 1967, was not successful in finding a way out of the Middle East deadlock and when it adjourned on July 21 the basic issues were left for consideration by the Security Council. (1)

Throughout the summer and into the early autumn the members of the Council and the interested parties conducted private consultations in an effort to find a formula acceptable to all parties in the dispute. (The Council held a formal meeting on July 9, when it adopted a resolution which authorized the Secretary-General to make the "necessary arrangements to station United Nations military observers in the Suez Canal sector under the Chief of Staff of UNTSO".) These consultations, which intensified following the Khartoum Conference of Arab heads of state in August, centred on the terms of reference under which a special representative might be appointed. The designation of such a representative by the Secretary-General had been proposed by Canada and Denmark in June as the most practical first step towards a permanent settlement in view of the apparent impossibility of direct talks between the parties. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report, had also endorsed the idea of a special representative to "serve as a much needed channel of communication, as a reporter and interpreter of events and views for the Secretary-General and as both a sifter and a harmonizer of ideas in the area".

### **Problem of Choosing a Representative**

The negotiations behind the scenes thus attempted to arrive at some general statement of the purpose of the special representative's mission which would strike a balance both between restrictive precision and unnecessarily confusing ambiguity and also between the positions and claims of the opposing parties. It was essential that the parties believe the representative's mission to be based on a balanced mandate, and it was equally important to secure unanimous agreement in the Security Council on its terms. Both these points would figure in the likelihood of any individual's accepting the task once the resolution establishing his mandate had been passed.

It had originally been thought that an acceptable resolution might emerge from an understanding achieved directly between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., but this supposition soon proved incorrect. With the concurrence of the permanent members, the ten elected members of the Security Council then conducted their own consultations. Although some progress was registered

(1) See the October issue of *External Affairs* (Page 418) for a discussion of the emergency special session.

in outlining the basic principles — those of “withdrawal of forces” and “peaceful co-existence” — which any resolution must encompass, the non-permanent members failed to achieve agreement on what the exact relation or linkage between them should be.

As the opening in September of the twenty-second regular session approached, many expressed anxiety lest it be the scene of another acrimonious and unproductive debate on the Middle East. There was a general feeling that such a debate should be avoided in the interest of allowing the Security Council to reach agreement. Consequently, after the completion of the general debate, the General Assembly turned to other questions on its agenda, while reserving priority to the question of the Middle East should the Council not meet.

### **Conflicting Resolutions**

The Security Council finally met on November 9, when India introduced a draft resolution <sup>(1)</sup> co-sponsored by Mali and Nigeria, which was based on an earlier Latin American resolution <sup>(2)</sup> introduced at the fifth emergency session. Although the co-sponsors believed their draft presented “a fair and balanced formulation of all the principles and problems germane to the situation . . .”, this belief was not shared by others, who felt it tended to favour the Arab position. Conversely, an American draft resolution <sup>(3)</sup> introduced at the same time did not meet general agreement because it seemed to lean towards the Israeli position. In both cases, disagreement revolved about the interpretation to be given to the provisions relating to the withdrawal of Israel’s forces. Then, on November 16, Britain introduced a third draft resolution, <sup>(4)</sup> which the British representative described as “the work of us all”, drawing on “the ideas and formulations of others” and seeking “to bring them all together in a balanced whole”. Further private consultations ensued, after which the Council held another formal meeting. The British representative specially emphasized that the resolution was so carefully and delicately balanced that to accept any amendment would initiate a process of erosion which would lead to the collapse of the whole structure. This point of view was endorsed by the representative of the United States, who stated that he would not press the U.S. resolution to a vote. Similarly, the co-sponsors of the three-power draft stated they would not press their draft to a vote. This left only a U.S.S.R. draft resolution, which had been introduced at the last minute. <sup>(5)</sup> At this point, on November 22, a vote was taken on the British draft, which was adopted unanimously. The representative of the U.S.S.R. then stated that he would not insist on a vote on the Soviet draft resolution.

(1) UN Document S/8227

(2) A/L.523/Rev.1, recirculated as S/8235

(3) S/8229

(4) S/8247

(5) S/8253

Canada supported the British resolution because it seemed to have the best prospects of getting under way those diplomatic processes which might lead to a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. The resolution represented a fair, balanced and non-prejudicial basis for the dispatch of a special representative, whose mandate entailed an "equitable balance of obligations" on both sides. The unanimity with which the resolution was adopted also provided the "best framework for the successful launching of his task".

As provided for in operative Paragraph 3 of the resolution, the Secretary-General then designated as his special representative Mr. Gunnar Jarring, at present Swedish Ambassador in Moscow. The first phase, that of formulating guide-lines for an approach to a settlement, was over and the centre of activity moved from New York to the Middle East, where the "Jarring Mission", or the United Nations Middle East Mission (UNMEM), now got under way.

### **British Resolution**

*The Security Council,*

*Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,*

*Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security,*

*Emphasizing further that all member states in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,*

1. *Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, which should include the application of both the following principles:*

- (i) *Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;*
- (ii) *Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;*

2. *Affirms further the necessity*

- (a) *For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;*
- (b) *For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;*
- (c) *For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;*

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the special representative as soon as possible.

## *NATO Ministerial Meeting*

BRUSSELS, DECEMBER 1967

NATO defence and foreign ministers met in Brussels on December 12, 13 and 14. Canada was represented by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux. On December 12, meetings were held of the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee (NDAC) and the Defence Planning Committee (DPC) and on December 13 and 14 of the NATO Council.

In reporting to the House of Commons on December 18, Mr. Martin stated :

"This was an important meeting. Indeed, I believe it may turn out to have been one of the key meetings in the history of the alliance. NATO has reappraised its essential objectives and found them still valid, agreed on a new military strategy, and established guide-lines for shifting additional emphasis to its evolving political — as distinct from military — activity. The guide-lines were the product of the so-called Harmel Exercise. At our last meeting in Paris in 1966, the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Harmel, recalling the initiative taken by Canada in 1964, had proposed a study of the future of the alliance. As a result of this serious reappraisal, it was possible to reach a consensus among all 15 members on the objectives and future tasks of the alliance . . . .

"The member governments have confirmed that there is a continuing need for defensive military arrangements; I wish it were otherwise, but such arrangements are required, just as the regular payment of an insurance premium. In this field the alliance must display determination and firmness.

"It was also confirmed that the activities of the alliance to promote a peaceful settlement, that is its political role, have assumed greater importance and should be emphasized. Here is something which is particularly new and challenging. In this field the alliance will require imagination and vision. It was affirmed that the political activities of the alliance will be all the more effective if there is full and timely consultation among the members. It was agreed that the military tasks of the alliance are not incompatible with, but rather a necessary complement to, a constructive political role for the alliance.

"What does this signify for the alliance and for Canada? In the military sphere, it means that, as insurance against possible revived Soviet pressures in Europe, bearing in mind that Soviet military capabilities are still increasing, the alliance must maintain an effective deterrent force. For Canada, as a partner in the alliance, it means continuing to contribute, as appropriate, to the alliance's forces based in Europe and to those based in Canada.

"On the political side, the conclusions of the Harmel Exercise mean that

our habit of frank discussion among allies on the most important issues facing the alliance and the world, both collectively and individually, is to be further developed. Such consultations, I believe, are a powerful factor in promoting wider understanding of the issues facing the alliance, and in this way contributing to its cohesion.

"The habit of co-operation and consultation in NATO fits it to perform a constructive role in many areas: balanced force reductions, arms-control and disarmament measures, improvement of East-West relations, the shape and content of a European settlement and steps which may be taken toward negotiation of such a settlement.

"We cannot expect instant or dramatic developments in these areas. There is much to be done, and it will be a painstaking and time-consuming task to end the tensions in Europe and achieve a viable settlement. But much depends on the Russians as well as ourselves. It has been abundantly clear, for instance, that the alliance is prepared to explore mutual reductions of forces with the Soviet Union and its allies as an important step toward security and stability. But there has been no indication as yet from the Russians, explicit or tacit, that they are ready to respond on this issue. But we must continue the search for agreement, and I can assure the House that Canada will be a vigorous participant in this search.

"As I said at the conclusion of the ministerial meeting, NATO has confirmed and emphasized its determination to pursue what I think can be aptly described as a dynamic quest for peace. I can assure the House that the quest for peace will be as sustained and resourceful as we can make it."

#### **Report of Defence Minister**

Mr. Cadieux, in his report to the House, noted that "the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee was established a year ago so that all members of the alliance could participate in the formulation of advice to the NATO Council on nuclear policy". This Committee received progress reports on the studies of the Nuclear Planning Group, of which Canada is a member. The Minister took the opportunity to remind his colleagues in the NDAC that the main purpose of the new strategic conception adopted by the DPC was to avoid excessive reliance on the early use of nuclear weapons for defence against aggression. He suggested this consideration must be foremost in mind in any discussions regarding nuclear weapons.

Mr. Cadieux went on to say :

"The Defence Planning Committee, which consists of ministers of all member countries except France, reviewed the work accomplished since their previous meeting in May 1967. All ministers strongly endorsed the view, which was later reflected in the communiqué, that one of the foundations for achieving an improvement in East-West relations and a peaceful settlement in Europe must be NATO's continuing defensive strength and capability to deter aggression.

"Against this background, the ministers considered the following main

subjects : (a) the new strategic conception; (b) NATO force plans; (c) the standing Naval Force Atlantic.

"The new strategy of response against aggression makes provision for a flexible and balanced range of appropriate conventional and nuclear responses to all levels of aggression or threats of aggression. The ministers approved this conception.

"For the first time, the minister adopted a five-year rolling force plan. The current plan covers the period from 1968 to 1972. It includes a firm commitment of forces for 1968 and an outline of national plans for the period from 1969 to 1972.

"As far as Canada is concerned, we reaffirmed the continued assignment for 1968 of our forces in Germany, consisting of : (a) the air division; (b) the Canadian mechanized brigade group. We also confirmed the continued availability from Canada for 1968 of : (a) our already earmarked naval forces; (b) two brigades retained in Canada and already earmarked for Europe.

"In respect of our plans after 1968 we proposed, as forecast in the White Paper of 1964, to substitute one air-transportable brigade group based in Canada for the two brigades now earmarked in Canada. We also outlined, in general terms, proposed reductions in the air division during the next few years. During the next year, we shall be forming our new CF-5 squadrons for the support of mobile command forces. In doing this, we plan to utilize the trained personnel which will become available as a result of later adjustments in the air division.

"Honourable Members will recall that, when the original decision was made to earmark for SACEUR's strategic reserve two brigades stationed in Canada, it was envisaged that it would be feasible to transport the force to Europe in time to make a significant contribution. However, as a consequence of the gradual mechanization of our brigade in Germany and the corresponding changes in Canada, it has become increasingly apparent that the sea-and air-lift required to transport these forces to Europe in a mechanized form would not be available in time to be effective.

"During the past few years, the Government examined a number of proposals to overcome this problem. One of these proposals involved the stockpiling in Europe of mechanized equipment for the balance of the force. Because of the expense and the impractical aspects, this proposal was dropped. As a result of the recent review of our military commitments, both in Europe and elsewhere, we have concluded that another proposal, that of an air-transportable force, would be more appropriate and useful. As additional air transport becomes available, this force, including men and equipment, can be transported to Europe in time to make an effective contribution. It would also provide us with forces of sufficient flexibility to meet other requirements.

"The new strategy of flexible response places more emphasis on dual-capable aircraft. Our air division has both a conventional and nuclear capability and thus is well suited to carry out the requirements of this new strategic conception.

"The ministers also approved the organization of a new naval force. This force involves the transformation of the NATO 'Matchmaker' naval training squadron into the Standing Naval Force Atlantic, consisting of six to eight destroyer-type ships. Honourable Members will recall that 'Matchmaker' is a training squadron consisting of a number of ships from NATO countries in the Atlantic area. The squadron has been operating for the past few years and Canada has, from time to time, contributed a ship to it.

"The major difference between 'Matchmaker' and the Standing Naval Force is that in 'Matchmaker' ships joined the squadron for exercises; in the Standing Naval Force, they will be assigned for a given time and will be under the operational command of a NATO commander. Being composed of ships from various countries, the Force will be a further visible evidence of NATO's solidarity.

"Each participating country will assign a ship to the Force for a fixed period during the year. Canada agrees with the conception of the Force, and we are now studying the form of Canadian participation and expect to reach a decision shortly. Participation would not involve a new commitment but rather the assignment of one of the destroyers already earmarked for SACLANT to this NATO Force."

## *Canadian Military Adviser for Malaysian Air Force*

**I**N response to a request from the Government of Malaysia, the Canadian Government agreed to make available to Malaysia, for approximately two years, an Air Adviser to the Chief of the Air Staff of the Royal Malaysian Air Force. Air Commodore K. R. Greenaway of the Canadian Armed Forces, who was selected for this appointment, took up his duties in Malaysia in October 1967. Before this appointment, Air Commodore Greenaway, who is from Mariposa, Ontario, served as Commanding Officer at the Canadian Forces Base, Clinton, Ontario. His role in Malaysia is to provide advice in regard to the training and organization of the RMAF.

Appointment to Malaysia of a Canadian Air Adviser is in addition to a two-year programme of military assistance to that country which the Canadian Government undertook in 1965. Under this programme, Canada gave Malaysia four *Caribou* transport aircraft, with a substantial quantity of spare parts and 250 motorcycles for the Royal Malaysian Police, and has provided training in Canada for a total of some 80 members of the Malaysian Armed Forces.



*The above photograph shows Air Commodore Greenaway and Air Commodore Sulaiman bin Sujak, who was appointed Chief of the Air Staff of the RMAF on November 1, 1967. The bird on the table is a helang — a Malaysian hawk that serves as the symbol of the RMAF. The helang appears on the unit badges of the RMAF.*

# *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*

HIGH-LEVEL MEETING, GENEVA, 1967

**T**HE year 1967 was the twentieth anniversary of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was signed by the representatives of 23 countries on October 30, 1947, when the proposed International Trade Organization failed to come into being. Since then, GATT's activities and membership have expanded until today the trade of almost 90 countries is governed by the Agreement.

The basic objective of GATT is the liberalization of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis. It embodies contractual rights and obligations and provides detailed rules and procedures for the conduct of the commercial policies of Canada and its major trading partners.

Over the past 20 years, substantial progress has been made in achieving the objectives of the Agreement, culminating in the successful completion in mid-1967 of the Kennedy Round of trade and tariff negotiations, which achieved unprecedented results in reducing trade barriers in a wide range of internationally traded goods. Nevertheless, a good many obstacles to trade remain, including a number of non-tariff barriers which have assumed greater importance now that tariff levels are being significantly reduced.

It was in the light of these developments that GATT members, many of whom were represented at ministerial level, met in Geneva from November 22 to 24 at the end of the twenty-fourth session of the Contracting Parties to review GATT's work during the last two decades and to consider a future work programme and ways in which the momentum towards further liberalization of international trade could be maintained. The Canadian delegation was headed by the Honourable Robert H. Winters, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and included officials of the Departments of External Affairs, Finance, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture and Industry.

## **Concluding Statement**

The press release issued at the conclusion of the meeting reads, in part, as follows :

The Contracting Parties reaffirmed their confidence in the General Agreement as the contractual basis for their trading relationships and their determination to continue to co-operate in the trade field within the framework of the Agreement.

The Contracting Parties' discussion focused essentially on the GATT

Programme for Expansion of International Trade. This Programme was inaugurated at a meeting of Ministers in 1958 and covered tariff reduction, trade in agricultural products and the trade problems of developing countries. It was provided, and continues to provide, the broad basis and impetus for the activities of the Contracting Parties in these three fields . . . .

The Contracting Parties noted that significant progress had been made in the field of agricultural trade. Nonetheless, they recognized that problems remained and there were some sectors, of particular importance to Contracting Parties relying heavily on exports of agricultural products, in which progress achieved under the General Agreement had not matched that achieved in relation to industrial trade generally. The Contracting Parties reaffirmed, in the context of the further pursuit of the objectives of the General Agreement, their determination to pursue solutions to the problems in the agricultural field.

The Contracting Parties recognized the pioneering work in the field of the trade problems of the developing countries that had been done by the Contracting Parties and welcomed the progressively increasing attention being paid by them to these problems. They further took note of the adoption of Part IV of the Agreement. However, the results of the earlier efforts and the Kennedy Round had left many of the trade problems of most developing countries unresolved. They agreed that a maximum effort was needed in the GATT, and elsewhere, directed towards the expansion of the export earnings of the developing countries and thus towards the early resolution of their problems.

The Contracting Parties agreed that an essential first task was to secure the full implementation of all the results agreed upon in the Kennedy Round. However, they considered it understandable that such a far-reaching reduction of barriers as had been achieved in the Kennedy Round could create problems in some cases. In their view, the appropriate way to deal with any such difficulties would be through internal measures of adjustment and not through the creation of new obstacles to international trade. Where problems arose, the established GATT consultation procedures were available to facilitate constructive co-operation between countries. It was recognized that any significant trade restrictive measures would be likely to spread, particularly if introduced by one or more major trading countries. This, in turn, would threaten to undo what had been achieved in the field of trade liberalization and jeopardize future progress.

The Contracting Parties took note of the interest in the work of the GATT of countries with centrally-planned economies and welcomed the accession of Poland to the General Agreement and the participation of observers from Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania in the work of the Contracting Parties. They agreed that the Contracting Parties' approach to the question of trade relations with countries with centrally-planned economies should continue to be on a pragmatic, country-by-country basis.

The Contracting Parties reaffirmed that the liberalization of world trade by means of negotiations remains the primary objective of the General Agree-

ment, but noted that, in the light of the recent conclusion of the Kennedy Round, no new major initiatives for a multilateral and comprehensive move forward could reasonably be expected in the near future. Whilst, in the light of the foregoing, work undertaken at this time would be without commitment on the part of governments both as to its outcome and in particular as to any future negotiations, the Contracting Parties recognized that it was important to proceed to prepare for further advances, with full regard to the objectives and provisions of the General Agreement, within the Programme for Expansion of International Trade. Further, the Contracting Parties agreed that there was urgent need for additional positive measures for the expansion of trade and improvement of the trade position of developing countries . . . .

### **Future Work Programme**

The Contracting Parties agreed on a future work programme, to be begun in December 1967, of which the main points were the following :

#### **Industrial Products**

A new Committee on Trade in Industrial Products will explore the opportunities for making further tariff reductions in this sector in the light of the Kennedy Round result, and will draw up an inventory of non-tariff barriers.

#### **Agriculture**

A new Agricultural Committee will explore further opportunities for progress in the agricultural field by means of positive solutions mutually acceptable to all Contracting Parties concerned; and, in urgent cases affecting world trade in specific products, it was agreed that consultation should take place immediately among the Contracting Parties concerned.

#### **Trade of Developing Countries**

(a) The Special Group on Tropical Products will examine problems in this field, including the incidence of revenue and other internal charges applied in importing countries.

(b) Expert panels may be established to examine quantitative restrictions maintained by developed Contracting Parties on industrial products of particular interest to developing countries with a view to their early removal.

(c) Consultations with developing countries on balance-of-payments problems will now give particular attention to solutions involving expanded export earnings.

(d) The Cotton Textiles Committee will invite importing countries to report on steps taken to facilitate adjustment in their domestic industry.

(e) The International Trade Centre will assist developing countries to

take advantage of new market opportunities created by tariff changes resulting from the Kennedy Round.

The Contracting Parties urged developed countries to make advance implementation of Kennedy Round concessions of interest to developing countries, and to consider further concessions of this kind, particularly on labour intensive products, by means of separate tariff classifications and other special measures. They also noted the progress recently made towards a general scheme of tariff preferences to benefit developing countries and expressed their satisfaction concerning the efforts presently being made towards an exchange of trade and tariff concessions among the developing countries themselves.

# *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

MINISTERIAL MEETING, 1967

**T**HE ANNUAL MEETING of the OECD Council at ministerial level was held in Paris on November 30 and December 1. The Canadian delegation was led by the Honourable R. H. Winters, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and included Mr. Donald S. Macdonald, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and senior officials from the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Finance and External Affairs.

As in previous years, the ministers reviewed the economic situation in member countries and commented on prospects for world trade. Particular attention was given to the implications of Britain's devaluation of the pound, to balance-of-payments problems, and to the level of interest rates. In his report to the ministers, the OECD's Secretary-General, Mr. Thorkil Kristensen, expressed optimism regarding the general economic prospects for 1968, but cautioned that growth would not be evenly balanced as between North America and Japan, on the one hand, and Western Europe, where prospects were less buoyant, on the other.



*In the Hall of the Chateau de la Muette in Paris, the Honourable Robert H. Winters, Minister of Trade and Commerce (left), talks with Mr. Nobuhiko Ushiba, Deputy Minister of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Between Mr. Winters and Mr. Ushiba is Canada's Permanent Representative to the OECD, Mr. C. J. Small.*

Ministers also gave careful consideration to the trade and development problems of the developing countries. A major topic of attention was the grant of preferences to the exports of developing countries, a question which figures prominently on the agenda of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held in India in February 1968. In his statement for Canada, Mr. Winters stressed the importance of expanding the opportunities for profitable trade by the developing countries so that they could meet their foreign exchange needs. He pointed out that there must, therefore, be a rapid improvement in their access to world markets. While ministers at the meeting recognized the complexity of the problems involved in working out the details of special tariff treatment for developing countries, there was broad agreement that OECD members should be prepared to adopt a positive attitude on this issue at UNCTAD.

### Final Communiqué

The text of the press release issued by the ministers at the conclusion of their meeting was as follows:

1. The Council of the OECD met at ministerial level in Paris on November 30 and December 1, 1967, under the chairmanship of the Honourable J. C. de Oliveira, Minister of Economic Affairs of Portugal, and reviewed the economic situation of its member countries, their economic relations with the rest of the world, and the work of the Organization itself.
2. Ministers welcomed the statement by the delegate for the United Kingdom on the strong measures announced by the United Kingdom following devaluation to strengthen the balance of payments and lay sound foundations for economic growth.
3. The slow-down of economic growth in large parts of the OECD area that began in 1966 now seems to have come to an end and for the next year the average growth rate of gross national product may again reach about 4½ per cent.

The expansionary forces vary in strength, however. They are strong in the United States, where, in fact, fiscal restraint is required, and in Japan and Italy. They are weaker in most of Europe, where manpower and other economic resources may remain less fully employed than in recent years. Flexible economic policies are therefore called for, with a readiness to apply more expansionary measures in some countries as and when required. In many countries, a more active manpower policy and structural adjustments will be helpful.

The economic expansion in most developing member countries continues at a somewhat faster rate than in the other member countries taken as a whole. The development aims of these countries are, however, far from being realized. Their problems of economic development, especially their export problems, will therefore be kept under close review by the Organization.

4. Ministers exchanged views on balance-of-payments problems. They noted, *inter alia*, the persistence of the external overall deficit of the United States and of the surplus of the EEC countries combined. Appropriate economic policies are required, including measures to influence capital movements as well as the current account in a constructive way.

Ministers stressed the need for both surplus and deficit countries to continue and intensify their efforts to reduce this persisting disequilibrium. Opinions diverged on the share of responsibility of different countries in the search for equilibrium. Ministers were, nevertheless, at one in recognizing that common efforts would be needed as a contribution to a better equilibrium in the international balance of payments.

They instructed the Organization to carry on with its efforts to promote the adjustment of imbalances in the external payments among members and, in that context, to give consideration to problems of interest rates.

5. Ministers had an exchange of views on other activities of the Organization and, in particular, stressed the urgent need for continued international co-operation regarding problems of air and water pollution, which are assuming increasing importance.

6. Ministers noted with satisfaction the positive outcome of the Kennedy Round negotiations, in particular for industrial products. They stressed the importance of full implementation of the decisions there taken. Any failure in this regard would endanger future liberalization of trade, which is one of the conditions for economic growth of both developed and developing countries.

7. Ministers welcomed the progress made by the special group set up to examine trade relations with developing countries, in accordance with the directives given at their meeting in November 1965 aimed at the formulation of constructive and concerted policies for encouraging increased export earnings by those countries. The group set out a number of general considerations relating to temporary special tariff treatment by developed countries in favour of all developing countries.

Ministers agreed that the broad lines of the group's work should serve as a common basis for delegations of member governments at the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in future discussions of this matter.

Ministers underlined that the envisaged arrangements should not imply the granting of reciprocal advantages by developing countries to the exports of developed countries.

Some important questions regarding the arrangements for special tariff treatment remain open. Ministers instructed the Organization to continue to consider these problems in the light of the views expressed by developing countries.

Several ministers stated that a key element in such arrangements would be the phasing-out, as rapidly as possible, of existing preferences extended by some

developing countries to some developed countries. Other ministers could not share this view, and stressed that the fundamental aim of the arrangements contemplated was the granting of new advantages to the exports of developing countries.

8. Ministers recognized the very large importance for developing countries of their exports of primary products, which provide the bulk of their earnings and will continue to do so for some time to come. They noted with interest the work being done in this field by various bodies, including the study to be undertaken by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

9. Ministers noted that certain branches of world agricultural production appeared likely to expand in the years ahead. They agreed that the relationship between supply and commercial demand, bearing in mind the food needs of developing countries, would warrant careful attention, and instructed the Organization to consider how best to approach these problems, including the establishment of a special group.

Ministers considered the report of the Secretary-General on the food problem of developing countries, in which he examined the gap between food needs in these countries and food availability from their domestic production, commercial imports and food aid. They instructed the Organization to pursue its work on the proposals contained in the Secretary-General's report.

10. The flow of public development aid increased slightly in 1966, but private capital exports to developing countries declined. An increase in the total flow of resources to these countries seems to be taking place in 1967. Some countries are now expanding their aid programmes; some countries have fixed medium-term objectives for their future increase. Notwithstanding these efforts, prospects for the following years seem less favourable.

Moreover, the slow economic progress and the prospect of rapid increases in population in many developing countries give reason for concern.

Ministers requested the Development Assistance Committee to pursue its studies and efforts to increase the volume and improve the quality and effectiveness of aid.

11. Ministers heard a statement by Dr. Prebisch, the Secretary-General of UNCTAD. They agreed that member countries should make every effort to ensure the success of the Second UNCTAD and should continue their consultations in OECD to this end.

## Claims Settlement between Canada and Bulgaria

ON June 30, 1966, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, on behalf of the Government of Canada, and His Excellency, Mr. Gero Grozev, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, signed an agreement in Ottawa relating to the settlement of financial matters.<sup>(1)</sup> Under this instrument, the Bulgarian Government undertook (Article 1) to "pay to the Canadian Government the lump sum of forty thousand Canadian dollars in full and final settlement of the claims of the Government of Canăca, Canadian citizens and Canadian juridical persons against the Bulgarian Government in respect of property, rights, interests and debts in Bulgaria which have been affected directly or indirectly by Bulgarian measures of nationalization, expropriation or other similar measures which have taken effect before the date of the present agreement". Payment of this sum was made by the Bulgarian Government within the two-month deadline specified in the agreement and credited to a special account in the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada called the Foreign Claims Fund, which had been established pursuant to Vote 22a of the Appropriation Act, No. 7, 1966, and to which funds received from foreign countries in settlement of Canadian claims are to be credited.

In discussing Canada's settlement with Bulgaria, a Canadian writer has pointed out that "the settlement with Bulgaria is the first and only global settlement achieved to date with a Communist country by the Canadian Government of post Second World War claims arising out of nationalization programmes and similar measures".<sup>(2)</sup> The only other settlement of this nature under which Canadians benefited was the 1948 United Kingdom-Yugoslavia Agreement concluded on behalf of British nationals and "those of other Commonwealth countries".

### Lump-sum Compensation

The Department of External Affairs had a record of claims against Bulgaria amounting to about \$800,000, but a number of these were ineligible because they could not meet the requirements for diplomatic espousal (in particular, the requirement that the claimant have Canadian nationality at the time of the loss and up to the time of espousal of the claim by the Canadian Government). The adjudicated value of the eligible claims was about \$180,000, and the

- (1) *Canada Treaty Series (1966) No. 16*. With agreed minute and related notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations and of diplomatic and trade representation and on consular matters, in force on date of signature.
- (2) Charles V. COLE, "A Generation of Canadian Experience with International Claims", *British Year Book of International Law* 41 (1965-66), P. 368 at P. 374. This article, which was written before the distribution of the Bulgarian funds to entitled claimants, traces the development of Canadian international claims practice from acquisition of full responsibility in the field by the Canadian Government to the present. It includes a section on nationalization claims. (Mr. Cole is a member of the Department of External Affairs.)

settlement thus compared favourably with lump-sum settlements effected by other Western states, including Britain and the United States, with Communist states for nationalization of property. The lump-sum technique has proven to be a useful method of settling the many thousands of international claims resulting from post Second World War nationalization programmes, particularly those of Eastern European states. An American claims expert, Professor Lillich of Syracuse University, has noted recently that more than 90 lump-sum agreements have been concluded since 1945, and that "no longer can it be maintained that these settlements are 'negotiated compromises' and as such do not constitute a departure from the traditional international law principle."<sup>(1)</sup>

Under a lump-sum settlement, as distinct from settlement of individual claims, the expropriating state agrees to pay a part of the total amount of the claims advanced during the negotiations. To distribute the moneys received to eligible claimants, domestic claims commissions are normally established by the espousing state and given the responsibility of examining the evidence in support of claims and making awards. The result is that all entitled claimants receive partial satisfaction for their claims.<sup>(2)</sup>

The agreement with Bulgaria is not lengthy and two of its articles, Nos. III and V (I), are of interest not only to the general public but also to international legal scholars. Article III accords with the international legal principle and international practice in respect of continuous nationality in limiting the settlement to claims which were owned by Canadian citizens or by Canadian juridical persons on the effective date of nationalization, expropriation or other similar measure and continuously thereafter until the date of the agreement.

### Method of Distribution

Article V (I) of the agreement allocates to the "exclusive competence and responsibility of the Canadian Government" the distribution of the \$40,000 received. In the absence of existing machinery in Canada to distribute the moneys to entitled Canadian claimants, the Foreign Claims (Bulgaria) Settlement Regulations established by P.C. 1966-2062 of November 3, 1966 (SOR/66-506 of November 23, 1966), provided a procedure for distribution of the Bulgarian funds. The Regulations authorized the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Finance to make computations of payments out of the Foreign Claims Fund to entitled claimants. They were to be assisted by an "Adviser on Claims", whose terms of reference included, *inter alia*, the making of non-binding

(1) "Toward the Formulation of an Acceptable Body of Law Concerning State Responsibility"; *Syracuse Law Review*, 16(1965), P. 720, at Pp. 735-6 (Symposium: The Law of International Claims). For discussions of lump-sum settlements and Canadian views on the practice, see 'International Law in a Changing World: Value of the Old and the New', a speech by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Toronto Branch of the International Law Association, on October 14, 1964, *External Affairs* 16(1964), P. 586 at Pp. 590-94; 'International Claims', *External Affairs* 18(1966), P. 11; Donald S. Macdonald, 'Canada's Recent Experience in International Claims', *International Journal* 21(1966), P. 322; Eric B. Wang, 'Nationality of Claims and Diplomatic Intervention-Canadian Practice', *Canadian Bar Review* 43(1965), P. 136. (Mr. Macdonald is Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Wang is a member of the Department of External Affairs.)

(2) For a description of Canadian arrangements for distribution of monies received under specific and lump-sum settlements, see 'A Generation of Canadian Experience with International Claims', Footnote 2 *supra*, particularly at Pp. 392-96.

recommendations as to the amounts of the payments. In order to qualify for a payment out of the Fund, Regulation 4 provided that the Canadian claimant must have given notice of his claim to the Government of Canada prior to June 30, 1966, and must have established to the satisfaction of the Ministers that he was entitled to receive compensation under Articles I and III of the agreement in respect of his claim.

The Honourable Thane A. Campbell, Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island and Chief War Claims Commissioner, who was appointed the "Adviser on Claims Against Bulgaria", examined the 29 individual claims with a view to determining which of these might meet the requirements specified under the agreement and the regulations for payments of compensation out of the Fund. In due course, Chief Justice Campbell's recommendations were accepted by the Ministers responsible under the regulations. Twenty-one claims were rejected for various reasons, such as lack of continuity of Canadian citizenship or failure to prove compensable loss, and eight claims qualified for awards out of the Fund.



*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin (right), chats with His Excellency Gero Grozev, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria (left) on the occasion of the signing of the agreement between Canada and Bulgaria relating to the settlement of Canadian financial claims against Bulgaria.*

## Payment Priorities

As the funds received from Bulgaria were not expected to be sufficient to pay all eligible claims in full, the Ministers responsible accepted the following recommendations in regard to priorities in the payment of valid claims :

- (1) Awards for capital losses up to \$7,500 in full.
- (2) Awards for interest, where applicable, and for expenses, on capital awards under priority (1) to be added and paid in full, provided that the total payment on any such claim or group of claims shall not exceed \$7,500.
- (3) The balance of awards for capital losses, *pro rata* in proportion to the residue of the fund available under the Agreement with Bulgaria.
- (4) If, after all awards for capital losses have been paid in full, any portion of the fund remains available, any remainder of interest and expenses may be paid *pro rata* in proportion to such remaining portion of the fund.

However, after examining all claims carefully, it became evident that adoption of these priorities would mean that all valid claims, with one exception, could be paid in full. This exception, involving a claim for loss of the majority interest in a nationalized Bulgarian firm, was assessed by the "Claims Adviser" in the amount of \$166,875, compared to the claimant's valuation of \$400,000 as his loss. The claimant will receive about \$20,000 in respect of this claim. The other seven claimants have been awarded amounts ranging from \$482.59 to \$7,250, including interest and expenses where applicable.

In considering the question whether interest should be allowed on claims found to be valid, Chief Justice Campbell has noted in his recommendation on interest, expenses and priorities that "it seems clear that, in respect to the majority of claims found valid under Articles I and III of the 'Agreement', the claimants have suffered not only their capital losses but also the loss of use or income from the capital for a considerable number of years while awaiting payment of compensation".

## Interest on Property Losses

Canadian War Claims Commissions following both World Wars had followed the practice of awarding interest in cases of property losses. In his report dated December 14, 1927, *Reparations*, Vol. I, Pp. 19 and 20, Commissioner Friel had stated :

... where the loss was either liquidated or the amount thereof capable of being ascertained with approximate accuracy through the application of established rules of computation merely, as of the time when the actual loss occurred, I have recommended interest from the date of loss. This covers property losses being claims for property taken, damaged or destroyed! It seems to me to be only just and equitable. The measure of damages applied is the reasonable market value of the property as of the time and place of loss or destruction, if it had such market value; if not, then the intrinsic value of the property, but as compensation was not made at the time of loss the payment at a later date of the value which the property had at the time of loss would not make the claimant whole. He was *then* entitled to a sum equal to the value of his property. He is *now*

entitled to such sum plus the value of the use of the money for the entire period during which he was deprived of its use, otherwise interest, if he is to receive full compensation.<sup>(1)</sup>

Because of the limited funds available under the Bulgarian settlement and uncertainty in some cases as to the actual date of loss of the property, Chief Justice Campbell was unable to recommend payment of interest from date of loss. Also the "numerous fluctuations and reforms in the value of currency" made it "difficult to determine a rate or duration of interest which would provide adequate compensation in each individual case without unduly depleting the fund available under Articles I and II of the 'Agreement' ". Accordingly, in view of these factors, the Chief Justice recommended that "in each case where the allowance of interest is not specifically excluded, there be added to the capital amount to which a claimant is found to be entitled under the 'Agreement', a sum by way of interest equivalent to one-third of each capital amount".

An outline of Chief Justice Campbell's general recommendations would be incomplete without mention of his recommendation as to payment of expenses. The Chief Justice explained in this respect that :

It is also apparent that claimants have necessarily incurred considerable expense in the preparation of their claims. In the absence of detailed proof of the items of expense so incurred, I recommend that there be paid to each claimant who establishes a valid claim (or claims) the sum of 50 dollars to compensate for expenses incurred in the preparation and presentation of the claim or claims. Where two or more beneficiaries share in the proceeds of a claim or group of claims established under the "Agreement", I recommend that they share equally in such additional payment to be made for expenses.

The importance of this claims-settlement agreement for Canada can be appreciated when it is recalled that the Department of External Affairs has records of several thousand claims of Canadian citizens against other states, including a number of Eastern European states, for nationalization and other takings of their property. These claims have reached a total amount of millions of dollars and it is hoped that the Bulgarian settlement will be followed by settlements with other Eastern European states.

(1) Quoted in *Report of the Advisory Commissioner on War Claims*, February 25, 1952, Page 88.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Death of Australian Prime Minister**

*On December 18, Mr. Pearson paid the following tribute to Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt, whose death in a swimming incident had occurred over the preceding weekend :*

Mr. Speaker, I am sure members of this House would expect me to express our feeling of shock and grief at the tragic accident that resulted in the loss of the Prime Minister of Australia over the weekend.

Mr. Holt was a very distinguished Australian public servant over many years, culminating in his succession to Sir Robert Menzies as Prime Minister only a relatively short time ago. In that post he had so much to offer and so little time in which to offer it. He was a very strong supporter of the Commonwealth and a very good friend of Canada. I know from talks with him that he was most anxious to deepen and develop the friendship between our two countries, both as members of the Commonwealth and as Pacific powers.

Mr. Holt will be greatly missed, of course, in his own country but also outside Australia. He was a man of energy, great enthusiasm and warm natural friendliness, qualities which we associate with Australians. He was a good and valued friend of many of us, including myself. I had the privilege of welcoming him to Ottawa officially last summer, and my wife and I had the privilege and pleasure of spending a day or so with him in the country. It was only last Friday, Mr. Speaker, that I received a message from him expressing the hope that my own plans would not prevent a visit to Australia and New Zealand which I was anticipating. He said he looked forward to receiving me as host and as friend.

Our deepest and most heartfelt sympathy goes out to his devoted and courageous wife, Mrs. Holt, and to the members of the family.

## **Cyprus Situation**

*In reply to a question on December 4 as to "the situation between Greece and Turkey", and "the position of the Canadian troops who form part of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, as a result of last week's developments", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, said :*

Mr. Speaker, I have nothing to report on the position of the Canadian contingent other than that our troops there are carrying out their duties. Yesterday morning the Secretary-General appealed to the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus to end any threat to the security of each other. This

was necessary because of last-moment hitches in what was thought likely to be an agreement on the part of all concerned.

The Secretary-General also indicated that his good offices would be available to all the parties, if considered desirable, with respect to United Nations efforts in the supervision of disarmament or in practical arrangements for internal security.

The response of the Governments of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus has been positive, and I hope it will be possible to begin very soon the withdrawal of national forces from Cyprus and the de-escalation of some of the military measures that have been taken recently in the area. However, the fact is that at this moment agreement between the parties is not complete on all points and I regret to say that relations have not improved between the two communities in Cyprus.

*To a supplementary question whether, since Canada was "a NATO ally of the two countries involved", the Government had "brought its own views before them to impress upon Greece and Turkey the necessity of arriving at a just settlement and de-escalation in the area", Mr. Martin replied :*

We certainly have, and I reported to the House on this a week ago. Our efforts included direct telephone communications between myself and the Foreign Minister of Turkey at a time when we were greatly concerned about possible military action. We have been in continuous consultation all along with the representatives of the United States and Britain, with Mr. Vance, the special emissary of the United States Government, and Mr. Rolz-Bennet, the representative of the Secretary-General.

*On December 12, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, answered as follows a question whether, since the Security Council was shortly to discuss the extension of the UN forces on Cyprus and the Secretary-General had asked that "the matter be dealt with as one of urgency", Canada had proposed or intended to propose "that the United Nations Force on Cyprus be increased and that it be provided with more effective means to keep the peace than it has had until now" :*

Mr. Speaker, there are discussions going on at the present time . . . . There are two opinions about the strength of the Force if the mandate is extended. One is that the present Force will be strong enough to carry out the new mandate, and there is another opinion that perhaps the Force should be enlarged. No agreement has yet been reached because the matter has not come before the Security Council.

Our own view, Mr. Speaker, is that, if the mandate is to be extended, it should be extended for a rather shorter period of time than was previously found desirable, so that during that shorter period of time we can see how the arrangements are being carried out that are being discussed now with the

Government of Cyprus and to which the other two governments have agreed. If the arrangements are carried out successfully, then the chances for peace on the island will be greatly improved.

### **Vietnam — Proposed Discussion in Security Council**

*On December 14 the Prime Minister made the following statement in response to a question in the House of Commons as to whether Canada had participated in any discussions at the United Nations or elsewhere concerning the possibility of bringing before the Security Council the question of the Vietnam war and the search for solutions to it :*

Mr. Speaker, discussions are still going on among members of the Security Council as to the desirability of inscribing this item on the agenda of the Security Council for an early session. No decision has been taken on that matter as yet. I understand that if it is a matter for discussion at the Security Council there will be no difficulty in having representatives from North Vietnam and the Viet Cong take part as observers and participants in that discussion. There will be no difficulty about their reaching New York.

I think there are great difficulties in the way of any discussion of this matter at the Security Council which will lead to any constructive results. We are exchanging views with other members of the Security Council to see whether they feel, in fact, there might be good results from such a discussion.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

UNCTAD: New Delhi, February 1 — March 25

Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 120th meeting: Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico, February 12-16

International Year Symposium on Human Rights: Montreal, March 22-27

Industrial Development Board: Vienna, April

NATO Nuclear Planning Group: The Hague, April 18-19

International Conference on Human Rights: Tehran, April — May

NATO spring ministerial meeting: Reykjavik, June 24-25

International Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: Vienna, August 17-28

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. M. Beaubien posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective November 1, 1967.

Mr. E. P. Black, Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, appointed Minister at the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective November 5, 1967.

Mr. J. E. G. Hardy, Minister with the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, appointed as Deputy High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective November 5, 1967.

Mr. C. Hardy, Canadian Ambassador to Lebanon, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Syria, effective November 6, 1967.

Mr. N. F. H. Berlis, Canadian Ambassador to Poland, posted to Ottawa effective November 7, 1967.

Mr. E. A. Skrabec posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Guyana, to Ottawa, effective November 8, 1967.

Mr. A. Couvrette posted from L'Ecole nationale d'Administration, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective November 8, 1967.

Mr. J. A. Irwin appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Tanzania, effective November 13, 1967.

Mr. B. M. Williams appointed Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, effective November 15, 1967.

Mr. M. Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Malagasy, effective November 16, 1967.

Miss A. M. Ireland posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, effective November 18, 1967.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *United Nations General Assembly*

## TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

THE twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly was convened on September 19, 1967, and adjourned on December 19, having completed its work on all items on its agenda except three. These were: non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, concerning which the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee was called on by the Assembly to submit a full report on or before March 15, 1968; the situation in the Middle East, to which the Assembly had given priority but which had not been considered because of the action taken by the Security Council; and the question of South West Africa, which the Assembly had decided to retain on its agenda. The twenty-second session is to be resumed when the President, after consultation with member states and the Secretary-General, decides that appropriate conditions exist for consideration of any of these items, on the understanding that, if it is convened to discuss any one of them, it will also be able to consider the others. The 99-item agenda of the twenty-second session was exceeded only by that of the twentieth session, which had to deal with a number of problems left over from the abortive nineteenth session. During the twenty-second session, 113 resolutions were adopted, compared to the record 120 resolutions adopted at the twentieth session. With the admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, membership in the organization reached the total of 123.

At the twenty-second session the shadows which were cast over the previous session by the war in Vietnam and the emotional stress created by developments in southern Africa were deepened by frustration and increasing tension. The twenty-second session was also dominated by a recurrence of critical tensions in the Middle East and Cyprus.

Both these issues were dealt with primarily in the Security Council rather than the General Assembly. It is possible to speculate, however, that the two crises resulted in an increased awareness in the General Assembly of the importance of peacekeeping operations. This was reflected in the peacekeeping debate in the Special Political Committee, and it is interesting to note that, in a modification of their previous attitudes, the Soviet Union and France joined those members urging co-operation with the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East.

The debate on the general principles of peace-keeping, in which Canada played an active part, brought forward a resolution which recognized the need, as Lord Caradon had said, for "the convoy to proceed at the pace of its slowest member". The resolution provided not only for the continuation of the Committee of 33 but also for preparation of a study of the facilities, services and personnel that member states might provide for future United Nations peace-

keeping operations in accordance with the Charter. Canada is in a position to make a substantial contribution to such a study in the light of extensive Canadian experience with peacekeeping operations of various types throughout the history of the United Nations organization. While it could be argued that progress during the twenty-second session on peace-keeping was little more than procedural, there was also, on the other hand, an increasing awareness that peace-keeping, like housekeeping, is a job that is never done.

Vietnam, which was also not on the agenda of the twenty-second session, figured in much of the political discussion, not only in general debate but on such recurrent items as the definition of aggression. There was genuine concern expressed at the escalation of the war in Vietnam and its effect on international relations generally. Mr. Martin's statement on Vietnam, which, with those of a number of foreign ministers, emphasized the importance of stopping the bombing as a necessary first step in the process of de-escalation of the conflict, was widely recognized as an important contribution to discussion of the Vietnam problem.

The late arrival of the interim report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee left little time for debate on disarmament items in the First Committee and, in fact, there was virtually no substantive discussion of the various disarmament items. However, the debate cleared the way for further discussions of the non-proliferation treaty at the resumed General Assembly before the proposed conference of non-nuclear countries in August or September of this year.

Although it failed to demonstrate any marked improvement in the capacity of the General Assembly to make significant contributions to the resolution of over-riding issues in the political field, the session once again reflected the importance of the Assembly as a forum for the enumeration of foreign policies. The General Assembly had some positive accomplishments, although it tended to be somewhat overshadowed by events in the Security Council and to be devoid of major initiatives on difficult and recurrent subjects such as peace-keeping and Chinese representation.

The conclusion of an agreement on the rescue and return of astronauts and the return of objects launched into outer space was a solid achievement. The agreement constitutes an elaboration in detail of a basically humanitarian provision of the Outer Space Treaty, which was commended by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly to all states for signature and ratification and to which Canada became a party on October 10, 1967. While it may be said that the outer-space agreement was to a large extent a product of bilateral consultation between the United States and the Soviet Union, other delegations, including those of Canada and Australia, played an active role in the sessions of the Legal Sub-Committee and in many informal consultations over the last three years which paved the way for the agreement. The Maltese proposal regarding the reservation for exclusively peaceful purposes on the ocean-floor and sea-bed was the only genuinely new item on the agenda of the twenty-second

session. The resolution providing for the establishment of a committee to report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly on this whole subject was significant in that it marked the beginning of a United Nations concern with a new and complex area of interest and possible benefit to all mankind.

The twenty-second session was also notable as the first presided over by a President from a Communist country. Foreign Minister Cornelius Manescu of Romania carried out his tasks with efficiency and impartiality.

*NOTE: The items in this review are grouped according to the committees which dealt with them. These items are necessarily brief and are intended only to report the highlights of the Assembly's deliberations and of Canada's part in them. They do not include all subjects on the agenda of the session. Where the substantial debate on an item occurred in Committee, it has not been dealt with expansively in the section on the plenary session. Disarmament (First Committee) and Legal (Sixth Committee) questions are the subjects of separate articles in this issue.*

## Plenary

The plenary session's activities covered a wide range of subjects from outer space to the ocean-floor, and a number of important decisions were taken despite the fact that the Assembly's activities were somewhat overshadowed by developments in the Security Council. An agreement on the rescue and return of astronauts and of objects launched into outer space was approved by the Assembly, and an important first step was taken toward a study of a new and complex area of interest and possible benefit to all mankind — the reservation and exploration exclusively for peaceful purposes of the ocean-floor and the sea-bed.

The elections which take place early in the plenary session's discussions are perennially among the most interesting items on the General Assembly agenda, reflecting, perhaps more directly than any single item, the degree to which the members might be expected to work together or fail to do so for the duration of the session. On the opening day, the first representative from an East European country to become President of the General Assembly, Mr. Cornelius Manescu, was elected almost unanimously, receiving 112 of the 133 votes cast. The committee chairmen and the 17 vice-presidents were elected on a broad geographical basis. Five new non-permanent members (Algeria, Hungary, Pakistan, Paraguay and Senegal) were elected to the Security Council for a two-year term beginning January 1, 1968, to replace the retiring members whose terms ended on December 31, 1967 (Canada will continue to serve until the end of 1968). Nine countries were elected unopposed to the Economic and Social Council to replace nine members (including Canada) that retired on December 31, 1967. Fifteen members were elected or re-elected to the 44-member Industrial Development Board (on which Canada serves) for a period of three years. In a single ballot on October 30, the General Assembly elected the 29 members who will constitute the United Nations Commission on Inter-

national Trade Law with terms which begin January 1. Canada did not seek election to this body.

Canada played an effective role in the discussions leading up to the adoption of a resolution concerning a proposed conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Canada and the United States co-sponsored the resolution in the belief that a further international conference on this subject would be of value, particularly if it dealt with the practical applications of atomic energy and had an agenda designed to be of interest to public officials, economists and planners as well as technologists. The resolution declared, *inter alia*, that a fourth conference (others were held in 1955, 1958 and 1964) devoted to such objectives should be held in 1970 or 1971 and invited member states of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency to participate.

### Special Political Committee

#### Apartheid

The Special Political Committee's debate on *apartheid* followed a course which had become well established in recent years, although its tone was relatively restrained. A number of African and Asian delegates described the situation as a threat to international peace and called for sanctions against South Africa; they also condemned its main trading partners. An Afro-Asian draft resolution embodying these attitudes among other provisions was voted for by the Latin American, the East European and some West European delegations, in addition to the sponsors. But, for many delegations, an affirmative vote meant a gesture against *apartheid* rather than subscription to the resolution's specific provisions. For example, Ceylon and Mexico voted for it in the General Assembly but, in the Committee, both took positions that were novel and somewhat at variance with the approach contained in the resolution. Ceylon questioned the usefulness of a call for sanctions and suggested a reopening of discussions between South Africa and the Secretary-General, a re-examination by the Security Council of the expert group's report on sanctions, and consideration of the views of Lesotho and Botswana. Mexico thought the time had come for the United Nations to try new methods of combating *apartheid* instead of adopting increasingly strident but ineffective resolutions.

Although the situation in southern Africa might one day endanger international peace and security, it seemed at least doubtful to the Canadian delegation that the Charter provisions concerning international peace and security were applicable in the circumstances. For this reason, Canada abstained on the resolution.

#### UNRWA

The relative restraint of the debate on UNRWA in comparison with previous years was, considering the turmoil in the Middle East during the summer of

1967, noteworthy. The crisis had itself allowed the Arab countries to fully elaborate their views earlier and this tended to diminish the enthusiasm for debate when the UNRWA topic was discussed. The principal difficulty in the consideration of the topic was the recurrent lack of adequate resources with which the Commissioner-General could carry out his tasks. In their statements, the major donors referred to the problem, for which, in their view, the only solution was a wider base of voluntary contributions.

Consideration of this item resulted in the adoption of three resolutions in Committee, only two of which were, however, subsequently passed in plenary session. The first was the regular UNRWA resolution, which noted with regret that Resolution 194(III) <sup>(1)</sup>, had not been implemented. In commending the Commissioner-General for his work, this resolution directed him to continue in his efforts to assure the most equitable distribution of relief based on need and to seek a definitive solution to the refugee problem. The resolution adopted in a roll-call vote (99 [Canada]-0-2 [Israel, Congo (Brazzaville)]) called on non-contributing governments to contribute and contributing governments to consider increasing their contributions to the agency.

A second resolution, relating specifically to the "new" refugees, which was tabled by Sweden and 18 other co-sponsors including Canada, passed unanimously in plenary. The resolution endorsed the efforts of the Commissioner-General to provide humanitarian assistance to refugees created by the hostilities of June 1967, bearing in mind the objectives of the earlier Security Council resolution urging Israel to facilitate the repatriation of those who had fled from the west bank of Jordan to the east. The resolution also appealed to governments and other organizations to make special contributions. The third resolution, appointing a custodian to protect and administer Arab property and assets in Israel and to receive the income derived therefrom, was adopted in the Special Political Committee (with Canada abstaining). At the request of Nigeria, the resolution was not pressed to a vote in plenary session on the grounds that the Assembly needed more time to consider the implementation of such a resolution.

### UNSCEAR

The debate on the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation involved only a few speakers who, without exception, praised the Committee's achievements and exhorted it to continue its valuable research in world radiation hazards. The Scientific Committee, which will for the next two sessions have a Canadian (Dr. Butler of the National Research Council) as its chairman, presented this year, in the light of the general reduction in radiation hazards, only a very brief report, and will submit its next comprehensive report to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in 1969.

(1) This resolution provided in 1948 for the establishment of a Conciliation Commission to resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute.

## Peace-keeping

Peace-keeping was discussed generally in low key, although the U.S.S.R. and France maintained their strong opposition to "violation of the Charter" — meaning by this proposals which, in their view, might derogate from the authority of the Security Council. The report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations ("Committee of 33") reflected its continuing inability to resolve the financial and organizational, as well as constitutional, problems it had been established to consider. The Committee had not met during the summer to carry out the terms of its mandate owing to the preoccupation of its members with the situation in the Middle East and it, therefore, recommended only that the mandate be renewed.

The debate in the Special Political Committee at the twenty-second session revealed several positive trends. First, there was general recognition among member states that the Security Council and the General Assembly had complementary roles in the maintenance of peace and security. Second, the debate gave evidence of general support for the conception of a special scale for the financing of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures, and that in such cases the contribution of the developing countries should not exceed five per cent of the total cost. Third, there was indication of a growing interest in the need for improving peacekeeping preparations so that the organization could respond promptly and effectively when the need arose. Fourth, it was emphasized that peacekeeping operations, valuable as they were, must be accompanied by progressive moves toward a peaceful and permanent settlement.

Four draft resolutions were tabled. One, resulting from amendments to a U.A.R. draft, was acceptable to the major powers and was adopted by a wide margin in both the Special Political Committee and in plenary session. The compromise text provides, *inter alia*, that a study be prepared on matters relating to facilities, services and personnel which member states might provide for use in peacekeeping operations. The resolution also states that the proposed study should be included in the report of the Committee of 33 to the twenty-third session. Speaking in plenary session on this item, Canada expressed satisfaction at the positive trends evident in the debate and indicated willingness to co-operate fully in the further work of the Committee of 33, with particular reference to the proposed study of peace-keeping. Canada also made a strong plea to those countries that had not made voluntary contributions, particularly the highly-developed countries, to do so, in order to eliminate the United Nations financial deficit.

## First Committee

### Outer Space

At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly had unanimously commended for signature and ratification the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Peaceful Use of Outer Space, including the

Moon and other Celestial Bodies. On October 10, 1967, the Treaty came into force, an event which inspired many delegates to praise the Treaty as an important step in the peaceful development of outer space. Another matter which commanded the interest of the First Committee was the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This Conference had originally been scheduled for September 1967, but had been postponed to August 1968 by the fifth special session of the General Assembly to allow more time for preparation. Many delegations, including that of Canada, felt that effective participation, especially by the developing nations, was necessary if the Conference was to be a success. The Canadian delegation, therefore, played an active role in the drafting and tabling of a resolution calling attention to the Conference and endorsing its objectives. This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Shortly before the Assembly was due to adjourn, informal discussions had advanced matters to such an extent that an agreement on the rescue and return of astronauts, and the return of their space vehicles, was ready for consideration by the General Assembly. The agreement was taken up in plenary on December 20, and a resolution co-sponsored by Canada and 14 other countries was tabled commending the agreement and calling for its signature and ratification by all states as soon as possible. Subsequently, the resolution was approved unanimously. Both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union applauded the successful conclusion and approval of this humanitarian agreement by the General Assembly as one of the major achievements of its twenty-second session.

#### **Maltese Proposal on the Sea-Bed and Ocean-Floor**

While some of the Specialized Agencies have been concerned for some time with the study of a number of questions involving the use and the resources of the seas and the United Nations considered some aspects of the matter earlier at the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958, the United Nations has not previously considered the status of the abyssal depths of the oceans, which have great potential significance — economic, political and perhaps military. The ultimate aim of the Maltese proposal is the internationalization and demilitarization of the abyssal depths. It was generally recognized that the Maltese initiative in introducing this item was a timely one, and, indeed, it may well prove to be one of the more important subjects with which the twenty-second session has had to deal.

The proposals advanced primarily by the Maltese delegation and in discussion of the item have far-reaching legal, political and economic implications, which merit careful consideration. A careful approach to so complex a question seemed indicated. Thus, after three weeks of negotiations, a draft resolution was formulated by a working group through the efforts of about 40 participating delegations, including Canada. The resolution adopted in the First Committee and subsequently (unanimously) in plenary, calls for the establishment of an

*ad hoc* committee consisting of 35 countries to study the scope and various aspects of this item. Canada, as a country with one of the longest coastlines in the world, is a member of this committee. The *ad hoc* committee is given the task of making a survey of the past and present activities of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, the IAEA and other intergovernmental bodies. It is also to give an account of the scientific, technical, economic, legal and other aspects of this item and to indicate practical means of international co-operation in this field. The Secretary-General is requested to render all appropriate assistance to the *ad hoc* committee, the first meeting of which will be held in New York on March 18.

### **Korean Question**

In addition to the perennial item on the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), a number of Communist countries had submitted an item calling for the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops from South Korea and, on October 4, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville) and Yemen requested the inclusion of a third item calling for the dissolution of UNCURK. After some discussion in the General Committee, all three items were included under the common heading "The Korean Question", and the debate covered all three simultaneously. As in 1966, the First Committee decided to invite a representative of the Republic of Korea (South) to take part in the debate without the right to vote. It also expressed its willingness to invite a representative of the Democratic Republic of Korea (North) to take part, provided the latter recognized United Nations competence in the Korean Question.

After a polemical debate, during which several resolutions and amendments were brought before the First Committee, only the substantive resolution sponsored by Australia and 14 other nations, including Canada, was adopted by the Committee. This resolution reaffirms United Nations objectives in Korea and requests UNCURK to intensify its efforts to bring about conditions which would lead to the peaceful reunification of Korea. This resolution was adopted in plenary session by a vote of 68 in favour (Canada), to 24 against, with 23 abstentions.

### **Second Committee**

The General Assembly adopted 23 resolutions relating to the work of the Second Committee, which continued its examination of world trade and development problems. Debate was influenced by the anticipation felt by many delegations that the forthcoming second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held in New Delhi from February 1 to March 22, would be an event of major significance and would provide an unusual opportunity for important decisions in the field of economic co-opera-

tion to assist developing countries. One of the Committee's more important decisions related to a resolution which Canada co-sponsored endorsing the proposal to establish a joint UNCTAD/GATT international trade centre for the purpose of assisting the export promotion efforts of the developing countries. A resolution on strategy for the Second Development Decade may, in the long run, be of very central importance in its attempt to quantify world development goals and ways in which developed countries might contribute to their attainment.

During the short debate on multilateral food aid, the Western countries emphasized that existing institutional arrangements for food aid were satisfactory in that no new agency was required. The developing countries, for their part, declared that food aid should not be considered as part of general development aid but rather as an interim measure until the developing countries attained self-sufficiency in food production. Three draft resolutions were subsequently tabled and, after some discussion and amendment, passed in committee and in plenary. The first, a resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, proposed a target of \$200 million for the resources of the World Food Programme for 1969-70. To this end, the Secretary-General was requested to convene a pledging conference for the Programme early in 1968. The second resolution, co-sponsored mainly by developing countries and the United States, stressed the need for effective co-ordination of food-aid programmes and urged parties to the recently concluded Food Aid Convention under the Kennedy Round to make use of multilateral facilities in its implementation. The third resolution, introduced by the Philippines, invited member states and United Nations organizations to intensify efforts in the production of staple foods, especially rice, through the application of the latest technology.

Other resolutions were adopted on the development of agriculture and natural resources, technical assistance and the flow of development resources. In addition, the General Assembly approved a number of reports and recommendations of the Trade and Development Board, the Industrial Development Board, and the Economic and Social Council, concerning a broad spectrum of both new and continuing programmes. In all, the Second Committee's work served to re-emphasize the effort that was being made toward international economic co-operation.

### Third Committee

The Third Committee devoted most of the twenty-second session to discussion of several major items on its heavy agenda.<sup>(1)</sup> An important achievement this year was the adoption of a Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Another item of significance was the

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(1) See *External Affairs*, October, November, December 1967 and January 1968.

adoption of a resolution on the International Year for Human Rights. To focus attention on the Year, an International Conference on Human Rights will be held in Tehran from April 22 to May 13, 1968. This will be an important conference, perhaps one of the most significant since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Its purposes are:

- (a) To review the progress which has been made in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (b) to evaluate the effectiveness of the methods used by the United Nations in the field of human rights, especially with respect to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the practice of the policy of *apartheid*;
- (c) to formulate and prepare a programme of further measures to be taken subsequent to the celebrations of the International Year for Human Rights.

### **High Commissioner for Human Rights**

It is becoming increasingly evident that the advancement of human rights calls for a shift in emphasis from defining these rights to the problem of implementation on a world-wide basis. Various proposals aimed at improving the situation have been advanced over the years. At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, Canada co-sponsored a resolution which would give "high priority" during the twenty-third session of the General Assembly to the proposal for the establishment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. This resolution was adopted on December 14 by a vote of 61 in favour to 25 against, with 11 abstentions.

### **Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance**

A major task confronting the Third Committee is the consideration of a preamble and 12 articles of a draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance. After lengthy and acrimonious debate, the Third Committee, during the twenty-second session, adopted a preamble and Article 1, with amendments, of a draft Convention on the subject. The Committee decided to leave open the question for the next session.

### **Capital Punishment**

During discussion of the report of the Commission on Human Rights at the forty-second session of ECOSOC in 1967, Sweden and Venezuela had submitted a proposal for eventual adoption by the General Assembly whereby member states would be invited to mitigate the harsh aspects of capital punishment and to streamline legal procedures so as to circumscribe to the greatest possible extent dangers of miscarriages of justice. A resolution was adopted which transmitted the draft resolution to the General Assembly. However, the Third Committee was unable to dispose of this item at this session.

### **Office of the UNHCR**

On November 22, 1967, the General Assembly adopted a resolution extending the term of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for another five years from January 1, 1969. As the problem of refugees appears to have become a persistent feature of the international scene, the Assembly requested the High Commissioner to pursue his activities of protection and assistance, and to continue to make every possible effort to facilitate the repatriation, local integration or re-settlement, on a voluntary basis, of the refugees within his mandate, bearing in mind the ever-increasing number of refugees in Africa. The Assembly invited the UNHCR to continue to report to and be guided by the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's programme with regard to refugee situations, in accordance with the Committee's terms of reference. Finally, the resolution urged countries to ratify the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and the 1967 Protocol.

### **World Social Situation**

The debate on this item was opened by a most comprehensive and informative report from the Director of the Social Development Division. Also discussed under this item was the programme of integration and co-ordination to be carried out by the Commission for Social Development, aided by five special rapporteurs, of the various activities in the field of social development undertaken by member states and the specialized and operational bodies within the United Nations.

A resolution indicating approval of the way in which the Commission for Social Development was handling its most difficult task was adopted unanimously, even though, by implication, it laid much of the responsibility for the continuing unfortunate situation in the less-developed countries to the industrialized nations, irrespective of their ideological persuasion.

### **Other Items**

Among the matters which the Committee was unable to deal with substantively were racial discrimination, housing, building and planning, town-twinning and freedom of information. These will be carried over to the twenty-third session of the Assembly, as well as the question of punishment of war criminals.

## **Fourth Committee**

Both the Fourth Committee and the plenary session, as is usual, dealt with colonialism; southern African problems were foremost in the discussion of these items. The General Assembly, in plenary session, considered the inability of the Council for South West Africa, established in May 1967, to gain access to the territory and take over its administration. The Assembly

declared the continued presence of South African authorities in South West Africa to be a flagrant violation of its territorial integrity, appealed to member states to take effective measures to ensure South African withdrawal from the territory, and requested the Security Council to take effective steps to enable the United Nations to fulfil the responsibility it had assumed with regard to South West Africa. The Assembly also condemned the arrest and trial of 37 South West Africans under the South African Terrorism Act, and appealed to the South African Government to release the prisoners.

The Fourth Committee opened its work with a thorough debate on Rhodesia, culminating in a resolution which reflected the view of many African and Asian delegates that present sanctions would not put an end to the illegal regime and that the only effective and speedy way to put down the rebellion would be by the use of force. There followed a long discussion on the Portuguese African territories, much along the lines of the 1966 debate, concluding with a resolution which condemned Portuguese colonial policies and called on all states not to help in their implementation.

The growing tendency to consider colonial problems in general terms was illustrated by the introduction of two new items: the activities of foreign economic interests and the role of Specialized Agencies. A resolution was adopted condemning foreign economic interests for hindering the achievement of independence by non-self-governing territories in order to exploit them for gain. Another resolution called on Specialized Agencies to assist peoples seeking self-determination, in particular the national liberation movements, and to withhold assistance from Portugal and South Africa. Though their titles were general in wording, both items were discussed with Africa mainly in mind.

Non-African territories were discussed in some haste in the closing weeks of the session. Gibraltar provoked a particularly bitter debate, in which two basic principles of decolonization were squarely opposed by the leading contenders; Britain upheld self-determination while Spain advocated the maintenance of territorial integrity. A majority supported the Spanish position and voted for a resolution denouncing the referendum held in Gibraltar by Britain on September 1, 1967. In a more positive vein, the Committee recognized the independence of Aden (now the People's Republic of South Yemen), though disagreement between Britain and several Arab states over the future status of some off-shore islands marred this event. There was, however, complete harmony in welcoming the Australian announcement that the trust territory of Nauru would become independent early in 1968.

The Canadian delegation's approach resulted from its conviction that all peoples should be governed in accordance with their wishes and its desire to see the United Nations help colonial peoples achieve self-determination. The delegation felt, however, that it could not support resolutions which proposed impractical measures or contained unjustified charges against the administering powers. For these reasons the delegation abstained on the resolutions con-

cerning Rhodesia, Portuguese territories, the activities of foreign economic interests, the role of the Specialized Agencies, and the general question of South West Africa; it voted for the resolution on South West African prisoners and against the resolution on Gibraltar.

### Fifth Committee

The General Assembly approved a gross budget for 1968 of \$140.4 million and income estimates of \$23.6 million, giving a net expenditure for 1968 of \$116.8 million. The General Assembly also approved a total revised appropriation for 1967 of \$133.1 million and a revised income estimate of \$22.7 million for a net expenditure in 1967 of \$110.4 million. The net expenditure for 1968 is, therefore, estimated at about 5.8 percent higher than in 1967. In its consideration of individual sections of the budget, the Fifth Committee in all cases accepted the reductions recommended by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). However, considerable concern was expressed by the developing countries at the extent of the Advisory Committee's reduction in new staff posts requested by the Secretary-General under Section 3 (Salaries and Wages) of the budget. Trinidad and Tobago introduced a draft resolution designed to restore a large proportion of the Advisory Committee's cuts. However, the resolution was later withdrawn on the understanding that the rapporteur's report would reflect the view that the proposed work programme for 1968, particularly in the economic and social field, should not be jeopardized by the reduction in new staff posts. The Communist states abstained, as they did last year, on the resolution approving the 1968 appropriations, and Albania was again the only state to vote against.

In response to a plea by the Secretary-General in his foreword to the 1968 budget estimates that the General Assembly give him clearer guidance as to the rate of budgetary growth it would be prepared to support, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain and France introduced a draft resolution designed to establish a planning figure for the United Nations regular budget for the second succeeding budgetary period, which would serve as a framework within which the Secretary-General would construct his budget estimates. The draft was greeted initially with considerable suspicion by the developing countries, which regarded it as an attempt by the major contributors to set a ceiling on the rate of growth of UN activities. However, after weeks of negotiations and assurances by the four powers that their proposal was not designed as a ceiling on UN expenditures, a compromise resolution was agreed to between the four powers and the developing countries which, *inter alia*, substituted the term "planning estimate" for "planning figure" and indicated that the Secretary-General would simply be "guided" by this estimate in constructing his budget for the second succeeding budgetary period. The resolution was adopted in

Committee by a vote of 84-0-2 (Afghanistan and Tanzania), and in plenary by a vote of 114-0-1 (Afghanistan). In an explanation of vote, the Canadian representative in the Fifth Committee said that, depending on how the resolution was implemented, it could further the attainment of objectives to which Canada subscribed — namely, the development of effective long-term plans formulated in the light of essential priorities, the adoption of a planning estimate, based on these long-term plans, for the second succeeding budgetary period, and the introduction of a system whereby both the programme review and budgetary review bodies would look at programmes in relation to costs.

One of the most important decisions of the Fifth Committee, from a Canadian point of view, was the adoption of a 38-power resolution, of which Canada was a co-sponsor, designed to improve the use of the working languages of the organization at all levels of the Secretariat. The resolution seeks to obtain this objective through the payment of a language bonus to staff who use two working languages and through the introduction of an accelerated language-instruction programme for Secretariat staff. The resolution also invites the Secretary-General to take steps to ensure the presence of staff using the different working languages of the United Nations in the services responsible for recruitment. Amendments to the resolution were introduced which would have removed any reference to the use of the working languages in the recruitment services, and invited the Secretary-General simply to study and report on the implications of introducing an accelerated language-instruction programme and some form of language-incentive system for staff in the professional category. These amendments were defeated, but the co-sponsors, in a gesture of compromise, agreed to include in the resolution a sentence indicating that the language-bonus system would not come into effect before 1969, thus enabling the Secretary-General to report to the twenty-third session on the practical measures involved in the implementation of a bonus and to consider other incentives which might further the objectives of the resolution. Because of the inclusion of this sentence, a number of states that voted against the resolution in Committee either abstained or voted in favour in plenary, and the resolution was carried by a vote of 88 (Canada)-0-30. In a separate resolution, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to achieve a better geographical distribution of staff at all levels of the Secretariat and to include in his future reports on the composition of the Secretariat a weighted table which would show the number of posts held by each country taking into account the level of those positions.

Because of the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) from the Middle East in June 1967, there was no need to appropriate funds to finance the Force in 1968. However, in his report to the Fifth Committee on the revised cost-estimates for the maintenance of the Force in 1967, which were lower than the appropriation made at the twenty-first session because of withdrawal, the Secretary-General indicated that the UNEF account would have to be kept open at least until the end of 1968 to meet any outstanding claims

against the Force and any other liquidation costs. The Committee adopted without debate a resolution which took note of the revised cost estimates of UNEF for 1967 and outlined the method by which any expenditures relating to UNEF after December 31, 1967, would be met. Approval was also given for additional appropriations both for 1967 and 1968 for the expansion of UNTSO operations, necessitated by the conflict in the Middle East in June 1967, and for the creation of the United Nations Middle East Mission (UNMEM).

### Resolutions Adopted Without Reference to a Main Committee

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
2271 (XXII)	Representation of China in the United Nations	93	28 November 1967
2283 (XXII)	Report of the Security Council	11	5 December 1967
2284 (XXII)	Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency	14	5 December 1967
2285 (XXII)	Report of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter	26	5 December 1967
2309 (XXII)	Question of holding a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy	27	13 December 1967
2310 (XXII)	Admission of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen to membership in the United Nations	99	14 December 1967
2322 (XXII)	Credentials of representatives to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly	3(b)	16 December 1967
2324 (XXII)	Question of South West Africa	64	16 December 1967
2325 (XXII)	Question of South West Africa	64	16 December 1967
2326 (XXII)	Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples	23	16 December 1967
2345 (XXII)	Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space	32	19 December 1967

## Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the First Committee -

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
2.60 (XXII)	Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space	32	3 November 1967
2.61 (XXII)	United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space .....	32	3 November 1967
2.69 (XXII)	The Korean question .....	33	16 November 1967
2.86 (XXII)	Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America	91	5 December 1967
2.89 (XXII)	Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons .....	92	8 December 1967
2.340 (XXII)	Examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean-floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind .....	96	18 December 1967
2.342 (XXII)	Question of general and complete disarmament		
	Resolution A .....	29	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	29	19 December 1967
2.343 (XXII)	Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests	30	19 December 1967
2.344 (XXII)	Elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America .....	31	19 December 1967
2.346 (XXII)	Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons		
	Resolution A .....	28	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	28	19 December 1967

## Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Special Political Committee

2.58 (XXII)	Effects of atomic radiation .....	36	25 October 1967
2.07 (XXII)	The policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of the Republic of South Africa .....	35	13 December 1967

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
2308 (XXII)	Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects	37	13 December 1967
2341 (XXII)	Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East		
	Resolution A .....	34	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	34	19 December 1967

### Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Second Committee

2259 (XXII)	The role of the United Nations in training national technical personnel for the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries .....	44	3 November 1967
2274 (XXII)	Flow of external resources to developing countries .....	42	4 December 1967
2275 (XXII)	Replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association .....	42	4 December 1967
2276 (XXII)	Outflow of capital from developing countries and measurement of the flow of resources to developing countries .....	42	4 December 1967
2277 (XXII)	Report of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research .....	45	4 December 1967
2278 (XXII)	Reports of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme .....	46	4 December 1967
2279 (XXII)	Programming procedures for the Technical Assistance component of the United Nations Development Programme .....	46	4 December 1967
2280 (XXII)	Operational activities for development .....	46	4 December 1967
2281 (XXII)	Report of the Enlarged Committee on Programme and Co-ordination .....	48	4 December 1967

<b>Resolution No.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Date of adoption</b>
2290 (XXII)	Review of the World Food Programme .....	47(b)	8 December 1967
2296 (XXII)	Second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development .....	38	12 December 1967
2297 (XXII)	International Trade Centre ...	38	12 December 1967
2298 (XXII)	Programme of technical assistance in industrial development	39	12 December 1967
2299 (XXII)	Report of the Industrial Development Board .....	39	12 December 1967
2300 (XXII)	Multilateral food aid .....	47(a)	12 December 1967
2301 (XXII)	Food production .....	47(a)	12 December 1967
2305 (XXII)	United Nations Development Decade .....	41	13 December 1967
2306 (XXII)	International Education Year	41	13 December 1967
2317 (XXII)	The role of the Economic Commission for Europe in the development of international economic co-operation .....	12	15 December 1967
2318 (XXII)	Science and technology .....	12	15 December 1967
2319 (XXII)	Increasing the production and use of edible protein .....	12	15 December 1967
2320 (XXII)	Outflow of trained personnel from developing countries .....	12	15 December 1967
2321 (XXII)	United Nations Capital Development Fund .....	40	15 December 1967

### **Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Third Committee**

2263 (XXII)	Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women .....	53	7 November 1967
2293 (XXII)	World social situation .....	49	11 December 1967
2294 (XXII)	Continuation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees .....	50	11 December 1967
2295 (XXII)	Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance .....	54	11 December 1967
2331 (XXII)	Measures to be taken against Nazism and racial intolerance	55 and 56	18 December 1967
2332 (XXII)	Measures for the speedy implementation of international		

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
	instruments against racial discrimination .....	55 and 56	18 December 1967
2333 (XXII)	Creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights .....	61	18 December 1967
2334 (XXII)	Capital punishment .....	62	18 December 1967
2335 (XXII)	United Nations Children's Fund	12	18 December 1967
2336 (XXII)	Freedom of information .....	59	18 December 1967
2337 (XXII)	Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights .....	57	18 December 1967
2338 (XXII)	Question of the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity .....	60	18 December 1967
2339 (XXII)	International Year for Human Rights .....	58	18 December 1967

#### Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Fourth Committee

2262 (XXII)	Question of Southern Rhodesia	23	3 November 1967
2270 (XXII)	Question of Territories under Portuguese administration .....	66	17 November 1967
2288 (XXII)	Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, <i>apartheid</i> and racial discrimination in southern Africa	24	7 December 1967

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
2302 (XXII)	Question of Oman .....	70	12 December 1967
2311 (XXII)	Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the Specialized Agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations .....	97	14 December 1967
2347 (XXII)	Question of the Trust Territory of Nauru .....	13	19 December 1967
2348 (XXII)	Question of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea .....	13	19 December 1967
2349 (XXII)	Question of the consolidation and integration of the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans .....	65, 67 and 68	19 December 1967
2350 (XXII)	Question of Fiji .....	69	19 December 1967
2351 (XXII)	Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73(e) of the Charter of the United Nations .....	63	19 December 1967
2352 (XXII)	Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories .....	71	19 December 1967
2353 (XXII)	Question of Gibraltar .....	23	19 December 1967
2354 (XXII)	Question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara .....	23	19 December 1967
2355 (XXII)	Question of Equatorial Guinea .....	23	19 December 1967
2356 (XXII)	Question of French Somaliland .....	23	19 December 1967
2357 (XXII)	Question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauri-		

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
	tius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Swaziland, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands .....	23	19 December 1967

### Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Fifth Committee

2264 (XXII)	Financial reports and accounts for the financial year ended 31 December 1966 and reports of the Board of Auditors		
	Resolution A .....	72	16 November 1967
	Resolution B .....	72	16 November 1967
	Resolution C .....	72	16 November 1967
	Resolution D .....	72	16 November 1967
	Resolution E .....	72	16 November 1967
2265 (XXII)	Appointments to fill vacancies in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions .....	76(a)	16 November 1967
2266 (XXII)	Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions		
	Resolution A .....	76(b)	16 November 1967
	Resolution B .....	76(b)	16 November 1967
2267 (XXII)	Appointment to fill a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Auditors .....	76(c)	16 November 1967
2268 (XXII)	Appointments to fill vacancies in the United Nations Administrative Tribunal .....	76(e)	16 November 1967
2282 (XXII)	Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board .....	83	5 December 1967
2291 (XXII)	Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations .....	77	8 December 1967

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2292 (XXII)	Publications and documentation of the United Nations .....	81	8 December 1967
2303 (XXII)	Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee		
	Resolution A .....	76(f)	13 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	76(f)	13 December 1967
2304 (XXII)	United Nations Emergency Force		
	Resolution A .....	21(b)	13 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	21(b)	13 December 1967
2314 (XXII)	Confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General to fill vacancies in the membership of the Investments Committee .....	76(d)	15 December 1967
2315 (XXII)	Audit reports relating to expenditure by Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency .....	78	15 December 1967
2316 (XXII)	Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency .....	79	15 December 1967
2358 (XXII)	United Nations International School .....	84	19 December 1967
2359 (XXII)	Composition of the Secretariat		
	Resolution A .....	82	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	82	19 December 1967
2360 (XXII)	Implementation of the recommendations of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies		
	Resolution A .....	80	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	80	19 December 1967
2361 (XXII)	Pattern of conferences .....	75	19 December 1967

Resolution No.	Title	Item	Date of adoption
2362 (XXII)	Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1967		
	Resolution A .....	73	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	73	19 December 1967
2363 (XXII)	Budget for the financial year 1968		
	Resolution A .....	74	19 December 1967
	Resolution B .....	74	19 December 1967
	Resolution C .....	74	19 December 1967
2364 (XXII)	Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1968 .....	74	19 December 1967
2365 (XXII)	Working Capital Fund for the financial year 1968 .....	74	19 December 1967
2366 (XXII)	Emoluments of the members of the International Court of Justice	74	19 December 1967
2367 (XXII)	Amendments to the Pension Scheme Regulations for members of the International Court of Justice .....	74	19 December 1967
2368 (XXII)	Payment of honoraria to members of the International Narcotics Control Board .....	74	19 December 1967
2369 (XXII)	Reorganization of the top echelon in the United Nations Secretariat: amendments to the Staff Regulations of the United Nations .....	74	19 December 1967
2370 (XXII)	United Nations regular budget	74	19 December 1967

#### Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Sixth Committee

2272 (XXII)	Report of the International Law Commission .....	85	1 December 1967
2273 (XXII)	Special Missions .....	85	1 December 1967
2287 (XXII)	United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties .....	86	6 December 1967
2312 (XXII)	Declaration on Territorial Asylum .....	89	14 December 1967

<b>Resolution No.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Date of adoption</b>
2313 (XXII)	United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law .....	90	14 December 1967
2323 (XXII)	Installation of mechanical means of voting: amendments to rules 89 and 128 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly .....	25	16 December 1967
2327 (XXII)	Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations .....	87	18 December 1967
2328 (XXII)	Question of diplomatic privileges and immunities .....	98	18 December 1967
2329 (XXII)	Question of methods of fact-finding .....	88	18 December 1967
2330 (XXII)	Need to expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation .....	95	18 December 1967

## Cyprus — Challenge for Diplomacy

FOR three anxious weeks during November and December 1967, the island of Cyprus was the focus of an international crisis which it was feared might lead to an outbreak of widespread hostilities in the Eastern Mediterranean. Canada, linked to Cyprus through common membership in the Commonwealth, associated with Greece and Turkey through common participation in NATO, and conscious of its current responsibilities as a member of the Security Council, played a prominent role, with other countries, in diplomatic activity designed to bring the immediate crisis under control; and Canadian efforts also helped to facilitate agreement on a Security Council resolution of a kind which could help the parties move towards a settlement of the more basic issues in dispute.

The Cyprus problem has been to fore as a matter of international concern since early 1964, when a breakdown in relations between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, followed by extensive armed clashes on the island and a threat of intervention by mainland Turkish forces, led to a Security Council decision to establish a UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Its function, in the words of the Council resolution of March 4, 1964, was to be "to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions". Canada was among the nations asked to contribute troops to UNFICYP, which now numbers approximately 4,730 men, including 830 Canadians. The Canadian contingent is the second largest in the Force, after that of Britain. <sup>(1)</sup>

In the period following 1964, repeated efforts to achieve a political solution in Cyprus through the United Nations and other channels yielded few results, but UNFICYP was able, in most cases, to effect a separation of the potential combatants and prevent a deterioration of the situation; and gradually it proved possible to achieve distinct progress towards a return to normalcy in various parts of the island. However, despite the apparent improvement in the situation, serious underlying tensions remained between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In the light of this fact, Canada and a number of other countries embarked last autumn on a series of consultations in order that the Security Council, which would have to meet to discuss UNFICYP before the Force's six-month mandate expired on December 26, 1967, could encourage steps toward a political settlement.

These developments were interrupted when, on November 15, efforts by Greek Cypriots to remove an unmanned roadblock placed by Turkish Cypriots

(1) Further information on the early stages of the Cyprus problem at the United Nations and on UNFICYP is to be found in *Canada and the United Nations 1964*, Pp. 28-31, and *External Affairs*, May 1965, Pp. 164-6, and June 1965, Pp. 215-9.

across a highway in southeastern Cyprus developed into a major clash, despite efforts by UNFICYP to avert the incident. During the ensuing engagement, forces of the Greek-Cypriot "National Guard" (an organization which also included certain mainland Greek military personnel) occupied positions in the nearby villages of Ayios Theodoros and Kophinou, and some 27 Turkish Cypriots and two Greek Cypriots were killed. As soon as word of the fighting reached Ottawa, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, called in the Greek and Turkish Ambassadors to urge restraint on their respective governments. UNFICYP was able to arrange a cease-fire the same evening, and next day the Greek-Cypriot forces withdrew from the positions they had occupied in the two villages.

There was widespread concern about the incident in Turkey, however, and events moved quickly. On November 17, the Turkish Government sent a protest note to the Greek Government indicating certain measures it thought should be taken in Cyprus on behalf of the Turkish-Cypriot community, and the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed a resolution authorizing the use of Turkish forces outside the territory of Turkey. At about the same time, there began to be indications of Turkish military preparations on the coast adjacent to Cyprus. On November 20, the Turkish Foreign Minister told the press that there was "no solution but to immediately, absolutely and completely create conditions under which Turkish Cypriots can live in security, and to lift the atmosphere of continuous threat directed at the Turkish community". The Greek Foreign Minister replied publicly that Turkish statements on the situation did not reflect reality, that Turkish aircraft had violated Cyprus air-space, and that, to contribute to the relaxation of tension and restoration of calm, Greece was showing all possible self-restraint.

#### **Canadian-U.S.-British Talks**

As the crisis deepened and warlike preparations continued in the area, Canadian diplomatic representatives in Ankara, Athens and Nicosia, together with their United States and British colleagues, embarked on a series of very urgent and high-level talks with the governments involved. The purpose of these talks, as explained to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on November 23, was "to assist in clarifying the positions and proposals of the two main parties to one another so there is no misunderstanding of a kind which could produce a catastrophe, and so that each may consider the ideas of the other with a view to evolving a compromise". As the talks proceeded, the Secretary of State for External Affairs was in personal contact with leading figures in the crisis. The points at issue between the parties included the question of securing the withdrawal of Greek and Turkish mainland forces from Cyprus, the relaxation of military preparations, and the kind of role UNFICYP might be asked to play in Cyprus with respect to internal security and the disarmament of unauthorized local forces.

During the course of this diplomatic activity, close contact was maintained with the UN Secretary-General, who on November 22 issued a public appeal to the parties to exercise the utmost restraint in the explosive circumstances, and announced that he was sending a personal representative, Mr. Rolz-Bennet, to the area. On November 24, U Thant issued a further appeal urging the parties "to arrange for a substantial reduction of non-Cypriot armed forces now in hostile confrontation on the troubled island of Cyprus", and added that the ultimate withdrawal of all non-Cypriot armed forces other than those of the UN should be envisaged. Late that night, the Security Council, meeting in emergency session at the request of Cyprus, agreed on a consensus calling on the parties to show moderation and restraint and to refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation, and requesting them "to assist and co-operate in keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement".

### **NATO Concern**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was also deeply concerned by the crisis, in which two of its members, Greece and Turkey, were involved. The Secretary-General of NATO, Mr. Manlio Brosio, announced on November 24 that the two countries in question had accepted his good offices, and left for the area early the next day. Mr. Brosio's subsequent talks in Athens and Ankara, with the efforts made by member governments of NATO and also by the UN Secretary-General, helped significantly to bridge the critical gap which had developed between Greece and Turkey.

Pre-eminent among the individual diplomatic representatives active during the crisis was Mr. Cyrus Vance, a former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, who had been despatched to the Eastern Mediterranean by President Johnson as a special envoy. Working closely with the representatives of other countries, including Canada, Mr. Vance played an indispensable role during the tense period of bargaining and negotiations which led finally to a provisional Greek-Turkish agreement. This was followed on December 3 by the issuance of a further appeal by U Thant, which provided the framework for the solution of the immediate crisis.

In his appeal of December 3, the UN Secretary-General asked Greece and Turkey "to end any threat to the security of either one by the other as well as of Cyprus and, as a first step in response to my second appeal, dated November 24, to carry out an expeditious withdrawal of those of their forces in excess of their respective contingents in Cyprus" (the Secretary-General was referring to the contingents of 950 Greeks and 650 Turks authorized by the 1960 Treaty of Alliance with respect to Cyprus). The Secretary-General continued :

With regard to any further role that it might be considered desirable for UNFICYP to undertake, I gather that this could involve, subject to necessary action by the Security Council, enlarging the mandate of the Force so as to give it broader functions in regard to the realization of quiet and peace in Cyprus, including the supervision of disarmament and the devising of practical arrangements to safeguard internal security embracing the

safety of all of the people of Cyprus. My good offices in connection with such matters would, of course, be available to the parties on request.

The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs promptly issued a statement in support of the Secretary-General's efforts, and expressed the Canadian Government's hope "that the governments concerned will be able to remove the causes of the present tension and thus pave the way to a permanent settlement".

### Replies from Greece and Turkey

Replies were received by the Secretary-General from Greece and Turkey indicating that they accepted the appeal and were ready to carry it out expeditiously; the Turkish reply, in a reference to the penultimate paragraph of the appeal (*see above*), fully supported "an enlarged mandate and a broader function of UNFICYP, including supervision of disarmament, which should extend to all forces constituted after 1963 . . . as an indispensable guarantee to ensure the security of the Turkish community . . .". The reply of the Government of Cyprus "fully welcomed" the appeal, indicated that Greek and Turkish withdrawal of forces in excess of their national contingents should be a first step towards total withdrawal, said that effective guarantees against military intervention in the affairs of Cyprus were a "demanding necessity" and stated that Cyprus "gladly accepted" U Thant's good offices in relation to the matters mentioned in the penultimate paragraph of his appeal.

Speaking to the House of Commons on December 4, Mr. Martin pointed out that the response of the three governments involved had been positive, and expressed the hope that "it will be possible to begin very soon the withdrawal of national forces from Cyprus and the de-escalation of some of the military measures that have been taken recently in the area". He warned, however, that agreement between the parties was not complete on all points and that, to his regret, relations had not improved between the two communities in Cyprus. His comment on the incompleteness of the agreement between the parties reflected the fact that, as indicated in public statements by the governments concerned, a full accord was still lacking on the extent to which foreign forces should be withdrawn from Cyprus and also on the question of guarantees for Cyprus, as well as functions which UNFICYP might be asked to carry out in Cyprus in the fields of internal security and disarmament. The task of securing agreement on the text of a Security Council resolution to renew UNFICYP's mandate was thus exceedingly arduous and complicated. Finally, after protracted informal consultations in which the Canadian delegation in New York was actively involved, the Council adopted unanimously on December 22 a resolution reading as follows:

#### *The Security Council,*

*Noting* the appeals addressed by the Secretary-General to the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus on 22 November, 24 November and 3 December and the report of the Secretary-General of 8 December, 1967 (S/8286);

*Noting* the replies of the three Governments concerned to the appeal of the Secretary-General of 3 December in which the Secretary-General proffered his good offices, and

their replies to his previous appeals;

*Noting* from the said report of the Secretary-General that circumstances continue to require the presence of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period;

*Noting* that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 December 1967;

1. *Reaffirms* its Resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and its subsequent resolutions as well as its expressions of consensus on this question;

2. *Extends* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under the Council's Resolution 186 for a period of three months ending on 26 March 1968;

3. *Invites* the parties promptly to avail themselves of the good offices proffered by the Secretary-General and requests the Secretary-General to report on the results to the Council as appropriate;

4. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to show the utmost moderation and restraint and refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation;

5. *Urges* the parties concerned to undertake a new determined effort to achieve the objectives of the Security Council with a view, as requested in the Council's consensus of 24/25 November 1967, to keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council of 4 March 1964;

6. *Decides* to remain seized of this question and to reconvene for its further consideration as soon as circumstances and developments so require.

The Canadian representative on the Council, in a statement after the vote, pointed out that the resolution placed the three-month extension of UNFICYP in the proper context by emphasizing the need for renewed efforts towards a permanent settlement. The resolution offered hope that the coming weeks would be used to good advantage for the purpose of clarifying various issues which had been raised by the parties. In this connection, it was for the parties themselves to decide whether they chose to rely mainly or solely on the good offices proffered by the Secretary-General; but Canada hoped that the parties would avail themselves of every opportunity to compose their differences, for it was essential that they should do all in their power to press on towards a solution of the underlying problems. The Canadian representative also urged improved co-operation by the parties with UNFICYP and paid tribute to the Secretary-General for his extremely valuable initiatives during the recent crisis.

On December 26, it was announced that the Canadian Government had agreed to maintain its contingent in UNFICYP for a further three months from December 26, in response to a request from the Secretary-General.

Although the Security Council resolution of December 22 opened the way to progress on various aspects of the Cyprus question, political difficulties on the island remained serious, and it was clear that the task of securing agreement on a permanent settlement would require a spirit of compromise, tolerance and patience on the part of all concerned.

# *Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee*

1967 SESSION

THE 1967 session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) lasted from February 21 through December 14, 1967, with a two-month recess from March 23 to May 18. A most noteworthy step was the tabling on August 24 of parallel draft texts of a Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by the United States and the U.S.S.R. Co-chairmen. As had been the case since the U.S. and the Soviet Union presented their respective proposed texts in 1965, non-proliferation in general, and the draft treaty in particular, were the main topics of discussion in the Committee. During the course of the session, an interesting debate also took place on the technical aspects of a comprehensive nuclear test ban. This was initiated by the Swedish delegation, and the other participants were the U.S., British and Canadian delegations. The exchange was not conclusive but served, nevertheless, to clarify a few notions and to identify political and scientific problems related to a comprehensive test ban.

After the tabling of the draft NPT, all Committee members expressed their views on it and several of them proposed amendments to the draft text. The Co-chairmen did not go beyond very general comments on the proposed amendments before the December recess, but they made it clear that they had been engaged in revising their text to take the amendments into account. The session ended on a note of uncertainty as to the Co-chairmen's intentions, owing to their lack of specific responses to the various suggestions made by other members.

## **Non-Proliferation**

At the beginning of the 1967 session, there was a feeling in the ENDC that at last the time was ripe for the conclusion of a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, a project first proposed in 1961 by the Irish Foreign Minister. The United States and Soviet Co-chairmen had both consulted their allies extensively on it during the previous year and they were known to be near agreement on most points to be covered by the Treaty. The non-aligned delegations had expressed their views concerning the Treaty provisions, notably in a joint memorandum in August 1966, which set out basic principles for the Treaty subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly. However, a month after the beginning of the session, the U.S. Co-chairman proposed that the Committee recess for two months in order to give his Government time to consult its allies on the drafting of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. This was agreed to very reluctantly by the non-aligned members, led by Sweden and

India, who were concerned at the loss of time for discussion that this recess represented. The Committee recessed on March 23.

During the recess, intensive discussions of the NPT took place among NATO members. When the session resumed on May 9, it was generally understood that the gap between the positions of the Co-chairmen had been reduced to the point where it was not unduly optimistic to expect the early tabling of at least a partial draft treaty. However, this optimism was unwarranted; the period of expectation for the Committee was to last until nearly the end of August. In the three-month period between May 18 and August 24, the Co-chairmen met regularly to try to bridge the gap between them. Even in May there had been a very small area of disagreement (if one excepts the question of international control), but it took three more months for them to table an agreed text. The separate but identical Russian- and English-language texts of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons were tabled on August 24. The drafts were incomplete, however, for Article III (on International Control), on which the Co-chairmen had not reached agreement, was left blank.

The draft Non-Proliferation Treaty as introduced by the Co-chairmen aims at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons by prohibiting transfers of nuclear weapons or explosive devices, or control over them, or the technology to make such weapons or devices. The first two articles of the Treaty deal respectively with the obligations of the nuclear and of the non-nuclear weapon states party to the Treaty. Article IV deals with the right of all nations to the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Article V concerns itself with amendment and review procedures. Article VI deals with the ratification procedure and Article VII with the duration of and withdrawal from the Treaty. Finally, Article VIII establishes as equally authentic the texts in the five official United Nations languages.

### **Reception of Draft Treaty**

The tabling of the Draft Treaty on Non-Proliferation was warmly welcomed in the ENDC, and not least by Canada. While regretting that Article III had been left blank, the Canadian delegation expressed strong support for the draft Treaty. The Canadian representative, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, stated that the Canadian Government found this text "satisfactory for the accomplishment of the main purposes of the Treaty — that is to say, the prevention of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by other states than the existing five nuclear powers".

A week after the tabling of the draft Treaty by the Co-chairmen, the Swedish delegation tabled a draft text for Article III. This draft article on international control proposed that International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards apply to all nuclear energy activities of the non-nuclear-weapon signatories and to the peaceful nuclear energy activities of nuclear-weapon

signatories. This proposal received some support from non-aligned members of the ENDC but was not discussed at length. Its non-discriminatory approach to the application of IAEA safeguards attracted support from non-nuclear members but was certainly unpalatable to the Soviet Co-chairman and to the Euratom countries.

In the weeks following the tabling of the Draft NPT, all Committee members commented on it. Many proposed amendments or additions to the Draft Treaty. The Mexican delegation, after extensive consultation with the other non-aligned delegations, submitted four amendments. They were: an amendment to Article IV according to which technologically-advanced states would have the duty to contribute to the further development of applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon states; an additional article to ensure that non-nuclear-weapon states would receive any potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions; an additional article concerning nuclear-free zones; and an additional article obliging the nuclear-weapon states to pursue negotiations on further measures of disarmament.

#### **Other Amendment Proposals**

The delegate of the United Arab Republic proposed some changes to Articles I and II to block what he considered to be loopholes and a new article on security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon states party to the Treaty. The Italian representative proposed that the Treaty have a fixed duration rather than an unlimited one. The Nigerian delegation proposed a number of amendments and additions, notably provisions to secure full dissemination to non-nuclear-weapon states of information accruing from research on explosive devices; for the transmission, by the advanced states to the others, of scientific and technological information on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and on the peaceful applications of nuclear explosive devices; and for the training in nuclear-weapon states of nuclear scientists from non-nuclear-weapon states.

Brazil and Romania also tabled amendments and additions to the Draft Treaty. Beside a long series of amendments to the preamble, the Romanians proposed new articles on security guarantees and on the creation of a link between the NPT and the cessation of the nuclear arms race by the two super-powers, as well as an amendment to Article V which would make amendments to the Treaty applicable only to the states ratifying these amendments. For its part, Brazil introduced amendments to Articles I and II designed to allow transfer and acquisition of nuclear explosive devices to be used solely for peaceful purposes and an amendment to Article IV designed to state clearly the right of Treaty signatories to develop peaceful nuclear explosive devices and consequential amendments affecting a number of other articles. Among the other Brazilian proposals was a new article on further disarmament measures.

In addition to these suggestions, the British representative proposed that

the realization of the purposes set out in the preamble, as well as of the provisions of the Treaty, be considered by the review conference to be called five years after the entry into force of the Treaty. Moreover, various delegations expressed strong wishes to see provisions now contained in the preamble brought into the body of the Treaty. This applied particularly to the question of further measures of disarmament to be undertaken by the nuclear-weapon powers.

### **Canadian Views**

In successive interventions, the Canadian representative expressed the views of the Canadian authorities on the various amendments and additions proposed by members of the Committee. The Canadian reaction was generally critical of the Nigerian, U.A.R., Romanian and Brazilian proposals, on the grounds that they were unnecessary or would weaken the Treaty or were concerned with matters which were inappropriate for inclusion in it. On the other hand, we saw much merit in the Mexican addenda, particularly in the proposed new article on further measures of disarmament. Commenting on the Brazilian suggestion that nuclear explosive devices for peaceful uses not be excluded by the NPT, General Burns voiced strong opposition to what he considered a path for nuclear proliferation. Indeed, the Canadian view is that there is no technological difference between nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices and that the latter could eventually be used as weapons. Therefore, acquisition or development of such devices should be prohibited by the Treaty. However, in order that non-nuclear-weapon states participate in the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear explosions, the Canadian representative proposed that such explosions be the subject of a separate agreement parallel to the NPT and outlined the essential elements of such an agreement. The Canadian stand on peaceful nuclear explosions came under strong criticism from the Brazilian delegate, who maintained his Government's position.

The various amendments mentioned above and Article III on International Control were the subject of numerous and long negotiating sessions between the Co-chairmen. Although substantial progress is understood to have been achieved, negotiations were still going on at the time of the December recess, and the Co-chairmen had not yet made known to the other members of the Committee the extent to which they could agree to revise their text in order to take into account the comments and proposed amendments.

### **Comprehensive Test Ban**

An interesting exchange of thoughts took place during the summer on the subject of a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests. "Comprehensive" means that underground nuclear tests, not covered by the Moscow Treaty of 1963, would also be banned. Beginning the debate on this question, the Swedish delegate, Mrs. Myrdal, expressed her conviction that the control issue was no longer a valid reason to hold up agreement on this subject and that meaningful

discussions could now take place on the basis of an adequate verification system not requiring on-site inspections for the detection of underground tests. She based her assertion on the following developments: (a) improvement in tele-seismic instruments and increase in the number of array stations; (b) increase in world interest in exchanging seismic data; (c) recent improvements obtained in the methods of interpreting the data collected; and (d) the possibility of surveillance from satellites. By an "adequate verification system" the Swedes understood a system which could differentiate between nuclear explosions and natural occurrences like earthquakes and which would deter violations by a high probability of discovery. However, if agreement could not be reached for political rather than technical reasons, the nuclear powers should make a frank declaration to this effect, indicating whether national security considerations were a factor in their positions.

To substantiate its position, the Swedish delegation subsequently circulated a technical paper outlining the basis for the claim that there were no longer technical and scientific reasons preventing the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban.

The U.S. delegate did not accept the scientific basis of the Swedish argument. Mr. Foster stressed the fact that, despite the efforts of U.S. scientists, there were still serious detection and identification problems. Events below a certain critical level could not easily be detected, whereas events occurring in some regions of the earth, particularly in certain parts of the Soviet Union, could not be identified with certainty. There was still danger that some earthquakes might be identified as explosions, and that some explosions might be mistaken for earthquakes. The former possibility, perhaps leading to unwarranted accusations of agreement violation, had been mentioned by the Swedish representative. The U.S. delegate dealt mainly with the latter possibility, which he considered more dangerous from the point of view of national security.

Subsequently, the British and Canadian delegations in turn informed the ENDC of the results of independent research carried out by scientists in each country. Both groups had come to conclusions quite similar to those reached by their U.S. counterparts — namely, that the Swedish research paper was valuable but not conclusive. Both reports considered that this study led to an interesting avenue of research, but they expressed the opinion that the state of knowledge in this field was not advanced enough to justify the conclusions reached by the Swedish scientists concerning a comprehensive test ban.

### **Conclusion**

The 1967 session of the ENDC was fruitful in that finally a mutually-agreed draft text of a non-proliferation treaty, even though an incomplete one, was tabled by the U.S. and Soviet Co-chairmen. But it was also disappointing to Committee members not only because complete final agreement was not reached by the Co-chairmen on the Draft Treaty but also because the latter had not yet

revealed the extent to which they could agree to accept the comments and amendments proposed by the other Committee members.

The ENDC is resuming its 1968 session on January 18. The members will be hopeful of receiving a revised document from the Co-chairmen which would enable fruitful discussions to take place in the Committee. Since the General Assembly has asked for a report on the NPT discussions in the ENDC by March 15, the Committee cannot afford to lose any time. <sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) A complete revised draft NPT tabled in the ENDC on January 18, 1968, will be dealt with in a subsequent edition of *External Affairs*.

## *Legal Work of the UN General Assembly*

IN the past few years, the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly has had an increasingly important role in United Nations matters. This reflects in part a growing general awareness of the need to develop and strengthen the principles of international law, and in part the normal process of referring to the Sixth Committee legal questions or legal aspects of other matters not wholly legal in nature. An example of the first factor is provided by the studies in which the Sixth Committee is engaged to codify and progressively develop seven important Charter principles of "friendly relations" (discussed below). An example of the second is the reference to the Sixth Committee of the question of defining aggression after it had previously been discussed in ordinary session of the General Assembly.

During the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly, six items were inscribed on the provisional agenda of the Sixth Committee and two more were added in the course of the session. The first six items were: the Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its nineteenth session (devoted mainly to the subject of "special missions"); the forthcoming Conference on the Law of Treaties; the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states; fact-finding; a draft declaration on the right of asylum; and the United Nations programme of assistance in the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law. To these items were added the drafting of a definition of aggression and the question of diplomatic privileges and immunities.

### **Report of the International Law Commission**

General debate on the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its nineteenth session began September 26 with the presentation of the Commission's report by Sir Humphrey Waldock, its chairman. The major subject of importance discussed in the report was the series of draft articles on "special missions", on which the Commission has been working for six years, which the Commission has recommended as the basis of a draft convention on the subject. At the conclusion of general debate, a revised draft resolution (A/C. 6/C.617 Rev.2) on the general report of the International Law Commission was unanimously adopted. A separate draft resolution (A/C. 6/L.618), co-sponsored by Canada, invited member states to submit comments and observations on the final draft articles on special missions and decided to include the item "Special Missions" in the provisional agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. This draft resolution represented a compromise between two opposing views on how to deal further with the subject of special missions, some delegations having argued that a convention should

be drawn by the General Assembly, others preferring a conference convened especially for that purpose. This attempt at compromise proved unsuccessful and the draft articles were referred to the General Assembly for consideration at the twenty-third session for the purpose of their adoption in a convention.

### **Law of Treaties**

On the basis of draft articles prepared by the International Law Commission, the Sixth Committee devoted 14 meetings to the consideration of the Law of Treaties and 41 representatives spoke in the general debate on this item. A resolution sponsored by Dahomey and 20 other states decided that the first session of the international conference of plenipotentiaries on the Law of Treaties, which the General Assembly had stated in Resolution 2166 (XX) of December 5, 1966, was to be held in 1968, should be convened at Vienna in March 1968. States were invited also to submit to the Secretary-General, not later than February 15, 1968, for circulation to governments, any additional comments and draft amendments which they might wish to propose, in advance of the conference, to the draft articles prepared by the International Law Commission. The final vote on the resolution was 92 (Canada) in favour to none against, with one abstention (France). This resolution was adopted by plenary on December 6, 1967, as A/Res./2287(XXII) by a vote of 89 (Canada) in favour to none against, with one abstention.

### **Friendly Relations**

The debate on the seven Charter principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states, in accordance with the Charter, which originated in the Sixth Committee at the sixteenth session, again consisted of a series of general observations on the progress of the Special Committee (established in 1963) pointing out the difference of opinion on the approach to be taken to the principles on which no consensus had as yet been achieved: use of force, self-determination and non-intervention. Early in the debate, differences of view on the desirability of proceeding further with the non-intervention principle became apparent. The United States introduced a draft resolution requesting the Special Committee to complete formulation of the principles of use of force and self-determination and, further, "if time permits", to complete a formulation of the principle of non-intervention. This draft also requested the Special Committee to examine additional proposals with a view to widening the areas of agreement on the four principles already formulated and then to review and edit the seven principles to make them consistent with one another. Subsequently a resolution was introduced by India on behalf of 66 co-sponsoring states. Operative Paragraph 5 of this draft resolution requested the Special Committee to consider proposals compatible with General Assembly Resolution 2131(XX) on the principle concerning the duty of states not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in

accordance with the Charter, with the aim of widening the area of agreement expressed in that resolution. A separate vote on this paragraph was taken and the Sixth Committee voted 72 in favour to 13 against, with seven abstentions (Canada) to adopt it. The rest of the paragraphs were adopted 88 in favour (Canada) to none against, with three abstentions, and the resolution as a whole was adopted 78 (Canada) to none, with 15 abstentions. In plenary, Paragraph 5 was adopted by a vote of 77 (Canada) in favour to 14 against, with eight abstentions, and the draft as a whole was adopted 84 (Canada) in favour to none against, with 17 abstentions (as A/Res.2327 [XXII]).

### **Fact-Finding**

General debate in the Sixth Committee on the question of methods of fact-finding started with a proposal by the Netherlands to set up a working group. The resolution, proposing the establishment of a 15-man working group, the size of which was later increased by the Committee to 16, was adopted by a vote of 72 in favour (Canada) to none against, with 12 abstentions. The working group produced three working papers and, after considerable consultation, unanimously adopted a draft resolution which was presented to the Sixth Committee. The resolution had the General Assembly, *inter alia*, recognize the settlement of disputes while affirming that the possibility of recourse to impartial methods of fact-finding "is without prejudice to the right of states to seek other peaceful means of settlement of their own choice". It also requested the Secretary-General to prepare a register of experts whose services might be used by states for fact-finding in relation to disputes. The General Assembly subsequently adopted the resolution unanimously.

### **Territorial Asylum**

The Sixth Committee allowed seven meetings to the question of territorial asylum. In the course of the general debate, it soon became evident that, while a number of reservations were expressed about the text of the draft declaration on the right of asylum prepared in 1966 by a working group of the Committee, no amendments were proposed, largely because the draft was a compromise resulting from lengthy negotiations. A resolution introduced by Venezuela on behalf of 24 co-sponsors, including all the Latin American members, Norway, Nigeria and Somalia, was adopted unanimously (A/Res./2312[XXII]).

### **Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider**

#### **Appreciation of International Law**

The Sixth Committee devoted three meetings to the programme of assistance in the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law. The Committee had before it the report of the Secretary-General (A/6816) of October 28, 1967, containing an account of the implementation of the programme in 1967 with the following items of direct assistance:

- (a) The holding in Tanzania in 1967 of regional training and refresher courses, together with the United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization;
- (b) the award of ten fellowships at the request of governments of developing countries;
- (c) the provision of a set of United Nations legal publications to up to 15 institutions in developing countries;
- (d) the provision of advisory services of experts if requested by developing countries within the framework of existing technical assistance programmes. (The Committee had also before it the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the execution of the programme after 1968, together with a draft resolution, A/C.6/L.631/Add.2.)

The draft resolution, which the Sixth Committee adopted unanimously, authorized, *inter alia*, the Secretary-General to carry out in 1968 the activities specified in his report; invited member states, interested bodies and individuals to make voluntary contributions; requested the Secretary-General to further report and make recommendations; authorized the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. This item was adopted unanimously in plenary as A/Res./2312 (XXII).

#### **Definition of Aggression**

The question of a definition of aggression was not included among the provisional agenda of the work of the Sixth Committee; in fact, the 15-member Committee created in December 1952 to determine when to attempt such a definition, which had met early in 1967, had been adjourned *sine die*. At the request of the U.S.S.R., which considered this an important and urgent matter, the General Assembly recommended that the item be placed on the agenda and that it be referred to the Sixth Committee for discussion. However, the General Assembly decided that the item should be allocated to plenary and, in the light of the debate and the results achieved, that it should then be examined by the Sixth Committee.

A draft resolution (A/C.6/L.636) proposing the establishment of a Special Committee that would be instructed to draw up a draft definition and submit it to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session was tabled at the beginning of debate. After lengthy consultations, draft Resolution A/C.6/L.644 emerged on behalf of 26 powers. This draft, which was approved by the Sixth Committee, instructed the Special Committee to consider all aspects of the question in order that an adequate definition of aggression might be prepared, and to submit a report reflecting all views expressed or proposals made. A separate vote was taken on the different paragraphs and, as a whole, the resolution was adopted by 68 in favour to none against, with 19 abstentions (Canada). Paragraph 2 was amended in plenary, changing the composition of the proposed Special Committee from 30 to 35 members. This was adopted

by a vote of 108 (Canada) in favour to none against, with one abstention, and the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 90 (Canada) in favour to one against, with 18 abstentions (A/Res./2330 (XXII)).

### **Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities**

The last item considered by the Sixth Committee was the question of diplomatic privileges and immunities. The inclusion of this item on the agenda was requested by the Secretary-General in relation to the situation which had arisen between Guinea and the Ivory Coast involving the detention (and eventual release) of the Foreign Minister of Guinea and the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations by the Ivory Coast authorities at Abidjan. It was the consensus of speakers that an appeal should be made to all states to take the proper measures to secure the implementation of the rules concerned. The hope was expressed also that those states that had not yet become parties to the 1946 United Nations Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 would do so. A draft resolution to this effect (A/C. 6/L.635/Rev.1 and Add. 1) was put to vote. Separate votes were taken on Paragraphs 2 and 3, and the resolution as a whole was adopted 88 (Canada) in favour to none against, with four abstentions. In plenary, the resolution as a whole was adopted by a recorded vote of 101 (Canada) in favour to none against, with one abstention (A/Res./2328 (XXII)).

## *Disarmament at the UN General Assembly*

SIX arms-control and disarmament topics were discussed by the First (Political) Committee at the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Of these, four originated in reports of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC)—namely, the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Item 28), General and Complete Disarmament (Item 29), the Urgent Need for the Suspension of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests (Item 30), and the Elimination of Foreign Military Bases in the Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Item 31). Under Non-Proliferation, there were discussions of the report of the ENDC on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. Discussion of General and Complete Disarmament, in addition to the report of the ENDC on this subject, also covered the Report of the Secretary-General on the Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and on the Economic and Security Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of These Weapons. The Committee also debated at somewhat greater length the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Item 91) and a draft Convention for the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons (Item 96).

On September 27, Canadian arms-control and disarmament policy was outlined in a statement in the general debate by the Honourable Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Mr. Martin began by noting three recent accomplishments in the field of arms control: the approval of the Treaty on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the conclusion of the Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the tabling in the ENDC on August 24 of identical draft treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. After noting the beneficial effects of the two earlier agreements, Mr. Martin stressed the urgency of concluding a treaty to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons, which would help to prevent a new nuclear arms race, greatly reduce the danger of nuclear war and contribute to conditions in which the nuclear powers could address themselves to reducing their nuclear arsenals. With regard to the proposed treaty, Mr. Martin reiterated Canada's view that it would inhibit neither the collective defence arrangements nor the civil nuclear programmes of non-nuclear signatories. He noted that since civil and military nuclear-explosive technologies were indistinguishable, the treaty should prohibit non-nuclear signatories from developing so-called peaceful nuclear explosive devices provided suitable arrangements could be worked to make nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes available to non-nuclear states. He made the point that non-nuclear signatories of the non-proliferation treaty should, at the same time, have some assurances

from the nuclear powers against nuclear blackmail. Finally, he expressed the hope that an equitable safeguards formula, acceptable to all interested parties, could soon be agreed upon.

Mr. Martin also called the attention of the General Assembly to the Secretary-General's Report on Nuclear Weapons and issued an appeal to the suppliers and recipients of conventional arms to exercise restraint, lest serious arms imbalances in areas of tension lead to hostilities. In closing, he noted with regret that the Soviet Union had already begun to deploy an anti-ballistic-missile system, while the United States had announced its intention to do likewise. Representing a country with a history of interest and participation in efforts toward nuclear-arms control and disarmament, Mr. Martin appealed to both the nuclear super-powers to pursue their efforts to reach agreement on limiting offensive and defensive strategic nuclear-weapons systems, in particular anti-ballistic missile systems.

#### **Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America**

Of the disarmament items, the Political Committee turned its attention first to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. A number of Latin American and Caribbean states introduced a draft resolution setting out the aims and objectives of the Treaty, calling on member states to respect the non-nuclear status of the area and requesting those states that were or might become signatories of the Treaty and its two protocols to take all measures to ensure that the Treaty speedily obtained the widest application among them. However, Guyana complained that, under Article 25 and an associated resolution relating to territorial disputes, it was barred from acceding to the Treaty. A compromise was finally worked out with the insertion of a preambular paragraph noting the intent of signatories that all existing states within the zone should be able to accede to the Treaty without restrictions. With this amendment, Resolution 2286 was passed in plenary by a vote of 82 (Canada) in favour, none against, with 28 abstentions (most European Communist states, Cuba, France, Guyana and a number of African states).

#### **Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons**

The next disarmament item to be considered was the question of a convention for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, inscribed at the request of the U.S.S.R. No change in traditional positions was indicated during the debate on this subject. The U.S.S.R. and its allies promoted the idea of a convention as a measure designed to contribute towards the outlawing of nuclear war. Western states were sceptical about this idea, and argued that an unverified convention was an ineffective and misleading approach to the problem of preventing nuclear war. Canada and others maintained that measures leading to actual reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear armaments were the only real way of achieving the desired security. A number of non-

aligned states, however, favoured the idea of a convention on the grounds that it might reduce international tension and provide a better climate for more substantial disarmament measures. With most of the East European states, therefore, they co-sponsored a draft resolution urging states to examine the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and other proposals on the use of nuclear weapons and to undertake negotiations through an international conference convened by the ENDC or directly between states. With the support of the European Communist states, India, and most Arab and Latin American states, Resolution 2299 was adopted by a vote of 77 in favour to none against, with 29 abstentions. While sympathetic to the motives of the non-aligned co-sponsors, Canada abstained with other Western states and some non-aligned nations. Of special note was the abstention of Cuba, which reserved the right to defend itself with all necessary weapons.

### **Interim Report of the ENDC**

During the first week of December, the ENDC submitted an interim report to the General Assembly stating that the Geneva Committee had given intensive consideration to a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons between February and December 1967. While noting that a final draft had not yet been agreed upon, the report stressed that substantial progress had nevertheless been made. It went on to point out that it had, as a result, been unable to devote sufficient time to general and complete disarmament and the elimination of foreign military bases, although worthwhile discussions had been held on the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. Since the remaining disarmament items had been placed at the bottom of the First Committee's agenda in the unfulfilled hope that a complete accepted text of a non-proliferation treaty would be available for discussion and since time was running short, these items were considered simultaneously in the closing days of the session.

### **Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

A U.S.-U.S.S.R. draft procedural resolution was introduced during the Committee's consideration of the ENDC report on the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Co-sponsored by Canada, with several other states — Western, Communist and non-aligned —, it set March 15 as a deadline for the ENDC to submit a full report on the non-proliferation negotiations, following which a resumed session of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly would consider the report. This draft initially conflicted with another, submitted for the debate on the conference to take place in Geneva between March 11 and April 10, 1968, as recommended by a preparatory committee. Intensive informal consultations eventually resulted in amendments to both resolutions, which eliminated the conflicting provisions and re-scheduled the conference for the period from August 29 to September 28, 1968. Thus Resolution 2346A on the report of

the ENDC on the Non-Proliferation Treaty was passed in plenary by a vote of 112 (Canada) in favour to one opposed (Albania), with four abstentions (Cuba, France, Gabon and Guinea), while Resolution 2346B on the Conference of Non-Nuclear States passed by a vote of 110 (Canada) in favour to none opposed, with eight abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Cuba, Cyprus, France, Gabon, Guinea and India).

### **General and Complete Disarmament**

Discussion of the question of general and complete disarmament followed much the same pattern as at the twenty-first session. Most representatives agreed that in disarmament negotiations general and complete disarmament remained the ultimate objective but that partial measures, such as a non-proliferation treaty, presented more immediate opportunities for agreement. During the debate on the report of the ENDC on general and complete disarmament, Canada, with 21 other countries, co-sponsored a draft procedural resolution that requested the ENDC to resume consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament at the earliest possible date and to report progress to the twenty-third General Assembly. Attracting two additional co-sponsors, Resolution 2342B was passed in plenary by a vote of 113 (Canada) to none, with three abstentions (Cuba, France, Gabon).

Canada took an active part in drafting a resolution aimed at giving the Secretary-General's Report on Nuclear Weapons and its findings the widest possible distribution. In addition to Canada, 30 other states co-sponsored the draft, which recommended serious consideration of the Report's conclusions by all member states and the ENDC and called for its wide distribution as a United Nations publication through national and intergovernmental organizations. Canadian support was determined by what it considered the pressing need to halt the nuclear arms race and to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon states. The draft was approved in the General Assembly as Resolution 2342A by a vote of 113 (Canada) in favour to none opposed, with one abstention (Cuba).

There was also some discussion of two resolutions dealing with chemical and biological warfare. First, Malta tabled a resolution which called on the ENDC to consider urgently the problems relating to the definition and use of chemical and biological weapons with a view to revising the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the effects of such weapons and the economic and health implications of their possible use. Subsequently, Hungary tabled another draft resolution, which demanded strict compliance with the Geneva Protocol of 1925, declared the use of chemical and biological weapons to be a crime against humanity and appealed to all states to accede to the Protocol. Since the Committee was sharply divided and attempts to combine the two resolutions proved fruitless, by general consent neither resolution was put to a vote.

### **Suspension of Nuclear Tests**

With regard to the suspension of nuclear tests, the eight non-aligned members of the ENDC introduced a draft resolution, similar to one passed during the previous session but also expressing increasing concern that nuclear tests were continuing in the atmosphere and underground. The draft resolution urged all states which had not already done so to adhere without further delay to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water; called on all nuclear-weapon states to suspend nuclear-weapon tests in all environments; expressed the hope that states would contribute to an effective international exchange of seismic data; and requested the ENDC to consider a treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests as a matter of urgency and report to the twenty-third General Assembly. In the debate, the Eastern European states advocated a comprehensive ban based on national means of verification. The Canadian position was presented by General Burns, the Canadian representative on the ENDC, who pointed out that some day improved seismic detection might obviate the need for on-site inspections but that at present such inspections remained necessary. The draft was adopted as Resolution 2343 in plenary by a vote of 103 (Canada) in favour to one (Albania) opposed, with seven abstentions (Algeria, Cuba, France, Gabon, Guinea, Mali and Mauritania).

### **Elimination of Foreign Military Bases**

Consideration of the question of foreign military bases arose as a result of Resolution 2165 of the twenty-first session. The debate was very brief, being limited to attacks by certain countries on foreign bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Resolution 2344, which was sponsored by India, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia and referred the matter to the ENDC for further study, was passed 105 (Canada) in favour to none opposed, with 23 abstentions. In commenting on this item, General Burns pointed out that the proposal to eliminate foreign bases involved the sacrifice of the collective security arrangements of the Western countries without any balancing obligation on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies, and that phased, balanced progress toward general and complete disarmament would result in the elimination of foreign military bases.

### **Summary**

The Canadian delegation played an active role in the consideration of the disarmament items at the twenty-second General Assembly. Canada co-sponsored resolutions urging the ENDC to continue its consideration of the non-proliferation treaty and general and complete disarmament. Canada's direct contribution to the Assembly's decision to request the Secretary-General to prepare a report on nuclear weapons and participation on the panel of experts who prepared the report led Canada to take a prominent part in formulating

this year's resolution calling for the widest possible distribution of that report. Canadian interest in arms control and its search for areas of mutual understanding and agreement is evidenced by the fact that Canada only once abstained and cast no negative vote during the entire disarmament debate.

Although the twenty-second session was not entirely free from familiar propagandistic initiatives and mutual recriminations, a constructive and responsible spirit characterized much of the disarmament debate. While the Non-Proliferation Treaty was clearly the overriding concern of most delegations, they demonstrated commendable restraint and patience in the absence of the expected tabling of the revised draft treaty. With the resumption of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on January 18, 1968, there are good hopes that the General Assembly will reconvene in the spring and will be able to take a major step towards endorsing a treaty to ban the further spread of nuclear weapons.

## *Rwanda, Land of a Thousand Hills*

**R**WANDA, situated in the heart of Africa, is widely known as “the land of a thousand hills”. It is bounded on the west by the Congo, on the north by Uganda, on the east by Tanzania, and on the south by Burundi. The country borders picturesque Lake Kivu, whose shores are followed by a scenic route that stretches the whole way along the waterfront. A number of lakes not far from the national boundary — Tanganyika, Edward, Albert and Victoria — make this one of the loveliest regions in the world. Among Rwanda’s mountains are huge parks and forests, majestic volcanoes and beautiful lakes.

Most of Rwanda consists of a high, undulating plateau that rises slowly from east to west. In the centre of the country, a region of delicately-contoured uplands, the average altitude is 5,500 feet. In the east, where the grassy hills are strewn with small marshy lakes, is Kogera National Park.

The area of Rwanda is 10,169 square miles — 377 times smaller than that of Canada. With a population of about 3,000,000, however, it is a very densely-populated land, with an average of 295 persons a square mile, the highest concentration of population in any African state south of the Sahara.

By the thirteenth century, the Bahutu, a nation of cultivators, inhabited what is now Rwanda. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, cattle farmers from the north infiltrated the country and, having gained political ascendancy, established the Tutsi dynasty, which was headed by the Mwami, or king. A major part of the land, with its herds, was owned by Tutsi families. The Bahutu, or Hutu, were obliged to pay these families dues of many sorts, in kind or in labour. The first European to visit Rwanda was Count Von Goetzen, a German, who arrived in 1894. Rwanda was a German protectorate from 1899 to 1916, when it was occupied by Belgian troops from the Congo. After the end of the First World War, Rwanda and Burundi were placed under Belgian trusteeship, which terminated with their independence in 1962.

### **Canada and Rwanda**

Since Rwanda achieved its independence on July 1, 1962, its relations with Canada have been expanding in many areas. This continuing development was underlined on July 8, 1967, when Mr. J. C. G. Brown, the Canadian Ambassador to the Congo (Kinshasa), presented his credentials to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda, Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda. As early as August 1965, Rwanda had preceded Canada in that direction by accrediting to Ottawa its Ambassador resident in Washington.

Any discussion of relations between Canada and Rwanda must necessarily emphasize the high degree of co-operation achieved by the two countries in the field of training, with the creation of the National University of Rwanda. It was under the guidance of a Canadian, the Reverend Georges-Henri

Levesque, that the National University of Rwanda was established at the request of the Rwanda authorities. The same year, Canada agreed to provide financial and technical assistance to this fledgling institution. By the end of the year 1965-66, Canada had allocated almost \$1 million and had assigned 36 professors to the University. In June 1967, Canada and Rwanda signed a co-operative agreement and established a financing programme under which Canada undertook to spend up to \$750,000 a year, during a five-year period, to support the functioning of the University. The Government of Rwanda agreed to increase its annual contribution to the budget of this institution during that period. Canada offered ten scholarships for 1968-69 to deserving young Rwandans who wished to continue their studies in Canada.

Rwanda responded eagerly to the Canadian request for its participation in the World Exhibition in Montreal. Through this living presence at the Place d'Afrique, thousands of Canadians could appreciate the achievements of the young nation, and they were glad to see and hear its President, who came to take part with us in the centennial celebrations of Canadian Confederation on the occasion of his country's national day at Expo 67.

## *Canada's Ambassador to Ecuador Presents his Credentials*

ON January 10, 1968, Mr. J. H. Cleveland presented his credentials as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Canada to Dr. Otó Arosemena Gomez, Constitutional President of Ecuador. Mr. Cleveland is the fourth Canadian Ambassador appointed to Ecuador since diplomatic relations between that country and Canada were established in 1960. Like his predecessors, Mr. Cleveland, as Ambassador to Colombia, resides in Bogota. When he is absent from Quito, his duties are handled by Mr. G. C. Cook, resident *Chargé d'affaires*, a.i.

Canada enjoys cordial relations with Ecuador, both bilaterally and at the United Nations. As a nation that uses nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, Canada welcomed the initiative of Ecuador and its sister Latin American republics in the establishment of a Latin American nuclear-free zone, the first such zone in an inhabited area of the world.



*Canada's new Ambassador to Ecuador, Mr. J. H. Cleveland (left), in conversation with President Arosemena Gomez of Ecuador (right). Sr. Carlos Uribe Lasso, Deputy Chief of Protocol for Ecuador (centre) serves as interpreter.*

A \$1.26-million (Cdn) development loan was extended by Canada to Ecuador in August 1966, under Canada's development-assistance programme for Latin America. The loan, which is one of the largest since the inception of the programme, will be used to finance a survey of the Guayas River basin, in order to permit the preparation of a regional development plan for the exploitation of the area's agricultural and forest resources.

Canadian trade with the Andean nation is based on the reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment. In 1966, bananas composed the major part of the \$7.9-million (Cdn) worth of goods imported into Canada from Ecuador. Canadian exports to Ecuador in the same year were valued at \$2.6 million (Cdn), wheat and newsprint being the major components.

## *Memorial Services for Late Prime Minister of Australia*

A MEMORIAL service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne at noon on December 22, 1967, for the late Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable Harold Holt. Mr. Holt disappeared while swimming with a companion near Portsea, a resort about 60 miles southeast of Melbourne, when the two were separated in strong currents. Although a full-scale search was launched, Mr. Holt's body was not found.

Canada was represented at the memorial service by the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. <sup>(1)</sup> Among those also in attendance at the service were H. R. H. Prince Charles, representing Her Majesty the Queen; President Johnson of the United States; and prominent government leaders from neighbouring countries.

On his arrival in Sydney, Mr. Laing, on behalf of Canadians and their Government, made the following statement:

We have come to add our tribute to the memory of your late Prime Minister. Canadians are saddened by his tragic passing and deeply distressed over his loss to the Commonwealth. He and Mrs. Holt had visited us in our centennial year and had participated in Expo 67; they made an enormous number of friends. Mr. Holt impressed everyone with his wide knowledge and great energy. His vitality has accounted in large part for the unprecedented recognition of Australia and its resources that now characterises all news media not only in Canada but on the American continent. Your loss is tragic; our sorrow, universal.

A special memorial service for Mr. Holt was also held in Ottawa at Christ Church Cathedral on Friday, December 22. In the congregation were the Governor General and the Prime Minister. Mr. Pearson delivered a eulogy.

(1) Statements by Prime Minister Pearson, Mr. R. L. Stanfield, leader of the Opposition, and representatives of all other parties in the House of Commons appear on Page 5517, House of Commons Debates, December 18, 1967.

## *Cross-Canada Tours for Junior Diplomats*

**M**EMBERS of Canadian diplomatic missions throughout the world are often required to provide specific information about their country, a land extending 4,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean and about 2,000 miles from the United States border to the top of the world, in which regional characteristics and problems vary greatly. The Department of External Affairs must, therefore, ensure that its officers are able to convey an accurate and balanced picture of Canada. The problem is solved partly by supplying posts with Canadian newspapers, magazines, books and films, and with publications issued by the Department itself. There is, in addition, a special training programme, introduced last year, that enables junior officers to travel the country from coast to coast before they are posted.

These cross-Canada tours are intended to provide groups of about 20 officers with the means of acquiring a greater understanding of the evolution and interrelations of the economic, social and cultural aspects of the various regions of Canada and to improve the knowledge they possess of the geographical and physical realities of their country. To that end, the programme includes meetings in Ottawa with federal officials, followed by visits to the provincial capitals and other major centres of interest for interviews with provincial and civic authorities and senior officials. There are also, in each region, "in-residence" seminars and group discussions with sociologists, economists, industrialists, editors, writers, artists, educators, leaders of socio-economic organizations, etc. Informal gatherings are arranged to permit the touring groups to meet people of various occupations in the communities they visit.

The programme as a whole is planned and co-ordinated with the co-operation of the two Canadian national organizations for adult education, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and l'Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes, both of which have long experience in the development of such programmes and have established close relations with regional societies and groups. Each programme is a balance between visits (to places and organizations) and opportunities to explore, through discussions and seminars, the elements of the Canadian entity.

The 18 officers who participated in the latest programme, in October and November 1967, met and discussed various aspects of contemporary Canadian life with over 400 leading Canadians, who represented most areas of interest from coast to coast. Although the pace was wearing, all the officers agreed that their perception of Canada was much clearer and their ability to represent their country in other lands greatly augmented.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **North Korean Seizure of U.S. Ship**

*The following statement was made to the House of Commons on January 29 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin :*

On Friday last, a number of questions were raised with regard to the serious situation which has developed as a result of the seizure of the United States ship known as *Pueblo* by North Korea and their continued detention of that United States naval vessel and its crew.

I am sure all Hon. Members will understand that the fullest possible statement cannot be made at the present time because of the important discussions and consultations that are now still under way at the United Nations. The United States authorities have stated categorically that, at the time of its seizure on the evening of January 21, the vessel in question was in international waters. We accept the United States statement with regard to the ship's co-ordinates at that time. The information available to us strongly indicates that this point does lie in international waters and not in territorial waters. North Korea has alleged otherwise but so far has not put forward any evidence in support of its contention.

The ship in question was under United States command and not under the command of the United Nations in Korea. The dispute, therefore, is essentially one between the United States and North Korea. We do not consider it to be a violation of the Korean armistice of 1953. Canada, therefore, on that account is not involved. However, we are concerned with the potential danger to international peace which this incident involves. We have a particular responsibility as a member of the Security Council to make every effort to find a peaceful solution.

On Thursday last, when I was not in the House, questions were asked about our obligations to Korea under the declaration made by the 16 contributing countries in the United Nations force. Canada's present obligations to Korea derive from the 16-nation declaration on Korea issued at Washington on July 27, 1953, immediately following the signing of the Korean armistice agreement. That declaration includes this statement:

We affirm, in the interests of world peace, that, if there is a renewal of the armed attack, challenging again the principles of the United Nations, we should again be united and prompt to resist.

The United Nations command remains in Korea with the full sanction and authority of the Security Council. Canada still has a liaison officer attached to the United Nations command but the last of the Canadian contingent, which was the third largest national force sent in Korea as a result of the

Security Council's appeal in 1950, was withdrawn in 1957, four years after the conclusion of the Korean armistice agreement.

There is not at this time any specific Canadian commitment to supply military forces or equipment. Should the situation in Korea develop adversely (and I sincerely hope it will not — it is certainly a matter of concern that there has been in recent months a marked increase in the number of incidents investigated by North Korea), it would be for the Canadian Government and Parliament, in the absence of a new United Nations resolution, to decide whether the situation fell within the meaning of the 16-nation declaration of which this country is a signatory. In any event, the matter would have to be referred to the Security Council before any action could be taken by the United Nations.

The Security Council met on January 26 at the request of the United States. The Canadian representative, noting the Council's primary responsibility for international peace and security, supported inscription of an item on the increase of tension in the area of Korea and welcomed the decision of the United States to seek the assistance of the United Nations to help it solve a difficult problem through diplomatic channels. Our Ambassador suggested that one possible way of bringing about a speedy and equitable solution might be an arrangement for an intermediary or intermediaries.

At a second meeting of the Council on Saturday, there was unanimous support for the further Canadian suggestion that progress might best be achieved by private consultations which would enable members of the Council to consider and develop any ideas or suggestions they might have. This seemed to be the best way of dealing with the immediate problem of the *Pueblo*.

Those consultations, in which all members of the Council have been participating, have been proceeding over the weekend in New York and in a number of national capitals. They proceeded this morning, and they are taking place again at this very moment. A number of ideas have been explored — I think in a useful and constructive fashion. I am encouraged to date by the sense of responsibility and restraint, as well as by the sense of urgency, which have marked these consultations. I must say that the Government of the United States has displayed moderation and a commendable desire to seek a solution through diplomatic means. I hope all countries which may be involved in the consequences of failure to resolve the controversy will show an equal determination to seek a settlement through peaceful means.

Furthermore, members of the Security Council — and this includes Canada — have a special responsibility to seek a reasonable and early solution. I can assure the House that the Government is following this matter very closely, is in continuous contact with the parties concerned, and I hope the end result of these consultations will be the resolving of this matter in a way which will not add to the dangers in the situation.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

UNCTAD: New Delhi, February 1 — March 25

Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 120th meeting: Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico, February 12-16

Eighth General Assembly of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, Plenary Commission: Panama City, Panama, February 12-24

NATO Disarmament Experts: Brussels, February 27 — March 1

International Year Symposium on Human Rights: Montreal, March 22-27

Industrial Development Board: Vienna, April

NATO Nuclear Planning Group: The Hague, April 18-19

International Conference on Human Rights: Tehran, April — May

NATO spring ministerial meeting: Reykjavik, June 24-25

International Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: Vienna, August 17-28

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. C. Britton appointed Canadian Ambassador to Thailand, effective November 19, 1967.
- Mr. T. Carter appointed Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, effective November 20, 1967.
- Mr. G. P. M. Charlebois posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective November 24, 1967.
- Mr. E. Gorn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate-General, New York, effective November 24, 1967.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault, Canadian Ambassador to Cameroun, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Chad, effective November 27, 1967.
- Mr. M. D. Copithorne posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to Ottawa, effective November 28, 1967.
- Mr. R. N. Nuttall posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to Ottawa, effective November 30, 1967.
- Mr. J. M. Church posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective November 30, 1967.
- Mr. P. M. Asselin posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective December 1, 1967.
- Mr. L. J. L. Morgan resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective December 2, 1967.
- Mr. A. R. Todd posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Rawalpindi, effective December 3, 1967.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *East African Co-operation*

"We, the leaders of the people and governments of East Africa, assembled in Nairobi on June 5, 1963, pledge ourselves to the political federation of East Africa." This declaration, made on the eve of Kenyan independence, set the stage for the continuing efforts towards regional co-operation between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania which resulted in the establishment on December 1, 1967, of the East African Community and Common Market.

From the first days of the British colonization of Kenya and the extension to Uganda of the status of a protectorate, there had been lively discussion of the possibility and desirability of closer relations between these two territories. In the early days of the present century, Kenya and Uganda were viewed by the British colonial authorities as complementary units, with Kenya providing the ocean outlet for Ugandan produce. Although there were separate governments and administrations, there was close consultation and some common services were established. However, the different legal status of the two territories, which imposed the need for differing policies towards the local populations, countered to some degree the tendency towards closer association.

The granting to Britain of a League of Nations mandate over Tanganyika after the First World War completed British control over a large block of East Africa, from the Rhodesias to Kenya. This event gave a new impulse to the idea of the closer linking of all these colonies and territories. Attention was directed to the more limited aim of a federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, but even this could not be realized despite the obvious attractions of the idea; divergences which became evident prevented anything but modest steps toward closer economic co-operation. At different times, the white minority in Kenya, the African authorities in Uganda and the local African populations in all three territories spoke against the idea of a federation under colonial rule. African spokesmen feared the interposition of a government in which they believed they would not be adequately represented between themselves and the Colonial Office. The settlers in Kenya believed that a federation would diminish their influence, and it was difficult and complicated to reconcile the protectorate status of Uganda with the conception of federation.

### **Efforts to Strengthen Bonds**

Despite these elements of opposition, which varied in intensity over the years, there were numerous attempts on the part of the British authorities to establish machinery to bring the three territories closer together. From 1919 until the establishment of the East African High Commission in 1948, there was an unbroken series of commissions, studies and reports examining this situation. Although substantive discussion ebbed and flowed over the years, there was

steady forward movement toward the common administration of shared services such as railways, communications and harbours. Common economic policies evolved in respect of external tariffs and regulations governing migrant labour. This movement culminated in 1948 in the establishment of the East African High Commission, a quasi-federal body which had its own legislature with responsibilities for certain common services, joint boards and the enactment of legislation in certain areas of economic policy. A common market was established but, as a number of important governmental powers remained with the individual territories, the High Commission fell far short of being a federation.

The East African High Commission proved in the 13 years of its existence to be a useful and important body. The shared services which it administered were well run and undoubtedly operated more efficiently than three separate sets of services. The East African Railways and Harbours in 1948 and the East African Posts and Telegraphs (now Telecommunications) instituted in 1949 became self-financing services, providing the people of the three countries with services which have continued to expand to meet the growing needs of the area. The other 21 common services covered such different fields as research in the fight against tropical diseases and the control of civil aviation. Nonetheless, there were criticisms in the economic sphere. The centralization in Nairobi of the administration of the shared services made Kenya the natural focus for outside interest in East Africa. It also contributed to a feeling of neglect on the part of Uganda and Tanganyika, despite the fact that the services which they gained were, in effect, subsidized in some instances by Kenyan contributions. The common external tariff acted to protect Kenya's industries while providing an essentially captive market for their products. Economic development in the other two territories lagged. These and other problems were generally recognized and, in the period before the first of the territories (Tanganyika) was to attain independence, proposals were put forward to remedy the principal defects.

### **New Tripartite Organization**

In the summer of 1961, the leaders of the three territories and the personnel of the High Commission hammered out an agreement whereby the common services and other important features of the High Commission would be carried forward by a new organization, the East African Common Services Organization. It was stipulated that, so long as they were not incompatible with Tanganyikan independence, the other elements of the High Commission would also be retained. Among these were the Central Legislative Assembly, a common market and a common currency. This arrangement worked well in the period during which Kenya and Uganda prepared to follow Tanganyika into independence. In the summer of 1963, before Kenyan independence, a declaration, quoted at the beginning of this article, was signed by the leaders of the three East African countries.

Independence in 1962 for Uganda and in 1963 for Kenya brought new

problems and revealed more clearly than before that there were divergences of view in the three countries. Then, too, the paths followed by each of the three countries in the economic and social realms diverged, raising further difficulties. These problems made it appear throughout 1964 and 1965 that the remaining links joining Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were being progressively weakened. There was continuing friction over the centralization of common services in Nairobi, which was resented in Tanzania and Uganda. In 1965 Tanzania introduced its own currency, thereby withdrawing from an area which had been reserved for joint action.

Despite these differences, President Nyerere told the Central Legislative Assembly in August 1965 :

... there is no reason at all to believe that East African co-operation is about to collapse. It is sustained by our overwhelming will for unity; we shall not let present problems overwhelm us.

In August 1965, meetings were held that led to the establishment of a commission under the chairmanship of Professor Kjeld Phillip of Denmark to study the problems of the East African Common Market and EACSO. This demonstrated the desire of the three governments to preserve the closest co-operation possible in the economic field, and the outcome was the signing in June 1967 of a Treaty for East African Co-operation,<sup>(1)</sup> which embodied the essential elements of Professor Phillip's report and proposed the formation of an East African Community and common market.

The aims of the Community are set out in Article 2, Paragraph 1, of the Treaty as follows :

It shall be the aim of the Community to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial and other relations of the Partner States to the end that there shall be accelerated, harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities the benefits whereof shall be equitably shared.

This instrument takes a giant step towards the economic integration of East Africa and represents a major new development. Through the establishment of an East African Development Bank, the institution of a transfer tax to equalize opportunities for industrial development, and the decentralization of the administration of the common services, it aims to create a body in which each of the three countries will have full confidence that it is serving its best interests. As a gauge of this attitude, the headquarters of the Community will be moved from Nairobi to Arusha in Tanzania.

The ratification of the Treaty was completed in each of the three member states and, on December 1, 1967, it entered into force. This event, which was marked by a formal celebration at Arusha attended by Presidents Kenyatta, Obote and Nyerere, as well as a number of other prominent African leaders, has been widely acclaimed as heralding a new era of intra-African co-operation. That other East African countries agree with that judgment has been shown

(1) The principles of the Treaty for East African Co-operation are contained in the Appendix to this article.

through the requests of Zambia, Ethiopia, Somalia and Burundi to join with the three signatories in a larger common market, grouping together virtually the whole of the eastern third of the African continent.

## APPENDIX

### Part 1 — Principles

#### CHAPTER I — THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

##### ARTICLE 1

###### **Establishment and membership of the Community**

1. By this Treaty the Contracting Parties establish among themselves an East African Community and, as an integral part of such Community, an East African Common Market.

2. The East African Community is in this Treaty referred to as "the Community" and the East African Common Market is referred to as "the Common Market".

3. The members of the Community, in this Treaty referred to as "the Partner States", shall be the United Republic of Tanzania, the Sovereign State of Uganda and the Republic of Kenya.

##### ARTICLE 2

###### **Aims of the Community**

1. It shall be the aim of the Community to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial and other relations of the Partner States to the end that there shall be accelerated, harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities the benefits whereof shall be equitably shared.

2. For the purposes set out in paragraph 1 of this Article and as hereinafter provided in the particular provisions of this Treaty, the Community shall use its best endeavours to ensure —

- (a) the establishment and maintenance, subject to certain exceptions, of a common customs tariff and a common excise tariff;
- (b) the abolition generally of restrictions on trade between Partner States;
- (c) the inauguration, in the long term, of a common agricultural policy;
- (d) the establishment of an East African Development Bank in accordance with the Charter contained in Annex VI to this Treaty;

- (e) the retention of freedom of current account payments between the Partner States, and freedom of capital account payments necessary to further the aims of the Community;
- (f) the harmonization, required for the proper functioning of the Common Market, of the monetary policies of the Partner States and in particular consultation in case of any disequilibrium in the balances of payments of the Partner States;
- (g) the operation of services common to the Partner States;
- (h) the co-ordination of economic planning;
- (i) the co-ordination of transport policy;
- (j) the approximation of the commercial laws of the Partner States; and
- (k) such other activities, calculated to further the aims of the Community as the Partner States may from time to time decide to undertake in common.

### ARTICLE 3

#### **Institutions of the Community**

1. The institutions of the Community (established and regulated by Parts III and IV of this Treaty) shall be —

- the East African Authority
- the East African Legislative Assembly
- the East African Ministers
- the Common Market Council
- the Common Market Tribunal
- the Communications Council
- the Finance Council
- the Economic Consultative and Planning Council
- the Research and Social Council,

and such other corporations, bodies, departments and services as are established or provided for by this Treaty.

2. The institutions of the Community shall perform the functions and act within the limits of the powers conferred upon them by this Treaty or by any law.

3. The institutions of the Community shall be assisted in the exercise of their functions by a central secretariat of officers in the service of the Community.

4. Persons employed in the service of the Community, the Corporation or the Bank, and directors and alternate directors of the Bank —

- (a) shall be immune from civil process with respect to acts performed by them in their official capacity; and

(b) shall be accorded such immunities from immigration restrictions or alien registration, and where they are not citizens of a Partner State, such facilities in relation to exchange regulations, as the Authority may determine.

5. Experts or consultants rendering services to the Community, the Corporations or the Bank shall be accorded such immunities and privileges in the Partner States as the Authority may determine.

#### ARTICLE 4

##### **General undertaking as to implementation**

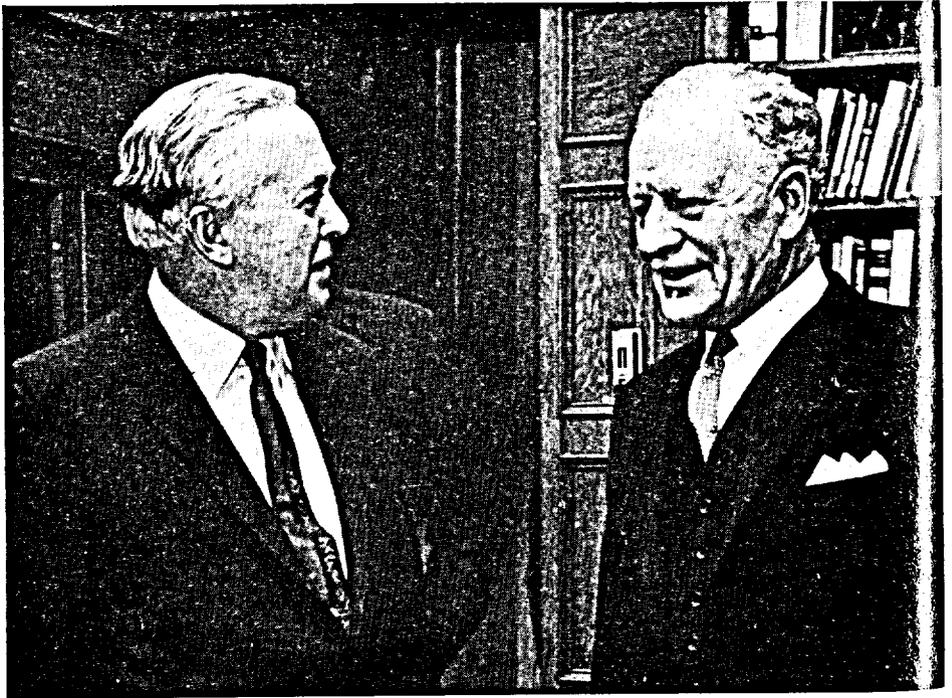
The Partner States shall make every effort to plan and direct their policies with a view to creating conditions favourable for the development of the Common Market and the achievement of the aims of the Community and shall co-ordinate, through the institutions of the Community, their economic policies to the extent necessary to achieve such aims and shall abstain from any measure likely to jeopardize the achievement thereof.

## *Visit of Prime Minister Wilson to Ottawa*

**T**HE Right Honourable Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Britain, made a one-day working visit to Ottawa on February 10 for talks with Prime Minister L. B. Pearson. The visit took place following meetings in Washington with President Johnson of the United States.

Mr. Wilson and Mr. Pearson met at the latter's residence, where they spent several hours discussing matters of mutual concern.

In the afternoon, Mr. Wilson called on His Excellency the Governor General, and remained for afternoon tea. Later he recorded a television interview and met British Government staff at Earncliffe, the residence of the British High Commissioner.



*During his recent visit to Ottawa, Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson (left) chats with Canada's Governor-General Roland Michener.*

# *The Colombo Plan Comes of Age*

## EIGHTEENTH MEETING OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

**O**PENING the eighteenth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, the Foreign Minister of Burma, His Excellency U Thi Han, noted that a Burman comes of age at 18, and suggested that the Colombo Plan could be considered to have reached maturity at the same age.

This theme ran throughout the proceedings of the 1967 Colombo Plan meetings in Rangoon, from the preliminary meetings of the working-groups from November 21 to 26 through the formal meetings of officials from November 27 to December 4 to the full meetings of the Consultative Committee, attended by ministers, from December 5 to 8.

The meetings concentrated this year on a topic entitled "The Availability and the Use of Resources for Increasing Agricultural Production in the Colombo Plan Area". The Canadian delegation took a particular interest in these discussions since, under the Colombo Plan, Canadian aid has concentrated to a considerable extent on assistance to the agricultural programmes of member countries. In addition to the initiatives in the agricultural area, the Canadian aid programme has included very substantial grants of food aid. Indeed, food-aid allocations to the Colombo Plan area in 1967-68 had a value of \$86.75 million and represented 57 per cent of Canadian Colombo Plan allocations in 1967-68.

### **Essential Role of Asian Farmer**

As the Consultative Committee noted, "the successful development of the region would depend largely on one man — the Asian farmer". "If he was not active participant", the comment continued, "none of the plans of the region could succeed." One of the main conclusions following a detailed review of Asian agricultural problems was that attention should be focused on short-term measures that promised to increase agricultural production rapidly. Incentives, member governments felt, should be used to promote increased use of modern technology, which had opened the way to more rapid growth in agricultural production. It was recognized, however, that the application of new technologies to agriculture posed a series of complex social and economic problems which would require continuing co-operation between donor and receiving governments and among all levels of administration within the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Consideration of this subject by the Colombo Plan countries is featured in the Colombo Plan report released on February 15, 1968.

The Consultative Committee recommended that the special topic for the next meeting should be "to analyse and review existing governmental measures and special techniques adopted for export promotion by each member country and to make general suggestions of possible improvements with the object of maximising exports from the developing countries in the Colombo Plan region". This topic was regarded as a special and urgent importance to the less-developed countries of South and Southeast Asia. The Canadian delegation emphasized the importance such a topic would have for *all* Colombo Plan countries and stressed the need to direct the discussion of it into the most useful channels possible.

### **Possible Growth Decline**

In a more general economic sense, the countries of the Colombo Plan noted, in the Rangoon report, that, although the expansion of the world economy that had been taking place throughout the sixties continued at a somewhat slower pace in 1966, there were indications of a possible decline in the rate of growth in the future. Under these circumstances, the members calculated that the outlook for world trade and for the flow of capital funds and of the various forms of aid to the developed countries "gives some cause for concern". Indeed, although the gross flow of aid from the six donor countries of the Colombo Plan remained at the level of \$2.8 billion it had reached in 1965-66, increases in interest payments and amortization of loans indicated that there had been a reduction in the net flow of aid in 1966-67. So far as trade was concerned, there had been an increase in the total trade deficit of the Colombo Plan area from \$2.5 billion (U.S.) to \$3.2 billion (U.S.) as a result of an increase by over 10 per cent in imports, while total exports from the region increased by about 3 per cent. The Canadian delegation was able to report that Canada's Colombo Plan assistance programmes, both capital and technical assistance, continued to increase in accordance with the stated objectives of Canadian Government policy. The Canadian delegate also announced the intention of the Government to increase support to private and voluntary agencies — especially to those providing university, technical and executive personnel for services overseas.

Each of the committees of the Colombo Plan meetings in Rangoon submitted reports, following intensive discussion, which were approved by the ministerial meeting. The Committee on Technical Co-operation in its report referred to two decisions which were taken following initiatives by the Canadian delegation. The first of these was a proposal for what came to be called "a reverse flow of assistance", put forward on instructions from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Paul Martin. Canada suggested that it would encourage progress towards the objectives of the Colombo Plan if the customary receiving countries were to consider offering a limited number of graduate-level fellowships to the donor countries. This would have the effect of giving substance to the oft-repeated statement that aid was a "two-way street". In addition,

there were a number of spheres of study in South and Southeast Asia which would be of benefit to Canadian students and thus eventually increase the ability of government and industry in Canada to implement programmes and projects in South and Southeast Asia. Arrangements for such scholars from the five donor countries to be received in the Colombo Plan area would be similar to those which applied to students going to Canada and the other developed countries. The response to this proposal was favourable. The Bureau for Technical Co-operation in Colombo will be circularizing member governments to see what offers they might be prepared to make, and there should be some development of the idea by the nineteenth meeting of the Colombo Plan.

### **Administrative Study Proposed**

Also approved was another Canadian suggestion that the Committee on Technical Co-operation at the nineteenth session study the administration by member governments of their technical co-operation programmes. It was argued that it would be of benefit to both donors and receivers to have a better understanding of the principles and procedures upon which technical assistance programmes were conducted. Canada, it was said, would be prepared to describe the changes which have taken place in the administration of the Canadian technical assistance programme and would be interested to consider at the meeting how both the donor and the receiving governments could improve the administration of both trainee and expert programmes. There will be further discussion of this subject in the Bureau for Technical Co-operation in Colombo and at the nineteenth meeting.

Most member governments felt that greater attention should be paid to the information activities of Colombo Plan member countries. A number of decisions were taken to improve this aspect of Colombo Plan work so that there would be a better understanding in South and Southeast Asia and in the donor countries of the successes of economic development programmes and of the continuing problems faced by these programmes.

A good deal of attention was paid at the Rangoon meetings to proposals for improving the procedures of the Colombo Plan meetings. The newly-created Committee on Economic Co-operation and Review made a series of proposals (later approved by the ministerial meeting) which should have the effect at the nineteenth meeting of encouraging substantive exchanges on aid policies and problems and of decreasing the amount of detailed drafting to be done by the main committees.

### **Coming of Age**

It could be argued that the economic aid programmes of member governments have reached a reasonably high level of effectiveness and of value and that the procedures of the Colombo Plan have been consolidated over the years, although a greater volume of aid would be welcomed and improvements naturally remain



*Mr. John G. Hadwen, Canadian Ambassador to Burma and head of the Canadian delegation to the eighteenth meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, addresses a session of the Consultative Committee in Rangoon.*

to be made in Colombo Plan organization. The Colombo Plan could fairly be said, both in monetary importance and organization, to have come of age at Rangoon.

The next meeting of the Consultative Committee will be held in Seoul during 1968 at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Korea. Delegations at the Rangoon meetings concluded their proceedings by expressing warm appreciation for the efficiency with which the sessions were conducted by the Burmese Conference Secretariat.

Following the meetings, official tours were arranged for the delegates to Pagan and Mandalay and to Taunggyi and Inley Lake. One of the advantages of the Colombo Plan meetings is the fact that they are held each year in a different capital, thus giving members of the Colombo Plan an opportunity to gain a better understanding of the problems other countries face and also giving the government and the people of the host country an opportunity to study the Colombo Plan at close quarters.

During the meetings in Rangoon, the Canadian delegation was able to visit a number of successful Canadian projects in Burma, including the Thaketa Bridge and the cancer-treatment centre in the Rangoon General Hospital, and to study and discuss with Burmese officials the various questions connected with the operation of Canada's Colombo Plan aid programme. Bilateral consultations were also held on particular aid problems with all the other delegations at the meeting and with the observers from the participating organizations — the

ADB, the Asian Productivity Organization, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Labour Organization and the United Nations Development Programme.

The Canadian delegation was composed of :

- I. G. Hadwen — Head of Delegation (Canadian Ambassador to Burma)
- F. Livingston — Deputy Head of Delegation (Department of External Affairs)
- F. Phillips — Member (External Aid Office)
- L. A. K. James — Member and Secretary to Delegation (Third Secretary, Kuala Lumpur)

### **Informal Discussions**

As in the past, time was made available for ministers representing governments at the meetings in Rangoon to have private and informal discussions. The general tenor of these discussions, which remained confidential, was that the Colombo Plan idea had increasing value and influence, but that efforts should continue to be made to increase its vitality. During these informal discussions, the Canadian delegation stressed the importance which Canada attached to the atmosphere of co-operative endeavour by donor and recipient governments which had long been a characteristic of Colombo Plan meetings and the importance of continuing to make every effort to ensure that aid resources made available to the area through both bilateral and multilateral channels were employed in the most effective way possible.

As General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, said in a message to the most recent meeting :

For the past 17 years, the member governments of the Colombo Plan have, in co-ordinated effort, taken manifold initiatives to eliminate from their vast region the scourge of poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. The measure of success achieved lies in the foundation that has been established of a sound basis for the prospect of a more fruitful and promising life for the people of the region.

### **Final Press Release**

The following communiqué was issued to the press at the end of the meeting :

"The eighteenth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia met in Rangoon from December 5 to December 8, 1967. Colonel Maung Lwin, Minister for Relief, Resettlement, National Solidarity and Social Welfare, Government of the Union of Burma, inaugurated the meeting. U Thi Han, Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Planning, Government of the Union of Burma, and Leader of the Burmese delegation, was elected chairman of the meetings.

"All the 24-member countries were represented at the meeting, namely Afghanistan, Australia, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Vietnam.

"The meeting was attended by observers from the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Productivity Organization, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Labour Organization and the United Nations Development Programme.

"The Director of the Colombo Plan Bureau attended the meeting in an advisory capacity.

"The Consultative Committee reviewed economic development in the Colombo Plan region during the year 1966-67, noted the progress made by the member countries and assessed the tasks ahead. The Committee adopted the annual report prepared by the preceding officials meeting (November 27 to December 4, 1967) and the preliminary working-groups (November 21 to 29, 1967).

"The Committee noted that the last year had seen some slackening in the expansion of the world economy that had been continuing throughout the sixties. Present indications for the rest of the decade did not point towards a resumption of the previous high rate of growth in the developed market economies. There was some expression of concern over the further expansion of world trade and the flow of financial resources to the developing countries.

"The growth-rates of national income of the developing countries of the Colombo Plan region showed a wide disparity in the year under review, as over the entire period of the sixties. Some economies last year attained growth-rates of about 13 per cent, while others grew only by about 2 per cent to 3 per cent. Unfavourable harvests and declining export prices were important factors in restraining growth in some countries. In general, high growth-rates of income were accompanied by rapid expansion of exports.

"The production of food-grains was at a lower level last year in many countries than the average for recent years. It was pointed out that the average growth-rate of food production of 2.2 per cent for the sixties was below the rate of population growth and that world grain stocks had also fallen very low. Prospects for the coming harvest were good in most countries, but very much more needed to be done if the food problem was to be solved on a long-term basis. Some cash crops, on the other hand, had a good year on the whole.

"The rate of industrial growth for the region as a whole was at a fairly high level of about 6 per cent, but there was a decline compared to the previous year. This deceleration was due to the agricultural set-backs which caused both a reduction in the flows of raw material inputs to agriculture-based industries and a shortage of foreign exchange for other industrial-maintenance imports.

"The value of total exports from the region as a whole increased slightly, by about 3 per cent, but there were wide variations again, with one country increasing its exports by 43 per cent while exports declined in some others. Imports, however, increased by over 10 per cent, causing the trade deficit to rise from about \$2.5 to \$3.2 billion (U.S.). In comparison to 1960, the trade deficit had approximately doubled. Other items of the balance of payments, however, brought in substantial inflows of funds, so that the total gold and foreign-exchange reserves of some countries of the region recorded increases.

"The flow of net aid disbursements to the 18 country members of the Colombo Plan region from the six developed donor-country members rose from \$1,603 million (U.S.) to \$2,189 million (U.S.) between 1960 and 1965, an increase of over one-third.

"In 1966-67, the gross flow of aid from the six donors to the region remained at the level of \$2.8 billion that it had reached the year before. With a rising flow of amortization and interest payments, this stagnation of the gross flow implied a reduction in the net flow of aid.

"The Committee noted that an important factor in determining the extent to which the countries in the region were able to expand production was availability of foreign exchange. The task ahead was the complex one of earning and maintaining, by all the avenues available, a supply of foreign exchange adequate to accelerate their investment levels to the extent permitted by the availability of their endowments of natural and human resources. Reliance on primary exports still posed difficulties; there were, for example, large price fluctuations, competition from synthetics and subsidised and inefficient production in some importing countries. Some countries of the region had developed significantly large and rapidly rising volumes of manufactured exports. It was hoped that the recently achieved progress towards a liberal international economic order would not be prejudiced by any new protectionist attitudes that were restrictive to economic growth.

"The total extent of technical co-operation for 1966-67 was the highest on record for any single year. Of the total cumulative expenditure on technical co-operation since the inception of the Plan, 20 per cent had been spent on 48,440 trainees, some 40 per cent on 10,024 experts and 36 per cent on technical and research equipment. During the year, 1,453 experts were assigned to the countries of the region. New training places provided during the year reached a new annual peak of 5,956, which was a 32 per cent increase over the previous year. During the year, 396 places were provided by the countries of the region and 742 more under third-country programmes.

"The Committee noted with interest the progress in the expansion of intra-regional technicians' training and felt that the question of technician teachers' training should be given more attention.

"The Committee noted that successful development of the region would depend largely on one man — the Asian farmer. If he was not an active partici-

pant, none of the plans of the region could succeed.

“The special topic for the year was ‘The Availability and the Use of Resources for Increasing Agricultural Production in the Colombo Plan Area’. This followed last year’s special topic. The Committee reviewed the urgent problems of agriculture in the region and the possibilities for better utilization of available resources. It was felt that attention should be focused on short-term measures that promised to increase agricultural production rapidly. Recent advances in technology had paved the way for more rapid growth in agricultural production. It was considered that incentives were necessary to induce farmers to adopt modern technology. In this context, stable prices and satisfactory price relations were particularly important. It was essential to have a greater supply of technically-competent extension and farmer-training services as well as research. The application of new technologies to agriculture in the region was complex and there was need for co-operation at all levels.

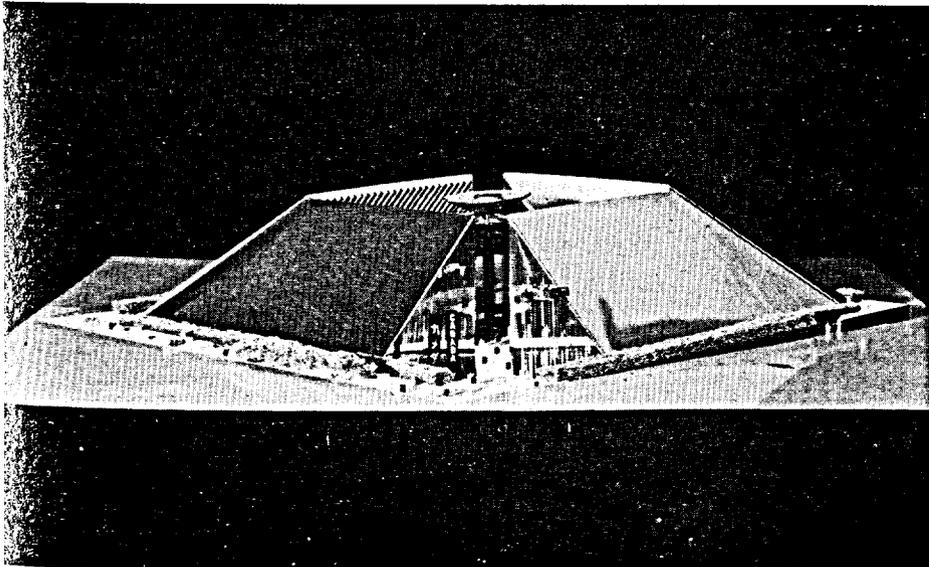
“The Committee reiterated the need for improved information activities and a greater use of mass media to make known the achievements of development in the Colombo Plan region . . . .

“The Consultative Committee welcomed the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Korea to hold the 1968 meeting in Seoul.”

## *Canada at Expo 70*

ONE of the most effective ways in which Canada can make itself, its policies and its products better known abroad is through participation in international exhibitions and trade fairs, many of which are held annually. The Canadian Government's trade fair and exhibition programme is, therefore, determined on an annual basis. As the result of advice and recommendations from Canadian posts abroad, and through interdepartmental consultation, the Canadian Government tries to establish the form and scale of participation that will be most advantageous to Canada. In some cases, this participation is designed simply to inform people about Canada; in others, it is aimed principally at selling Canadian products. In all cases, however, the arrangements and displays are undertaken by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission with the assistance and advice of the government departments and agencies involved, particularly the Departments of External Affairs and Trade and Commerce.

As visitors to Expo 67 are aware, the largest and most famous international shows are the First Category Exhibitions, which are registered with and approved by the International Bureau of Exhibitions in Paris. Japan will be the next host country in what may be called the "Expo series". The Japanese World Exposition will be held from March 15 to September 13, 1970, on an 815-acre site just outside the commercial city of Osaka. It is hoped that Expo 70, which will be the first exhibition of its kind to be held in Asia, will make an important contribution to understanding between East and West by presenting its theme of



*Model of the Canadian pavilion to be erected at Expo 70*

"Progress and Harmony for Mankind" to an international audience that will include, it is estimated, 30 million visitors from Japan alone. In October 1966, Canada accepted the invitation of the Japanese Government to participate, and the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission was entrusted with organizing the Canadian pavilion and exhibits. An advisory committee of representatives from government departments meets regularly to co-ordinate and advise on all aspects of Canadian participation.

### **Canada the Earliest Entrant**

Canada is becoming increasingly aware that it is a Pacific as well as an Atlantic and North American nation, while Japan, now probably the third greatest industrial power in the world and a country playing an increasingly active role in Asian and world affairs, is Canada's nearest Pacific neighbour and its third-largest trading partner. For these reasons among others, Canada will be a major participant in Expo 70. It was the first country to announce its participation, as well as the first to sign, in August 1967, a formal contract with the Japan Association for Expo 70. Apart from its many practical advantages, such early planning means that the Canadian flag will have precedence over all other foreign flags at Osaka.

The Canadian Government site at Expo 70 has an area of 2.37 acres occupying a strategic location within the exhibition area. It has pedestrian promenades on three sides, with a moving sidewalk on the north and bus routes to the west and south. The site faces a broad plaza on the west which will undoubtedly be an important feature of Expo 70, dominated by distinctive displays based on the theme of the exhibition. The budget for Canadian participation, including the pavilion, exhibits, performances, advertising and public relations, is \$11.2 millions. The design of the Canadian Government pavilion was chosen from among the entries in a nation-wide architectural competition open to all members of the Royal Architectural Society living in Canada. The winning design, submitted by Erickson/Massey of Vancouver, won over more than 200 other entries. The pavilion design, which has already drawn world-wide attention, includes four mirror-sheathed external walls, 65 feet high, sloping inwards at an angle of 45 degree round a courtyard dominated overhead by moving sculpture.

The organizers of Expo 70 have, naturally, been extremely interested in the success and characteristics of Expo 67. Many Japanese visited Montreal last year to study the Canadian Exhibition. Similarly, many Canadians who were involved in Expo 67 have shown interest in its successor; the organizers of Expo 70 recently announced that more Canadian girls had applied for hostesses than those of any other nationality, while inquiries have been received from many Canadian firms and individuals interested in providing facilities and expertise.

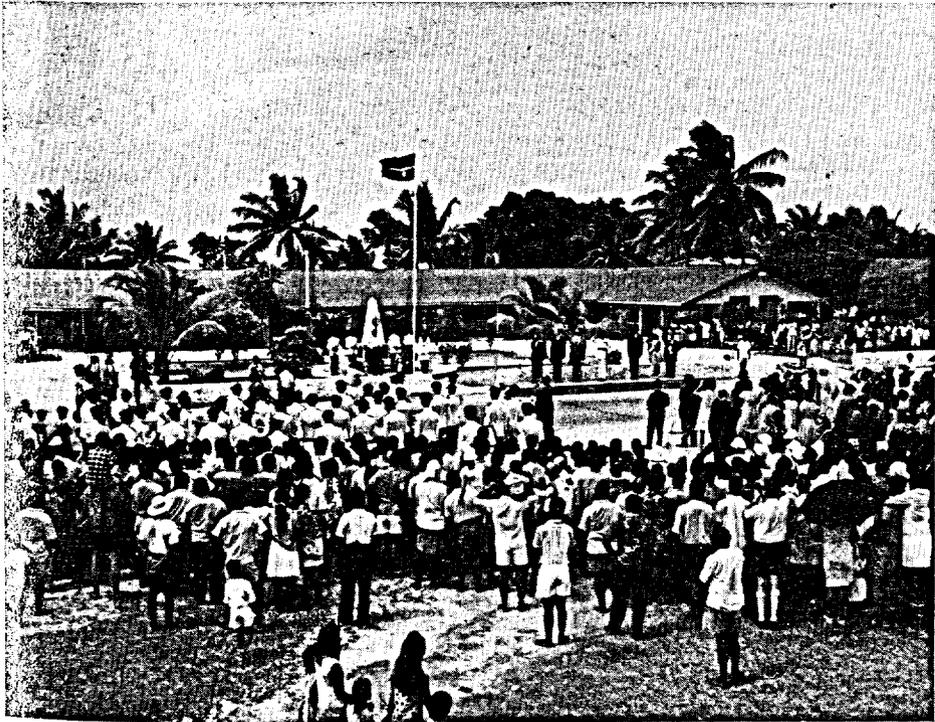
Japan extended invitations through the Canadian Government to the Canadian provinces to participate in Expo 70. British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec have already decided to take part and have selected sites.

## *Nauru Gains Independence*

**T**HREE thousand members of the community living on the small phosphate-rich island of Nauru in the midwest Pacific achieved full independence on January 31, 1968, thus ending 80 years of colonial, League of Nations and United Nations trust territory status. The independence ceremonies and celebrations of the Republic of Nauru were attended by representatives of the former colonial and trusteeship governments, of the United Nations, of friendly Pacific Ocean governments and of neighbouring Pacific islands. Canada was represented by its High Commissioner to Australia, Mr. Arthur Menzies, and Mrs. Menzies.

Nauru is a small, pear-shaped coral island 2,530 miles northeast of Sydney, Australia, and about 5,000 miles southwest of Vancouver. Its nearest neighbour, Ocean Island, is 190 miles to the east. Aircraft fly to Nauru by way of Honiara, capital of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 896 miles to the southwest.

The Island, which has an area of  $8\frac{1}{4}$  square miles, is surrounded by a protective coral shelf 50 yards wide. Seaward the reef plunges at a  $45^\circ$  angle to a great depth, so that it provides no shelter for shipping. The island has a coastal belt 150 to 300 yards wide on which coconut and pandanus palms and



*Independence Day ceremonies on the island of Nauru*

many varieties of flowering shrubs grow. This is where the people live. Behind this coastal strip coral cliffs rise 100 feet to form the phosphate-bearing but infertile central plateau, which comprises the greater part of the island. The climate is tropical, as Nauru is just south of the equator. Rainfall varies greatly from year to year, and the rain seeps quickly into the porous coral and sand soil.

### **History and Development**

Nauru was discovered in 1798 by Captain John Fearn in the American whaling-ship *Hunter*. He named it Pleasant Island because of the pleasing appearance and kindly nature of its people, who are a mixture of Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian, speaking a language unrelated to any other. The island was annexed by Germany in 1888 and administered as part of German New Guinea.

The rich phosphate deposit was discovered in 1900 by an Australian. This salt is composed of the fossilized remains of fish and sea plants deposited among coral pinnacles before the island was pushed up from the sea-bed in prehistoric times. Mining operations were begun in 1907 by the Pacific Phosphate Company, which exported the phosphate to Australia to make fertilizer.

Australian forces occupied Nauru in 1914. In 1919 Nauru became a mandated territory under the League of Nations, with Australia, Britain and New Zealand holding the mandate. Australia was given the administration of the island in 1920. The three governments set up the British Phosphate Commissioners to buy the assets of the Pacific Phosphate Company and mine the phosphate.

In 1942 the Japanese occupied Nauru and shipped 1,200 of the 1,800 Nauruans to Truk in the Carolines. On January 31, 1946, 22 years before Independence Day, only 759 Nauruans returned from Truk; the remainder had died there. The total Nauruan population at the end of the war was 1289.

### **Creation of Trust Territory**

Nauru became a United Nations trust territory in 1947, with Australia, Britain and New Zealand the trust authority and Australia continuing to administer the island. Under the trusteeship agreement, the administering authority undertook to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of Nauru and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as might be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the territory and its people and the freely-expressed wishes of the people concerned.

In 1951 the Nauru Local Government Council was formed to replace the traditional Council of Chiefs, and given limited powers. The Nauru Act 1965 provided for general elections and the formation of a Legislative Council with authority over all local matters except the phosphate industry. An Executive Council presided over by the Administrator and having two elected and two appointed members carried on the administration of the island. Administrative

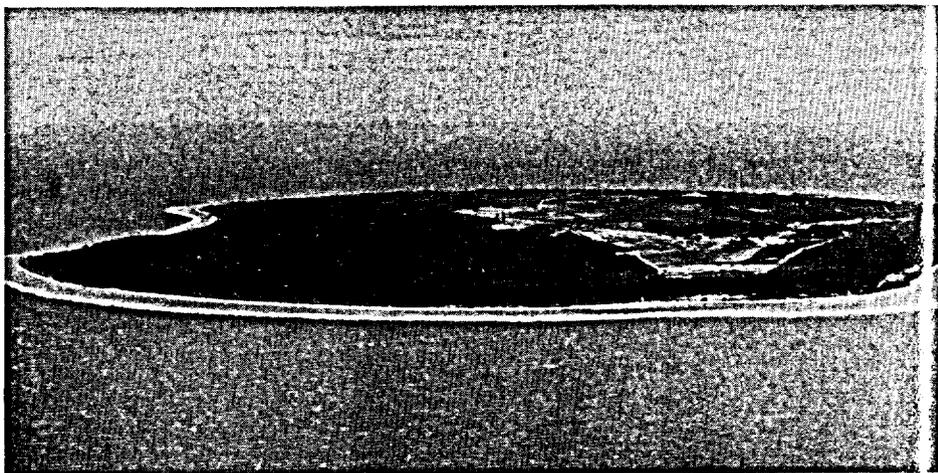
expenses were paid by the British Phosphate Commissioners. In general, the Nauruan people were able to maintain a relatively high standard of living, and had the benefit of advanced social, educational and health services.

As the leaders of the Nauruan community assumed greater responsibility in the conduct of their affairs, they expressed concern about their future when the phosphate deposit should be mined out, about 1990. Efforts to find an alternative island home in the South Pacific failed. A 1960 offer of resettlement in Australia, Britain or New Zealand was unacceptable as it would have resulted in the eventual dispersal of the community. In 1963 they were offered resettlement on Curtis Island, off the coast of Queensland, with a considerable degree of local autonomy, but this was not accepted as the Australian Government would not agree to the establishment of a sovereign, independent new Nauru on its coast. Consequently the Nauruan leaders decided that their people should remain permanently on Nauru, and they sought control of the phosphate deposits, rehabilitation of the mined-out areas and political independence.

### **Share in Phosphate Profits**

The Nauruans claimed ownership of the phosphate which the administering governments said was vested in the British Phosphate Commissioners. The original League of Nations mandate did not provide for any royalty payment to the Nauruans, but in 1920 the BPC began paying ½d a ton. By 1964 this was increased to 3s8d a ton. In July 1964, the royalty was increased to 13s6d, and in 1965 to 17s6d. After lengthy negotiations, an agreement was signed, in June 1967, whereby the Nauruans should acquire full control of the phosphate industry over a three-year period on paying the estimated value of the capital assets of the British Phosphate Commissioners — \$21-22 million (A). At the time of this agreement, there were estimated to be about 50 million tons of phosphate left on the island. With extraction at the rate of 2 million tons a year, the deposit would be exhausted by 1992. It costs about \$4.00 (A) to quarry, dry and load on ships one ton of phosphate. The agreement provides for a payment of \$11.00 (A) a ton until the assets of the BPC are bought out, and then \$12 (A) a ton, or the Florida phosphate price. On this basis, the Nauruans would earn \$7.00 (A) to \$8.00 (A) a ton, a small part of which would be paid to the individual land owner, \$1.00 (A) a ton would be used to pay the costs of government, and the remainder would be invested in a long-term investment fund which would reach about \$400 million (A) by 1990. Provided this money is invested wisely, it should serve to assure the economic future of the Nauruan people.

In November 1965, a committee of experts was appointed to examine the feasibility of rehabilitating the worked-out lands. It submitted its report to the Australian Government and the Nauru Local Government Council in June 1966. Any scheme of rehabilitation would be expensive. The question of the responsibility, if any, of the administering governments to rehabilitate the areas worked



*The island of Nauru*

out before the transfer of control to the Nauruans has been a subject of debate in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

### **Constitutional Discussions**

Following the inauguration of the Nauru Legislative Council on January 31, 1966, discussions on future constitutional arrangements took place in Canberra between Nauruan representatives, led by Head Chief Hammer De Roburt, and representatives of the administering governments. The latter proposed an arrangement under which defence and external affairs responsibilities for Nauru would be exercised by Australia, with the Nauruan Government having full autonomy in other areas. After deliberation, the Nauruan delegation rejected this formula. They said that they envisaged Nauru's maintaining close links with all three governments, especially with Australia, but that the nature of the future links should be left for discussion after full independence had been achieved.

### **Independence Legislation**

The partner governments accepted the Nauruan wishes. The Australian Parliament then enacted, in November 1967, the Nauru Independence Act. This ensured that it was within the competence of the Nauru Legislative Council to pass an ordinance establishing a Constitutional Convention to draw up a Constitution that would come into operation on Independence Day. The Act also provided for the Governor General of Australia to proclaim a day after which Australian legislation would cease to apply in Nauru. Independence Day was fixed for January 31, 1968, the anniversary of the return of the Nauruan exiles from Truk Island in 1946.

On November 22, 1967, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations recommended that the trusteeship agreement for Nauru should be terminated from January 31, 1968. On December 6, 1967, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly considered the report of the Trusteeship Council on the future of Nauru. Head Chief Hammer De Roburt, in his address, said that the distinct ethnic and cultural differences of the Nauruan people from other peoples, Nauru's determination to preserve its national identity, and Nauru's good fortune in possessing large deposits of high-grade phosphate, resulted in the people's desire for independence and their confidence that they had the resources with which to sustain it. He went on to say :

There is no reason on earth why we should not govern ourselves; but there is every reason why we should not ignore our small size in deciding upon our role in affairs of the wider world. We are resolved . . . that that role shall be a very limited one and one that is governed by the narrow range of interests that Nauru possesses beyond its own shores and by a realistic assessment of our capacities.

He concluded by stating that he did not think it appropriate for Nauru to seek membership in the United Nations.

In his remarks, the Canadian representative congratulated Mr. Hammer De Roburt for his moving speech and offered sincere congratulations and best wishes to the people of Nauru for their future. He also took advantage of the occasion to compliment the administering powers, and particularly the Government of Australia, for the role they had played in leading Nauru to independence. The General Assembly of the United Nations endorsed the recommendation of the Fourth Committee on December 7, 1967.

### **Type of Government**

The Constitutional Convention Ordinance 1967 was passed by the Nauru Legislative Council and provided for the establishment of a Constitutional Convention of 36 members comprising the nine elected members of the Legislative Council and 27 members elected by the territory electors. Head Chief Hammer De Roburt was elected Chairman of the Constitutional Convention. A draft Constitution was considered and provisionally adopted. It envisages a Government of the British type, with a Council of State serving as an interim cabinet. The Chairman of the Council of State would fill the role of Chief Minister as well as Head of State. The Constitutional Convention will continue to review the Constitution for a further five months after independence. It is expected that during this time a decision will be taken to transform the position of Chairman of the Council of State to that of President of the Republic of Nauru, and that a Cabinet of five to eight Ministers will take over from the Council of State.

The independence ceremonies began on January 30, when the flags of the three administering powers were lowered for the last time at a reception given at Government House by the retiring Australian Administrator, Brigadier Leslie D. King. At midnight there was an open-air interdenominational church-service of thanksgiving and dedication, for all the Nauruans are Christians. This was

followed by a great display of fireworks to inaugurate the new era of independence.

On Independence Day, January 31, the first official business was the election of the five members of the Council of State and their Chairman, Mr Hammer De Roburt. This was followed by an open-air ceremony at which the retiring Administrator read the Australian Governor General's Proclamation of Independence for Nauru and a message of good wishes from Her Majesty the Queen. Then the new flag of the Republic of Nauru was hoisted for the first time. The flag has a medium blue field to represent the Pacific Ocean, a horizontal yellow stripe representing the equator, and below this a 12-pointed yellow star representing the island of Nauru and its districts.

### **Canadian Greeting**

Distinguished visitors were then invited to attend a resumed session of the Legislative Council at which representatives of the former administering powers, of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Prime Minister of Western Samoa in person, and representatives of other Pacific Ocean governments offered congratulations. The Canadian High Commissioner to Australia, Mr. Menzie, read the following message from the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada :

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I extend best wishes to you and the people of Nauru on the attainment of independence on January 31. As a country with a Pacific frontier and historic ties with the administering authorities, Australia, Britain and New Zealand, Canada has watched with interest your development toward independence. We were glad to support in the United Nations the resolution terminating the Trusteeship Agreement. We have noted the desire of the Nauruan people to retain an association with the Commonwealth of Nations, and shall be happy to consider, in due course, ways in which this may be given practical effect. We wish the Nauruan people happiness and prosperity in their newly achieved independence.

With the independence ceremonies over, the islanders began to celebrate. There was an afternoon of uniquely Nauruan games, followed by an all-island barbecue at which a ton and a half of steaks, a ton of chops and a ton of sausages were consumed. At night there was a variety concert of Nauruan, Gilbert Islands and Ellice Islands dances and songs.

In the following two days the visitors departed, leaving the Nauruans to give effect to the independence they had achieved. The quarrying of phosphate resumed. Australians continue to serve in the Nauru Public Service. Nauruan students will continue to go to Australia for higher education. In his speech to the Legislative Council, the Australian Minister for Territories, the Honourable C. E. Barnes, said :

It is the hope of the Australian Government that the relations between the Commonwealth of Australia and Nauru will continue to be conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and co-operation. If the Government of the Republic of Nauru wishes to propose additional arrangements for co-operation between our two countries the Government of Australia will be ready to discuss those proposals.

## *Symposium on Industrial Development*

THE newest member of the United Nations "family", the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, was established at the twentieth session of the General Assembly by Resolution 2089 of December 20, 1965. UNIDO is an autonomous organization reporting to the General Assembly. Its purpose is to promote industrial development and to be responsible for reviewing and promoting the co-ordination of United Nations activities in industry. As its first major task, the new organization was asked to hold an International Symposium on Industrial Development, to which were invited governments of member states and representatives of Specialized Agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The resolution setting up the Symposium expressed the belief that it was likely to play a significant role in focusing attention on problems and measures aimed at strengthening international co-operation in industrial development and accelerating the industrial growth of the developing countries.

The Symposium, which took place in Athens from November 29 to December 20, 1967, was attended by representatives of about 80 countries as well as representatives from 15 intergovernmental organizations and nine non-governmental. Some 600 participants were at the meetings and, in addition, about 200 representatives of private and public corporations came to Athens as "special guests" to participate in an Industrial Promotion Service organized by UNIDO concurrently with the holding of the Symposium. The objective of the IPS was to bring together individual businessmen and officials from developed and developing countries to discuss to their mutual advantage industrial projects, available services, sources of financing and other aspects of industrialization. This activity was considered to have achieved a considerable measure of success.

Canada was represented at the Symposium by a delegation headed by the Canadian Ambassador to Greece, Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, and including officials from the Canadian Embassy in Athens and from government departments in Ottawa. Two prominent Canadian businessmen, Mr. J. Hahn of Montreal and Mr. H. Dagg of Vancouver, served on the delegation as advisers, and invitations were extended to all provincial governments to send observers to the meeting. Two provinces took advantage of the invitation: Ontario was represented by Mr. S. Clarkson, Deputy Minister of Economics and Development, and Mr. W. T. Thompson, Senior Trade and Industrial Counsellor, Ontario House, London, and Manitoba by Mr. L. D. Dyke, Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce.

Industrialization has been described as one of the most complex problems in the field of external aid activity, if not, indeed, the most complex of all. It is

a multidimensional development, involving an entire range of economic, technological, financial, institutional and social problems. This variety of problems was reflected in the broad agenda for the Symposium, which was divided into three main areas of activity, each of which was covered by a separate committee. Committee One dealt with across-the-board problems of industry such as training and management, industrial research, manpower and institutions. Committee Two was devoted to an analysis of the situation and the prospects of a number of selected industrial branches of major interest to developing countries. The Third Committee dealt with general issues and policies of industrialization from both the national and international points of view.

### **Achievement of Symposium**

While there was inevitably a wide range of views expressed and it was apparent that there were differences of approach to the problems of industrial development between the developing and the industrially-advanced countries, it was felt that the Symposium had value in pointing out these differences and perhaps in laying the basis for a realistic appraisal of future activities in this field by both the developed and the developing countries. After three weeks of meetings, the Symposium concluded by noting (by consensus) a large number of resolutions, most of which call for action on the part of the organizing body — UNIDO. However, when an attempt was made to elaborate a generally accepted policy statement to define the positions of governments on the larger issues of industrialization, substantial divergences of opinion became apparent. A compromise was eventually reached only by incorporating in the final report two parallel declarations, one by the developing countries and the other by the developed countries. This allowed each group to reserve their positions on certain issues. Despite these divergencies, a number of overlapping areas of agreement did emerge, and each statement ended with this paragraph :

The Symposium notes with satisfaction that these two sets of recommendations disclose agreement in certain areas. However, there remain areas of great concern to developing and developed countries alike, particularly industrial financing and commercial policies relating to industrial development, in which consensus has not been achieved. It is the earnest hope of all participants in the Symposium that continued discussion between the developed and developing countries, within the framework of UNIDO and other appropriate bodies, will enlarge the area of common understanding and result in substantial progress in the industrialization of the developing countries at an accelerated rate.

It will probably be some time before the value of the Symposium becomes apparent. The governing body of UNIDO — the Industrial Development Board (of which Canada is a member) — will consider the Symposium's activities at its second session, which is to be held at the new UNIDO headquarters in Vienna from April 17 to May 14, 1968. It is to be hoped that the discussions held in Athens will prove to have been a useful step in the progress being made by UNIDO to its becoming a practical agent for industrial development. The Secretariat of UNIDO are to be congratulated for the success of such an ambitious project so soon after the birth of the new organization.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

UNCTAD : New Delhi, February 1 — March 25

NATO Disarmament Experts : Brussels, February 27 — March 1

International Year Symposium on Human Rights : Montreal, March 22-27

Industrial Development Board : Vienna, April

NATO Nuclear Planning Group : The Hague, April 18-19

International Conference on Human Rights : Tehran, April — May

NATO spring ministerial meeting : Reykjavik, June 24-25

International Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space : Vienna,  
August 17-28

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CORRIGENDUM : On Pages 530 and 531 of the December 1967 issue of *External Affairs*, the following corrections should be made :

Under the heading "Dominican Republic and Venezuela" — "Dr. Paul Vooz" to "Dr. Raul Nass"; "Dr. Guido Croscors" to "Dr. Guido Grooscors"; "Velasquez" to "Velasques"; "Chairman of the Congress" to "President of the Congress"; "Central Information Bureau" to "Central Information Office".

Under "Brazil and Argentina" — "General Algosaray" to "General Alsogaray"; "Magalhes Pinto" to "Magalhães Pinto".

Under "Chile" — "Mr. Illianes" to "Mr. Illanes".

Under "Peru and Colombia" — "President Balaunde" to "President Belaunde"; "General Ordonez" to "General Odonez"; "Mr. Bétancourt" to "Mr. Betancur".

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. E. Bryson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague, effective December 4, 1967.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Marseille, to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vientiane, effective December 4, 1967.
- Mr. J. W. Graham posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective December 4, 1967.
- Mr. J. M. Church posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective December 5, 1967.
- Mr. C. Hardy, Canadian Ambassador to Lebanon, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Jordan, effective December 6, 1967.
- Mr. P. A. Joncas posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective December 8, 1967.
- Mr. J. A. Malone posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective December 12, 1967.
- Mr. F. Adam posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective December 14, 1967.
- Mr. C. J. Dagg posted from Ottawa to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Saigon, effective December 16, 1967.
- Mr. S. F. Gooch posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective December 16, 1967.
- Mr. D. Boily posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Rawalpindi, effective December 18, 1967.
- Miss M. Catley posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective December 20, 1967.
- Mr. G. O. J. Neveu resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective December 29, 1967.
- Mr. F. M. Bild posted from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to the École Nationale d'Administration, Paris, effective December 18, 1967.
- Mr. R. Belliveau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective January 2, 1968.
- Miss P. Owen resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 3, 1968.
- Mr. F. Clark posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Consulate General, Hamburg, effective January 4, 1968.
- Mr. G. Bertrand resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 4, 1968.
- Mr. C. Pederson posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Rawalpindi, to Ottawa, effective January 9, 1968.
- Mr. J. H. Cleveland, Canadian Ambassador to Colombia, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Ecuador, effective January 10, 1968.
- Miss R. Vézina posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, effective January 10, 1968.
- Mr. D. B. Butler posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Hamburg, to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective January 14, 1968.

- Mr. R. N. Nuttal resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 16, 1968.
- Mr. R. G. Hatheway posted from the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, to the Office of the Senior Trade Commissioner for Canada, Hong Kong, effective January 17, 1968.
- Mr. B. M. Williams, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Romania, effective January 19, 1968.
- Mr. J. C. Legg posted from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, to the Canadian Consulate General, Marseilles, effective January 20, 1968.
- Miss D. Osborne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, to the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, effective January 21, 1968.
- Mr. C. Gauthier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective January 21, 1968.
- Mr. J. L. Desrochers posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, effective January 23, 1968.
- Mr. A. C. Lapointe resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 23, 1968.
- Mr. A. L. Morantz posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, effective January 28, 1968.

Mr. E. Vaillancourt, former Ambassador to Cuba,  
Yugoslavia and Peru, deceased January 15, 1968.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Belgium

Cultural Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium.

Signed at Ottawa May 8, 1967.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Brussels February 5, 1968.

Entered into force February 5, 1968.

##### India

Financial Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of India.

Signed at Ottawa December 20, 1967.

Entered into force December 20, 1967.

##### Ireland

Exchange of letters (3) between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ireland modifying the Trade Agreement concluded in 1932 between the two countries.

Dublin December 21, 1967.

Entered into force December 21, 1967.

##### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Exchange of Notes modifying the Air Agreement of July 11, 1966, between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Ottawa December 12, 1967.

Entered into force December 12, 1967.

#### Multilateral

Convention of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain.

Signed by Canada July 16, 1966.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited January 4, 1968.

Fourth *procès-verbal* extending the declaration on the provisional accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Done at Geneva November 14, 1967.

Signed by Canada January 16, 1968.

Third *procès-verbal* extending the declaration on the provisional accession of the United Arab Republic to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Done at Geneva November 14, 1967.

Signed by Canada January 16, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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*Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.*

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## *Prime Minister's Visit to Jamaica*



*The Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, is shown during his visit to Jamaica in February, receiving an honorary degree from the hands of Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice, Chancellor of the University of the West Indies. Mr. Pearson addressed the convocation of the University and received on behalf of Canada a large sculpture in wood by the Jamaican sculptress Mrs. Edna Manley.*

## *The Department of External Affairs and the Universities*

ON February 17, 1967, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in a speech at the University of Western Ontario dealing with several foreign policy subjects, emphasized how important it was "to maintain and strengthen the contacts between those of us responsible for the development and execution of foreign policy and those in the universities who have the opportunity, and the duty, to reflect on the broad, long-term issues of international affairs". Mr. Martin expressed the hope that there would be a continuing dialogue, close contacts, exchange of information, and, most important, the maintenance of mutual respect and confidence, and announced that there had been established within the Department of External Affairs an Academic Relations Section, which was to serve as a focus of relations with the universities.

Since that time, the new Section has begun to assume some of the co-ordinating functions logically required of it, has initiated discussion within the Department of various possible projects and has carried on that discussion with a number of individuals at universities in all parts of the country in the course of making new personal contacts.

### **No Duplication of Effort**

The interests of the Department of External Affairs that are reflected in the work of the Academic Relations Section are centred chiefly on teaching and research at universities by the departments of government concerned with international relations and area studies. These are, of course, the university activities most directly relevant to the formulation of Canadian external policy and to analysis of current world affairs. The work of the new Section does not, therefore, cover the same area of responsibility as, or replace the university contacts of, divisions in the Department dealing with historical research, cultural and education exchanges with other countries or personnel recruitment.

The kinds of actual or possible contact with the universities in the field of contemporary world affairs are considerably varied. Officers of the Department from time to time attend seminars or public conferences on specific topics sponsored by universities, by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs or by other organizations in which there has been a significant involvement of academics. They have been invited to speak to groups of students and faculty members in the course of the regular academic year on aspects of Canadian external policy or Canadian activity overseas with which they have been directly concerned. The Department has co-operated with the Public Service Commission in its general programme of offering speakers from different agencies of the

Federal Government who could speak on themes of current interest at universities.

The Department has also from time to time asked individual academics to undertake research on a contract basis on subjects related to policy studies. This is, of course, an area of contact in which any government agency can derive considerable benefit from the specialized knowledge and research skills available in a university. Academics have served on Canadian delegations to conferences where their professional background was particularly helpful.

### **Resident Visitor Scheme**

Contacts between the Department and the universities in the areas mentioned above have existed for some years. The creation of an Academic Relations Section is an indication of the intention mentioned by Mr. Martin to strengthen existing contacts and to introduce the degree of co-ordination required to make them as beneficial as possible to all who are involved. The Department has under consideration additional means of stimulating an exchange of ideas. Chief among these is a scheme whereby some senior foreign officers would spend a semester or a year at a university, somewhat like visiting professors. The degree of formal involvement in teaching or other university activities might vary from case to case. The general objective of the project, however, would be twofold. The officer from the Department would pursue his own studies of subjects of particular interest to him, benefiting from the contact with academics and students with similar interests and from library resources. At the same time, he would contribute from his own professional background to the study of international relations at the university in question. Interest in such possibilities has been expressed in university circles and it is hoped that the first arrangements of this sort can be made in the next year or so.

Projects with any significant implications for personnel or financial planning must, of course, be fitted into general programmes in which priorities have to be established to meet both long-term needs and current pressures created by Canadian involvement in a wide range of world problems. The full implementation of an academic relations programme establishing exchanges in all the desirable fields of contact can only take place over several years. The objective throughout this period of development will be to find the best means, at any given time, with existing resources, of stimulating mutually-beneficial contacts — whether these opportunities lie in joint seminars, individual lectures, increased reliance on contract research, assignment of officers to universities, or involvement of academics in Departmental activities.

### **Growth of Public Interest**

The need for increased contact with universities is evident in the light of general public interest in foreign policy. In a speech on December 4, 1967, before students of the Faculty of Law of the University of Ottawa, Mr. Martin spoke on the topic "The Public and Canadian Foreign Policy". He pointed out that

developments in recent years had "laid the basis for wide public involvement in foreign affairs". "Increasingly," he said, "Canadians care about world problems as in the past they cared only about domestic problems." Mr. Martin referred in this context to "the rather special position occupied by members of the academic community". "University professors traditionally and university students more recently have taken an active part in the Canadian foreign policy debate," he stated. The speech then referred to the establishment of an Academic Relations Section and to prospects for more extensive contacts between universities and the Department of External Affairs.

The desirability of such contacts and exchanges and the extent to which they can be both intellectually satisfying and profitable are indicated by Mr. Martin's remark in the speech to University of Ottawa students that "the university community and those charged with day-to-day responsibilities have a different approach and outlook on foreign policy". The foreign service officer works under discipline in which his perceptiveness in analysing a problem, his capacity to locate and digest the relevant background information, his judgment as to the action to be taken and his ability to act effectively under pressure are frequently tested by the necessity of obtaining properly authorized decisions rapidly, meeting deadlines and keeping in touch with a situation not under his control. These pressures do not, as is sometimes suggested, necessarily lead to superficial judgment or discourage reflection on the fundamental nature of a problem; indeed the crisis, the necessity for making a decision and the aftermath of the crisis may provide a much greater insight into the nature of a problem for those concerned than could possibly have been obtained in a much longer period of research and reflection. Nevertheless, the rhythm of action and reflection typical of a foreign ministry must be related properly to the quite different rhythm of research, report, debate and advocacy of points of view typical of other institutions — not only educational ones, since other governmental agencies contribute also to the long-term examination of factors affecting external policy.

The academic has his own exacting obligations in teaching and research relevant to current affairs. He must investigate all relevant evidence, take conflicting opinions into account, provide the perspectives of scholarly research in Canadian and world affairs relevant to judgment of contemporary problems, free of any obligation to a government or of any necessity to participate in collective assessment of immediate problems of action.

In the general and growing discussion of foreign affairs in public and governmental circles referred to by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, increased contacts between the public servants and the academics will be one important way of ensuring that there has been a full exchange of information and ideas between those able to look at a problem from differing standpoints to the mutual benefit of both.

## *Progress in Canada's Relations with Eastern Europe*

CANADA now maintains diplomatic relations with six countries of Eastern Europe besides the U.S.S.R. These states — Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia — form a region with a population approximately six times that of Canada in an area of just less than half a million square miles.

In its relations with the countries in this area, it is the objective of the Canadian Government to overcome the difficulties which have had a constraining influence in the past and to develop areas of mutually beneficial co-operation. While it is impossible to say where the greatest opportunities for such co-operation will occur in the future, there has already been significant progress in matters



*Escorted by the Director of Protocol of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Yordan Stefanov (right), Canada's Ambassador Bruce Williams inspects a guard of honour drawn up in the square in front of the National Assembly building in Sofia.*

concerning trade, cultural exchanges, governmental contacts, and co-operation in the work of international organizations. It seems reasonable to expect that these developments will continue, and to hope that the links between Canada and Eastern Europe will lead in time to greater political understanding and a consequent contribution to world peace and stability.

### **New Trade Openings**

The opportunities for trade between Canada and Eastern Europe have increased considerably in the last decade or so as a result of a number of developments. Vigorous growth and industrialization has occurred in Eastern Europe in this period, just as it has in Western countries. The rising living standards and increased specialization that have accompanied this growth have created opportunities for trade from which Canada has benefited greatly. In particular, Canada has been well placed to supply grain at a time when substantial quantities were required in Eastern Europe, and the volume and range of other Canadian exports to these countries has been steadily increasing. The importance Canada attaches to the growth of trade with Eastern Europe is illustrated by the visit of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. R. H. Winters, to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria at the end of 1966. Nor has Canada's trade with Eastern Europe been marked solely by the growth of Canadian exports in recent years. This region has provided the Canadian market with a large variety of quality goods.

While these prospects are attractive, it must be recognized that there are still hindrances to co-operation, which are largely the legacy of a less satisfactory period in Canada's relations with Eastern Europe. Solutions to problems or compromises which are satisfactory to both sides must be sought in a spirit of goodwill and realism. They cannot all be achieved at once, nor is it reasonable to expect that all differences will eventually disappear. Canada and the Eastern European nations can, nevertheless, co-operate fruitfully, provided they understand and respect their differences. The following brief account of developments in the past few months illustrates some of the ways in which Canada's relations with Eastern Europe are moving ahead.

### **Exchange of Visits**

Relations with Yugoslavia continue to be cordial — and received a further impetus last year when two important Yugoslav officials visited Canada. In early May, Mr. Gustav Vlahov, Secretary of Information, paid a brief informal visit to Canada during which he met Prime Minister Pearson. He was followed in September by Mr. Mika Spiljak, President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who represented his country at Expo 67 during the Yugoslav national day festivities. The Yugoslav pavilion was one of the major attractions at Expo. While in Canada, Mr. Spiljak had valuable talks in Ottawa with Mr. Pearson and other government officials.



*Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania (right), converses through an interpreter with the newly-appointed Canadian Ambassador to Romania, Mr. Bruce Williams (left).*

A notable Canadian visit to Yugoslavia in 1967 was that of the National Defence College, members of which spent March 30 to April 4 in Belgrade during the College's annual tour of foreign countries.

Southeastern Europe was recently the scene of two ceremonies in which Mr. Bruce Williams, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, became Canada's first Ambassador to Bulgaria and to Romania. In Sofia, on December 28, 1967, Mr. Williams presented his letters of credence to Mr. Georgi Traikov, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On January 18, 1968, a similar ceremony took place at the Palace of the Council of State in Bucharest, where Mr. Williams presented his letters of credence to Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

#### **Bulgaria and Romania in Canada**

In January 1967, Bulgaria established a mission in Canada under Mr. Kiril Chterev, and, on February 7, 1968, he presented his credentials as Bulgaria's first resident Ambassador in Canada. Mr. Chterev will be smoothing the way for the increase of Bulgaria's exports to Canada, which, though still relatively small, have increased tenfold since 1963 and are well diversified, ranging from cheese to sporting rifles and metal lathes.

On August 29, 1967, Mr. Corneliu Bogdan presented his letters of credence as non-resident Ambassador of Romania to Canada. It is hoped that a resident mission will be opened in Canada in the near future. The future also holds promise for trade between Canada and Romania. On March 22, Romania and Canada signed in Montreal a trade agreement granting each other most-favoured-nation treatment.

### **Czechoslovakia at Expo**

Czechoslovakia came into sharp focus for hundreds of thousands of Canadians with its impressive contribution to Expo 67. The Czechoslovak pavilion, justly praised for its inventiveness, beauty and artistic integrity, showed Canadians what Czechoslovakia has to offer technically and culturally. Most prominent among the many Czechoslovak visitors to Canada and Expo in 1967 were President Antonin Novotny and Foreign Minister David, who were warmly received by the Canadian public and Government alike. While its participation in Expo 67 was creating a new image of Czechoslovakia in Canadian minds, the reports on Canada and Expo brought back by tourists and journalists were making Canada more familiar to the average citizen of Czechoslovakia.

### **Polish Parliamentarians**

From October 14 to 25, 1967, a delegation of the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament) visited Canada. In addition to their contacts with members of the Canadian Parliament, the delegation met with Canadian representatives of provincial and city governments and leading scientific and economic figures across the country. Wherever they went, the Polish leaders found evidence of goodwill and a desire for closer understanding between the two countries, and it was generally agreed that visits such as this can make an important contribution to bilateral relations.

Thus even a cursory examination indicates that Canada's relations with Eastern Europe have been developing favourably and that further progress on concrete issues can be hoped for. Heretofore, for example, it has sometimes proved difficult for Eastern European nations to adjust to the competitive conditions in the Canadian market. However, increased contact with Canada and experience of Canadian ways of doing business could bring about a distinct improvement in Eastern Europe's export capability.

In the same way, in a generally more favourable climate, an acceptable settlement of Canadian claims, which remain outstanding against all the countries of the region except Bulgaria, can be hoped for. This is a vexing question, on which progress has in the past been slow and which has sometimes been an impediment to the solution of other problems. As these and other questions are resolved, Canadians can expect the evolution of relations between their country and the nations of Eastern Europe to continue to the further advantage of all concerned.

## Disarmament: Non-Proliferation Treaty

THE first part of the 1968 session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), which lasted from January 18 to March 14, was in a sense the continuation of the previous session, which had recessed on December 4, 1967, without having completed the drafting of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT). After a brief debate in mid-December on the ENDC's interim report, the General Assembly requested a full report on the NPT negotiations by March 15, 1968, with a view to resuming its twenty-second session shortly thereafter. Faced with this deadline, members reconvened on January 18.

At the time of the December recess, the draft NPT texts were still in the form introduced by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Co-chairmen on August 24. These drafts, which did not include any text for Article III on safeguards, had been commented on by all members of the Committee, several of whom had been critical and had presented specific proposals for additions and amendments. While these comments were being offered by other ENDC members, the Co-chairmen had remained generally silent and had not discussed the various amendments and suggestions put forward. They intimated that they considered it more useful and practical to hear the considered views of all members and then to consult with each other about those amendments they could agree to incorporate in the draft text. Although the Co-chairmen gave assurances that they were prepared in principle to accept several amendments before the recess, they had not agreed upon the wording of the revisions.

### New Draft Tabled

When the session resumed on January 18, the Co-chairmen tabled a revised draft treaty, including a draft Article III on safeguards and incorporating several amendments and new articles, relating, *inter alia*, to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the peaceful applications of nuclear explosions, further measures of disarmament, and nuclear-free zones. Under Article III, each non-nuclear-weapon state would undertake to accept safeguards, as set out in agreements to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to verify that they were not diverting nuclear materials from peaceful uses to the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

In the succeeding weeks, all delegations commented on the new draft. Speaking on several occasions, the Canadian delegation expressed agreement with the essentials of the revised text, which appeared to be materially better than the text of August 24. However, a number of delegations, especially those of Brazil, India and Romania, were again strongly critical and continued to favour radical changes. Others were prepared to work for further improvements within the general framework of the revised draft. In particular, the Swedish delegation

made several suggestions for amendments that would make the draft treaty more widely acceptable, mainly by reinforcing the link between the NPT and further measures of disarmament and by providing for periodic review of the operation of the treaty. The British delegation also proposed some textual changes to clarify certain sections of the treaty. On March 11, the Co-chairmen tabled a new revision, incorporating a number of the amendments proposed, for transmittal to the General Assembly.

### **Security Assurances Resolution**

On March 7, the delegations of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain tabled jointly a draft Security Council resolution about security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon states signatory to the NPT. This resolution, designed to alleviate the fears expressed by many states, would assure that the Security Council, and particularly the nuclear powers permanent members thereof, would act immediately to assist any state lacking nuclear arms that become the victim of, or was threatened with, aggression involving nuclear weapons. These three nuclear powers stated their intention of introducing this draft resolution in the Security Council when the treaty had been approved by the General Assembly and indicated the kind of declarations they would make at that time.

The ENDC was able to agree on its report on March 14, just before the deadline set by the General Assembly. In essence, the report transmits to the General Assembly for consideration at its resumed session, which is expected to start in the latter half of April, the texts of the draft treaty and draft Security Council resolution. Together with extracts from the concluding statement made on March 13 by Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, the texts of the following documents are reproduced on Pages 175 and 181 :

- (1) draft NPT;
- (2) draft Security Council resolution.

### **Canada and the Non-Proliferation Treaty**

The Canadian delegation welcomes the latest revisions included in the draft non-proliferation treaty which was submitted on Monday March 11. These revisions constitute a further step in the elaboration of a treaty which should be both effective and widely acceptable. Anyone who has followed the course of negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee during the past two years and studied the successive draft treaties should be convinced of the constructive results obtained through the efforts of all delegations.

We shall very soon be moving on to the United Nations General Assembly for what will probably be the last round of negotiations, in which the treaty will take on its final form. The Canadian delegation would respectfully suggest

that all members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have a responsibility to do all in their power to make the General Assembly debate as constructive, relevant and informed as possible . . . .

The Canadian Government is in general agreement with the provisions of the treaty in its latest revision and welcomes the last changes which have been incorporated.

### **Preamble Satisfactory**

We find the content and phrasing of the preamble satisfactory, and, in particular, we ascribe importance to the provisions that assert support for research on and development of the instrumented means of carrying out safeguards procedures in the IAEA system; to the provisions that affirm the principle that states not possessing nuclear weapons should receive the benefits of all peaceful applications of nuclear technology, including the uses of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes; and to those provisions which refer to steps to halt the arms race and lead to nuclear disarmament. We are pleased to see the inclusion in the present draft of the paragraph suggested by the delegation of Sweden reaffirming the determination expressed in the Moscow limited test-ban treaty to achieve a cessation of all nuclear-weapon testing.

As I mentioned in earlier statements, Canada finds that Articles I and II of the treaty, often referred to as its core, adequately provide for preventing states other than the existing nuclear powers from acquiring nuclear weapons. That, of course, is the main purpose of the treaty. In that connection we have welcomed the recent assurances by the Co-chairmen, in response to points raised by some delegations, that they consider Articles I and II to contain no loopholes to proliferation of practical significance.

### **An Acceptable Compromise**

Turning to Article III, while Canada would have preferred an equitable safeguards article, which would apply safeguards to the peaceful nuclear activities of all parties to the treaty, we consider the formulation of Article III, submitted on January 18 by the United States and the Soviet Union, to be an acceptable compromise arising out of lengthy and difficult negotiations. As a non-nuclear-weapon state, Canada has been greatly assisted in coming to a decision to support this formulation by the public undertakings of the United States and the United Kingdom last December to accept safeguards on their own non-military nuclear activities. We earnestly appeal to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to give a similar undertaking.

We would urge other members of this Committee also to support the latest formulation of Article III. This article is, in our view, essential to the credibility and working of the treaty, because it would provide effective means of ensuring that the terms of the treaty were being respected by the parties. As we have often stated in this Committee, Canada considers provision for

effective verification to be fundamental to realistic and durable measures of arms control, not least to invest them with the vital element of international credibility. Article III would, we are sure, accord the treaty the necessary credibility and instil in parties the confidence necessary to ensure that the treaty would be effective in preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons and enhancing the security of the community of nations.

#### **A Sanctioned Safeguards System**

We would remind members of the Committee that the intent of the article is to apply safeguards in accordance with the Statute of IAEA and the Agency's safeguards system. This safeguards system has been sanctioned by the General Conference of the Agency, which claims the membership of every country represented in this Committee. It has, moreover, attracted wide international support and has stood the test of time and experience. Article III envisages not the imposition of a new untried concept and set of procedures, not a departure from established norms and practices, but rather the logical, and we trust progressive, extension of an effective, unobtrusive and generally acceptable set of controls against the diversion of nuclear energy to weapon purposes.

What is required at this juncture is merely some general indication of support for the principle and intent of the article, particularly from those members of the Committee with active peaceful nuclear programmes. No member can be expected to make a final judgment on or commitment to the article until the treaty is in final form. All members will have opportunity to review and assess the viability of all provisions of the treaty before they sign and ratify it. Even as parties, they will have the opportunity to review the actual functioning of the treaty and the extent to which all parties are living up to its terms and spirit . . . .

There has been much discussion in this Committee of the need for the treaty to provide for an acceptable balance of mutual obligations between the nuclear and non-nuclear states. In the view of the Canadian delegation, Article IV of the treaty goes some way towards establishing such a balance, as it expresses an obligation of states with advanced nuclear programmes to assist those in less favoured circumstances. Furthermore, my delegation considers it most important that Article IV guarantees the rights of parties to the treaty to the unrestricted development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to the co-operation to that end of other states and international organizations.

#### **Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy**

Article V of the treaty deals with a subject which has at times provoked a lively debate in the Committee. I refer, of course, to the use of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. We support the wording of the present Article V, which, we feel, contains advantages for non-nuclear countries which offset the prohibitions contained in Articles I and II. During our debate,

I have many times stated Canada's position on the regulation of peaceful nuclear explosions under a treaty of non-proliferation. For the present, I shall merely repeat what I said at our meeting on February 21, which reflects our desire to see the elaboration of an effective non-proliferation treaty without any loop-hole :

... we support the prohibitive provision in Articles I and II; and the fundamental reason for this is that we believe that military and civil nuclear explosive technologies are indistinguishable. The ability to produce any kind of nuclear explosive device is the same as the ability to produce a nuclear weapon.

Canada considers that the provisions of Article V are particularly advantageous, as they assure states without nuclear weapons that they will be able to secure nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes when these have been developed by the nuclear powers but without any charges for research and development. Such arrangements would spare non-nuclear-weapon states the high costs in both financial and human terms and the delays of many years which would be involved in developing nuclear explosive devices with their own resources.

My delegation, among others, has raised questions concerning the provision for bilateral arrangements for peaceful nuclear explosive services. We have welcomed the oral assurances on this point which have been given by the Co-chairmen, particularly that bilateral arrangements would be arrived at and implemented in strict accordance with Articles I and II of the treaty. As stated by the representative of the United States, any bilateral arrangements would be subject to international observation.

#### **Need for Control Convention**

We have noted also statements by the Co-chairmen that it will be necessary, in due course, when more is known about the economic and technical feasibility of employing nuclear explosions for engineering or other developmental purposes, to draw up a convention or international agreement on the modes of carrying out and controlling the arrangements foreseen under the provisions of Article VII. The Canadian delegation suggested an outline of what such a convention should contain in its intervention on September 12, 1967.

Canada is in agreement with the provisions of Article VIII, as now revised. We welcome the inclusion of language which makes possible periodic review of how the objects of both the treaty and the preamble are being achieved.

As we have said before, we consider that, in Article IX, 40 ratifications is about the number which should be required to bring the treaty into force. In view of the importance of this treaty, the Canadian Government hopes that it will come into effect with the minimum of delay.

The provisions of Article X are completely acceptable to my delegation.

Turning now from the treaty itself, I should like to comment briefly on an equally important and closely related subject. We have from time to time voiced a concern that the question of security assurances has not yet been dealt with in our Committee's negotiations. We have, of course, appreciated the

complexities and the difficulties of reaching an agreement of this kind. Therefore we greatly welcome the recent tripartite agreement on this issue. We have long been convinced that the non-aligned non-nuclear-weapon states parties to the treaty have a legitimate claim to be protected against nuclear intimidation and attack, in return for their renunciation of the right to acquire nuclear weapons.

#### **A Nuclear-Power Commitment**

The Canadian Government believes that the agreement between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, as expressed in statements by the representatives of those powers at our meeting on March 7, advances very considerably the possibility of general acceptance of the non-proliferation treaty — which it regards as so fundamentally necessary at this time. The proposed resolution and accompanying declarations, furthermore, would constitute an obligation of the nuclear powers, thus giving further recognition to the principle that there should be an appropriate balance of mutual obligations and responsibilities in and relating to a non-proliferation treaty.

In conclusion, I would say that it appears to the Canadian delegation that the draft treaty now before us approaches the optimum reconciliation of the varying interests and concerns of the nations in the world today in regard to this problem. The governments we represent must take their decisions in the light of the dangers and tensions of the present and, more importantly, in the light of the greater tensions and dangers which will certainly develop if they do nothing to check the spread of nuclear weapons and, following that, to halt the nuclear arms race.

#### **Text of Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",

*Considering* the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

*Believing* that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war,

*In conformity* with resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

*Undertaking* to co-operate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,

*Expressing* their support for research, development and other efforts to further the application, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system, of the principle of safeguarding effectively the flow

of source and special fissionable materials by use of instruments and other techniques at certain strategic points,

*Affirming* the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology, including any technological by-products which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices, should be available for peaceful purposes to all Parties to the Treaty, whether nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear weapon States,

*Convinced* that in furtherance of this principle, all Parties to this Treaty are entitled to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific information for, and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other States to, the further development of the applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes,

*Declaring* their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race,

*Urging* the co-operation of all States in the attainment of this objective,

*Recalling* the determination expressed by the Parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 in its preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,

*Desiring* to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

have agreed as follows :

### *Article I*

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to this Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

### *Article II*

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to this Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferer whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly,

or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

### *Article III*

1. Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Procedures for the safeguards required by this Article shall be followed with respect to source or special fissionable material whether it is being produced, processed or used in any principal nuclear facility or is outside any such facility. The safeguards required by this Article shall be applied on all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within the territory of such State, under its jurisdiction or carried out under its control anywhere.

2. Each State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to provide : (a) source or special fissionable material, or (b) equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissionable material, to any non-nuclear-weapon State for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable material shall be subject to the safeguards required by this Article.

3. The safeguards required by this Article shall be implemented in a manner designed to comply with Article IV of this Treaty, and to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of the Parties or international co-operation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities, including the international exchange of nuclear material and equipment for the processing, use or production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of this Article and the principle of safeguarding set forth in the Preamble.

4. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall conclude agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency to meet the requirements of this Article either individually or together with other States in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Negotiation of such agreements shall commence within 180 days from the original entry into force of this Treaty. For States depositing their instruments of ratification after the 180-day period, negotiation of such agreements shall commence not later than the date of such deposit. Such agreements shall enter into force not later than eighteen months after the date of initiation of negotiations.

#### *Article IV*

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this Treaty.

2. All the Parties to the Treaty have the right to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty.

#### *Article V*

Each Party to this Treaty undertakes to co-operate to insure that potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available through appropriate international procedures to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty on a non-discriminatory basis and that the charge to such Parties for the explosive devices used will be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development. It is understood that non-nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty so desiring may, pursuant to a special agreement or agreements, obtain any such benefits on a bilateral basis or through an appropriate international body with adequate representation of non-nuclear-weapon States.

#### *Article VI*

Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

#### *Article VII*

Nothing in this Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

### *Article VIII*

1. Any Party to this Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all Parties to the Treaty. Thereupon, if requested to do so by one-third or more of the Parties to the Treaty, the Depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties to the Treaty, to consider such an amendment.

2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to the Treaty, including the votes of all nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The amendment shall enter into force for each Party that deposits its instrument of ratification of the amendment upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Thereafter, it shall enter into force for any other Party upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification of the amendment.

3. Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the operation of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty.

### *Article IX*

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of \_\_\_\_\_, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by all nuclear-weapon States signatory to this Treaty, and 40 other States signatory to this Treaty and the deposit of their instruments of ratification. For the purposes of

this Treaty, a nuclear-weapon State is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to January 1, 1967.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and the date of receipt of any requests for convening a conference or other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### *Article X*

1. Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

2. Twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a Conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

#### *Article XI*

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized have signed this Treaty.

Done in \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ this \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_

## Non-Proliferation Security Assurances

### U.S.A.-U.S.S.R.-U.K. DRAFT OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION TABLED IN THE ENDC, MARCH 7, 1968

#### Security Council Resolution

##### *The Security Council*

- A. *Noting* with appreciation the desire of a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and thereby to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferer whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices,
- B. *Taking* into consideration the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security,
- C. *Bearing* in mind that any aggression accompanied by use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of States,
  1. *Recognizes* that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear-weapon state permanent Members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter;
  2. *Welcomes* the intention expressed by States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act or threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used;
  3. *Reaffirms* in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

## *France-Canada Relations*

*The following address was given by Mr. Jules Léger, the Canadian Ambassador to France, at the Municipal Theatre of Montpellier on the occasion of the opening on February 29, 1968, of the Réalités canadiennes exhibit:*

We are pleased to present to you, during these two weeks, a few impressions of Canada. They will assume varied forms which, we hope, you will find pleasing and which will acquaint you with this country across the Atlantic, bound to you by very deep ties.

The exhibition, we feel, is timely, as new horizons are rising before us. Indeed, France and Canada are rapidly becoming aware of the immensity of the task they must perform in common and the wealth they may draw from it.

The groundwork for Franco-Quebec co-operation has already been firmly laid and we must congratulate ourselves that it has been so successfully launched. France, however, has a broader role as well to play throughout all of Canada. In recognizing this role, it will discover a dimension in proportion to its past.

### **A Series of Bold Decisions**

In the past few weeks, a series of bold decisions has been made in Canada which will make this half-continent a progressively bilingual country. One after the other the provinces are placing French and English on a basis of equality. Accordingly, the French language will have full rights not only in Quebec but from sea to sea. The transformation will not come about overnight and difficult periods are in store. But the wheels have been set in motion and there appears to be no going back. To confront the enormous problems presented by the development of bilingualism in Canada, we require the immediate and continuing contribution of France, particularly in the educational and cultural fields.

The marked interest of France in Quebec is expanding. Acadians visited you a few weeks ago, recalling a moving and unforgettable page of our history. Like others, they came here to seek the collaboration so essential to the preservation and development of the French language in Canada.

### **A Unique Opportunity**

The effort we are asking of you opens truly vast horizons in America. A country is devoting itself to the diffusion of the French language and culture. It is putting all its resources to the task. In return, it opens a half-continent to you so that the values you hold dear may be implanted and burgeon. Nowhere in the world are you offered such an opportunity to let your image shine. The occasion is unique. For you, as for us, the moment is critical.

Canada, in effect, can only realize its true potential in an equilibrium founded on equality between the two official languages, the French and English.

cultures. Should either side slip, the entire structure of Confederation will be threatened.

The temptation has been great for Quebec, in particular, to protect its own linguistic and cultural identity by remaining closed in upon itself, refusing all contact with the outside world. This was the time of the *revanche des berceaux*, when thousands of French-speaking people, left to their solitude on the shores of the St. Lawrence, managed to survive and even expand. A natural current of sympathy existed between France and this people but was unexpressed until recently.

But times have changed.

In four years, France and French Canada have drawn closer together than they had in the course of a century. In four years, the position given to the French language in Canada has progressed further than in the course of the previous century. The progress you are witnessing is not confined exclusively to the France-Quebec perspective — although, as is fitting, it is most pronounced in this area — but extends to the much broader field of Canada as a whole.

### Twofold Role for France

Hence, France has a twofold role to play: on the one hand, to establish particularly close ties with Quebec, where the great majority of French-speaking people live, and, on the other, to participate in a movement which will offer to every Canadian, wherever he may live in our vast country, the possibility of the teaching and development of the French language.

If Canada is to advance along the path set before it, it is essential that France fill both these roles simultaneously; to ignore one or the other would threaten the equilibrium of the new Confederation taking shape. Fate, never generous, is offering us one chance, perhaps our last. We must seize it while we can.

In short, what are we seeking? The survival and development of a form of humanity shaped by an ancient civilization where on both sides of the Atlantic millions of individuals may acknowledge, understand and assist each other in mutual respect. This is Canada's challenge to France, the most recent and perhaps the most glorious.

It is in this spirit, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, that these impressions of Canada are presented to you. I wish to thank the organizers of this Canadian exhibit for making the project possible.

There are very few areas, cemeteries or municipal archives in France where memories of Canada are not present. Here, in fact, the pages of our history open. As for Montpellier, these memories are among the most precious, as it was here that Montcalm, that unsullied hero of our history and yours, left for Canada in 1756; it is in your departmental archives that his will is found. Montpellier is, therefore, one of the great places of our common past. Here thousands of Canadians come every year as in pilgrimage to their origins. I thank all those who keep alive the flame of this moving memory.

## Réalités Canadiennes

« Les Canadiens sont conscients de ce que l'histoire leur a légué et de ce qu'elle leur promet. Comme c'est ici, en France, que cette histoire canadienne a commencé, il nous paraissait bon de venir vous le dire afin que vous partagiez un peu de la fierté que nous éprouvons. »

Jules Léger : Ambassadeur du Canada.

THE portable information-cultural exhibit entitled *Réalités canadiennes*, specially designed and constructed for the Department of External Affairs by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission for use in the French-speaking countries of Europe, is intended to give a picture of Canadian culture as well as to provide general information on various aspects of Canadian life and endeavour.

This exhibit has so far been displayed only in France, but it has already proved itself a versatile and effective information medium. Mounted on four occasions during the last year, it was on display during June 1967 in the context of the Bordeaux International Trade Fair, where it attracted many of the 600,000 persons who attended the fair. It was displayed next at the Annecy International Trade Fair, where it was housed in a specially-built pavilion in the context of a *Canadian Fortnight*, which included other cultural manifestations such as an exhibit of handicrafts in the Chateau d'Annecy, presentations of the



Canada's Ambassador Jules Léger examines a booklet with the Canadian film actress Johanna Shimkus.



*Exterior of premises in which the exhibition was shown*

Canadian play *Le Quadrillé* by Jacques Duchesne and the participation of the Canadian folk-singer Félix Leclerc. The exhibit attracted some 30,000 visitors.

### **Showing in Paris**

*Réalités canadiennes* had its première in the French capital in January of this year. If the first two showings of this exhibit in regional fairs, for which portable exhibits are specially suitable, and where they are being used on a continuing basis, had proved its merit, the true test of its quality was its Paris showing. In the absence of an appropriate context in which to present the exhibit, it was considered advisable to mount it in a ground-level display area in a commercial establishment on the Champs-Élysées.

The exhibit was inaugurated by Mr. Robert Bordaz, former Commissioner-General of the French pavilion at Expo 67, and Mr. Jules Léger, Canadian Ambassador to France, in the presence of some 400 invited guests. The choice of site, combined with an imaginative publicity programme, assured a successful showing of 30 days duration. Over 22,000 persons visited the exhibit and countless thousands learned of the Canadian presence in the nation's capital through the press, the radio and television.

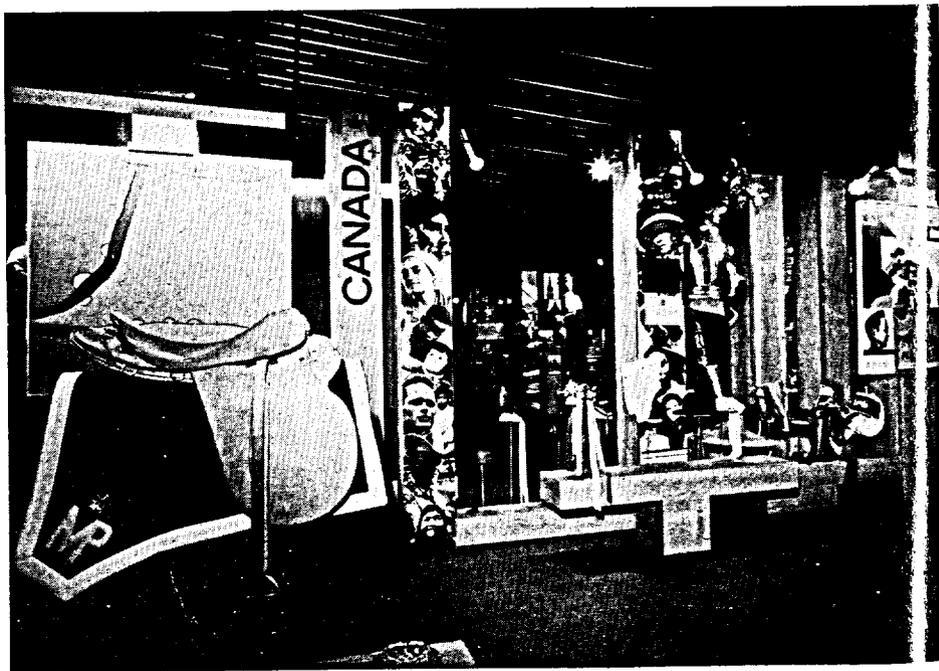
### **Notable Canadian Visitors**

If the exhibit itself, with its skilful use of audio-visual techniques and its supplementary displays of Canadian handicraft material, gave many visitors

a taste of Expo 67 in the heart of Paris, Canadian visitors of note added a human element welcome to sophisticated Parisians. Among the participants in organized events at the *Réalités* "mini-pavilion" were Félix Leclerc, Johanna Shimkus, Alexandra Stewart and the cabaret singer Florent from the entertainment world, and "Bonhomme Carnaval" from the Quebec Winter Carnival.

From Paris, *Réalités canadiennes* went to Montpellier, where it has been an element in another *Canadian Fortnight* with other cultural manifestations such as film showings and the presentation of *Le Quadrillé*. It is planned to continue its use in France at international trade fairs in Toulouse and Marseille during 1968, and in Belgium and possibly Switzerland.

*Réalités canadiennes* is the first of the second generation of sophisticated new exhibits including audio-visual techniques. These new exhibits will gradually replace the existing series of some 40 portable exhibits at present in use abroad. With the impetus to Canadian information activity gained through numerous centennial celebrations, the exhibit medium is becoming increasingly useful to Canadian posts abroad.



*Section of the exhibit*

## Rhodesia

*On March 19, in response to a request from 36 African states, the United Nations Security Council turned its attention again to the situation in Rhodesia. At the conclusion of its previous consideration of this question, in December 1966, the Security Council had adopted its Resolution 236, imposing selective mandatory economic sanctions on Rhodesia. On March 20, the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. George Ignatieff, made a statement of the Canadian position on this question. The text of this statement follows :*

As the letter from 36 African states requesting this meeting, contained in Document S/8454, points out, it is over a year since the Security Council last met on the question of Rhodesia. As this is the first occasion on which the Canadian delegation has had the opportunity in the Security Council to speak on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, I should like to outline Canadian views on the various aspects of the question which have been raised at the United Nations.

We all know that the decision to meet at this particular time resulted directly from the reprehensible display of injustice of the Smith régime in executing, so far, five prisoners. What is particularly outrageous is that these men were held for years under sentence of death with their fate uncertain and with the fundamental right of appeal ultimately denied to them. Three were executed despite the granting of reprieves by Her Majesty the Queen; two had removed from them the remedy of an appeal to the Privy Council. Their executions are indicative of the deplorable conduct of the Rhodesian régime, which Canada has denounced more than once.

We believe that the Council should certainly condemn these executions and demand, in the name of civilized behaviour and common humanity, that those responsible in Salisbury desist from further inhuman acts and political persecutions. The Security Council should send a clear message that the illegal régime's use of prisoners virtually as pawns in a political conflict is reprehensible to the highest degree. We hope that such a call can be sent out promptly and unanimously.

As regards general Canadian policy on Rhodesia, Canada has repeatedly expressed the conviction that Rhodesia must not be granted independence before majority rule is obtained. The Canadian Government has also made it clear that it is inadmissible that a society should be organized on a system of racial discrimination under which a minority of whites exercises political and economic control over a vast majority of African people. Canada has also faithfully applied the sanctions so far authorized by the Council, as is shown by the reports of the Secretary-General in pursuance of the Council's Resolution 232 (1966).

### **Unsatisfactory Application of Sanctions**

In considering the question of sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia, we must take into account the lack of success so far in achieving the aim to which the sanctions resolution of December 1966 was addressed — that is, the change of the régime and the return to legality in Rhodesia.

My delegation does not speak of a "failure" of the sanctions already imposed, because, as has already been mentioned, it is clear from the Secretary-General's report and from other available reports that these sanctions have had some impact on the economy and the general situation in Rhodesia. But this impact could certainly have been greater if the directives of the Security Council had been carried out by all. It is clear, indeed, that, without full co-operation from every member state in this organization, the purposes of the United Nations will be frustrated.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for having carefully reported, to the extent possible, on the effect of the measures adopted by this Council in December 1966. His reports have been studied with care, and my delegation supports his renewed call to member states to respond to his earlier requests for reports and statistics. It is, indeed, difficult to understand why some member states have not fulfilled their obligations in this regard. They may say that their trade with Rhodesia is either non-existent or negligible, but does this justify failure to report in response to the Secretary-General's request?

I know also that there are those who advocate the use of force to bring down the illegal régime in Rhodesia. But this is an approach which, in our view, must be carefully weighed. It seems probable that what would be involved in present circumstances would be a full-scale invasion and war causing bloodshed and widespread damage, and we cannot ignore the human and material cost of such action inside and outside Rhodesia.

### **Problems of Decision to Use Force**

It is one thing to advocate the use of force; it is another to determine sound and effective means for applying it. A decision to use force must include a decision about who shall be charged with its employment. There seem to be two possibilities: either the use of force by the United Nations in accordance with the Charter in exercise of our collective responsibility to remove threats to the peace or to deal with breaches of the peace or acts of aggression, or, alternatively, the exercise of this responsibility by the United Kingdom alone taking action against a colony in rebellion. If the Council is to decide on the use of force by the United Nations, there must be agreement among those members of the Council which would have to carry the main burden of implementing this decision that measures not involving the use of armed force are inadequate and that such force is necessary. Whatever views may be held on the use of force in this situation, I do not believe that a basis exists now for such agreement. As for the use of force by the sovereign power, it is quite clear that the United Kingdom is not prepared to embark on this approach to a solution at this time. The United

Kingdom has taken the firm position that it is not prepared to use force, except as a last resort for restoration of law and order.

There is, in our view, another important consideration. We believe that the Security Council should weigh carefully the advantages against the disadvantages before abandoning the course it has embarked on for the first time in the history of the United Nations. It is our view that we must try harder to make the mandatory economic sanctions work. This is a matter involving the isolation of the Rhodesian régime. The objective of the mandatory sanctions programme is not only to bring economic pressure to bear on those who have usurped power in Rhodesia and are now misusing it but to underline for them the fact that they have no place in the world community of nations so long as they pursue the policies which the overwhelming majority of the representatives of that community have condemned. In some respects this isolation is at least as important as the specific effects of economic sanctions, as it brings to bear the weight of world opinion and makes clear that this régime and what it stands for are unacceptable.

#### **Complete Embargo Urged**

We believe that particular attention should be given to the possibility of broadening the mandatory economic sanctions to a comprehensive embargo on Rhodesia's external trade. Acknowledging, as I did earlier, that the sanctions so far applied have only partially achieved our aim, we must remember that the measures adopted were partial only. It is right, therefore, to move from these selective measures to the broader act of a complete trade embargo against Rhodesia. In the light of our experience with selective sanctions, it may be too much to hope that comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions will quickly achieve our purpose, but there is no doubt that this would have an effect on the Rhodesian régime and would enhance the impact the Council's measures have already had.

The Canadian delegation will be prepared to support any appropriate moves by the Security Council to impose more stringent additional sanctions with the object of bringing down the illegal régime, and is prepared to enter into consultations forthwith to that end.

# *Vietnam*

EXCERPT FROM A STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS  
ON MARCH 18.

... There can be no differences of opinion about the urgency of the need to help bring this terrible ordeal to an end. We believe the only way to do so is through negotiations that are directed toward the establishment of a durable and stable settlement which both sides can accept and live with.

The immediate problem continues to be what it has been for some time; it is as simple to formulate as it has proven difficult to solve in practice. It is the problem of how to get the negotiations started and how to establish a sufficient measure of confidence between the two sides to enable them to sit down together and start discussing the basic political issues at stake in Vietnam, instead of bringing their military weight to bear on them. This is the aspect of the problem to which the Government has directed the highest priority and urgency. It has seemed to us that a country such as Canada, which has had prolonged experience with the problems of that country and which has ready access to both sides, might well be able to help bridge the gap between the battlefield and the conference room.

No third party, of course, can compel the two sides to change their positions and policies in order to take certain actions or refrain from others. The most we can hope to do is encourage the two sides to reconsider their positions, to clarify ambiguities and to see, in this process of discussion and examination, whether any element of common ground exists.

In my view, there have recently been three major developments which have had a bearing on the diplomatic and military impasse which we face at the moment. I refer to the formulation of the position of the United States by the President at San Antonio on September 29 last, to the formulation of the North Vietnamese position by the Foreign Minister of that country on December 29 and, finally, to the activities on the ground in South Vietnam over the past few weeks. Although separated by a matter of months, these events must be looked at together as essential components in the existing problem.

## **New U.S. Approach**

There is no doubt in my mind, and in that of the Government, that the bombing of North Vietnam is a key factor in the total equation for the de-escalation of the conflict. In the San Antonio statement of last September,

the President of the United States announced a new United States approach to the cessation of bombing. He said that the United States would be prepared to stop the bombing if this would lead promptly to productive talks, on the assumption that North Vietnam would not take advantage of this significant measure of restraint on the U.S. side to increase its relative military strength in the South. The President's position evidently was formulated to avoid a situation in which, with the bombing stopped and the talks proceeding, the other side would be able to exert renewed and unimpeded military pressure on the ground in the South if the talks did not progress to their liking.

In setting out this approach, the President had not abandoned his earlier insistence on the other side making some contribution toward bringing about military de-escalation. He did, however, present it in a flexible way which it was hoped might make it easier for Hanoi to make a gesture toward meeting this requirement without totally abandoning their forces in the South. As I understand the situation, this continues to be the basic position of the United States.

### **Position of Hanoi**

Turning to Hanoi's position, it appeared that some degree of change had taken place there too. In the past, one of the problems has been that Hanoi, for whatever reason, had been unwilling to commit itself publicly to anything more than a demand that the United States stop bombing North Vietnam, and unwilling to give a firm commitment on whether or not this would be a first step toward a negotiated peace. In an interview in January 1967, the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister said that talks "could" take place if the bombing stopped. Speaking at a reception at Hanoi in December, almost a year later, he said that talks "would" take place once United States attacks on North Vietnam had stopped.

At the turn of the year, then, it seemed to us that, while the positions of the two sides remained some distance apart, there were signs of change which deserved further attention. Accordingly, I instructed our Commissioner in Vietnam, Mr. O. W. Dier, to proceed to Hanoi to deliver a letter from me on behalf of the Government to the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister, seeking confirmation and clarification of his year-end statement. I also reaffirmed the importance Canada had attached to the International Commission as an agency which could make a useful contribution to the establishment and maintenance of some element of confidence between the two sides while talks were in progress. In issuing these instructions to our Commissioner, I hoped it might be possible to find some way of bridging the remaining gap between the San Antonio formula and the formula outlined by the Foreign Minister for Vietnam in his year-end statement.

The United States had said that the bombing could be stopped in return for an undertaking to talk, plus the exercise of military restraint by the North, while the North had said that talks would follow the cessation of bombing. What I had

hoped might be possible was a further modification of positions and agreements by both sides whereby the International Commission might reassert its legitimate presence at key points, such as the Demilitarized Zone, to facilitate the exercise of restraint by both sides in terms of military activities around these key points and areas. If both sides were agreed that a Commission presence of this character would be useful, this could be brought about without any change in the Commission's mandate or without either side openly declaring that it would not do something or that it would do something else. In other words, the Commission, by its very presence, rather than by the exercise of force, could exert a restraining influence.

I very much regret having to report to the House that the reply I have received from the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, together with Mr. Diers' report on their discussions, does not suggest much flexibility in Hanoi's attitude toward factors, other than the cessation of bombing of the North, which clearly have to be taken into account if there is to be any realistic hope that ensuing talks are to have any purpose and meaning.

### **End to Bombing Essential**

Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly last September, I urged that bombing be stopped as a matter of first priority in the search for peace. I saw this, and I urged that it could be considered not as a sure-fire formula for instant peace but as a deliberate and calculated risk. To break out of the impasse prevailing at that time, it seemed to me that the United States might make the first significant move, nor as a prelude to capitulation but as a gesture which might encourage the other side to respond in kind, as indeed the North will have to do. It might then be possible for other countries, in the new circumstances which would then prevail, to mobilize pressure for corresponding concessions by the North.

I believe that was a sensible position to take and one which seemed to me to correspond to the facts as we knew them. I still believe that the bombing will have to be stopped as a matter of first priority, since I think it will be impossible for North Vietnam to appear to be responding to military pressure. All the information we have received from Canadian soundings, and from sources other than our own contacts in Hanoi, only serves to convince me of the validity of this view.

Whether future soundings and exploratory discussions will prove that some form of bargain can be struck, I cannot predict. For the moment, the available evidence is clear about the significance to be attached, from the point of view of North Vietnam, to a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. But if the refusal of North Vietnam to appear to respond more flexibly under continuing military duress is clear, it is no less important to bear in mind the difficulty that would be faced by the United States in modifying its requirements as a direct result of the other side's spectacular military thrusts.

If the United States was not prepared to take the calculated risk we and others urged them to take at the time when the pattern of military activity on the ground was more or less constant, one cannot be too hopeful about fresh initiatives at this particular moment, but the urgent necessity to break through the stalemate on negotiations has not lessened.

### **A Potential Danger**

There is one potential danger which must be recognized. If talks are entered into with some hope of reaching agreement and are then broken off under the pressure of one side or the other attempting to score a point by a sudden and suicidal military push, it would be all the more difficult to get them started again. A situation such as this could also be an open invitation to further escalation. This would be regrettable.

Despite the clarification which appears to have taken place in respect of the formally-stated positions of the two sides, the immediate prospects for negotiations can scarcely be described as encouraging, though we do not take this as any reason why we should not persist, as other countries are doing, in trying to encourage negotiations which might lead to peace. It is true that both sides are now firmly committed to a willingness to negotiate, but I am afraid that this does not carry us very far forward, as is tragically apparent from the unbroken continuation of the hostilities.

### **Incompatible Aims**

Both sides seem to envisage rather different objectives for the talks that are to follow a cessation of bombing. For the North, the objective is to bring about the total and early withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam. For the United States, the objective is to secure South Vietnam from Northern military pressure, so that political change can come about peacefully and through the exercise of free choice. Each side is well aware of the other's objectives, which at the moment seem mutually incompatible.

Hanoi seems to see an unreciprocated cessation of the bombing not only as a necessary pre-condition to undertaking talks but as a gesture by the United States symbolizing the beginning of the process of total cessation of all American military action in the South, and, indeed, total withdrawal from the scene.

We know the conditions which were laid down by the United States at the Manila conference with regard to its intention to withdraw after six months, given the existence of certain conditions.

For their part, the United States and South Vietnam have insisted on some measure of military restraint being exercised by the North — once again, not as a final answer to the problem but as representing a North Vietnamese realization that its military objectives cannot be met, and that its objectives cannot be met by military means.

We must maintain the Commission presence in Vietnam. This is first of

all our international obligation, and we must be alive to any possible move which will help find a way out of the present impasse. This is our political obligation. The Government accepts these obligations and, as it has done in the past, will continue to play an active role in any search for peace in Vietnam.

### **Getting Round the Table**

The immediate problem remains what it has been — how to get negotiations started. I reiterate that this is a matter of the greatest urgency and that a cessation of the bombing will clearly have a key significance in moving the problem in that direction. But the intractability of the problem is demonstrated by the fact that the bombing has not been halted, that military restraint is not being shown and that talks have not been entered into. This suggests that future efforts to narrow the gap between the two sides may have to be directed to matters of political substance as well as to the terms and conditions for a beginning of talks. We are urgently examining this aspect of the matter at this particular moment.

I have never believed that stalemate and rigidity are adequate grounds for a “do-nothing” posture and abandoning all efforts because past endeavours have proved unrewarding.

## "Canada - Art d'Aujourd'hui"

THE exhibition *Canada : Art d'Aujourd'hui*, organized within the framework of cultural exchanges with other countries, opened in Paris on January 12, 1968. Mr. Jean-Luc Pepin, Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, and Mr. André Malraux, the French Minister for Cultural Affairs, were present, and other guests of honour were Mr. Jean-Noël Tremblay, Quebec Minister for Cultural Affairs, and Mr. Jules Léger, Canadian Ambassador to France.

Nineteen contemporary Canadian painters, <sup>(1)</sup> chosen by a selection committee from the National Gallery, <sup>(2)</sup> were invited to participate in the exhibition, the first to be held in the French capital since a showing of the works of Jean-Paul Lemieux, Alfred Pellan, Jean McEwen, York Wilson and Joe Plaskett at the Musée Galliera in December 1963. Since that time, many young painters, experimenting with new techniques and new materials, have attracted attention, particularly at private exhibitions in Toronto and Montreal. Hence, with the exception of a few paintings by Jean-Paul Riopelle and Paul-Émile Borduas, which it was felt that the French public should see because of the place held by these two artists in Canada's short artistic history, most of the works chosen to represent present-day Canadian production at the Musée National d'Art Moderne were by young painters.

As the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, pointed out in his foreword to the catalogue :

Studying the evolution of a community through its artistic heritage always brings to light certain permanent features, certain individual characteristics, which reveal that community's concerns at a given period. This exhibition offers the connoisseur a collection of recent works by Canadian painters who, while they abandon the imagery traditionally associated with our country, nevertheless express its most profound characteristics. For, although the style of painting, like modern techniques, may undergo constant changes, man's sensitivity and his true image are always reflected in even his most esoteric works.

The artist's changing modes of expression, that sure sign of artistic vitality, should be reassuring, since the essential remains.

The Canadian spirit, as was evident to all of Canada's friends who visited Expo 67 in Montreal, has not changed. At most, it has matured and adapted, with the passage of time, to the evolution of modern ideas and techniques. This, in particular, was what the National Gallery of Canada wanted to demonstrate by choosing the works of younger artists to represent Canada at this

(1) Ian Baxter, David Bolduc, Paul-Émile Borduas, Jack Bush, John Chambers, Greg Curnoe, Charles Gagnon, Yves Gaucher, Jacques Hurtubise, Les Levine, John Meredith, Guido Molinari, Robert Murray, Jean-Paul Riopelle, Jerry Santbergen, Henri Saxe, Michael Snow, Claude Tousignant, Joyce Weiland.

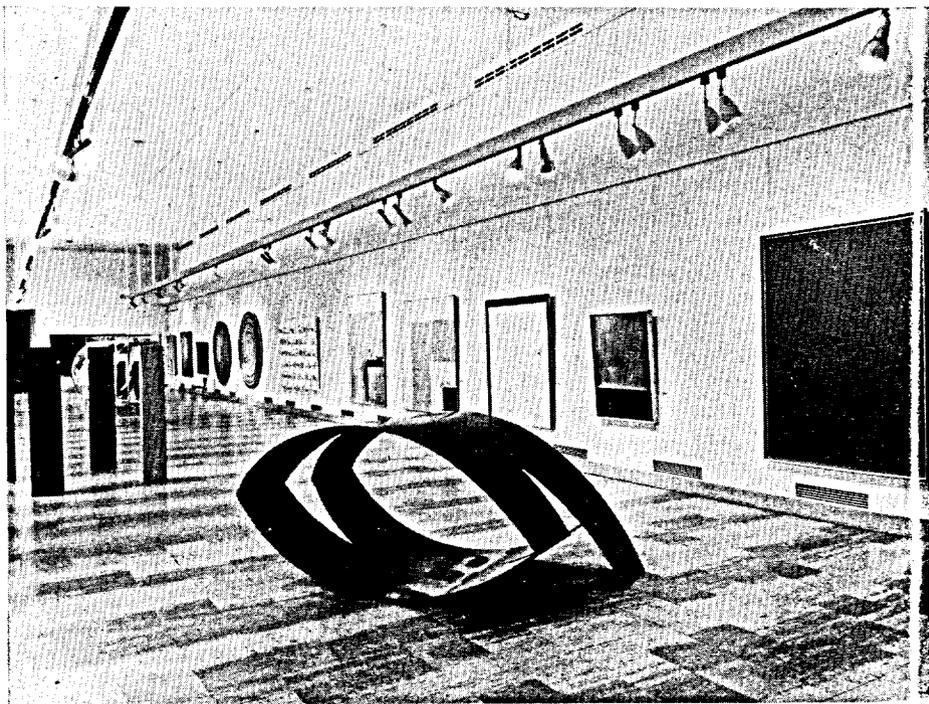
(2) The selection committee consisted of : Mrs. Joanna Woods-Marsden, Co-ordinator of International Exhibitions; Mr. Jean-René Ostiguy, Curator of Canadian Art; Pierre Théberge, Assistant Curator of Canadian Art; Brydon Smith, Curator of Contemporary Art; Denis Reid, Curatorial Assistant of the National Gallery of Canada.

exhibition, the first to be organized within the framework of the France-Canada programme of cultural exchange.

According to Mr. André Malraux, the recent evolution in modern Canadian painting represents an original contribution. At the opening ceremonies, he declared that :

The truly positive aspect of this exhibition is that, for the first time, a Canadian collection, a Canadian exhibition — be it abstract, pop or figurative art — gives the impression that there is a common way of painting, a common form of expression, which is Canada's own. You may remember that I once said : "Canada's contribution to the civilization of our world will no doubt be its relationship with space." Obviously, I do not refer to actual representation of that space when I say that I believe, surprising as it may seem, that every one of these paintings — even the abstracts — embodies a feeling of space, of whiteness, of expanses of snow, which is totally unlike anything that may be found in American or French painting. There is every reason to believe that we are witnessing today a phenomenon quite similar to that which occurred in Greece so long ago.

The exhibition will be presented at the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna in Rome from May 10 to June 9, 1968; at Lausanne's Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts from July 15 to August 31, and in Brussels at the Palais des Beaux-Arts from September 19 to October 19.



*Close-up view of one of the exhibits in CANADA: ART D'AUJOUR'HUI*

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Canada and Collective Security**

*The following statement was made to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs on March 7 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin :*

... Our defence policy since the Second World War has been based on the conviction that it is in Canada's interest to make a responsible contribution to collective security. Our hope in the immediate postwar period was that our security and that of other nations in the world could be assured by the United Nations, and we regrettably know that this hope has been frustrated. Even though we have been obliged to develop regional arrangements to assure our national security, we continue to regard these arrangements as transitory, essential though they are, I think, for the foreseeable future.

By these arrangements I mean, of course, NATO and, depending on negotiations that have not terminated, NORAD. But we share the hope that the day will come when we can, with confidence, entrust our security to the United Nations.

Meanwhile, we are making efforts to develop, to the maximum degree feasible at this time, the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace, and Canada stands ready to contribute to United Nations peacekeeping operations where conditions are appropriate. I think that our force structure enables us to contribute effectively to future peacekeeping operations, should these be needed.

Now there are some in Canada who, I know, very sincerely hold the view that Canada should concentrate exclusively on this peacekeeping role. As Minister of External Affairs I must be realistic and, while I can well sympathize with this aspiration, I cannot agree with it. At the present moment the United Nations requirement for peacekeeping forces is limited. Our efforts and those of like-minded countries at the United Nations to increase the United Nations' role in the field are, I say, regrettably making slow progress and there are no immediate prospects that the United Nations peacekeeping capacity or role will be substantially increased. This is not because Canada and some other countries have not tried valiantly over the past three years to seek a more general agreement in the United Nations in this area.

Now it is argued sometimes that our role in NATO and NORAD has in some way diminished our acceptability as a peacemaker. In my view, there is no reason to doubt that a continuing role in peace-keeping is compatible with our participation in collective defence arrangements. As a country desiring to make a responsible contribution to the maintenance of peace, it is desirable that we

continue to make a contribution to regional defence arrangements genuinely devoted to the maintenance of peace.

The key to our collective defence arrangements is NATO. I recognize that, at this time, when there has been significant improvement in East-West relations and, I believe, hope of still further improvement, there are some who argue that NATO is no longer needed or even that it is a hindrance to the development of improved East-West relations. In my judgment it is a sign of the success of the alliance that we can indulge freely in such speculations.

These are questions that are being asked not only in this country but in most countries of the NATO group. NATO foreign ministers decided, as a result, in December of 1966 to commission a study of the future tasks of the alliance. This was an adaptation of a proposal put forward by Canada in 1964. The study was completed and the results were approved by ministers at the last December ministerial meeting in Brussels. I would like to read several paragraphs from the conclusions of this study which were agreed to by all members of the alliance:

The Atlantic alliance has two main functions. Its first is to maintain an adequate military strength and political solidarity to deter aggression and other forms of pressure and to defend the territory of member countries if aggression should occur. Since its inception, the alliance has successfully fulfilled this task. But the possibility of a crisis cannot be excluded as long as the central political issues in Europe, first and foremost the German question, remain unsolved. Moreover, the situation of instability and uncertainty still precludes a balanced reduction of military forces. Under these conditions, the allies will maintain, as necessary, a suitable military capability to assure the balance of forces, thereby creating a climate of stability, security and confidence.

In this climate the alliance can carry out its second function, to pursue the search for progress towards a more stable relationship, in which the underlying political issues can be resolved. Military security and a policy of *détente* are not contradictory but complementary. Collective defence is a stabilizing factor in world politics. It is the necessary condition for effective policies directed towards a greater relaxation of tensions. The way to peace and stability in Europe rests in particular on the use of the alliance constructively in the interest of *détente*. The participation of the Soviet Union and the United States will be necessary to achieve a settlement of the political problems in Europe.

I wish to emphasize that this statement was approved by the foreign ministers of all of the 15 countries in NATO. I think this is a convincing demonstration that the 15 members of the organization are agreed not only that the alliance is a force in maintaining stability in Europe but that it is committed to active involvement in the continued search for peace.

I would report, moreover, that the allies took encouragement from developments in the Soviet world. Here is what they had to say in this study:

No peaceful order is possible in Europe without a major effort by all concerned. The evolution of Soviet and East European policies gives ground for hope that those governments may eventually come to recognize the advantages to them of collaborating in working towards a peaceful settlement. But no final and stable settlement is possible without the solution of a number of questions, and particularly the German question, which lies at the heart of present tensions in Europe. Any such settlement must end the unnatural barrier between Eastern and Western Europe, which are most clearly and cruelly manifested in the division of Germany.

Accordingly, the allies are resolved to direct their energies to this purpose by realistic measures designed to further a *détente* in East-West relations. The relaxation of tensions is not the final goal, but is part of a long-term process to promote better relations and to foster a settlement. The ultimate political purpose of the alliance is to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe accompanied by appropriate security guarantees.

In these two statements, it is clear that there has been a shift of emphasis on the political role of the alliance as an instrument for bringing about *détente* and a continuing recognition of the importance of the military capacity, particularly, if I may add, in the light of additional military strengths taken on by the Soviet Union in the level of its military appropriations.

Now the study which was initiated by the Foreign Minister of Belgium and from which I have quoted certain excerpts concluded that the alliance continues to be a vigorous organization which is constantly adapting itself to changing conditions. In our judgment it has shown its capacity to grow and adapt to the evolution in relations between the countries of Europe and North America; yet it has remained an essential link between Europe and North America. This is a very important consideration for Canada. The alliance has also made it possible for its smaller members to participate effectively in the dialogue with the Soviet Union. And it has provided, until the present, the only effective defence association linking the larger and smaller countries of Western Europe and enabling them to co-operate in a massive defence effort without arousing fears of one another.

For Canada in particular, the link between North America and Europe which NATO represents, and the consequent involvement in wider Atlantic affairs which it affords, has been beneficial. It has provided an important extra-continental partnership to balance our close bilateral relations with the United States. It has facilitated the development of vastly increased political and economic relations with the countries of Western Europe, the world's fastest growing region during the last decade.

Paradoxically, it is Europe's prosperity which has encouraged people in Canada to argue that Canada can now safely withdraw forces from Europe and make our future contribution to NATO from Canada. We must not ignore the relationship between our contribution of forces to the security of Europe and the continuing importance in our national life of maintaining the strongest possible connections with individual European countries. Our military contribution is now relatively much less important than it was when the European nations were weak. But it is still part of the collective effort. It is important not only as a demonstration of our continuing commitment to the alliance but as a contribution to European stability which vitally concerns us, and the preservation of which is vital to the preservation of peace. In this situation, the Government sees no alternative at the present time to Canada's continuing to make an appropriate contribution to NATO's forces in Europe. The acceptance by the countries of Western Europe of our participation in their councils rests essentially on the

modest but effective military contribution we make to the security of Europe, which in turn represents an important contribution to our own self-defence.

The principal threat to North America, however, now and for the foreseeable future, as I am sure the Minister of National Defence has already explained, comes from the growing Soviet arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Defence against these ICBMs is both technically difficult and enormously expensive, but some progress in missile defence has been achieved in recent years. Members of the Committee will be aware that the United States has recently announced its intention to deploy what it calls a "thin" ABM system directed against China.

The position of the Canadian Government on the proposed missile-defence system was stated by the Prime Minister on September 22 at a press conference in these terms (and I quote):

We have no intention at this time of taking part in any such ABM system. That is, the "thin" ABM system which was announced by the United States at that time. He went on:

Naturally we are keeping the matter under careful review. We do not wish to commit the Government to any particular course of action in the future as to what might be the best solution to the security problem that Canada will face.

While the principal danger to North America comes from the ICBMs, there is also, as the Minister of National Defence has pointed out, a substantial threat from manned bombers. The existing Soviet long-range bomber fleet is not large and it is assumed the number will diminish somewhat over the next decade. But, nevertheless, it continues to be there, and continues to be a substantial threat. In spite of this diminishing trend, these bombers will continue to pose a serious threat to North America throughout the next decade.

Given this situation, the Government believes it would be irresponsible to ignore such a threat, particularly when it is technically and financially practical to defend against it. For these reasons, the Government will, of course, have to continue to co-operate with the United States in the defence of the continent against bombers.

There are those who would like to think that by keeping to ourselves we in Canada could avoid both becoming a target in our own right and being involved in an attack on the United States. Apart from any obligation we might feel to contribute to the defence of North America, this view ignores the fact that Canada is located geographically along the main path which any Soviet — and indeed Chinese — attack against the United States would be likely to follow. Even if there was no intention of attacking Canada, there would always be the possibility that an accident or miscalculation would result in nuclear weapons coming down on Canadian territory, as well as the danger from fall-out resulting from nuclear explosions over targets in the United States.

Apart from this, it is difficult to imagine that in attacking the United States an enemy would allow Canada to remain as a willing — or even unwilling —

asylum for the United States population, as well as a reservoir of food, arms, electric power and industrial capacity.

We cannot prudently do otherwise than assume that a potential attacker would expect Canada to be sympathetic to the United States and thus likely, in the event (God forbid) of a nuclear attack, to lend assistance if we were capable of doing so. He would never believe he could ignore this possibility, and I think he would be right. Now I must say that my own view is that the dangers of aggressive war are remote (perhaps one could say unlikely), but no government is worthy of the trust given to it by the people of the country which it serves if it does not realistically examine the situation in the world in which it finds itself, and we have had within the last six months at least one situation that must have caused any government to realize that there are some precautions that it must take in its own security interests.

There are, of course, several ways in which Canada could play a useful part in North American air-defence arrangements. One possibility would be for us to provide from our own resources the portion of the continental air-defence system which needs to be located in Canada. This would be a very large portion of the whole and would necessitate an outlay of financial and personal resources which we believe to be beyond our capacity.

Another possibility would be to leave the entire burden for North American bomber-defence to the United States but give them unlimited access to Canadian air-space and Canadian bases for both training and operational purposes. This would keep the cost to Canada to a minimum but it would tend to erode our sovereignty as well as any influence we could otherwise have on the development of air-defence policies — policies which would inevitably have a significant impact on us.

A third possibility is to share the task of North American bomber-defence with the United States on an appropriate basis. This co-operative approach is the one which has been followed in all our defence relations with the United States since the beginning of the Second World War and, in the view of the Government, is the one which makes the most sense as far as continental air-defence is concerned, given the disadvantages of the other alternatives.

I would just like to say by way of parenthesis at this point that the arrangements for continental defence made between the Government of Canada through the Department of National Defence and its opposite number in the Government of the United States are not part of the NORAD structure. The NORAD structure does not involve a commitment of Canadian resources. It involves simply participation in a common command structure and in the planning process.

To preserve basic Canadian interests while participating in joint defence activities with a partner as powerful as the United States, it has been necessary to develop certain principles to govern our approach to specific problems. Over the years there has been mutual understanding that co-operative defence projects in either country should:

- (a) be agreed to by both Governments;
- (b) confer no permanent rights or status upon either country and be without prejudice to the sovereignty of either country;
- (c) be without impairment to the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

In addition to these three principles, it has been found that, for a variety of reasons, the actual provision of the necessary manpower and equipment can best be handled through individual national contributions made on an *ad hoc* basis as requirements are defined.

Of course, if forces from the two countries are to be employed, it is essential to have satisfactory arrangements to ensure that they can be effectively utilized in time of need. One way of doing this is to co-ordinate respective national command and control elements. This formula was employed in the North American aid-defence field prior to 1958, but it was found to be inadequate in circumstances where an immediate reaction to minimum warning of attack is essential.

If co-operation between the air-defence forces of both countries is to be effective, it is necessary to have a single air-defence plan, previously approved by the national authorities of the two countries, and an integrated command and control system. For the past ten years these requirements have been satisfactorily met by NORAD. We ourselves are now in the process of negotiation and consideration of this matter.

One of the major advantages of the NORAD arrangement, which was entered into by the previous Administration in the summer of 1958, apart from making the most effective use of the available air-defence forces of both countries, has been the opportunity it has provided for Canada to play a role in the formulation of continental air-defence policy. Canada has provided the Deputy Commander-in-Chief and senior operations officers in the NORAD headquarters, as well as the Commander of the Northern NORAD Region and the commanders of two NORAD divisions, including one in the United States. Plans are jointly drawn up by officers of the two countries and must be approved by both Canadian and United States authorities. United States thinking naturally plays a major part, but it is not by any means exclusive. The authority of the Commander-in-Chief NORAD in all respects is jointly determined by the two Governments. It is also perhaps worth noting again that the NORAD system is exclusively defensive in nature and cannot possibly be used for any purpose apart from the defence of North America.

The NORAD agreement will lapse on May 12 unless it is renewed. The Government is currently, as I said a moment ago, giving careful consideration to this agreement.

To the United States, partnership for the defence of our respective homelands is an important manifestation of the basic friendship between the two countries, which enables us to speak frankly and to differ with the United States

In other areas where such vital interests are not at stake. If we are seen to be doing our part in the defence of this continent, we are in a stronger position to express our views on other issues where we may disagree. In summary, I would like to make the following points. Canada is involved in a threat to this continent from manned bombers which no responsible government can ignore. In this situation, there are three choices open to us:

- (a) We could accept responsibility for providing all of the facilities and undertake all of the activities required in Canada for effective continental bomber-defence. In our judgment this is beyond the financial capacity of this country.
- (b) We could permit the United States to assume controlling responsibility for the entire task both in the United States and Canada. This would involve a surrender of sovereignty which this Government is not prepared to contemplate.
- (c) We can share the task of continental defence on an appropriate basis.

This third choice provides for effective defence within our means while fully protecting Canadian sovereignty. The NORAD arrangement is based on the principle of shared responsibility for continental air-defence, but by itself renewal of the agreement would not be a commitment of specific forces and equipment.

As I said earlier:

This is achieved through *ad hoc* arrangements between the two Governments as the need arises.

Based upon what I would think anyone would agree was an elementary principle — namely, that in our own defence interests we have to have arrangements made with our neighbour for continental defence and the defence of our own country.

## Canada and the Nigerian Civil War

*On March 12, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Gérard Pelletier, made the following statement in the House of Commons:*

Here, Mr. Speaker, is an outline of the efforts of the Canadian Government to bring about a peaceful settlement in Nigeria. I should first of all express, as we have expressed before, the Government's deep concern at the tragic events taking place in this fellow Commonwealth country, which has the largest population of any country in Africa and potentially one of the brightest futures of any of the new nations. Canada's close association with Nigeria since its independence has been a source of great satisfaction to us; our Commonwealth ties are strong and we have been able to provide capital and technical assistance to the Nigerian people as a concrete expression of our friendship and our desire to see the country develop further as a strong and responsible member of the community of nations.

The civil turmoil which has been taking place in Nigeria since the middle of last year has, as I said, been a matter of concern to us, and we have felt called upon to give expression to that concern as well as our genuine willingness to be of what assistance we can in helping the Nigerians to find means of solving Nigeria's problems. Other countries and organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, have voiced similar concern. The Nigerian Federal Military Government has made it clear that it considers Nigeria's problems to be of an internal character, to be resolved by Nigerians themselves without outside interference. We naturally respect this position, as well as Nigeria's status as a fully-independent nation, but we have taken every occasion to impress on the Nigerian federal leaders our concern with the situation in their country, and our hope that it will be possible to reach a negotiated settlement of Nigeria's problems. These views were expressed by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs during the centennial visit to Canada last October of Admiral Wey, who represented the Federal Military Government, and the visit in December of the Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Arikpo.

The Eastern Region of Nigeria has declared itself in secession from the rest of the country and has used military and other means within its control to try to enforce this declaration. Neither the Canadian Government nor any other government has recognized this secessionist regime, and we have relations only with the central authorities of the Federal Government at Lagos. Nonetheless, when we express our hope publicly and to the Government at Lagos that a negotiated settlement may be found, we mean particularly that means may be found to resolve the differences between the federal authorities and the Eastern Nigerians who have declared themselves to be in secession.

It has seemed to the Government that, while other organizations might be able to afford assistance to the Nigerians in their search for a settlement, the Commonwealth, through its Secretary-General, is at present the best placed to provide help when needed. Mr. Arnold Smith has undertaken consultations in pursuit of this aim, and has had lengthy discussions with Nigerian leaders. The Canadian Government fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General....

*Mr. Pelletier's statement had to be cut short at this point owing to lack of time.*

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Inter-American Indian Conference: Mexico City, April 15-21
- United Nations Sugar Conference: Geneva, April 17 - May 31
- UNIDO Industrial Development Board: Vienna, April 17 - May 14
- International Conference on Human Rights: Tehran, April 22 - May 13
- Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations: New York, April 22 - May 10
- World Health Organization, twenty-first World Health Assembly: Geneva, May 6-24
- Economic and Social Council, forty-fourth session: New York, May 6-31
- International Telecommunication Union, Administrative Council, twenty-third session:  
Geneva, May 11-31
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Programme Committee: New York, June 3-6
- Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space — Legal Sub-Committee: Geneva, June 4-29
- UNICEF Executive Board: New York, June 10-18
- UNDP Governing Council, sixth session: Vienna, June 11-28
- NATO spring ministerial meeting: Reykjavik, June 24-25
- Economic and Social Council, forty-fifth session: Geneva, July 8 - August 2
- United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: Vienna,  
August 14-27
- Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Geneva, August 29 - September 28
- Commonwealth Medical Conference: Kampala, September 2-12
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session: Geneva, September 4-20
- United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session: September 17 - December
- International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference: Vienna, September 24 - October 4

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. B. M. Williams, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, accredited concurrently as Canadian Ambassador to Bulgaria, effective December 28, 1967.
- Mr. J. George, High Commissioner for Canada in India, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Nepal, effective January 17, 1968.
- Mr. P. F. Walker posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, to Ottawa, effective January 17, 1968.
- Mr. F. Douma posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santo Domingo, effective February 2, 1968.
- Mr. J. K. Bartleman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective February 5, 1968.
- Mr. G. Wilkinson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 3, effective February 7, 1968.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting, Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia, posted to Ottawa, effective February 10, 1968.
- Miss N. K. Flynn posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective February 11, 1968.
- Mr. W. E. Haner appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 4, effective February 12, 1968.
- Mr. L. O. Bailey posted from the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective February 15, 1968.
- Mr. R. V. Gorham appointed Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia, effective February 18, 1968.
- Mr. L. Duclos posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, to Boston, effective February 19, 1968.
- Miss P. A. McDougall appointed Canadian Ambassador to Poland, effective February 20, 1968.
- Mr. G. Dancosse resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective February 20, 1968.
- Mr. L. E. Burrows posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective February 22, 1968.
- Mr. R. Thériault posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, effective February 26, 1968.
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## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Romania

Trade agreement between Canada and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Signed at Montreal March 22, 1968.

Entered into force provisionally March 22, 1968.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## The Prime Minister of Canada

THE Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau became the Prime Minister of Canada on April 20, 1968, succeeding the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, who resigned after five years in office. Mr. Trudeau retained his portfolio as Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada. He was elected Leader of the Liberal Party at a convention held in Ottawa from April 4 to 6, 1968. He is Canada's fifteenth Prime Minister.

Mr. Trudeau was born in Montreal in October 1919. He received his undergraduate schooling at Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf, Montreal. He graduated with honours in law from the University of Montreal and was called to the Bar of the Province of Quebec

in 1943. Subsequently, he received a master of arts degree in political economy from Harvard University, and did postgraduate work in law, economics and political science at the University of Paris and the London School of Economics.

Mr. Trudeau was subsequently employed with the Cabinet Secretariat in Ottawa, and then practised law, specializing in labour law and civil liberties cases, in the Province of Quebec. In 1961, he was appointed Associate Professor of Law at the University of Montreal, where he taught constitutional law and civil liberties, and carried out research as a member of the staff of the Institute of Law.

Mr. Trudeau was elected to the House of Commons in 1965. He was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Pearson in January 1966. In April 1967, he became Minister of Justice and Attorney General.

Mr. Trudeau was a delegate to the meeting of the France-Canada Inter-parliamentary Association held in Paris in April 1966. He also served on the Canadian delegation to the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly from September to December 1966, where he was a member of the Special Political Committee.

Mr. Trudeau has written extensively on reform in politics and on the theory and practice of federalism. His articles, essays and manifestos have appeared in several Canadian and foreign publications. He is the author of a social study of French-Canadian society entitled *La Grève de l'Amiante* and a volume entitled *Le Fédéralisme et la Société canadienne-française*, which includes some of his previous articles and essays as well as a critique of his thinking on federal and constitutional matters. He was one of the founders of the reform review *Cité Libre*.



The Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau

## *New Secretary of State for External Affairs*

THE HONOURABLE Mitchell Sharp, formerly Minister of Finance and Receiver General of Canada, became Secretary of State for External Affairs on April 20, 1968, succeeding the Honourable Paul Martin.

Mr. Sharp was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in May 1911. He received a B.A. degree from the University of Manitoba in 1934. He subsequently undertook graduate studies in economics at the University of Manitoba and the London School of Economics. His first job was in the grain trade in Winnipeg.

In 1942, Mr. Sharp came to Ottawa as an officer of the Department of Finance. Besides performing liaison duties between the Finance Department and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, he served as chairman of interdepartmental committees concerned with agriculture, food, housing and social security. In 1947, he became Director of the Economic Policy Division of the Department of Finance, in which capacity he took part in the negotiations leading to the entry of Newfoundland into the Canadian federation.

In 1951, Mr. Sharp was named Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce. He attended wheat conferences in London, Washington and Geneva, the United Nations Sugar Conference in London and sessions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at Geneva. He became Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce in 1957.

In 1958, Mr. Sharp left the public service to become vice-president of Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company. At the invitation of the United Nations Secretary-General, he chaired the International Coffee Conference in New York during the summer of 1962.

In May 1965, he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Manitoba.

In April 1963, Mr. Sharp was elected to the House of Commons and appointed Minister of Trade and Commerce. In December 1965, he became Minister of Finance and Receiver General of Canada.

Mr. Sharp is married to the former Daisy Boyd. They have a son.



*The Hon. Mitchell Sharp*

# Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group

## ELEVENTH SESSION, WASHINGTON

... now our domestic problems don't stay on one side of the border, as they used to a generation ago. They become as catching as the measles, and they become mutual problems rather than problems which exist in our own countries.

So that is why we have these meetings together. We discuss what we can do. We can disagree if there is cause for disagreement, and do it in good faith. We can seek solutions for our mutual problems and hope for the best.

In the above words, Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont opened the eleventh meeting of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group on March 21, 1968, in the historic Old Supreme Court Chamber of the Capital in Washington. Senator Aiken, one of the two U.S. co-chairmen of the Group since the founding meeting in 1959, was addressing the combined delegations of 24 Canadian Parliamentarians and an equal number of U.S. legislators.

Also participating in the opening sessions were Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher of New Jersey, U.S. co-chairman from the House of Representatives, and the leaders of the Canadian delegation, Senator Alan A. Macnaughton, the Honourable Marcel Lambert, M.P., and Mr. Wallace B. Nesbitt, M.P. The meeting was addressed by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, and the Canadian Ambassador to Washington, Mr. A. E. Ritchie.

### Formal Discussions

In the two-day meetings that followed, discussions were held on a wide range of matters of common concern and interest to both countries. Meeting in two committees, one dealing with trade and economic affairs and the other with defence and mutual security, the delegates exchanged views in an atmosphere of frankness on matters such as Canada-U.S. balance-of-payments problems, developments since the close of the Kennedy Round, government policies related to foreign investment, mutual resource-development questions, the Automotive Agreement, foreign aid, trade with Communist countries and the International Grains Agreement. Matters such as the NATO alliance, North American defence co-operation, the situation in Southeast Asia and the Non-Proliferation Treaty were discussed by the Defence Committee.

At a press conference following the meetings, joint reports were issued summarizing the discussions in the two committees. The Group's co-chairmen declared that the sessions had been the most fruitful of all such meetings to date.

### Social Programme

The social programme in Washington included a reception by the Canadian Ambassador and Mrs. Ritchie and an official reception and dinner by the host

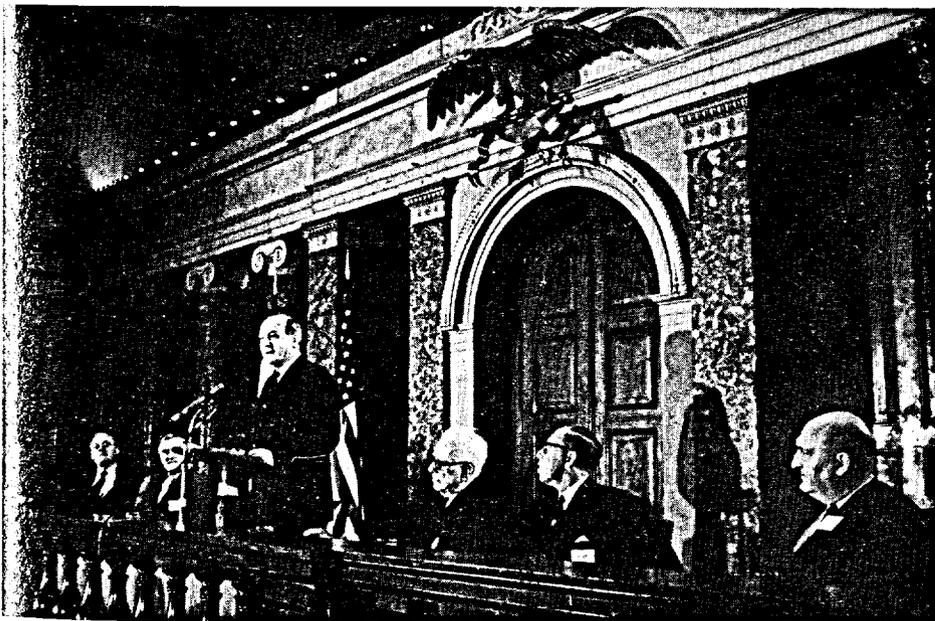
U.S. delegation, held in the splendid new quarters of the Museum of History and Technology. For the wives of delegates a very interesting programme was arranged, including visits to centres of historical interest in Washington and nearby Virginia.

### Visit to New Orleans

At the conclusion of the discussions, the combined Canadian and U.S. delegations were taken by plane for a two-day visit to New Orleans. During their stay, the delegates visited the Michoud Assembly Facility of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, site of manufacturing operations of rocket-booster stages for Saturn I and V. A reception was given in honour of the delegates by the Canadian Consul-General in New Orleans, Dr. R. G. MacNeill, and Mrs. MacNeill, and the delegates also met many officials and dignitaries of the City of New Orleans, which was celebrating the 250th anniversary of its founding by a figure distinguished in Canadian history, Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, Sieur de Bienville.

### Formation of Group

The frank and friendly interchange of views between Canadian and U.S. legislators that now characterizes these annual meetings has not always been the case.



*U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk addresses the opening session of the eleventh meeting of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group. Left to right: Mr. W.B. Nesbitt, M.P.; Canada's Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A.E. Ritchie; Representative C. Gallagher; Mr. Rusk; Senator George Aiken; Senator Alan Macnaughton; the Honourable Marcel Lamberg, M.P.*

In fact, it was the recognition on both sides of a conspicuous pause in the Canada-U.S. "dialogue" that led to the formation nine years ago of this important interparliamentary link. It is now one of many bilateral consultative or liaison institutions formed by the two countries, particularly in recent years, but it is the only one that regularly brings together legislators from both sides of the common 4,000-mile border.

### **Hays-Coffin Report**

The need for a continuing link between the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament was underlined early in 1958 in a report to the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee by the Hays-Coffin Special Study Mission to Canada. The report found "ample evidence of an erosion in the traditionally excellent relationships" between the two nations. Under the U.S. system of separation of powers, it was pointed out, liaison on the executive level is not sufficient to maintain the high degree of understanding essential to good relations between the two countries.

Among other recommendations, the report suggested that more attention be paid by Congress to the vital role it played in determining Canada-U.S. relations through legislative actions. To help close the gap at the legislative level, it was suggested that U.S.-Canadian relations might be the subject of a new joint committee and that delegations from both legislatures be exchanged on a regular basis.

### **Implementation of Recommendations**

These recommendations were endorsed enthusiastically in Congress, where a resolution by Senators Aiken and Mansfield was introduced urging that a body be set up to provide for "increased systematic discussions between legislators of the two countries on problems of common concern". The recommendations met with similar enthusiasm in the Canadian Parliament. Speaking in the House of Commons on August 8 and 12, 1958, Prime Minister Diefenbaker endorsed the Aiken-Mansfield initiative and proposed that a joint parliamentary committee be formed under the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons to negotiate the formation of an interparliamentary link with representatives of the United States Congress. Concurrently, in the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, a subcommittee on Canadian affairs was created to survey the field of U.S.-Canadian relations, particularly with regard to legislation introduced in Congress that might affect these relations. Senator Aiken has chaired this subcommittee since its creation, and its present members — Senators Mansfield, Morse, Dodd, Mundt and Case — are all either longstanding or frequent participants in the meetings of the Interparliamentary Group.

On September 4 and 5, 1958, Senators Aiken and Capehart came to Ottawa to discuss preliminary arrangements with Commons Speaker Roland Michener and Senate Speaker Mark Drouin for the first formal meeting, which took place

in Washington on January 9 and 10, 1959. The first meeting, attended by nine Canadian Parliamentarians and eight delegates from Congress, was largely organizational in nature and set the framework for subsequent meetings by agreeing that the meetings "should be informal in character" and that their purpose was "to exchange information and to promote better understanding of our common interests and accomplishments, as well as our differences and difficulties, rather than to arrive at binding decisions". Discussions were to be *in camera* and off-the-record, except for a joint communiqué to be issued at the close of the meetings, outlining in a general way the course of the discussions, and an ultimate report to be made by each delegation to its legislature.

### **Subsequent Meetings**

Since the founding meeting, the Group has met six times in the United States, each time conducting its business sessions in Washington and concluding with a visit to a major defence installation, such as the Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Omaha, the NORAD headquarters in Colorado Springs and the U.S. Continental Army Command in Norfolk, Virginia, or space and nuclear installations such as Cape Kennedy, Michoud and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. In the five sessions that have been held to date in Canada, delegates have attended the official opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in June 1959 and have made visits to Quebec City, Mont Gabriel and Montreal — in the latter case to inspect the early stages of construction at the Expo 67 site in May 1965 and to see the Exposition in full bloom in May 1967.

### **Unique Characteristics**

The Interparliamentary Group is unique among bilateral Canada-U.S. institutions by virtue of its two major characteristics: first, the opportunity it provides for legislators of all parties and from both countries to get together regularly, not to solve problems but to explore the causes of disagreement and to clarify attitudes behind legislative action; second, the fact that while the discussions follow a formal agenda, the real value in these meetings lies not in the outcome of the Group's deliberations, as useful as these have been. No official negotiations are undertaken here. No formal recommendations emerge.

The important contributions and achievements of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group come from its successful fulfilment of a real need in communication between the two countries, from the increased understanding and awareness of each others' positions gained by legislators of both countries, through informal and private talks just as well as through organized discussion. The 11 meetings of the Group since 1959 have built and paved a solid two-way street of mutual understanding that is being significantly extended each year as the regular annual meetings draw in new participants from Congress and Parliament. The benefits accrue equally to both sides of the Canada-United States border.

## *Renewal of the NORAD Agreement*

**O**N MARCH 30, notes were exchanged in Washington between representatives of the Canadian and U.S. Governments for the purpose of renewing the NORAD agreement for a period of five years. The original agreement, which was concluded in 1958, was due to expire on May 12 of this year.

The U.S. note was signed on behalf of the Secretary of State by Mr. John M. Leddy and the Canadian reply was signed by Mr. A. E. Ritchie, Canadian Ambassador in Washington.

The renewal was made subject to the provision that a review of the agreement might be undertaken at any time at the request of either party and that it might be terminated by either government after such a review, following a period of notice of one year.

The exchange of notes also stipulates that the agreement would not involve in any way a Canadian commitment to participate in an active ballistic missile defence.

The following are the texts of the two notes :

### **U.S. Note**

Excellency,

I have the honor to refer to discussions in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence and elsewhere regarding the mutual interest of the United States and Canada in the continued co-operation between the two countries in the strategic defense of the North American continent. In particular, these discussions have concerned themselves with the North American Air Defense Command established on August 1, 1957, in recognition of the desirability of an integrated headquarters exercising operational control over assigned air defense forces. The principles governing the organization and operation of this Command were set forth in the Agreement between our two Governments dated May 12, 1958. That Agreement provided that the North American Air Defense Command was to be maintained in operation for a period of ten years.

The discussions recently held between the representatives of our two Governments have confirmed the need for the continued existence in peacetime of an organization, including the weapons, facilities and command structure, which could operate at the outset of hostilities in accordance with a single air defense plan approved in advance by the national authorities of both our countries. In the view of the Government of the United States, this function has been exercised effectively by the North American Air Defense Command.

My Government therefore proposes that the Agreement on the North American Air Defense Command effected by the exchange of Notes, signed at Washington, D.C. on May 12, 1958, be continued for a period of five years from May 12, 1968, it being understood that a review of the Agreement may be undertaken at any time at the request of either party and that the Agreement may be terminated by either Government after such review following a period of notice of one year.

It is also agreed by my Government that this Agreement will not involve in any way a Canadian commitment to participate in an active ballistic missile defense.

If the Government of Canada concurs in the considerations and provisions set out above, I propose that this Note and your reply to that effect shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments, effective from the date of your reply.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State

John M. LEDDY

March 30, 1968.

### Canadian Note

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your Note of March 30, setting out certain considerations and provisions concerning the continuation of the Agreement between our two Governments on the North American Air Defence Command effected by the exchange of Notes of May 12, 1958.

I am pleased to inform you that my Government concurs in the considerations and provisions set out in your Note, and further agrees with your proposal that your Note and this reply, which is authentic in English and French, shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments effective today.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Signed

A. E. RITCHIE

March 30, 1968.

# *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

## THIRD MINISTERIAL MEETING ON SCIENCE

**A**T THE Third Ministerial Meeting on Science, held in Paris under the auspices of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development on March 11 and 12, 1968, all member countries of the OECD were represented, as well as Yugoslavia. Observers from Finland, the Commission of the European Communities and the Council of Europe also participated.

The Canadian delegation, led by the Honourable Senator J. J. Connolly, included representatives from the Science Council of Canada, the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council Office, the National Research Council, the Department of Industry and the Department of External Affairs. There were three items on the agenda of the meeting: the effect on social and economic development of "technological gaps" between member countries, the promotion and organization of fundamental research, and the development of both national and international capabilities to cope with the rapid growth of scientific and technical information.

### **Lag in Technological Development**

The rapid growth of scientific research and development during recent decades has resulted in vast amounts of new knowledge, which can, if properly harnessed, contribute substantially to social and economic progress. It has become apparent, however, that some countries have been more successful than others in applying science and technology to obtain the desired results. These differences in the capacity for innovation, commonly referred to as "technological gaps", constitute a major challenge to the member countries of the OECD, since they affect not only national welfare but also economic and political relations between countries.

In discussing "technological gaps", the ministers reviewed the reports which had been prepared by the OECD Committee for Science Policy on the technological performance of member countries in various industrial sectors. Senator Connolly said that, although the term "technological gap" described the symptoms of the problem, he did not believe it accurately reflected the root causes. He pointed out that the OECD reports indicated that there were many factors which determined the level of technological performance within a nation or society: the scale of operations, plant facilities, labour skills, management capability, entrepreneurial initiative, marketing programmes, the availability of capital, and the level of technology itself. In addition, the reports indicated that the transmission of technology between countries depended to some extent

on the development of a capacity for innovation in the recipient countries, and that some countries were failing to develop a sufficient capacity for original innovation, particularly in the research-intensive industries. Senator Connolly therefore suggested that it would be more accurate to describe the range of issues involved as the "management of technology", i.e. the ability of nations and industries to exploit technology effectively for economic purposes.

In reviewing the reports, the OECD ministers recognized the need for intensified efforts by individual countries to promote research and development, as well as the need for closer international co-operation. In this latter respect, the ministers recommended that the Organization continue its study of the reasons for differences in productivity between member countries, and promote an effective exchange of information on policies related to technological development. The following areas were suggested as being especially appropriate for further study and co-operation: educational technology, environmental technology, urban development and transportation techniques, marine resources and computer use.

### **Fundamental Research**

The ministers recognized the importance of fundamental research to all countries, as a source of increased knowledge, as an essential ingredient of the educational system, and as a stimulus to innovation and change. It was considered that national income devoted to fundamental research should be regarded as a long-term investment rather than as a consumption expenditure.

The ministers noted that the OECD studies indicated that the development of fundamental research, particularly in Europe, encountered various difficulties. These included the inflexibility of funding procedures, the dispersion of effort and the difficulty of integrating research in inter-disciplinary fields within traditional university structures. Other difficulties included the obstacles to the mobility of scientists both within and between countries, and the lack of reliable statistical data as a basis for planning.

The ministers agreed that it was necessary for individual countries to devise institutional structures which would improve the management of and the funding mechanisms for fundamental research. On the international level, the ministers recommended that, in pursuing its studies in this field, the Organization should undertake a series of surveys to determine the current state of basic science and the conditions under which scientific work was undertaken. Ministers also expressed an interest in the creation of a European — and perhaps wider — network of research activity in various new and important multi-disciplinary fields. The OECD was therefore invited to work out a procedure at the European level for the selection and financing of an internationally-supported, multi-disciplinary research programme.

### **Scientific and Technical Information**

The leader of the Canadian delegation opened the discussion on scientific and technical information systems and policies. He pointed out that, no matter how much research was done, if it was not communicated widely both nationally and internationally, much of the advantage in promoting research was lost. Thus, systems for making scientific information available where and when it was required were of very great importance. The volume of scientific information, which was doubling every ten years, was becoming so vast that it was threatening to swamp the traditional ways of handling it. New techniques based on computers, Senator Connolly said, were required to handle this problem, but international co-operation and exchange would be undermined unless the systems which were developed within individual countries were compatible or convertible internationally.

Ministers agreed that a policy for scientific and technical information was a necessary part of the science policy of any country, and that member governments of the OECD should establish a high-level focus for information questions. Ministers were also convinced that there was a need for immediate co-operative efforts at the international level to promote the introduction of the necessary basic standards for assuring the compatibility of the various information systems, whose object would be eventually to provide easy access for users to scientific and technical information. As a result, the ministers requested the OECD to continue its evaluation of new information techniques, to identify possible aims in regard to the development of these techniques, and, as a matter of urgency, to develop its means for promoting co-operation and agreement in establishing comprehensive or convertible information systems.

## *Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference*

THE FOURTH Commonwealth Education Conference opened in Lagos, Nigeria, on February 26 and closed on March 9. There had been three previous conferences in this series : the first at Oxford in 1959, the second at New Delhi in 1962 and the third at Ottawa in 1964. From their location, it may be seen that a pattern has emerged whereby the conferences are held alternately in developed and developing countries. Accordingly, it was agreed at Lagos that the Fifth Commonwealth Education Conference would be held in Australia in 1971.

The Lagos Conference brought together 170 delegates from 23 Commonwealth countries. Mr. Arnold Smith, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, was also Secretary-General of the Conference and he and his staff on the Commonwealth Secretariat were responsible for its organization with the assistance of the host government, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. The preparations for the Conference, which commenced soon after the Ottawa Conference



*Canadian delegates to the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference, Lagos: (left) Dr. C. W. Dickson; (fourth from right) Dr. T. C. Byrne; (second from right) Dr. F. K. Stewart; (right) Dr. J. F. Leddy. The others in the photograph are delegates from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Western Samoa.*

in 1964 and then continued with mounting intensity, were in the hands of the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, formerly known as the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit. The high commissions of the Commonwealth countries in London shared in the planning through the medium of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee (CELC), which consists of one member from each Commonwealth high commission and is chaired by a prominent person from the private sector, the present incumbent being Mr. H. L. Elvin, Director of the Institute of Education at the University of London. The CELC is thus the permanent advisory committee of the Commonwealth Secretariat's Education Division.

Canada was represented at the Conference by a delegation of ten : Dr. J. W. Leddy (Chairman), President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Windsor; Mr. L. H. Bergstrom (Vice-Chairman), Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Saskatchewan; Dr. J. G. De Grace (Vice-Chairman), Deputy Minister of Education, Province of New Brunswick; Dr. T. C. Byrne, Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Alberta; Mr. C. W. Dickson, Associate Deputy Minister of Education, Province of Quebec; Dr. A. G. McCalla, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of Alberta; Dr. F. K. Stewart, Secretary-General of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference (Ottawa 1964); Monsignor J. Garneau, Associate Director, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, and representatives of the External Aid Office and the Department of External Affairs.

The three guest speakers invited by the Commonwealth Secretariat were furnished by Canada, New Zealand and the host country, Nigeria. The Canadian speaker, Dr. J. R. Weir, Director of the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council, gave an address entitled "Education in Relation to Agricultural Productivity", in which, against the background of the "population explosion", the working gap between the developed and developing countries and the increasing shortage of food supplies, he considered means by which education could help to stimulate immediate increases in agricultural productivity. The speaker from New Zealand, Dr. C. E. Beeby, CMG, discussed curriculum development, while Dr. S. O. Biobaku, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos, called his address "The Role of Higher Education in Development".

A display of text-books was set up in the foyer of the National Hall, the site of the plenary sessions of the Conference. Canada contributed 250 text-books, both English-language and French-language examples being included. These will be a gift to schools in Nigeria.

### **Work and Results of the Conference**

The agenda adopted at Lagos was the longest in this series of conferences and the items for consideration included the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan and higher education; the training and supply of teachers and co-operation in technical and vocational education; curriculum development and the

role of libraries, text-books, audio-visual aids and mass media in education; meetings of specialists and experts; education for social and economic development, including agricultural extension and farmers' training, community development and adult literacy; the recognition of qualifications and courses; and, finally, the establishment of an English-Language Information Service.

Foundations for new programmes of Commonwealth co-operation in education were laid at Oxford in 1959. These plans were reviewed at New Delhi in 1962. At Ottawa in 1964, somewhat tentative approaches were made to a broader conception of educational co-operation. The Lagos Conference showed a confidence in the future that expressed itself in a number of new initiatives. Indeed, it may well come to be known as the "developing" conference from the number of practical suggestions for action, assistance and study that emerged.

The Conference approved certain modest but real advances in schemes of collaboration that were already working satisfactorily. An example of this is the most successful Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, which continues to be expanded. The British and Canadian delegations both informed the Conference of new proposed extensions to their schemes, which would substantially increase the respective totals of awards. In this connection, the Canadian delegation undertook to recommend to the Canadian Government that the present number of scholarships offered by Canada within the framework of the Plan be increased from 250 to 300.

The Lagos Conference endorsed the view of the Ottawa Conference that the supply of teachers from the developing countries must, in the long run, be assured from the countries themselves. Emphasis was, therefore, moving towards the provision by the developed countries of specialists in key positions in secondary schools and teacher-training institutions, with a view to assisting countries towards self-sufficiency in the supply of teachers as soon as possible. The Conference welcomed the announcement by Canada of the expansion by 100 in the number of its teacher-trainers and key personnel in developing countries by the summer of 1968.

The committee considering technical and vocational education stressed the need for adapting such specialized education to local industrial and agricultural programmes in order to strengthen the economies and raise the living standards of Commonwealth countries. Since agriculture is by far the largest industry in most countries of the Commonwealth, agricultural education should be given a high priority in future Commonwealth education conferences.

The Conference welcomed the establishment of the Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas (CREDO) in London, but recommended that the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat could play a more active part in promoting the exchange of personnel and ideas in the field of curriculum development if the Secretariat's staff were expanded.

The role of education in economics and social development was considered in relation to possible programmes of functional adult education. The new dimen-

sion at this Conference was the role of economic development, only the role of social development having been considered at the previous conferences. Development is of overriding concern to many Commonwealth countries, and the funds which can be made available from hard-pressed budgets for the purposes of adult education in its customary forms are likely to remain comparatively small. Educational programmes of a functional character carried out in areas with growth potential, therefore, made an understandable appeal to government, planners and the individual men and women who might expect increased incomes and a higher standard of living. Such programmes should be complemented by increases in primary and other education.

In considering the role of the mass media, the Conference noted the high cost of providing television and radio programmes, as well as their limitations, since they are by their nature a one-way channel of communication. The simpler and more economic audio-visual aids were recommended, such as filmstrips and slides; and, in areas where electrical supply and maintenance presented difficulties, the use of photographs, charts and flannelgraphs was advocated. The creation of machinery for the collection, evaluation and dissemination of educational media for adult education would be a valuable task, which the Conference considered the Commonwealth Secretariat should be invited to undertake. It was noted that, in general, the educational media seemed a particularly fruitful field for Commonwealth co-operation through the marriage of needs and expertise.

In considering the role of libraries and text-books in education, the Conference agreed that text-books were best written and prepared in the areas for which they were intended, even though they might well be printed and published elsewhere. It was felt that Commonwealth co-operation could be helpful in offering training for potential authors, librarians and booksellers. To help implement these and other forms of assistance, the Conference hoped that the establishment of a Commonwealth Book Development Fund and Programme would be urgently and sympathetically considered.

In reviewing the field of specialist conferences, it was noted that three successful conferences had been held. These were on the teaching of English as a second language; the teaching of science, and the education and training of technicians. A fourth conference of experts on the teaching of mathematics is to be held in Trinidad and Tobago in September 1968. The Conference approved the following subjects for specialist conferences in order of priority, subject to further consideration by the CELC:

- (i) curriculum development;
- (ii) education in rural areas;
- (iii) the role of mass media in education;
- (iv) the humanities and/or social sciences.

The Conference recorded the view that the conference on education in rural areas should be held before the FAO Conference on Agricultural Education expected to take place in 1970-71, and accordingly agreed that the specialist

conference on education in rural areas should, if necessary, precede one on curriculum development. The Lagos Conference agreed on a number of principles which might govern financial assistance to less affluent countries for attendance at such conferences, and recommended to governments that a sum of money be provided in the budget of the Commonwealth Secretariat for 1968-69 to assist such countries in special cases in sending delegates to the mathematics conference in 1968.

The CELC presented to the Lagos Conference a report on the progress made since the Ottawa Conference on the problem of the recognition of qualifications and courses. As far as university entrance qualifications and degrees go, the Association of Commonwealth Universities has since the 1964 Conference published more comprehensive information than hitherto in the latest editions of its *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*. Recommendations have now been adopted whereby similar information about professional qualifications in any Commonwealth country may be made accessible to other countries.

### **General**

Discussions at the Conference emphasized that, during a period in which Commonwealth aid for quantitative expansion of education is limited, real assistance can nevertheless be given at comparatively small cost to improvement of the quality of education in Commonwealth countries.

One proposal that received the support of several delegations was that a fund should be established to assist Commonwealth governments in sending adequately-sized delegations to future Commonwealth education conferences, as this was at present beyond the resources of many Commonwealth countries. The Conference agreed that this proposal should be referred to the CELC for further consideration.

### **Conclusion**

The Lagos Conference met at a time when the portents for significant developments in Commonwealth co-operation did not appear to be propitious. Balance-of-payments problems and budgetary difficulties plagued the economies of a great number of Commonwealth countries. These difficulties were being experienced not only by developing countries but also by some countries with more highly developed economies. Nevertheless, the significance of the Commonwealth association and the determination of member countries to come through present financial embarrassments to more fruitful co-operative efforts were even more apparent than at any of the previous conferences in the series.

In this connection, the Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, wrote in his foreword to the official report issued at the close of the Conference:

"No one present at Lagos could doubt the reality and vitality of the Commonwealth. Nor could anyone fail to see what common opportunities for collaboration exist, where countries do business through a common language,

and have inherited important common understandings as to how business should be done . . . .

"Every conference has its rhythm, and I was fascinated by the way in which the Lagos Conference moved from a discussion of the educational needs in individual countries towards constructive thinking about Commonwealth co-operation in helping to meet these needs . . . .

"That the conference took place, and so agreeably, at a most difficult time for our host country we owe to the immense good offices and most cordial hospitality of the Federal Government of Nigeria, and in particular to Mr. Wenike Briggs, Federal Commissioner of Education, who was chairman of the Conference. That, at a time when there are doubts (however misconceived) among sections of the public in many countries about the usefulness of the Commonwealth and other international associations, so realistic a path forward should have been mapped out we owe to the spirit of co-operation and the realistic readiness to face the future together shown by all of the delegations. I leave the Lagos Conference encouraged. I believe that there is not a single delegate who would not say the same."

## *The Middle East and the Security Council* <sup>(1)</sup>

THE Security Council was convened on March 21, 1968, following urgent requests for a meeting by Jordan<sup>(2)</sup> and Israel.<sup>(3)</sup> In his note, the Jordanian representative referred to "a mass armed attack against the East Bank of the Jordan" by Israel. The note from the Israeli representative stated that Israeli forces had been compelled to take "localized and limited preventive measures" in order to forestall "an increased large-scale campaign of raids, murder and sabotage" from Jordan.

These requests followed a gradual deterioration of the situation in the Israeli/Jordanian sector during the previous weeks. The parties had drawn the attention of the Security Council to earlier acts of violence and continuing exchanges of fire in the area in letters to the President of the Council, which were circulated at the request of the parties<sup>(4)</sup>. Although no United Nations reports were available on these incidents, as no United Nations observers had been assigned to this sector, it was clear that the events in question had resulted in loss of life, injuries and damage to property on both sides. (No UN observers had been stationed in this sector because the parties had not agreed on such a measure.)

The Secretary-General supplied the Security Council with supplemental information regarding the situation in the area on March 21 in Documents S/7930/Add. 64 and S/7930/Add. 65. This information, based on reports by the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO), Lieutenant-General Odd Bull, indicated that General Bull had appealed to the parties to observe the cease-fire and suspend all military activities in the area on the morning of March 21. The parties subsequently agreed to this appeal. The supplemental information also showed that, on March 20, Jordan had requested a local meeting with an Israeli representative, under UN auspices. Israel had responded that "such talks should be direct without United Nations presence".

### **Opening Debate**

In his opening statement, the permanent representative of Jordan said that Israel had carried out a premeditated attack on Jordan. He noted that he had given the Council prior warning of Israel's aggressive intent. Jordan had tried to prevent a further deterioration of the situation before the attack by asking for a meeting, under United Nations auspices, between the Jordanian delegate to the Mixed Armistice Commission and an Israeli representative. Israel had insisted on direct

(1) For earlier consideration of the Arab/Israeli question at the United Nations, see the October 1967 and January 1968 issues of *External Affairs*.

(2) UN Document S/8484

(3) S/8486

(4) See Documents S/8395, S/8400, S/8404, S/8405, S/8409, S/8412, S/8419, S/8423, S/8453, S/8470, S/8475, S/8478, S/8482 and S/8483.

talks without any United Nations presence. Jordan was not responsible for the events which Israel alleged were taking place "in Arab areas now under military conquest". If Israel's "savage attack against innocent Arab inhabitants" was not condemned and Chapter VII of the Charter (regarding the enforcement of Council decisions) not invoked, then the conception of law and equity embodied in the Charter would be jeopardized. That would be an invitation to disaster.

Following the Jordanian statement, the Israeli representative said that Israel was still in the throes of a 20-year war — a war which continued by the will of the Arab states. Israel had some misgivings about the Security Council. Time and again the Council had failed to preserve the peace. It had been paralyzed by the veto when Israel had applied to it. The Israeli representative cited a series of attacks on Israel during March 1968, and stated that "these acts of aggression have been openly acquiesced in and supported by the Jordan authorities". Israel had acted against "terrorist concentration camps near the border" in self-defence. Israel would abide by the cease-fire if Jordan did. Israel was ready to end the continuing war in the area and to replace it by peace.

#### U.S. View

All members of the Security Council and some Arab states not on the Council spoke during the ensuing debate. The United States representative said that his government greatly deplored the Israeli military action, which was out of proportion to the acts of violence that preceded it and damaging to the hopes for a peaceful settlement of the basic issues involved. He added that the United States opposed violence "from any quarter in the Middle East"; it opposed military actions and acts of terrorism in violation of the cease-fire resolutions. It was not blind to the problems created by acts of terrorism. The United States Government believed recent developments made it "vitally necessary to strengthen the United Nations role in the Israeli-Jordan sector of the cease-fire line". The United States representative concluded by calling on the parties to co-operate with the UN Special Representative<sup>(5)</sup> for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the area.

The representative of France said that the French Government could not accept the argument that Israel had taken necessary measures for the security of the territory and population under the jurisdiction of Israel because it could not recognize "jurisdiction established by occupation". The idea of reprisals was unacceptable in itself. In the view of the Government of France, "so-called acts of terrorism" were the almost inevitable consequence of military occupation; the evacuation of the occupied territories by Israel was called for. The Security Council was duty-bound to condemn the military action by Israel.

(5) The Secretary-General's special representative, Ambassador Gunnar V. Jarring of Sweden, was appointed under the terms of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. His task was "to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement [in the Middle East] in accordance with the provisions and principles in the resolution." See S/Res/242 (1967).

The representative of the U.S.S.R. asked that the Security Council condemn a "new act of criminal aggression" by Israel in the most categorical manner. He said that, if Israel continued to disregard the decisions of the Security Council, it would be necessary to apply sanctions against it. He also questioned whether "the real substance of the matter" consisted of sending another group of United Nations observers to the region as mentioned by the United States representative. The presence of observers in the Suez Canal Zone had not prevented "the Israeli aggressors from committing acts of military provocation and continuing this aggression". What was needed was compliance by Israel with the decisions of the Security Council.

In a brief statement, the British representative deplored the latest serious breach of the cease-fire and the acts of violence which had preceded it. Britain agreed with those who condemned the practice of retaliation. Violence solved nothing. The solution lay in a return to the resolution of November 1967. Lord Caradon regretted that Ambassador Jarring's mission had been "bedevilled by continued suspicion and distrust". Events since November made it all the more necessary to support the efforts of the Secretary-General's representative and to insist that the framework for a settlement drawn up by the Council be respected and carried out.

The Canadian representative, Mr. George Ignatieff, said that the tenuous peace in the area had been "roughly and harshly disturbed" by the latest developments. An extensive military action by Israel, following a mounting number of incidents of infiltration and sabotage on the Israeli side of the Israel-Jordan sector, had brought about a highly dangerous situation. Canada greatly deplored this recourse to violence in the area. The type of forceful military action undertaken during the past 24 hours could not lead to peace in the Middle East. The Canadian representative appealed to both Israel and Jordan to facilitate the assignment of UN observers to supervise the cease-fire. He said that the supreme need in the Middle East was peace. To this end, the Council might consider reaffirming its resolution of November 22, 1967. It might also consider calling on the parties concerned to accept that resolution and to co-operate with the Secretary-General's special representative in his endeavour to "promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement" in the area.

A number of Arab representatives raised the question of Israel's policy in the occupied territories in the course of the debate.

Subsequent meetings of the Security Council were held on March 22 and 23. Informal discussions and consultations were in progress during these meetings regarding the text of a possible resolution. Following the debate on March 23, the representatives of India, Pakistan and Senegal tabled a draft resolution. (6) This draft, which dealt exclusively with Israel's military action on March 21,

(6) S/8498

was not discussed in the Council or put to a vote. Following further consultation and negotiations, an accepted draft resolution <sup>(7)</sup> was tabled by the President of the Council when the Council met on March 24. This resolution condemned the military action launched by Israel, deplored all violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire, and declared that such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire could not be tolerated. It was adopted unanimously.

After the vote had taken place, the Canadian representative, Mr. Ignatieff, said:

"... When I spoke in the Council on March 21, I made it clear that the large-scale military action recently undertaken by Israel in Jordan had brought about a highly dangerous situation in the Middle East. This action, which has now been forthrightly condemned by the Security Council, was preceded by a mounting number of incidents of infiltration or sabotage in areas under Israeli control. My delegation recognizes that the resolution just adopted concentrates its attention on the major military action by Israel, which clearly could not be condoned by the Council. In voting in favour of this resolution, however, my delegation wishes to make it clear that it attaches importance to the fact that the Security Council does not condone violent incidents, whatever their source. The Canadian delegation sincerely hopes that the passage of this resolution will help to ensure that the cease-fire will be scrupulously observed by all concerned, for, if it is not observed, the people of the area will be drawn into a vicious circle of escalating violence.

"I must say, too, that I should have liked to see the resolution contain an appropriate reference both to UNTSO and to Ambassador Jarring's highly important mission. Now that a decision has been taken on the immediate issue raised in the Council, the Canadian delegation would urge all those concerned to give Ambassador Jarring's mission the full co-operation and support which it deserves and very much needs if it is to be a success, for this surely represents our best... hope for peace in the Middle East."

### **Resolution 248 (1968)**

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1407th Meeting  
on March 24, 1968

*The Security Council,*

*Having heard* the statements of the representatives of Jordan and Israel.

*Having noted* the contents of the letters of the Permanent Representatives of Jordan and Israel in Documents S/8470, S/8475, S/8478, S/8483, S/8484 and S/8486,

(7) S/Res/248 (1968). See text at conclusion of article.

*Having noted further* the supplementary information provided by the Chief of Staff of UNTSO as contained in Documents S/7930/Add. 64 and Add. 65,  
*Recalling* Resolution 236 (1967) by which the Security Council condemned any and all violations of the cease-fire,

*Observing* that the military action by the armed forces of Israel on the territory of Jordan was of a large-scale and carefully planned nature,

*Considering* that all violent incidents and other violations of the cease-fire should be prevented and not overlooking past incidents of this nature,

*Recalling Further* Resolution 237 (1967) which called upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place,

1. *Deplores* the loss of life and heavy damage to property;
2. *Condemns* the military action launched by Israel in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the cease-fire resolution;
3. *Deplores* all violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire and declares that such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire cannot be tolerated and that the Security Council would have to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter to ensure against repetition of such acts;
4. *Calls upon* Israel to desist from acts or activities in contravention of Resolution 237 (1967);
5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the situation under review and to report to the Security Council as appropriate.

## *Cyprus and the UN Peacekeeping Force*

ON MARCH 18, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution extending for a further three months, ending June 26, 1968, the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force". The resolution also urged the parties to act with restraint and to continue their efforts to achieve the Council's objectives "by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities".

The Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. George Ignatieff, commented on the Cyprus problem in the following terms during the Council's debate on the resolution :

"... At a time when there are many shadows on the international horizon, the Canadian delegation particularly welcomes the rays of hope conveyed in the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation in Cyprus and on the role of UNFICYP and as reflected in the statements of the representatives of the parties directly concerned in the Council.

"When I spoke in the Council last June, I expressed Canada's concern at the lack of progress towards a settlement of the Cyprus problem. I said that we should welcome fresh initiatives at the political level which would lead towards a solution. Subsequently, the clouds of war gathered over Cyprus and the future seemed bleak indeed.

"Against this background, it is encouraging indeed that the Secretary-General's report indicates that fresh initiatives at the political level are in the offing, that tensions have been markedly reduced, that the general atmosphere has improved, and that hope for a solution has been revived.

"In the circumstances, it seems appropriate that the Council should note the existence of the new conditions and should urge all parties concerned to take advantage of this improved atmosphere to continue moves towards a peaceful settlement. In the hope that the present momentum towards a political settlement can indeed be maintained, I believe it is also appropriate for the Council to extend UNFICYP for a further period so that current opportunities for progress can in every way be explored.

"It is in the light of the considerations I have just mentioned that Canada will be able to support the draft resolution which was read out to us at the beginning of this meeting.

"It is clear that UNFICYP continues to have a helpful, steadying influence, the benefits of which must be recognized. At the same time, we may perhaps be allowed to hope that, as the situation improves further, there will be less and less

need for the presence of UNFICYP, at least at its current strength. Meanwhile, so long as UNFICYP is required, I should again urge the parties concerned to maintain and improve their co-operation with the Force.

"My delegation has noted — and, indeed, shares — the Secretary-General's concern at the financial deficit in UNFICYP's accounts. In the circumstances, I should very much hope that the signs of progress outlined in the Secretary-General's report will encourage a wider group of countries to make voluntary contributions for the support of this important peacekeeping operation, which has made such a constructive contribution towards the maintenance of peace.

"In concluding, I should again like to commend the Secretary-General and his collaborators, both here and in Cyprus, and also the Commander of UNFICYP, for their efforts in the interests of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem.

"And, of course, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the characteristically capable and skillful way in which you have handled the current item on our agenda."

## *Canadian Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic*

ON NOVEMBER 16, 1967, Mr. Michel Gauvin, Canada's first Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic, presented his credentials in Tananarive to His Excellency Philibert Tsiranana, President of the Republic and Head of the Malagasy Government. Mr. Gauvin, who is also Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, is resident in Addis Ababa.

Canada and Madagascar established formal diplomatic relations in 1965, when Mr. Louis Rakotomalala, Malagasy Ambassador to the United States and Permanent Malagasy Representative to the United Nations, was accredited as his country's first Ambassador to Canada. Mr. Rakotomalala is resident in Washington. The reciprocal accreditation of a Canadian Ambassador took place following the opening of the Canadian Embassy in Addis Ababa, which made possible Mr. Gauvin's appointment as Canada's first Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic.

### **Canada-Malagasy Relations**

Canada has been favourably known in Madagascar for many years as a result of the work done in the field of education by the Canadian Frères du Sacré-Cœur, particularly at the École des Frères du Sacré-Cœur in Antinema. From this base, relations between the two countries have developed at an increased



*Signing the aid agreement between the Malagasy Republic and Canada: Mr. Jules Razafimbahiny, Malagasy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Canada's Ambassador to Malagasy, Mr. Michel Gauvin.*

pace during the past few years. In 1966, a number of CUSO volunteers went to Malagasy to take up teaching posts, and there are at present 19 of them stationed there. The same year, the Canadian Government initiated a programme of educational assistance for the Republic, and a gift of approximately 12 tons of paper costing \$6,000 was provided to Malagasy for the production of educational booklets and brochures to be used in a rural literacy campaign. Scholarships have also been made available, and at present there are nine Malagasy university students on scholarship in Canadian educational institutions.

Also in 1966, a CBC communications expert conducted a survey of rural communication media in Malagasy.

### **Memorandum of Understanding**

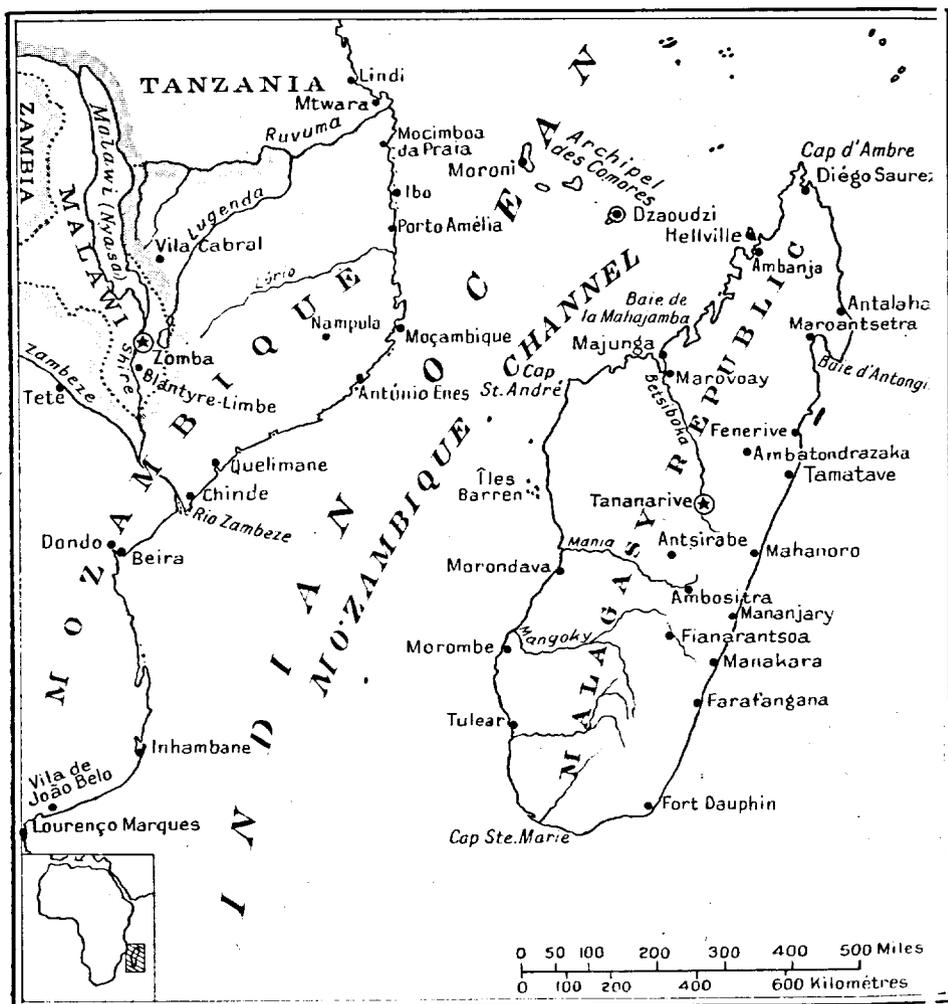
On March 26, 1968, a "memorandum of understanding" dealing with technical assistance was signed in Tananarive by the Canadian Ambassador and the Malagasy Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Under its terms, Canada will increase the number of Malagasy students sponsored in Canadian institutions, as well as the number of Canadian teachers sent to Madagascar. In addition, Canada has undertaken to provide assistance with specific projects which are to be proposed by the Malagasy Government.

The Malagasy Republic has recently shown interest in strengthening its ties with Canada. Last year, it sponsored a pavilion in the Africa Place complex at Expo 67, and it subsequently appointed Mr. Léopold Bernier, Deputy Commissioner-General of its pavilion, as Honorary Consul of Madagascar in Montreal. Madagascar is hopeful, as is Canada, that the increased cultural ties between the two countries will be followed by the development of significant economic relations.

### **A World Apart**

The fourth largest island in the world, separated from Africa by the 250-mile wide Mozambique Channel, Madagascar is in many ways distinct from Africa. It lies largely in the tropics, but its great length from north to south (1,000 miles) and large variations in elevation give rise to climates ranging from hot and humid through semi-arid to temperate. Some of the fauna and flora are unique to Madagascar.

The most distinctive element is the population. The original inhabitants of Madagascar are thought to have arrived some 2,000 years ago, not from Africa but in successive waves from islands which now form a part of Indonesia. They were joined at a later date by smaller numbers of Arab and African immigrants who intermingled with the Malayo-Polynesian inhabitants. It was not until the seventeenth century that the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French began their penetration of the island. Today, the racial complexion of the Malagasy people is neither African nor Asian; it is typical only of Madagascar. Virtually all the indigenous population speaks Malagasy, a language of Asian origin.



### History

Madagascar was not fully united as a nation until it came under French administration, initially as a protectorate in 1895 and later as a colony in 1905, yet the island had evolved a sophisticated political system in the central regions before the arrival of the first Europeans. The Merina tribe of the central plateau had succeeded in establishing its ascendancy over neighbouring tribes by the end of the seventeenth century. The Merina kingdom made a spectacular advance during the reign of its most famous monarch, Andrianampoinimerina (1737-1810), which saw the extension of the kingdom over the whole of the central plateau, the establishment of Antananarivo (now Tananarive) as the capital, and the reform of judicial and fiscal systems in accordance with Merina traditions. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Merina kings and queens welcomed contacts with Europe and promoted the establishment, alternately

(according to the personal preference of the reigning monarch), of English Protestant and French Catholic missionary schools. As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century, the level of school attendance in the Tananarive region was comparable to that in Europe as a whole. This early emphasis on education has continued and it is estimated that, by the end of the present five-year plan in 1973, 72 per cent of all school-age children in Madagascar will be attending school.

For over a century, the Merina monarchy used its contacts with Europe to advance its civilization, while retaining political control of the island. This was facilitated by British-French rivalry. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Madagascar's importance as a port-of-call for ships bound for the Orient declined and Britain lost interest in the island. Disputes ensued between France and Madagascar over France's claim to portions of Madagascar territory, culminating in the Franco-Malagasy war (1883-85). The ambiguous terms of the peace treaty signed at the conclusion of the war, combined with the divisions between traditionalist and progressive elements of Merina society, ended in the extension of the French protectorate over the whole of Madagascar.

The era of French administration, from 1895 to 1947 (with a transitional period from 1947 to the time of full independence), saw the unification of the entire island under one central authority and the extension of education to, and better communications with, the coastal tribes, the so-called *côtiers*. The Merina tribe lost its predominant influence, while the coastal tribes were able to assume a more important role in the life of the country.

In 1960, Philibert Tsirinana, President of the Republic, led his country to independence and in the 1965 election he was re-elected to a second seven-year term of office. The political party he leads, a coalition of divergent interests, holds 102 of the 107 seats in the Legislature. Under President Tsirinana's leadership, the Malagasy Republic has come to play an influential and moderate role in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in the Organisation communautaire africaine et malgache (OCAM) and in the United Nations.

# HemisFair 68

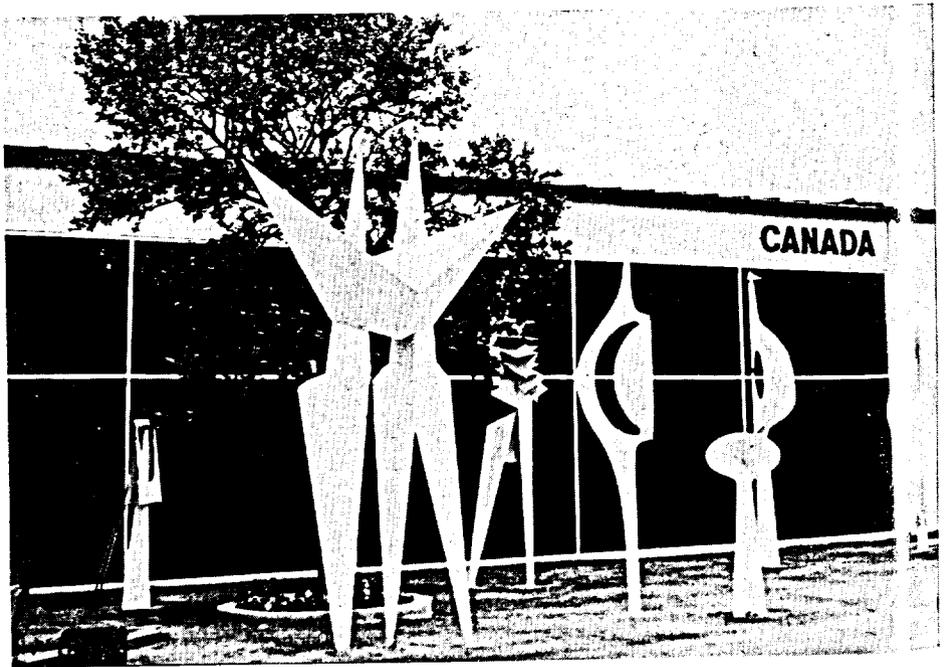
HemisFair '68, scheduled in San Antonio, Texas, from 6 April to 6 October 1968, is the bold and imaginative project of a group of local citizens who have transformed an urban slum into a classic international fairground for a projected seven million visitors.

The theme of the exhibition is "The Confluence of the Civilizations in the Americas", covering the history, art, religions and socio-economic development of the nations of the Western hemisphere and significant contributions to their development originating from other continents.

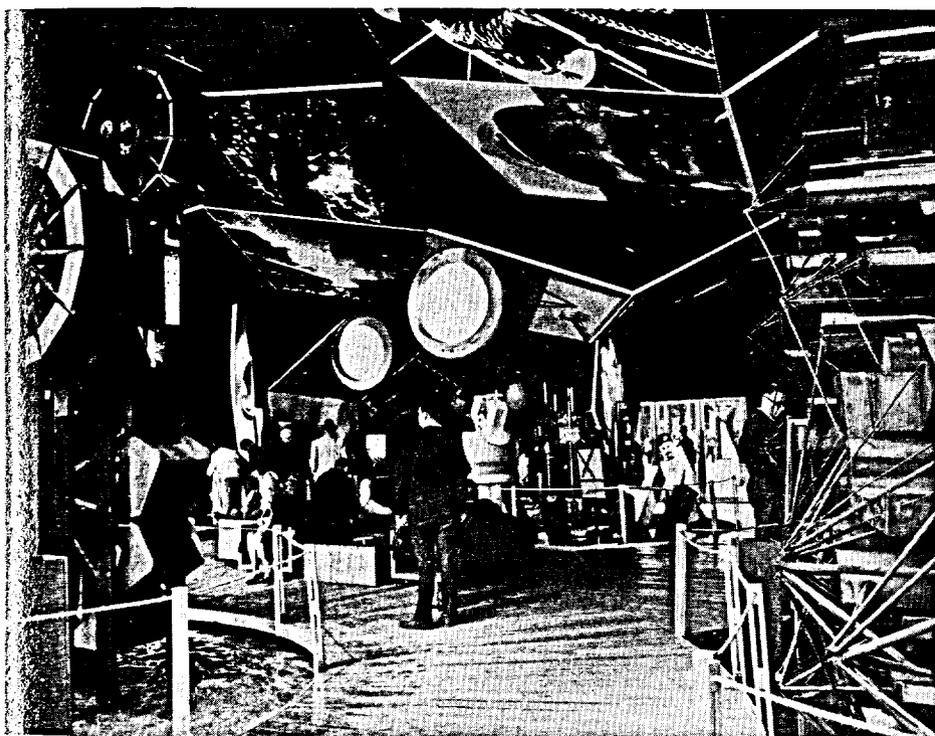
## Participants

Officially registered by the International Bureau of Exhibitions as a Special World Exposition, HemisFair 68 has presentations from Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the Republic of China, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Germany, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Venezuela, the United States and the States of Arkansas and Texas.

Bilingual and multicultural San Antonio, a city of contrasts, is well endowed as host to this international exhibition, the first ever held in the Southwestern



*Sculptures by Louis Archambault are displayed along one side of the Canadian pavilion at HemisFair 68.*



*A view of the exhibit in the Canadian pavilion at HemisFair 68.*

United States. The city's geography and history bind it to its neighbours to the south. For centuries, San Antonio has been a crossroad of trade and culture between the U.S. and Latin America. Nearly half of its 700,000 people speak Spanish as a native language. Famed for its brilliant week-long fiestas, the city is endeavouring to turn this year, the 250th anniversary of its founding, into an almost unbroken series of festivities.

### **Canada's Pavilion**

Canada, the first nation to sign a participation contract with HemisFair 68, has a pavilion 9,000 feet square and is among the largest foreign exhibitors. The structure has three modules of equal size, and is located strategically near the most important entrance to the site, adjacent to one of HemisFair's many waterways, and close to the Mexican and French pavilions.

Thematically, the pavilion seeks to identify Canada's place in the hemisphere by glimpses of its institutions, its past and its active role in the modern world. The floor of the pavilion is almost entirely covered by water representing the lakes and rivers of Canada. Walkways over the water invite the visitor to explore the pavilion and discover what the people of Canada are like. At the entrance, the visitor is welcomed by a colorful audio-visual display of the pomp and pageantry of the Canadian Parliament, with an explanation of the system of

government and of the two founding nations, English and French. A scenic résumé acquaints the visitor with the provinces and with Canada's geographical relations to the rest of the hemisphere. The climax of the first module is a stand-up theatre featuring a triple-screen film presentation on modern Canada, coupled with the now-famous cartoon of Confederation, *Canada is My Piano*.

### **Historical Exhibit**

In the second module a handmade canoe, early exploration maps, muskets predating the American War of Independence, and the working model of a Klondike gold-miner are among the highlights of an historical exhibit essay which commences with the first migration to Canada from Asia and concludes with a display in which the beauty of stone-carvings and the sophistication of satellites show the stark contrasts of today's Canadian Arctic, the last land-frontier in North America. The focal point of the final module is a large water-wheel sculpture towering over the visitor in the midst of a varied display on Canadian resources. A light touch in text, exhibits and audio-visual effects carries the story on to a final statement of the achievements and hopes of Canadians as they participate in the hemisphere and in the world of today. An information counter and a travel-counselling station complete the physical interior of the pavilion.

Adding both gaiety and trade promotion to the participation are six of the more unusual Canadian pleasure-craft — from an amphibian to a hydrofoil — displayed in the waterway beside the pavilion.

Indications during the opening days of HemisFair 68 are that the Canadian exhibit is both effective and popular. The pavilion has received a record 40 per cent of the total attendance at the exhibition. It has been called by the Texas news media the "most friendly and courteous" exhibit, a warm tribute to the fine young Canadian hosts and hostesses.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- UNIDO Industrial Development Board : Vienna, April 17 — May 14
- United Nations Sugar Conference : Geneva, April 17 — May 31
- Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations : New York, April 22 — May 10
- International Conference on Human Rights : Tehran, April 22 — May 13
- World Health Organization, twenty-first World Health Assembly : Geneva, May 6-24
- Economic and Social Council, forty-fourth session : New York, May 6-31
- International Telecommunication Union, Administrative Council, twenty-third session :  
Geneva, May 11-31
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Programme Committee : New York, June 3-6
- Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Legal Sub-Committee : Geneva, June 4-29
- UNICEF Executive Board : New York, June 10-18
- UNDP Governing Council, sixth session : Vienna, June 11-28
- NATO spring ministerial meeting : Reykjavik, June 24-25
- International Conference on Public Education (UNESCO-IBE) : Geneva, July 1-10
- Economic and Social Council, forty-fifth session : Geneva, July 8 — August 2
- United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space : Vienna,  
August 14-27
- Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States : Geneva, August 29 — September 28
- Commonwealth Medical Conference : Kampala, September 2-12
- Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of Mathematics : St. Augustine, Trinidad,  
September 2-14
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session : Geneva, September 4-20
- United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session : September 17 — December
- International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference : Vienna, September 24 —  
October 4

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. A. Irwin, High Commissioner for Canada in Tanzania, accredited concurrently High Commissioner for Canada in Zambia, effective March 1, 1968.
- Mrs. G. J. Blair appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 3, effective March 1, 1968.
- Mr. F. W. O. Morton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa, effective March 4, 1968.
- Mr. N. Haffey posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective March 5, 1968.
- Mr. G. Choquette posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective March 13, 1968.
- Mr. J. R. Haggan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Information Services Officer 5, effective March 18, 1968.
- Mr. J. F. Moffatt posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective March 20, 1968.
- Mr. R. P. Sterling posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Laos, to Ottawa, effective March 23, 1968.
- Mr. H. Allard, Canadian Ambassador to Denmark, retired from the Public Service, effective April 3, 1968.
- Mr. J. Bruchési, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, retired from the Public Service, effective April 9, 1968.
- Mr. M. C. Temple posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to Ottawa, effective April 9, 1968.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Belgium

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium relating to the Canada Pension Plan.

Ottawa April 2, 1968.

Entered into force April 2, 1968.

##### United States of America

Agreement to extend for a period of five years the Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the Organization and Operation of the North American Air Defence Command signed at Washington.

May 12, 1958.

Washington March 30, 1968.

Entered into force March 30, 1968.

#### Multilateral

International Coffee Agreement, 1968.

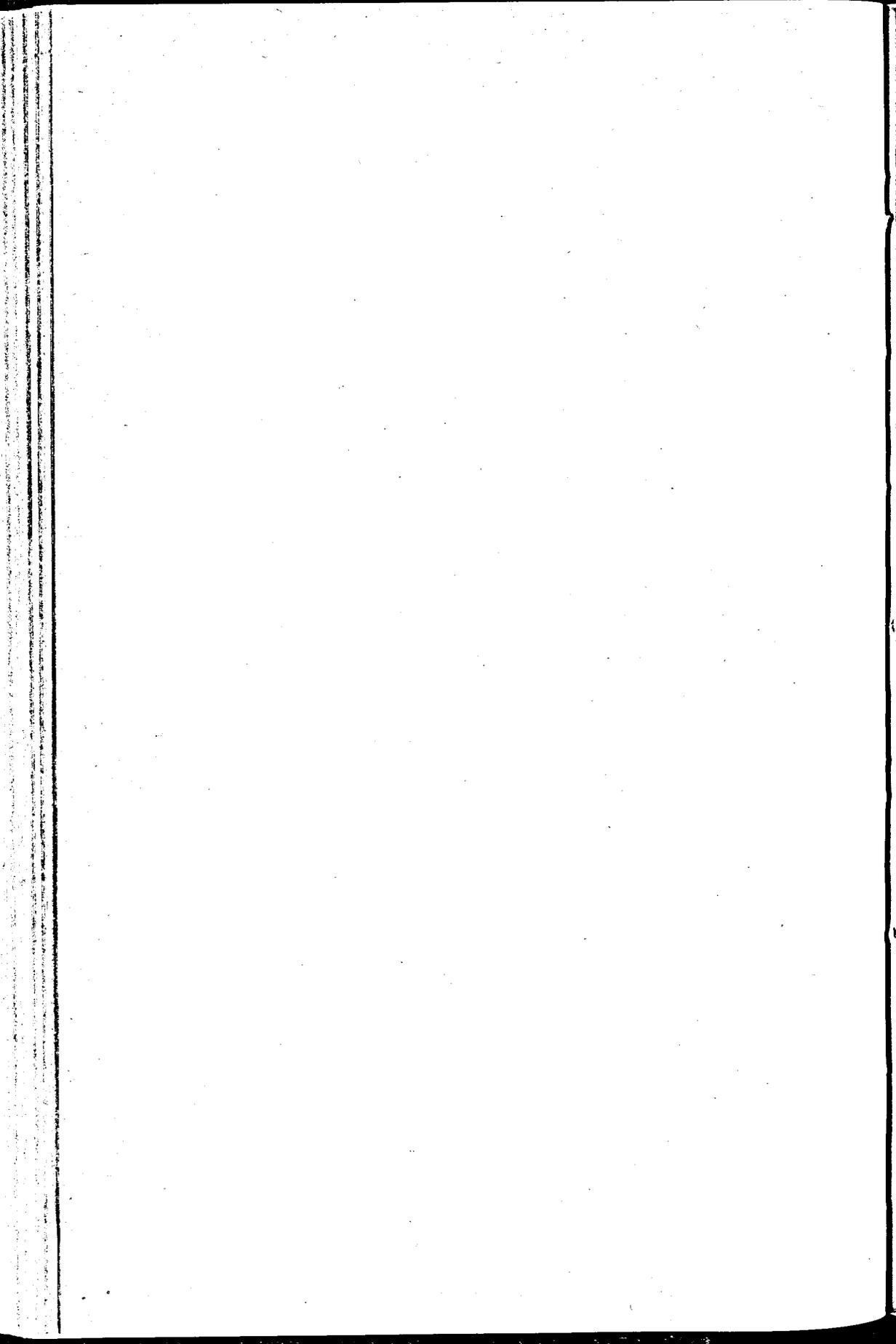
Done at the United Nations March 18, 1968.

Signed by Canada March 29, 1968.

Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space.

Done at London, Moscow, Washington April 22, 1968.

Signed by Canada at London, Moscow, Washington April 25, 1968.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *International Development as a Requisite for Peace*

*On May 13, 1968, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau gave the convocation address at the diamond jubilee celebrations of the University of Alberta in Edmonton and received from the university an honorary degree. Secretary-General U Thant of the United Nations and Dr. W. G. Schneider, President of the National Research Council of Canada, also received honorary degrees on this occasion. The following passages are from the Prime Minister's address:*

... Never before in history has the disparity between the rich and the poor, the comfortable and the starving, been so extreme; never before have mass communications so vividly informed the sufferers of the extent of their misery; never before have the privileged societies possessed weapons so powerful that their employment in the defence of privilege would destroy the haves and the have-nots indiscriminately. We are faced with an overwhelming challenge. In meeting it, the world must be our constituency.

I can find no better words to express this view than those employed in General Principle Four of the Final Act of the 1964 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:

Economic development and social progress should be the common concern of the whole international community and should, by increasing economic prosperity and well-being, help strengthen peaceful relations and co-operation among nations.

Pope Paul VI in his fifth encyclical was even more concise:

... the new name for peace is development...

The distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations has spoken out eloquently in the same vein on many occasions respecting United Nations Development Decade.

These references to assistance and to co-operation relate not only to economic assistance. They relate to assistance in any form that will create the political, economic and human climate most conducive to the nurturing of human dignity. International activities of this breadth are a far cry from the earlier and more primitive conceptions of direct financial assistance. In their impact and in their value, they are also a long way from charity and philanthropy. If the Canadian goal is to assist other states in this way, then we are involved with humanity. And we are involved for our mutual benefit.

## **Benefits of International Aid**

I emphasize this because, when one benefits from an activity, one is less likely to object to its cost. How do we benefit? In several respects:

- (a) A world community of nations freely co-operating should result in a lessening of international tension. This would lead to a world less susceptible

to war. Canada and Canadians would become more secure, and in this troubled world, that would be benefit beyond measure.

(b) A multiplicity of nations possessing expanding economies would mean that standards of living would rise and world markets would multiply. Canadian products would find more purchasers and, for a trading nation such as Canada, that would be a benefit of great value.

(c) In times of peace, men have turned their attention towards the development of their cultures and the enrichment of life. Canadians live more meaningfully by enjoying the works of artists and scholars of whatever national source, and that is a benefit of unquestioned value.

These interests and these benefits submit to no national boundaries. The social, economic, and political betterment of any man anywhere is ultimately reflected in this country. If, at the same time, our consciences — our humanitarian instincts — are served, as they are and as they should be, then so much the better. Unquestionably, the conception of international assistance is appealing because it is one of the most uplifting endeavours in which man has ever engaged. But we must never forget that in this process Canadians are beneficiaries as well as benefactors.

Any discussion of development assistance tends to lead eventually to a complex of issues which can conveniently be grouped under the word "strings". The very mention of this word prompts cries of "foul" from those whose interest in aid programmes is essentially philanthropic since it suggests Machiavellian political motivation on the part of the donor. This situation, as with any problem which has defied final solution over the years, is very complicated. A frank and open discussion of it by the Canadian public could do nothing good. Our assistance programme, and the way in which it is conducted, must respond to the wishes and wisdom of those upon whose support it depends.

### Programme Selectivity

Canadians, I think, expect a certain selectivity in these programmes. We all feel instinctively that our help should go to those in the direst needs, to those who will make the best use of it and to those making an honest effort to promote democratic institutions and personal liberties. Beyond this, however, difficult questions arise. Should aid be given unconditionally or should it be dependent on some conception of performance? For example, if land reform or tax revision is in our view necessary for economic or social development in the recipient country, should this "string" be attached to our aid? More difficult, perhaps, in domestic terms at least, is the problem of "Canadian content". It is widely held that "tied aid" diminishes the real value of development assistance by increasing costs. Yet an element of tying, with the immediate benefit it implies for Canadian production, may be an important factor in assuring wide domestic support for the aid programme.

These are difficult matters of judgment, not absolutes, and informed attention to them by people such as yourselves can help us to make choices more intelligently and more closely attuned to the deepest feeling of our people.

The long-range benefits cannot be over-emphasized. As Canadians, we must realize that international co-operation, particularly in the field of economic assistance, in order to remain effective must take on a new form. From the present pattern of commodity and food assistance, of gifts of manufactured goods and loans of money, we must, in response to the economic needs of the developing countries, turn more and more to preferential trade arrangements. The two United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development have made it clear that economic aid, in order to be effective, must increasingly take the form of trade.

### **Need for Preferential Trade**

His Excellency U Thant concisely described this change in 1962. He said:

The disappointing foreign-trade record of the developing countries is due in part to obstacles hindering the entry of their products into industrial markets, and in part to the fact that production of many primary commodities has grown more rapidly than demand for them. It is appreciated that "disruptive competition" from low-income countries may be felt by established industries in high-income countries. Yet, precisely because they are so advanced, the high-income countries should be able to alleviate any hardship without shifting the burden of adjustment to the developing countries by restricting the latter's export markets. A related problem to be solved is that of stabilizing the international commodity markets on which developing countries depend so heavily. Progress could certainly be made if the main industrial countries were to devote as much attention to promoting as to dispensing aid.

This kind of aid, these preferential trade arrangements, have no glamour attached to them. They cannot be illustrated by stirring photographs of rugged Canadian engineers posing before massive dams in remote places. This kind of aid doesn't offer a ready market to Canadian manufacturers, nor does it reduce our base metal or other commodity surpluses. In short, this kind of aid is competition, and bears little evidence of the sweet philanthropy which we have sometimes employed in the past to coat the cost of our aid "pill". Unless Canadians are aware of the vital goal our aid is seeking to achieve, they may not be sympathetic to a change of this sort. It is my opinion that Canadians will understand, and will accept the challenge. Economic aid, unless effective, will be useless. In order to be effective it will, in all likelihood, be costly. Yet we and the other developed nations have no alternative. The world cannot continue to accommodate mutually exclusive blocs of rich nations and poor nations.

### **Problem of Prosperity Gap**

We must recognize that, in the long run, the overwhelming threat to Canada will not come from foreign investments, or foreign ideologies, or even — with

good fortune — foreign nuclear weapons. It will come instead from the two-thirds of the peoples of the world who are steadily falling farther and farther behind in their search for a decent standard of living. This is the meaning of the revolution of rising expectations. I repeat, this problem is not new. But its very size, involving some two and a half billion people, makes it qualitatively different from what it has been in the past. Nevertheless, the observation of Chateaubriand, writing of a similar, but infinitely smaller, problem in Europe a century and a half ago, is worthy of repetition today. He stated:

Try to convince the poor man, once he has learned to read and ceased to believe — once he has become as well informed as yourself — try to convince him that he must submit to every sort of privation, while his neighbour possesses a thousand times what he needs; in the last resort you would have to kill him.

To speak at this university of international assistance is particularly appropriate. Assistance programmes are not new here. The devoted service of your Dean of Agriculture, Dr. C. F. Bentley, in pursuit of answers to Asian nutritional deficiencies is one of which we can all be proud. He has made us aware that poor nutrition standards not only affect resistance to disease and lead to suffering and loss of morale but, in addition, restrain artificially the work output of the people. Poor standards of nutrition set up a vicious cycle in which the farmer is so ill-fed that he is unable to work hard enough to raise his output sufficiently to provide himself with an adequate diet. Dr. Bentley's studies have also shown us that the problem is not one which can be solved by money alone. So underfed are the people of South Asia that a rise in *per capita* income will sharply increase the demand for food. If supplies are not available, that demand will lead not to higher consumption but to higher prices.

The Economic Council of Canada has demonstrated to us graphically the direct relation between the educational standard of a labour force and its productivity. The relation is invariable in developed and in less-developed countries. Your Dean of Education, Dr. H. T. Coutts, is to be commended for his faculty's assistance to the Government of Thailand in creating special teacher-training programmes to deal with this problem . . . .

I could not begin to list all of the work being done at this university in collaboration with the developing countries. Dozens of teaching departments, for example, serve as hosts to graduate and undergraduate students from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, studying under the auspices of such Canadian assistance programmes as the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan and the Colombo Plan. Many of your staff members and students have served abroad in programmes established by the External Aid Office and by CUSO.

The record is excellent and far too extensive to relate in detail.

In this country we may well be on the eve of great accomplishment. We have the opportunity of demonstrating how people of the two great linguistic communities, fortified by the presence of millions who have inherited their

own rich traditions, can live together, and prosper, and enrich each other in the process. In this country we have the resources, both physical and human, that will permit us, with determination and discipline, to expand and strengthen our economy. We have traditions of freedom and individual initiative which will remind us constantly that the deprivation of the rights of one person is a deprivation of the rights of us all.

We also have the opportunity and the responsibility to ensure that these benefits can be shared in increasing measure by the peoples of the world. If we miss that opportunity, or shirk that responsibility, we fail not only those we seek to assist. We fail ourselves as well.

## *International Conference on Human Rights, Tehran*

EVER since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the United Nations has been working continuously on a programme to ensure the realization of human rights to all the world's peoples. The twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration, 1968, was proclaimed as International Year for Human Rights and a major International Conference on Human Rights, under the auspices of the United Nations, was held in Tehran from April 22 to May 13, at the invitation of the Government of Iran.

The Conference was convened by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the belief that an event of such importance could most effectively assist in furthering the purposes of International Year for Human Rights. It was hoped that a detached stock-taking of progress achieved since the adoption of the Universal Declaration, and a review of existing methods and measures



*His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran addresses the International Conference on Human Rights in Tehran. The central figure of the three seated behind the Shah is the United Nations Secretary-General, His Excellency U. Thant.*

used by the United Nations, would lead to the development of a programme of action on the national, regional and international level that would expedite the realization of human rights in all parts of the world.

More than 80 countries, United Nations agencies and regional intergovernmental bodies, and over 50 international non-governmental organizations, were represented at this international assembly. Princess Ashraf Pahlavi of Iran, the sister of the Shahanshah, was unanimously elected as Conference President.

### Representation from Canada

Canada's delegation was headed by Mr. G. G. E. Steele, Under-Secretary of State, and included Mr. Paul A. Beaulieu, Ambassador and Associate Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. Justice Harry Batslaw of the Quebec Superior Court and Mr. R. St. John MacDonald, Dean of the Law School, University of Toronto. The delegation also included departmental advisers and provincial observers from Nova Scotia and Ontario. The Honourable James M. Harding, Provincial Secretary and Minister of Welfare, represented Nova Scotia, and Dr. Daniel G. Hill, Director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, represented Ontario.

The work of the Conference was carried on by two main committees, a general committee, and plenary sessions. Apart from the procedural items on the agenda, the substantive portion was encompassed in three items. These dealt with a review of progress achieved in the field of human rights since 1948; evaluation of methods and techniques employed by the United Nations in this area; and the formulation and preparation of a human rights programme to be undertaken subsequent to International Year.

### Subjects of Discussion

Discussion in the two main committees and in plenary centered on the programme for the future and covered the following matters:

- (a) Measures to achieve rapid and total elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in general and of the policy of *apartheid* in particular;
- (b) the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of all human rights;
- (c) questions of slavery and the slave trade in all their practices and manifestations, including the slavery-like practices of *apartheid* and colonialism;
- (d) measures to promote women's rights in the modern world, including a unified long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women;
- (e) measures to strengthen the defence of human rights and freedoms of individuals;
- (f) international machinery for the effective implementation of international instruments in the field of human rights;

(g) other measures to strengthen the activities of the United Nations in promoting the full enjoyment of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights, including the improvement of methods and techniques and such institutional and organizational arrangements as may be required.

The First Committee dealt with sub-items (a), (b) and (c) above and the Second Committee concerned itself with sub-items (d), (e), (f) and (g). An additional agenda item, concerning human rights in occupied territories, was proposed and adopted during the Conference. A resolution on the subject, with special reference to Israel, was submitted to the plenary session by Saudia Arabia, Sudan and Spain, including amendments by various Arab countries. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 42 in favour to five against, with 25 abstentions (including Canada).

A good deal of time was spent in debate on political issues such as *apartheid* and the Middle East dispute. The Conference also produced constructive results in its adoption and reference to the General Assembly of a number of important resolutions.

A major achievement of the Conference was the adoption by acclamation on May 13 of the Proclamation of Tehran. The Tehran Proclamation represented a compromise of draft statements submitted by the United States, the Soviet Union and Iran. This compromise was achieved by a five-member drafting committee, including Dean R. St. John MacDonald of the Canadian delegation, which had been appointed by the Conference. <sup>(1)</sup>

### Important Resolutions

Among the significant resolutions which were adopted were those dealing with the following matters: measures to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*; full observance by all governments of the principle of non-discrimination in employment; action to eliminate all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination; measures to be taken against Naziism and racial intolerance; acceleration of decolonization programmes; measures to promote women's rights; protection of human rights under the impact of scientific discoveries and their technological application; efforts to eradicate illiteracy; general and complete disarmament; family planning and population growth; education of youth to respect human rights; rights of detained persons; accession of states to international conventions; and the problems of human rights in armed conflict.

The Canadian delegation took the initiative in introducing a precedent-setting resolution recommending that governments develop comprehensive legal aid systems to assist individuals in need. This resolution was co-sponsored by Canada, Costa Rica, India, Jamaica, Nigeria and the Philippines. The Canadian representative on the Second Committee, when introducing the resolution, noted that the provision of legal services to individuals would strengthen the observance and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It was explained

(1) The text of the Proclamation appears as an appendix to this article.

that this was an area where much remained to be done to make human rights more effective for individuals who might be threatened with a denial or diminution of their rights because of lack of adequate financial or other resources. It also was pointed out that one of the primary objects of the administration of justice was to render the poverty of a litigant irrelevant.

### **U.S. Amendment**

Prior to the introduction of the resolution, the United States had proposed an amendment which enlarged its scope so that the United Nations could provide the necessary resources, within the limits of the Human Rights Advisory Services Programme, to facilitate expert and other technical assistance to member states seeking to extend the availability of competent legal aid. The United States amendment was adopted by a vote of 34 for (Canada) to none against, with 14 abstentions.

This six-power resolution, as amended, was adopted in committee by a vote of 53 for to none against, with two abstentions (Liberia and Ivory Coast). Subsequently, the resolution was approved unanimously in plenary session. The wide acceptance of the principle of legal aid as an essential component of the implementation of human rights should ultimately bring about development of more effective recourse to remedies against abuse of individual rights.

Canada also co-sponsored a resolution dealing with the protection of the rights of refugees, as well as a UNICEF resolution dealing with the implementation of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. These proposals were strongly supported and adopted by the Conference.

Other constructive accomplishments at the Conference were the exchange of information about what was being done to further human rights at the national level, and the recognition of the important role played by non-governmental organizations in human rights activities. The Conference agreed to permit distribution of reports by private organizations represented at Tehran and some 25 such reports were circulated as conference documents. Prominent among these documents were the statement of the World Assembly for Human Rights, which was held in March 1968 in Montreal, the report of the January 1968 Geneva NGO Conference on Human Rights, and a statement by the International Law Association.

The address of the Chairman of the Canadian delegation was well received and included a number of suggestions on ways to improve United Nations instruments and techniques in the field of human rights.

### **Chairman's Proposals**

Among Mr. Steele's proposals were the following :

- (1) The various declarations, conventions and other United Nations instruments should be re-examined with a view to reconciling their provisions and coordinating their implementation procedures.

- (2) The time had come for a review of the procedures set forth in ECOSOC Resolution 728 (XXVIII) of 1959, the basic text for all communications on human rights, which substantially prohibits the Commission on Human Rights from taking significant action in regard to any complaint concerning human rights.
- (3) Some thought should be given to ways and means of improving the reporting systems under which states had agreed to provide the United Nations with information on progress achieved.
- (4) Greater efforts should be made to study comparatively the success of various international organizations, such as the ILO, the two regional human rights commissions, the High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Red Cross, to assess certain of their procedures for the protection of human rights. In the opinion of the Canadian delegation, the techniques that seemed to have worked best centered on impartial investigation, followed by negotiation and, where necessary, publication of the facts.
- (5) New conferences of educators, and especially experts in the communications media, were also worthy of priority. The press, radio, television and non-governmental organizations all had essential roles to play in bringing home to the peoples of the world the absolutely essential connection between peace and security and human rights.

Canadian activities in observance of International Year also were shared with the Conference, and there is no doubt that Canada is in the forefront of those countries which have striven to implement the General Assembly resolution calling for intensified national efforts to realize human rights goals during 1968.

One of the themes stressed at the Conference was that the full enjoyment of civil and political rights was impossible without the parallel enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights. A resolution adopted by the Conference therefore called upon developed countries to make at least one per cent of their annual gross national product available as international aid to developing nations.

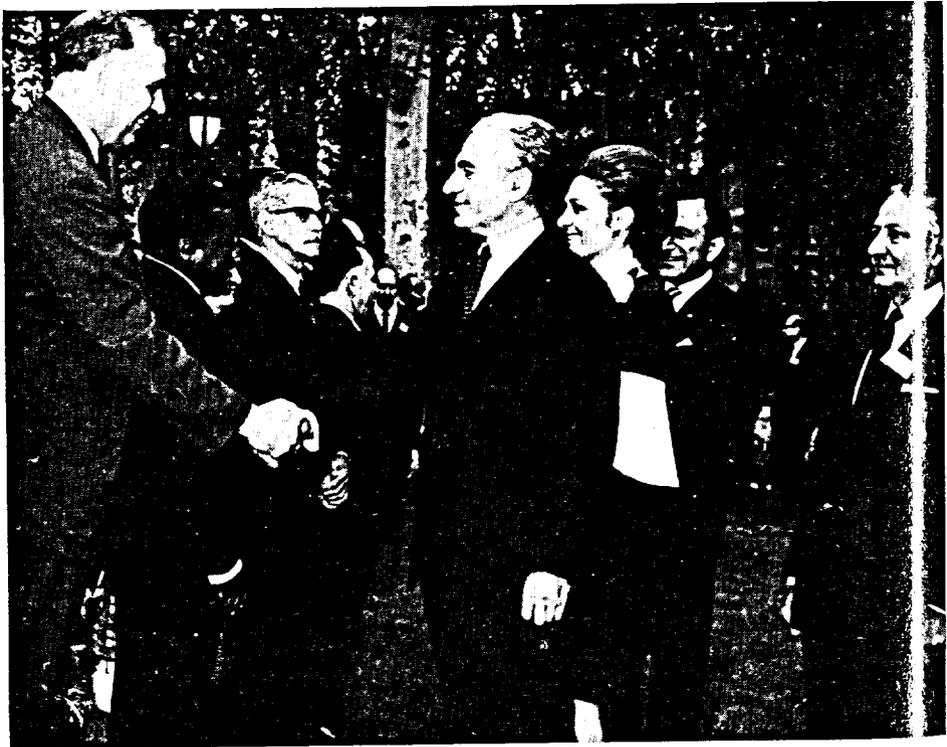
### Summary

To conclude, it may be said that the accomplishments of the Tehran Conference were a reflection of the earnest efforts of the participants to realize the hopes expressed for it in the following statement by one of the delegates :

Historical experience shows that the exchange of views, sharing of experiences, various programmes of action, resolutions or treaties and other instruments born in conferences and as a ferment in the endeavour for a more humane world, for social progress . . . . One of our greatest contributions to the implementation of human rights would be if we succeeded in awakening the conscience of men and thus gave new impetus and stimulation to the protection of human rights by the people themselves.

The positions taken by the Canadian delegation at the Conference were

based on the underlying idea that the link between human rights, peace and human survival made it vital that the world community continue its efforts to reach agreement on human rights matters at the international level, notwithstanding the difficulties posed by different legal, political, economic and cultural systems. All nations, therefore, should provide continuing and unemitting support for the work of the United Nations in promoting compliance with and respect for the human rights standards encompassed in the Universal Declaration and other international agreements. Canada could play a significant role in this global engagement and Canadians could lead the way by effectively implementing human rights within their own boundaries.



*At a reception in Tehran in honour of the heads of delegations to the International Conference on Human Rights, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi greet Mr. G. G. E. Steele, leader of the Canadian delegation.*

## PROCLAMATION OF TEHRAN

*The International Conference on Human Rights,*

*Having met at Tehran from April 22 to May 13, 1968, to review the progress made in the twenty years since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to formulate a programme for the future;*

*Having considered the problems relating to the activities of the United Nations for the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;*

*Bearing* in mind the resolutions approved by the Conference;

*Noting* that the observance of the International Year for Human Rights takes place at a time when the world is undergoing a process of unprecedented change;

*Having* regard to the new opportunities made available by the rapid progress of science and technology;

*Believing* that, in an age when conflict and violence prevail in many parts of the world, the fact of human interdependence and the need for human solidarity are more evident than ever before;

*Recognizing* that peace is the universal aspiration of mankind and that peace and justice are indispensable to the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

*Solemnly proclaims that :*

(1) It is imperative that the members of the international community fulfill their solemn obligations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions.

(2) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states a common understanding of the peoples of the world concerning the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family and constitutes an obligation for the members of the international community.

(3) The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, as well as other conventions and declarations in the field of human rights adopted under the auspices of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the Regional Intergovernmental Organizations have created new standards and obligations to which states should conform.

(4) Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has made substantial progress in defining standards for the enjoyment and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. During this period many important international instruments were adopted, but much remains to be done in regard to the implementation of those rights and freedoms.

(5) The primary aim of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights is the achievement by each individual of the maximum freedom and dignity. For the realization of this objective, the laws of every country should grant each individual, irrespective of race, language, religion or political belief, freedom of expression, of information, of conscience and of religion, as well as the right to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country.

(6) States should reaffirm their determination effectively to enforce the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in other international instruments that concern human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(7) Gross denial of human rights under the repugnant policy of *apartheid* is a matter of the gravest concern to the international community. This policy of *apartheid*, condemned as a crime against humanity, continues seriously to disturb international peace and security. It is, therefore, imperative for the international community to use every possible means to eradicate this evil. The struggle against *apartheid* is recognized as legitimate.

(8) The peoples of the world must be made fully aware of the evils of racial discrimination and must join in combating them. The implementation of this principle

of non-discrimination, embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other international instruments in the field of human rights, constitutes a most urgent task of mankind, at the international as well as at the national level. All ideologies based on racial superiority and intolerance must be condemned and resisted.

(9) Eight years after the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the problems of colonialism continue to preoccupy the international community. It is a matter of urgency that all member states should co-operate with the appropriate organs of the United Nations so that effective measures be taken to ensure that the declaration is fully implemented.

(10) Massive denials of human rights, arising out of aggression or any armed conflict with their tragic consequences, and resulting in untold human misery, engender reactions which could engulf the world in ever growing hostilities. It is the obligation of the international community to co-operate in eradicating such scourges.

(11) Gross denials of human rights arising from discrimination on grounds of race, religion, belief or expressions of opinion outrage the conscience of mankind and endanger the foundations of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

(12) The widening gap between the economically developed and developing countries impedes the realization of human rights in the international community. The failure of the Development Decade to reach its modest objectives makes it all the more imperative for every nation, according to its capacities, to make the maximum possible effort to close this gap.

(13) Since human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, the full realization of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible. The achievement of lasting progress in the implementation of human rights is dependent upon sound and effective national and international policies of economic and social development.

(14) The existence of over seven hundred million illiterates throughout the world is an enormous obstacle to all efforts at realizing the aims and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. International action aimed at eradicating illiteracy from the face of the earth and promoting education at all levels requires urgent attention.

(15) The discrimination of which women are still victims in various regions of the world must be eliminated. An inferior status for women is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations as well as the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The full implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is a necessity for the progress of mankind.

(16) The protection of the family and of the child remains the concern of the international community. Parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and the spacing of their children.

(17) The aspirations of the younger generation for a better world, in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully implemented, must be given the highest encouragement. It is imperative that youth participate in shaping the future of mankind.

(18) While recent scientific discoveries and technological advances have opened vast prospects for economic, social and cultural progress, such developments may nevertheless endanger the rights and freedoms of individuals and will require continuing attention.

(19) Disarmament would release immense human and material resources now devoted to military purposes. These resources should be used for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. General and complete disarmament is one of the highest aspirations of all peoples.

*Therefore*

*The International Conference on Human Rights,*

*Affirming* its faith in the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments in this field;

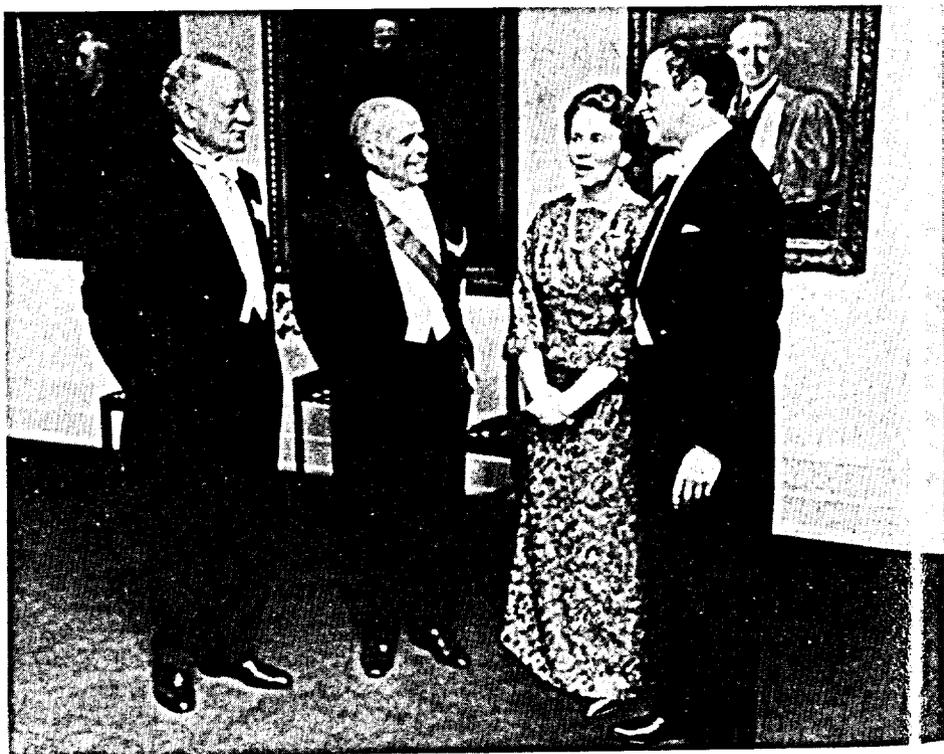
*Urges* all peoples and governments to dedicate themselves to the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to redouble their efforts to provide for all human beings a life consonant with freedom and dignity and conducive to physical, mental, social and spiritual welfare.

## *State Visit of President Bourguiba*

*The following joint communique was issued after the visit to Canada of His Excellency Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia, from May 8 to 12, 1968:*

At the invitation of the Canadian Government, the President of the Republic of Tunisia, His Excellency Habib Bourguiba, paid a state visit to Canada, May 8-12. During his stay, he visited Ottawa, Montreal and Niagara Falls. The President was accompanied by His Excellency Habib Bourguiba Jr., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Chedly Klibi, Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs and Information; Mr. Abderrazak Rassaa, Under-Secretary of State for Finance and Development; and Mr. Lassaad Ben Osmann, Under-Secretary of State for Agriculture.

On his arrival in Montreal, he was welcomed by the Honourable Maurice Sauvé, Minister of Forestry and Rural Development; the Honourable Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Minister of Justice of the Province of Quebec; and Mr. Lucien Saulnier, President of the Executive Committee of Montreal. In Ottawa,



*During his recent visit to Ottawa, President Bourguiba of Tunisia (second from left) chats with Prime Minister Trudeau (right) and Governor-General and Mrs. Michener.*

he was received by the Governor General, His Excellency the Right Honourable Roland Michener, C.C.; the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp

### **Discussions in Ottawa**

In the course of their conversation, the President and the Prime Minister discussed a number of major international questions. They had an exchange of views on *la Francophonie*, and agreed that this must develop in a way which would permit increasingly close relations between the countries which share a heritage of French culture and language. The President explained the Tunisian viewpoint on the question of the Middle East, and they underlined the importance of finding a solution which would be consistent with justice and a lasting peace in the region. For that purpose, they expressed their support for the efforts the United Nations is making to find a solution, particularly with respect to the mission of Ambassador Jarring.

The President and the Prime Minister devoted particular attention to bilateral questions of interest to their two countries. They expressed satisfaction with the rapid progress Tunisia and Canada are making in developing bonds of friendship and co-operation.

During his stay in Montreal, the President was received by the Prime Minister of Quebec, the Honourable Daniel Johnson, and the Mayor of Montreal, His Worship Jean Drapeau, who jointly gave a luncheon in his honour. The President was invested with an honorary degree by the University of Montreal. On this occasion, he gave a speech. The President took advantage of his stay in Montreal to visit Terre des Hommes, where he gave a dinner in honour of Prime Minister Johnson and Mayor Drapeau at the Tunisian pavilion.

The President expressed his hope that the Canadian Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs would be able to visit Tunisia on dates which would be convenient for them.

The Government of Canada stated that it wished to support the achievement of the next Tunisian plan for economic development. The programme of Canadian assistance to Tunisia has amounted over the past few years to approximately \$2 million annually. The Prime Minister also mentioned that Canada expects to grant substantial food aid to Tunisia.

### **Canadian-Tunisian Commission**

In the course of the conversations which took place between the representatives of the two countries, the two sides agreed to create a mixed Canadian-Tunisian Commission which would meet at regular intervals to discuss questions of common interest such as assistance, trade and cultural exchanges. It was expected that the first meeting of the Commission would take place next October in Tunis.

A special Canadian mission under the direction of the Honourable Lionel Chevrier recently visited Tunisia with the aim of strengthening the Canadian programme of assistance to Tunisia. The grant by the Canadian Government of increased food aid for 1968-69 marks a first step in the implementation of the commitments made by the Chevrier mission. The Canadian Government will make every effort to carry out rapidly the other commitments made by the Canadian mission in the fields of capital aid projects and technical assistance. These subjects will be reviewed next October at the first meeting of the mixed Commission, which will also examine the kinds of support which Canada will give to the achievement of the economic plan and the possibilities of assistance in the development of fisheries and hydraulics.

The President expressed his gratitude to the Government and people of Canada for the warm welcome he received. He expressed his admiration for the progress accomplished by Canada since 1961, when he first visited the country, and for the spectacular achievements which he remarked wherever he went.

# *Non-Proliferation Treaty*

A STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, DURING THE RESUMED SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON APRIL 30, 1968.

**M**R. Chairman, Fellow delegates, this is my first appearance at the General Assembly as Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada. Although I am not a stranger to the United Nations family — I have been concerned with various conferences and agencies in my former capacities as Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of Finance, and even before I took office as a member of the Canadian Government — I make my debut in this most important political forum as a novice among seasoned veterans.

I wish to assure you of my intention — and that of the Government I represent — to continue Canada's record of support for the United Nations.

We are meeting to consider a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is the product of prolonged and delicate deliberations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee; more particularly, it is the result of carefully negotiated agreement among the nuclear powers represented on that Committee.

Many delegations will recall the early proposal put before this Assembly, designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. That was the renowned "Irish Resolution" of the late fifties, which was eventually and unanimously adopted on December 4, 1961. We are all indebted to the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ireland for his foresight and fortitude in persevering in that initiative — often in the face of formidable odds.

We are mindful, too, that when suggestions for a non-dissemination agreement were first aired in the United Nations they derived much of their inspiration and support from the group of non-aligned states.

Since that time, the problems of non-proliferation have been under increasingly intensive scrutiny at successive sessions of the General Assembly and in other international gatherings.

Canada's support for the principles of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons has never wavered. The overwhelming majorities by which resolutions on non-proliferation have been passed testify that virtually all members of the Assembly share our view.

## **Principle into Practice**

It remains to translate that agreement in principle into generally acceptable terms for a binding international treaty. The draft before us is intended to

serve that end. It seeks to achieve two fundamental purposes.

The first—and perhaps by far the most important—is to reduce the sense of insecurity which aggravates international tensions, accelerates the spiralling arms race and increases the risk of nuclear war. I draw your attention to the study published last October by the Secretary-General :

The mounting concern about the spread and development of nuclear weapons is a clear manifestation of the fear which now besets the world. Additional nuclear powers accentuating regional tensions could only add to the complexity of the problem of assuring peace.

Furthermore, it is impossible to deny that the danger of nuclear war breaking out through accident or miscalculation becomes greater the larger the number of countries which deploy such weapons, and the larger the stockpiles and the more diversified the weapons they hold. If a nuclear conflict were to erupt, however it started, not a single state could feel itself secure.

That is why states without nuclear weapons should forego their right to acquire or develop them. That is also why those non-nuclear states that are asked to accept this self-denying ordinance have a legitimate right to expect tangible assurance that they will not become the victims of nuclear attack. Otherwise they cannot be expected to have that enhanced feeling of security which is the object of this enterprise.

#### **Assurances to Non-Nuclear States**

Hence the significance of the statements made in Geneva by the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, which have reaffirmed that they will introduce a resolution in the Security Council under which they would give assurances of assistance, either through the United Nations or unilaterally, to any party to the non-proliferation treaty not possessing nuclear weapons, if that state were the victim of an act or threat of aggression in which weapons were used.

This affirmation has been belittled by some as having little meaning. And yet, given the existence of powers with nuclear weapons and capacity, what stronger assurance could any state without nuclear weapons have, short of becoming an ally of one of the nuclear powers ?

The Canadian delegation also considers it significant that the nuclear powers—including the two most powerful nations in the world—have agreed not only on the terms of a draft treaty but also to render immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, in the event of a threat to the security of those countries which renounce the possession of nuclear armaments. Surely this in itself is one of the most encouraging international developments in many years. It represents a great step forward in the pursuit of durable world peace.

As its second main purpose, the proposed treaty will serve as an initial but essential step toward the control and reduction of existing stocks of nuclear weapons. It has been suggested by some that the undertakings on the part of the nuclear powers to proceed with nuclear disarmament are insufficiently precise. Yet it is to be noted that the nuclear powers who sign this treaty

make a firm declaration of intent to work for nuclear disarmament. Moreover, the review and withdrawal procedures in the draft text provide means for the non-nuclear parties to exert influence on the nuclear parties to live up to that declaration.

The race to produce nuclear armaments must be stopped; eventually these weapons must be eliminated. On this the nations here assembled are agreed.

### **End to Production Unfeasible**

It has been argued that we should be more likely to halt the arms race if the states not having nuclear weapons were to refuse to become party to a non-proliferation treaty unless it included a clause under which the nuclear powers would commit themselves to cut off further production of fissile material, nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

But in the light of the history of disarmament negotiations, would other nations really credit a treaty undertaking by the nuclear powers to stop the production of nuclear armaments and, if so, when — in one, three or five years time? Is it reasonable, in the present world situation, especially in view of the refusal of France and China to take part in disarmament negotiations, to expect the nuclear powers now to make any stronger commitment than they have made in Article VI of the present draft?

The answers to both questions are likely to be negative, however much we might wish them to be positive. If the history of efforts to achieve arms control or disarmament agreements teaches anything, it is to put progress ahead of perfection. The measure which we are now discussing — a partial measure just one step on the long road to general and complete disarmament — has taken seven years to accomplish. To wait for the nuclear powers to make a commitment to reduce nuclear arms is to run the risk of jeopardizing early agreement to stop dissemination.

There would then be no legal impediment to the acquisition of nuclear weapons, either as such or as devices to be used for peaceful explosions. As dissemination proceeded, there would be an increased incentive for the nuclear powers to keep ahead of those who aspired to become members of a nuclear club. In less than two decades, the number of nuclear powers has increased from one to five. Unless effective steps are taken without delay, the next few years could see that number doubled at least, with the consequent and serious increase of insecurity which I have mentioned.

Conversely, if proliferation can be checked through general acceptance of the proposed treaty, the nuclear powers can face more confidently the task of reducing nuclear armaments in accordance with their declared intention.

### **Safeguards Provisions**

Fundamental to the effectiveness, acceptability and implementation of the treaty would be its safeguards provisions in Article III, which will not only

serve to ensure that the treaty is being observed by all parties (making it a credible and durable instrument) but to extend and consolidate international safeguards procedures, thereby facilitating exchanges and co-operation in the peaceful nuclear sphere. While the Canadian preference was for safeguards to apply to nuclear as well as non-nuclear parties, we believe that the recent unilateral undertakings by the United States and the United Kingdom to accept the same international safeguards as non-nuclear parties will help to establish a balanced and equitable safeguards procedures.

It is also our view that the fears expressed by some that the draft treaty may entail economic inequities have little foundation. On the contrary, the development of nuclear energy for peaceful uses and the trade in nuclear material could be stimulated by the very international confidence and co-operation the treaty would inspire. The undertakings in Article IV constitute a kind of charter of rights in the sphere of nuclear science and technology for developing countries which does not exist now and which would be of great potential benefit to them.

The only restriction of any significance on non-nuclear countries in the field of peaceful use would be the prohibition of nationally-conducted nuclear explosions for engineering and other civil purposes. Canada accepts this prohibition as necessary to the fundamental purpose of the treaty because peaceful and military explosions are technologically indistinguishable. In our view, Article V, offering peaceful nuclear explosive services to all non-nuclear parties at nominal cost, is a reasonable and economical alternative.

During recent discussions, much has been made of the idea that the treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations as between the nuclear and non-nuclear states. No one can quarrel with that principle. We think that principle is fairly reflected in the draft treaty. I suggest only that the text before us should be judged in terms of whether a better balance is attainable at the present time, given the basic difficulty of reconciling the positions of the nuclear haves and have-nots.

### **Nuclear Power Monopoly Inevitable**

We are also aware of the argument that the treaty is an instrument which could perpetuate the monopoly position of the states now possessing nuclear weapons. In a sense it is. That is an inescapable aspect of a non-proliferation treaty. This treaty does demonstrate, however, that the nuclear powers are becoming increasingly aware of the great responsibility that rests upon them and are demonstrating a willingness to respond to the anxious advice tendered by the vast majority of the non-nuclear states to negotiate a cessation of the nuclear arms race.

The success of our efforts here will depend in great measure on the determination of the non-nuclear nations, which are really the parents and historical guardians of this project, to see it through to its conclusion. Unless

we can act in concert now, our long and earnest efforts may have been in vain.

We at this twenty-second Assembly have been given the opportunity of bringing into effect the only arms control agreement now possible of achievement. Without this agreement is there much prospect of future progress in disarmament?

The governments here assembled have an opportunity to take a step forward towards a more peaceful and secure world by approving the proposed Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Canada urges the Assembly to act now.

# *South West Africa*

TEXT OF A STATEMENT BY THE CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. GEORGE IGNATIEFF, AT THE TWENTY-SECOND RESUMED SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON MAY 15, 1968.

THE Canadian delegation has considered on their merits the various statements which have already been made in the general debate in this resumed session on the question of South West Africa and has studied the report of the Council for South West Africa. If we intervene now, it is for the purpose of sharing with the Assembly some thoughts on the perplexing situation which confronts our organization and to try to draw some conclusions in the hope that they might be helpful. I think it is fair to say that the general tenor of interventions so far has been one of frustration and disappointment at the deplorable lack of co-operation on the part of the South African Government.

My delegation also shares the general disappointment expressed in the debate that so far the United Nations has not been able to find a way to ensure self-determination and independence of the people of South West Africa, which this Assembly voted for. But I do think that it might be useful to take stock now, in the light of two years of experience, of what we have accomplished and try to look realistically at the methods that we have so far employed.

## **Termination of Mandate**

First of all, I think that we should never lose sight of the important achievement of 1966. That year, the United Nations took the historic decision that the mandate over South West Africa was terminated, that South Africa had no right to administer the territory, and that henceforth South West Africa would come under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. That decision, as we know, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the membership of this organization. One hundred and fourteen countries voted in favour of that decision. All those countries supported the proposition that the United Nations must assist the people of the territory of South West Africa to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence.

Since that time, efforts of the organization to implement that resolution have been focused in one direction. That this direction did not receive the same kind of overwhelming support as did Resolution 2145 (XXI) is obvious. My delegation still believes that the method of exercising United Nations responsibility for the territory as envisaged in Resolution 2248 (S-V) was not the most practicable method, and nothing has happened since to change this opinion; nor do we see any balance of advantage in promoting a solution favourable to

independence and self-determination of the people of South West Africa by resort to violence.

I would stress that we do not imply at all abandonment of principle. The people of South West Africa should be able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. But I think it would be most unfortunate if, through too rigid an insistence on a particular method, we were to fail to take advantage of opportunities for progress as they arise. While holding to the principles which have been clearly defined by the Assembly, I do suggest we now seek other more promising methods within the operational capacity of the United Nations. It is not possible to predict whether or not a different approach will be successful, but surely it is obvious that the method chosen so far has not been, and has only led to dilemma and deadlock.

### **Communication Problem**

We believe the main problem on which we have to focus now is how to end the isolation in which these people and their present *de facto* administration are living. We have to think how best to establish communications in order to bring the people of South West Africa into the mainstream of the international community to enjoy self-government and independence. To this end, every possible opportunity should in our view be explored and none overlooked. Indeed, the United Nations is bound, in our view, to explore every diplomatic method in order to find the key which would unlock the barrier which separates the people of South West Africa from their destiny of self-government and independence.

There have been events recently in which South Africa seems to have shown an intensified disregard for the wishes of the United Nations, but there has been one development that might offer some possibility. At least in our view, it would be irresponsible of the organization not to explore it. I refer here to the offer made by the Foreign Minister of South Africa and reported to the Security Council by the Secretary-General in Document S/8506. The South African Foreign Minister has informed us that the South African authorities would be willing to receive a personal representative of the Secretary-General.

I would suggest that this offer be explored in relation to all the resolutions of the Assembly concerning South Africa, and without prejudice — I underline this, without prejudice — to any position which may have been taken by the respective members of this organization. I throw out this suggestion because my delegation believes that we must consider every possibility of making headway in establishing contact with the people of South West Africa to find out how best the United Nations can help achieve the self-determination and independence this Assembly approved in Resolution 2145 (XXI). To leave any method unexplored or unused would be, I think, to do a disservice to the interests of the inhabitants of South West Africa, which is, after all, our over-riding concern.

If most of us are agreed on the objective of making use realistically of the rather limited resources and capabilities of this organization, we should be able to find a way of advancing to that goal of achieving self-determination and independence of the people of South West Africa, provided we do not insist on one road only at the expense of rejecting consideration of all others.

## *Visit of French Financial Delegates*

A VISIT was paid to Ottawa on March 26, 1968, by the Committee on Finances, the Economy and Planning of the French National Assembly, which was on a study mission to the United States and Canada.

The Delegation, headed by Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, chairman of the committee and a former minister, also included Mr. Philippe Rivain, head rapporteur of the committee and member of the Union des Démocrates pour la 5<sup>ème</sup> République (Union of Democrats for the 5th Republic — UD5); Mr. Bernard Chochoy, a former minister and member of the Fédération de la Gauche démocrate et socialiste (Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left — FGDS); Mr. Tony Larue, member of the FGDS; Messrs Bernard Lepeu and Albin Chalandon, members of the UD5; Mr. Christian Bonnet, member of the Républicains indépendants (Independent Republicans); Mr. Jean Poudevigne, member of Progrès et Démocratie moderne (Progress and Modern Democracy — PDM); Mr. Alain Dupas, director of services in the National Assembly; and Mr. Pierre Fromaget, division head in the Department of the Economy and Finance.

### **Statement by Mr. Lamoureux**

The members of the French delegation were met at Uplands Airport by Mr. C. M. Drury, Canada's Minister of Industry, Mr. H. Gray, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs of the House of Commons, and Mr. G. Clairmont, Vice-Chairman of the Committee. They were entertained at lunch by Mr. Lamoureux, Speaker of the House of Commons. In his address of welcome, the Speaker reminded the visitors that their presence in Canada's capital strengthened their Canadian colleagues' hope of seeing France draw closer to this country, where French life was undergoing a renewal. He also stressed the fact that Canada and the Canadian people had recently applied themselves with renewed vigour to the immense task of protecting the French language and civilization and making them known throughout the country. At this moment in history, because of the amazing vitality shown by the Quebec of today and by French-Canadians living in other provinces, because of the support provided by the Canadian Government in its policy of bilingualism and biculturalism and the growing support of all Canadians, it had become possible to achieve what for too long had been a dream and sometimes an illusion — a Canada that was truly French both at home and abroad. Mr. Lamoureux also pointed out that the Constitutional Conference held in February 1968 had shown clearly that a bilingual and bicultural Canada could become a reality, since Canadians were in agreement that French culture was an intrinsic element in the Canadian personality. There could be

no Canada without this element. Mr. Lamoureux concluded that the assistance of France and the world's French-speaking countries was indispensable to Canadians. France's help would contribute new value and strength to French culture in Quebec and the other regions of Canada. If France extended its support to Canada as a whole, it could participate in Canadian unity for the greater good of all, Canadians and their friends from France alike.

After lunch, the French delegates met 15 or so of their counterparts from the Committee on Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs of the House of Commons. Mr. H. Gray, chairman of the meeting, gave an introductory speech in which he welcomed the French delegates and emphasized the important role played by these meetings in increasing economic and financial co-operation between the two countries. The Canadian and French delegates then studied international monetary problems and certain economic, commercial and financial questions which concerned both countries.

#### **Meeting with Ministers**

This conference finished at about 4 p.m. The delegates then attended a special meeting in the Commonwealth Room in Parliament's Centre Block with Mr. Drury, the Minister of Industry; Mr. Sauvé, the Minister of Forestry and Rural Development; Mr. Pepin, the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources; and Mr. Chrétien, the Minister of National Revenue. Discussions dealt mainly with the state of commercial and financial relations between France and Canada; the French delegates and their Canadian hosts examined possible methods to increase commercial exchanges between the two countries and also to increase French investment in Canada.

Later in the afternoon, the members of the French delegation met Mr. Louis Rasminsky, Governor of the Bank of Canada, with whom they discussed international monetary problems and the respective policies of France and Canada with regard to these problems.

His Excellency François Leduc, the Ambassador of France, entertained the delegates and representatives of the Federal Government at dinner.

The French delegation left Ottawa on the evening of March 26 for Montreal and Paris.

## *Loan to Colombia for Pre-Investment Studies*

ON April 21, 1968, before the ninth annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank, held from April 22 to 26 in Bogota, Colombia, an agreement was concluded between the Government of Canada and the Bank calling for the provision by Canada of \$1,080,000 for a series of pre-investment studies to be undertaken in Colombia. The agreement was signed on behalf of Canada by Mr. J. H. Cleveland, Canadian Ambassador to Colombia, who headed the Canadian observer delegation to the Board of Governors' meeting.

The Canadian loan is to be used in conjunction with another from the Bank's Fund for Special Operations, to provide a total of \$4.1 million (U.S.) to the Departamento Administrativo de Planeación, Colombia's planning department, to establish a national fund for development projects, which will extend credit to private and public enterprises for the preparation of studies of development projects. In extending credits from the Fund, which will have initial resources of \$6 million (U.S.), priority will be given to studies of projects which will help to achieve the goals of Colombia's Economic and Social Development Plan, which is being carried out within the framework of the Alliance for Progress; to create or expand employment and promote modernization or integration of firms; to expand the nation's export base or substitute imports; to expand and promote national and regional integration; and to offer possibilities for securing external financing. At least 90 per cent of the programme will be devoted to the preparation of specific development projects, particularly in such areas as hydro-electric development, road-building, communications, steel and paper production, oil-refining, fisheries and agriculture.

Under the terms of the loan, which is interest-free and requires repayment over a 50-year period, Canadian companies will be asked to undertake studies of a number of specific projects. These will result in detailed plans that will permit project financing to be arranged at a later date by the Government of Colombia.

Canada has to date allocated a total of \$40 million in loan funds for development projects in Latin America. These funds are administered through the Inter-American Development Bank, which develops proposals for Canadian loans amongst its member countries in the region. The Colombian loan is the eleventh to be approved under the Canadian development loan programme for Latin America, bringing the total amount committed to more than \$22 million.

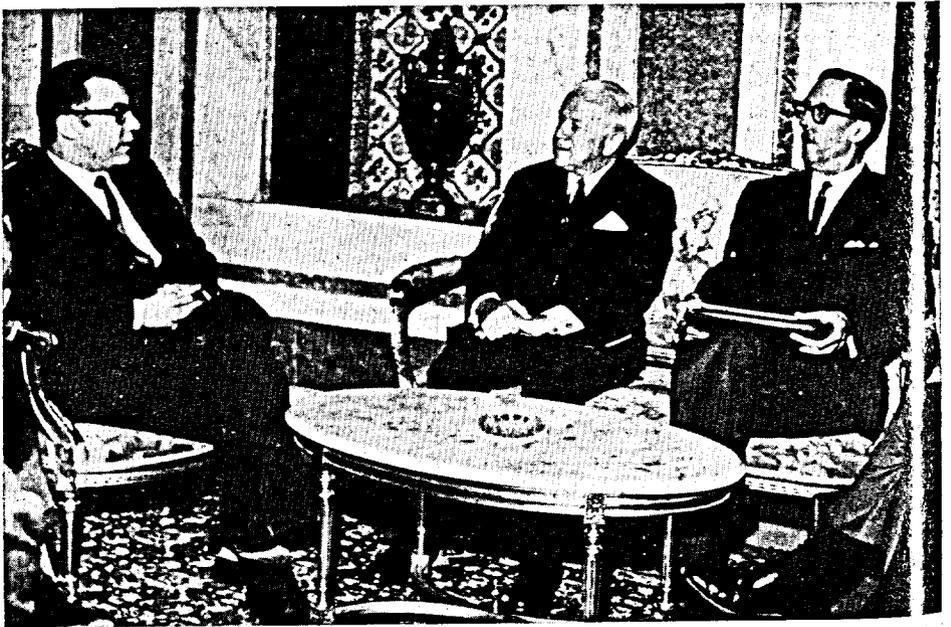
To date, proposals have been approved for other pre-investment studies in Argentina, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador and Mexico.

## *A Canadian Mission to French-Speaking Africa*

**A**T THE end of March 1968, the Honourable Lionel Chevrier returned to Ottawa after a seven-week official mission to French-speaking Africa undertaken to study the Canadian aid programme in that part of the world. Mr. Chevrier was accompanied by Dr. Henri Gaudefoy, Assistant Director-General of the External Aid Office, and Mr. Jacques Dupuis of the Department of External Affairs. On his way to Africa, Mr. Chevrier stopped in Paris for a few days, where he had talks with French officials concerned with external aid and also with UNESCO specialists in African development. In Africa the Chevrier mission visited Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Niger and Senegal. It will shortly submit to the Canadian Government a report making recommendations concerning the growth and direction of the aid programme to French-speaking Africa.

### **Significance of Mission**

When he announced the dispatch of the mission last February, the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasized that the expansion of Canadian assistance to French-speaking Africa was of special significance and represented



*In Tunis, Mr. Chevrier (centre) and Dr. Gaudefoy (right) talk with the Secretary-General of the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ismail Khelil.*

an important aspect of the Government's policy of giving fuller expression abroad to Canada's bicultural character. The Chevrier mission agreed, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to finance about 50 projects that will be implemented during the next three to five years at a cost of approximately \$40 million. Some of these projects include engineering and feasibility studies that will prepare the way for the allocation of additional aid resources that are expected to become available in the coming years for the Canadian aid programme to French-speaking Africa.

Since its inception in 1961, immediately after the launching of an aid programme for Commonwealth Africa, Canadian assistance to French-speaking Africa has grown substantially. Before Mr. Chevrier left on his mission, allocations totalled \$35 million, approximately \$12 million of which was earmarked for the fiscal year 1967-68. Of this total, \$25 million has been in the form of outright grants and \$6.5 million in development loans. In addition, \$4-million worth of food aid has been allocated to North Africa.

### **Technical Assistance**

The bulk of the grant aid has been used for technical assistance, including the training of students in Canada and the provision of teachers and technical advisers. The number of persons retained by the External Aid Office (EAO) for service in *francophone* Africa, from 1962 to the end of 1967, totalled 518, the majority of whom were teachers. In 1962, seven teachers were sent to French-speaking Africa; in 1967, 270 were sent for the academic year, about 40 of them university professors. In 1962-63, three French-speaking African students and trainees were brought to Canada; by the end of 1967, the total was 404. Two of the most important projects Canada has undertaken have involved the provision of financial assistance and teaching personnel to the National University of Rwanda and the provision of a team of 50 doctors, nurses and technical specialists, most of them from the Montreal Sainte-Justine Hospital, for the Children's Hospital in Tunis.

The Chevrier mission to French-speaking Africa marks an important step forward in the rapid expansion of the Canadian aid effort in countries of that region. This development is in accord with Canadian Government policy of establishing closer relations with the French-speaking world. It is also in accord with the Government's policy of allocating to developing countries, by the early seventies, Canadian resources equivalent to one per cent of the country's gross national product, as recommended by the United Nations.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Programme Committee : New York, June 3-6  
Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Legal Sub-Committee : Geneva, June 4-9  
Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression : Geneva, June 4 — July 5  
UNICEF Executive Board : New York, June 10-18  
UNDP Governing Council, sixth session : Vienna, June 11-28  
NATO spring ministerial meeting : Reykjavik; June 24-25  
International Conference on Public Education (UNESCO-IBE) : Geneva, July 1-10  
Economic and Social Council, forty-fifth session : Geneva, July 8 — August 2  
International Seminar for Diplomats : Salzburg, July 29 — August 9  
UNESCO International Conference on Educational Planning : Paris, August 6-14  
United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space : Vienna, August 14-27.  
Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States : Geneva, August 29 — September 28  
Commonwealth Medical Conference : Kampala, September 2-12  
Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of Mathematics : St. Augustine, Trinidad, September 2-14  
International Civil Aviation Organization, sixteenth assembly session : Buenos Aires, September 2-28  
UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session : Geneva, September 4-20  
Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States : New York, September 9-27 (or October 4)  
United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session : September 17 — December  
International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference : Vienna, September 24 — October 4  
UNESCO fifteenth General Conference : Paris, October 15 — November 21  
UN Conference on Road Traffic : Vienna, October 7 — November 8

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Miss E. M. Stock posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective March 29, 1968.  
Mr. J. Fowell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective April 2, 1968.  
Mr. L. L. Sarrazin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, to Ottawa, effective April 7, 1968.  
Mr. J. T. Boehm posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Rawalpindi, to Ottawa, effective April 10, 1968.  
Mr. R. M. Tait appointed Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, effective April 13, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Canada and the World*

*The following is a policy statement by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, issued on May 29, 1968 :*

We Canadians found a lot to be proud of in 1967, and also some things to question.

Above all, we became keenly aware in our centennial year that significant changes — political, economic, technological — have taken place in the world around us and within the body politic of our own nation. We found ourselves questioning long-standing institutions and values, attitudes and activities, methods and precedents which have shaped our international outlook for many years. We found ourselves wondering whether, in the world of tomorrow, Canada can afford to cling to the concepts and role-casting which served us in our international endeavours of three decades or more.

Those fundamentals of foreign policy did serve Canada well in circumstances of severe testing for us and for the world generally. This country played a leading part in shaping the multi-racial Commonwealth, in promoting and supporting a universal United Nations, and in trying to keep NATO attuned to changing strategic and political requirements. We made a significant contribution to international aid.

We shared the enormous difficulties which have bedevilled, in the postwar era, the best efforts to establish world order on a firm base of political and economic stability. Postwar peace had to be built on the foundations of collective security, which were rendered less secure by a radically spiralling arms race, the urgent demands of suddenly emerging nations and a prerequisite of keeping accidental sparks of war confined, if not wholly quenched.

There has been a tendency to play upon failures and to be patronizing about successes; to pull down institutions and ideas with nothing very concrete to offer in their place; to over-simplify the possibilities for solving international issues which, even today, are as complex as they are enduring, and to forget that an anxious world was not plunged into either military catastrophe or economic chaos.

There is no reason for running down Canada's postwar record in international affairs. In many respects it was a brilliant record, for which we owe much to the inspiring leadership of the Right Honourable Lester Pearson, both as External Affairs Minister and as Prime Minister.

### **Need for Reassessment**

Reassessment has become necessary not because of the inadequacies of the past but because of the changing nature of Canada and of the world around us.

All of us need to ponder well what our national capacity is — what our potential may be — for participating effectively in international affairs. We shall do more good by doing well what we *know* to be within our resources to do than to pretend either to ourselves or to others that we can do things clearly beyond our national capability.

Canada's position in the world is now very different from that of the postwar years. Then we were probably the largest of the small powers. Our currency was one of the strongest. We were the fourth or fifth trading nation and our economy was much stronger than the European economies. We had one of the very strongest navy and air forces. But now Europe has regained its strength. The third world has emerged.

It is for us to decide whether and how we can make the best use abroad of the special skills, experience and opportunities which our political, economic and cultural evolution have produced in this rich and varied country.

Realism — that should be the operative word in our definition of international aim. Realism in how we read the world barometer. Realism in how we see ourselves thriving in the climate it forecasts. For we must begin with a concrete appraisal of the prevailing atmosphere — conscious always that rapid change is likely to be its chief characteristic.

What are some of the salient features we face ?

The peace which we value most rests mainly on a balance of nuclear terror. Fortunately, the two super-powers have kept the terror firmly within their grasp and have been showing increasing responsibility about unleashing it. The threat of major military clash has measurably receded, but not the need to ensure that the intricate power balance is maintained by a wide variety of means.

### **An Environment of Tensions**

International tension is sustained in various regions and in varying degrees because of localized hostilities, latent disputes, racial discrimination, economic and social distress. Whatever comfort we can take from the most recent developments in Vietnam, we dare not disregard the dangers inherent in the Middle East impasse, the race conflicts in the southern half of Africa, the heavy pressure of urgent needs in the developing world. In Europe, there remains the lingering threat of an unresolved German problem which must be resolved if that continent is to capitalize on its growing desire to draw together and not to turn once again down the dangerous road to aggressive nationalism.

It is no longer realistic to think in terms of a single model of organization and development in Eastern Europe or of a monolithic Communist unity such as Stalin could impose. There has been a perceptible *détente* in East-West relations. There has been a growing recognition in Eastern European countries of the need through economic reforms to adapt their economies to national needs, rather than adhere in a doctrinaire way to an economic model inspired largely by nineteenth century concept. Although it remains true that there are some fundamental and far-reaching differences between us and the Communist

countries, it is no longer true to say that the Communist world is monolithically and implacably hostile to us.

Economic and social development continues to pose a major international problem, and it will increasingly engage the initiative, energy and resources of the world community far into the future. The essential needs of the developing countries require a vigorous, comprehensive and co-ordinated response from all the organizations, agencies and individual nations seeking to alleviate the areas of want in the world. The realities of this North-South relationship are such that humanity as a whole cannot rest easy until a steady and solid progress toward a better balance between "have" and "have-not" nations has been assured.

### **Technology Outdistances Politics**

The international institutions and methods which have been adopted for dealing with the demands of the contemporary world situation have to be brought into closer alignment with actual developments and especially with the revolutionary desires of rising generations in all parts of the world. If man is to become the master rather than the victim of his restless genius for material progress, he must radically reduce the distance between his ever-advancing attainment in science and technology, and the rather sluggish evolution of international instruments for maintaining political and economic order.

All round the earth, nations suffer the nervous exhaustion of living in an atmosphere of armed threat. It is risky enough that two super-powers, armed even now for "overkill", continue their competition for the most advanced weaponry. It does not help that secondary powers have embarked on nuclear-arms programmes. But even if it becomes possible to contain the nuclear competition, the world will still have to face what almost amounts to an unrestrained, and perhaps uncontrollable, traffic in conventional arms of all kinds, which, far from adding to security, tend to induce insecurity and increased tension.

In most of these international contexts, China continues to be both a colossus and a conundrum. Potentially, the People's Republic of China poses a major threat to peace largely because calculation about Chinese ambitions, intentions, capacity to catch up, and even about actual developments within China, have to be based on incomplete information — which opens an area of unpredictability. Mainland China's exclusion from the world community stems partly from policies of non-recognition and of seeking to contain Chinese Communism through military means, and partly from Peking's own policies and problems. Yet most of the major world issues to which I have referred will not be resolved completely, or in any lasting way, unless and until an accommodation has been reached with the Chinese nation.

### **Foreign Policy Review**

Those are the broad lines of the international environment in which Canada

finds itself today. What are we proposing to do about it? We are going to begin with a thorough and comprehensive review of our foreign policy, which embraces defence, economic and aid policies. Policy review is part of the normal process of any government, but we wish to take a fresh look at the fundamentals of Canadian foreign policy to see whether there are ways in which we can serve more effectively Canada's current interests, objectives and priorities.

Our approach will be pragmatic and realistic — above all to see that our policies in the future accord with our national needs and resources, with our ability to discharge Canada's legitimate responsibilities in world affairs.

Our progressive involvement in international development and relations during two decades or more have given this country a position of prominence and distinction. The policy area to be reviewed is broad and complex. In our review, we shall be giving special attention to certain areas:

We as a Government must discharge our duty to the people of Canada in meeting the needs of national security. In the narrowest sense, this could mean the strengthening of North American defence arrangements in a manner calculated to safeguard our national sovereignty and at the same time to make the best use of resources allocated to national defence. But the defence strategies of our time are neither static nor restricted in scope. NATO and NORAD, though not linked organizationally, are complementary in their strategic importance and implication. They are an integral part of the delicate balance of power on which the peace of the world has rested during a long and difficult period. We will take a hard look, in consultation with our allies, at our military role in NATO and determine whether our present military commitment is still appropriate to the present situation in Europe. We will look at our role in NORAD in the light of the technological advances of modern weaponry and of our fundamental opposition to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

### **Strengthening International Ties**

Canada continues to have a very large stake in Europe, perhaps not so much in the military sense of two decades ago but in political, commercial and cultural terms. We have been fascinated and greatly encouraged by the marked improvements in the political and economic situation in Europe as a whole, in both the Eastern and Western sectors. It seems almost axiomatic that, far from relaxing them, Canada should seek to strengthen its ties with the European nations, whose many and varied cultures contribute so much to our own. We should seek to join with them in new forms of partnership and co-operation in order to strengthen international security, to promote economic stability on both sides of the Atlantic and in other regions of the world, to balance our own relations in the Western hemisphere.

We have a major aim of maintaining mutual confidence and respect in our relations with the United States. We have to sort out the dilemmas which that complex relationship poses for us so as to widen the area of mutual benefit

without diminishing our Canadian identity and sovereign independence.

We have to take greater account of the ties which bind us to other nations in this hemisphere — in the Caribbean, Latin America — and of their economic needs. We have to explore new avenues of increasing our political and economic relations with Latin America, where more than 400 million people will live by the turn of the century and where we have substantial interests.

We accept as a heavy responsibility of higher priority Canada's participation in programmes for the economic and social development of nations in the developing areas. We shall be exploring all means of increasing the impact of our aid programmes by concentrating on places and projects in which our bilingualism, our own expertise and experience, our resources and facilities make possible an effective and distinctively Canadian contribution. We see Africa as an area of growing activity, but not to the exclusion of other regions in which Canada's aid effort is well established. We intend, moreover, to combine these efforts with initiatives, policies and leadership relating to trade which will enable the developing nations to attain lasting improvement in their economies.

We shall be guided by considerations such as the foregoing in sustaining our support for international organizations — and especially the United Nations family. We believe that Canada's contribution to the co-operative efforts of those organizations may benefit from some shift of emphasis, but there will be no slackening of our broad policy of support. In making our reappraisal, we shall be looking for realistic means for making multilateral organizations as effective as possible and, correspondingly, Canada's participation in their endeavours.

### **Recognition of Mainland China**

We shall be looking at our policy in relation to China in the context of a new interest in Pacific affairs generally. Because of past preoccupations with Atlantic and European affairs, we have tended to overlook the reality that Canada is a Pacific country too. Canada has long advocated a positive approach to mainland China and its inclusion in the world community. We have an economic interest in trade with China — no doubt shared by others — and a political interest in preventing tension between China and its neighbours, but especially between China and the United States. Our aim will be to recognize the People's Republic of China Government as soon as possible and to enable that Government to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations, taking into account that there is a separate Government in Taiwan.

As I suggested earlier, in reviewing the international situation and our external policies, we are likely to find that many of the problems are the same ones which Canada has faced for many years — global and regional tensions, underdevelopment, economic disruptions. Our broad objectives may be similar too — the maintenance of peace and security, the expansion and improvement

of aid programmes, the search for general economic stability. But what we shall be looking for — systematically, realistically, pragmatically — will be new approaches, new methods, new opportunities. In that search we shall be seeking the views of Canadians, and particularly of those with expert knowledge, in the universities and elsewhere.

We shall hope, too, to find new attitudes, for ourselves and in others, which will give us the latitude to make progress in the pursuit of those objectives. There is much evidence of a desire for this kind of change in most countries of the world. Our need is not so much to go crusading abroad as to mobilize at home our aspirations, energies and resources behind external policies which will permit Canada to play a credible and creditable part in this changing world.

To do this we need not proclaim our independence. We need not preach to others, or castigate them. What we do need is to be sure that we are being as effective as we can be in carrying out our own commitments and responsibilities, which will be commensurate with our growing status and strength, with our special character.

#### **Paramount Interest**

What is our paramount interest in pursuing this kind of foreign policy? Well, the foreign policies of nations are grounded in history and geography and culture. There are very obvious major interests for most nations today — peace, prosperity, and progress of all kinds. There is always a substantial element of self-interest. In this general sense Canada is no exception.

But at the present time (it may have always been so and certainly will be so far into the future) our paramount interest is to ensure the political survival of Canada as a federal and bilingual sovereign state. This means strengthening Canadian unity as a basically North American country. It means reflecting in our foreign relations the cultural diversity and the bilingualism of Canada as faithfully as possible. Parallel to our close ties with the Commonwealth, we should strive to develop a close relationship with the *francophone* countries. It means the development of procedures so that Canada's external relations can take even more into account the interests of provincial governments in matters of provincial jurisdiction.

There are many ways of serving that paramount interest. Some of them are already abundantly apparent in the policies and methods which the Government has been promoting for some time. I have indicated throughout this statement our determination to explore every opportunity for applying such policies with maximum effect. They will be projected in the world of today and tomorrow.

... Our search, our exploration, our reassessment, are motivated and directed by a desire not for new approaches for the sake of novelty but for better policies and better methods, which will keep Canada effectively in the forefront of those international endeavours which realistically lie within our national resources — action and potential.

While this broad review has been set in motion by the Government, we have taken some immediate steps which will give the Canadian people an indication of the direction the Government will follow and these are:

We have decided to send before the end of 1968 a special mission at the ministerial level to tour Latin America. This mission will be designed to demonstrate the importance the Government attaches to strengthening our bilateral relations with leading Latin American countries.

In order to exploit more fully the opportunities inherent in our bilingual country, it is our intention to open five new missions by 1969 in French-speaking countries. A substantially increased share of our aid will be allocated to *francophone* countries in order to achieve a better balance in our aid programme. We will increase our cultural programmes with *francophone* countries as an important investment both in improving bilateral relationships and in contributing to national unity.

Within the general review, we have set up a special task force on our relations with the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Its purpose is to prepare detailed recommendations concerning ways in which co-operation could be further strengthened with European countries, from which so many Canadians have originated. It will study the whole range of our economic, political and cultural ties with Europe, together with the presence of Canadian military forces in Europe.

In order to stress the true objectives of our aid programme, we will change the name of the External Aid Office to Canadian International Development Agency. Aside from removing the resentment that might be felt by some recipient countries, this change will illustrate that our preoccupation is with co-operative international development, not aid as such. In addition, we will give speedy and favourable consideration to the creation of an International Development Centre. This would be an international institute established in Canada to apply the latest advances in science and technology to the problems of development and to ensure that Canadian and other aid monies are put to the most effective use possible.

Such, then, is our liberal approach to foreign policy and Canada's position in the world. We should not exaggerate the extent of our influence upon the course of world events. Yet, because of the origin and character of our population, our history, our geographical position and our economic strength and potential, we can play a significant part in the promotion of peace and the creation of a just world society.

We will seek a new role for Canada and a new foreign policy based on a fresh appraisal of this rapidly-changing world and on a realistic assessment of Canada's potential. It must be a policy which Canadians of all origins, languages and cultures will be proud to support. It must be a policy which is pragmatic, realistic and which contributes effectively both to Canada's political survival and independence and to a more secure, progressive, free and just world society.

## *United Nations General Assembly*

**A**T its last meeting in 1967, the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations decided, on December 19, that three items should be considered when the session was resumed. These items were the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the question of South West Africa and the situation in the Middle East.

Following the conclusion of the debate on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Security Council met to consider the question of security guaranteed to non-nuclear parties to the non-proliferation treaty.

### **Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

#### **First Committee**

On December 19, 1967, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved by an overwhelming majority of 114 in favour (Canada) to one against, with four abstentions, a resolution which requested the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference to present a report to the General Assembly on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by March 15, 1968, and also provided for a resumed session of the Assembly to consider this report. On April 24, 1968, the session was resumed. General debate on the report of the ENDC, and therefore on the NPT, began April 26. The First Committee concluded its consideration of this item over six weeks later by adopting a resolution commanding the non-proliferation treaty and requesting that the depositary governments open it for signature at the earliest possible date. This action was approved in plenary on June 13, 1968, by a vote of 95 in favour, four against (Albania, Cuba, Tanzania and Zambia), and 21 abstentions. Between these two dates there was a lengthy and intensive debate in which the representatives of 80 countries — virtually two-thirds of the entire UN membership — participated. The debate resulted in useful changes and improvements both to the resolution approving the treaty and to the draft treaty text itself.

In many ways, the debate in the First Committee was an extension of the very short general disarmament debate held at the regular twenty-second session in December 1967, which discussed the NPT on the basis of brief information given in the interim report of the ENDC. At the beginning, many delegations — especially among the non-aligned countries — seemed to feel a certain resentment at what they considered to be an attempt by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to push through the NPT on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis. This feeling probably lent extra asperity to many of the statements which criticized the draft treaty.

Criticism followed three main lines: discontent with the weakness of the obligations assumed by the nuclear powers to pursue disarmament measures

further, particularly with regard to nuclear disarmament; a fear that the treaty would inhibit the development of the technology and utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful uses by the non-nuclear countries; and disappointment, if not apprehension, over the lack of guarantees in the treaty text for the security of non-nuclear signatories, which, in the view of many delegations, was not compensated for by the proposal of security assurances through a Security Council resolution sponsored by Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Moreover, some delegations felt that final pronouncement upon the NPT at the twenty-second resumed session would very much reduce the importance of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (CNNWS) scheduled for September in Geneva.

Various delegations suggested specific changes that would bring the treaty more into line with the principles earlier UN resolutions had laid down as a basis for a non-proliferation treaty. Other delegations supported the idea that final consideration of the treaty should be deferred until the twenty-third UN General Assembly in the autumn of this year to permit any inadequacies in the text to be removed through discussion of the treaty at the CNNWS.

Many delegations, including that of Canada, argued strongly that conclusion of the NPT during the resumed session would in no way derogate from the importance of the work which might be done by the CNNWS. On the contrary, a completed NPT would serve as a framework within which useful discussions could take place. In particular, those items suggested for the agenda of the CNNWS by the Conference's preparatory committee pertaining to programmes for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and means of assuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon states would be given force and focus by the relevant provisions of the NPT and a UN General Assembly resolution approving it.

Of the many resolutions of the United Nations on the subject of a non-proliferation treaty, it has been generally agreed that Resolution 2028 (XX) is the most definitive in laying down principles on which an NPT should be based. Many delegations considered that the draft treaty under discussion was at variance with or ignored some of these principles. In particular, they considered that the principle requiring the treaty to be a step toward nuclear disarmament and the stipulation that it should contain no loopholes permitting "proliferation" of nuclear weapons in any form had not been respected. Some delegations, unlike those of Canada, the co-authors of the treaty and most other states, interpreted the term "proliferation" to mean increase in the size of the existing nuclear arsenals of the nuclear powers, as well as in the number of nuclear-weapon states. Because the treaty contained no provisions to halt this so-called "vertical proliferation", and because the commitment of the nuclear powers to arrive at further measures of nuclear disarmament was couched in such general language, there was widespread criticism that the treaty was inadequate or even unacceptable. Delegations which criticised the treaty on these grounds usually favoured more binding language than that of Article VI of the treaty, as well as reference to specific collateral measures that would serve as the next steps toward total nuclear

disarmament. Given high priorities on most such lists were a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a "cut-off" of production of either nuclear weapons or of missile material for military purposes.

General criticism of Articles IV and V of the treaty, which are mainly concerned with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, centred on the alleged weakness of the obligations assumed under them by the nuclear states. Delegations from the developing countries laid great stress on the benefits that were already apparent and would increase as peaceful nuclear technology continued to advance. While many of these countries were not planning to include a peaceful nuclear programme in their development plans in the immediate future, their representatives quite naturally wished to protect potential interests in this field as far as possible. Some countries that had advanced civil nuclear industries were somewhat concerned over the implications of the application of safeguards provided for in Article III of the treaty to their commercial nuclear activities. The Canadian delegation was particularly concerned to try to allay these misgivings, and to this end devoted to the subject a significant portion of one of the two statements which Canadian representatives made during the debate.

The last major criticism of the treaty centred on the inadequacy of the proposed security guarantees that Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. were prepared to give non-nuclear states party to the treaty to compensate them for their renunciation of the right to acquire nuclear weapons. This proposal took the form of a draft Security Council resolution, co-sponsored by the three nuclear powers, whereby they would undertake to "act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the UN Charter", to counter "aggression or threat of aggression" with nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear state, and "provide or support" immediate assistance to any non-nuclear signatory of the treaty that was subjected to aggression or the threat thereof from nuclear weapons. The draft resolution would also reaffirm each nation's inherent right under Article 51 of the Charter to individual or collective self-defence until the Security Council had acted. This resolution would be accompanied by unilateral but parallel declarations from the three co-sponsors at the time the resolution was adopted. These declarations would assert that nuclear aggression or the threat thereof would create "a qualitatively new situation" in which the nuclear states members of the Security Council would have to act immediately through the Council to take measures necessary to counter such aggression or threat.

Major criticism of this proposal stemmed primarily from scepticism of non-aligned states that the Security Council would act with sufficient despatch in a crisis to make the assurances contained in the resolution credible. It was also pointed out that the term "aggression" had defied definition since the founding of the UN, and use of this term weakened the commitments in the draft resolution. Many delegations expressed disappointment that security assurances had not been included in the treaty itself. There was also fairly wide support for the inclusion in the text of a commitment by the nuclear states not to use or

threaten to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear signatory of the treaty which did not have nuclear weapons on its soil.

As a strong proponent of the NPT, the Canadian delegation was active in supporting the treaty both by statements in the Committee and by informal consultations and discussions, in which criticisms of the treaty raised by various delegations were answered. The delegation was particularly attentive to the questions raised and to clarifications requested by delegations which were not members of the ENDC and therefore had not had as great an opportunity to study and discuss the treaty text as had those countries which, like Canada, had been closely involved in the actual negotiation of the treaty. The Canadian delegation spoke twice during the Committee's debate. The first statement was delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and was his first major address on Canadian foreign policy after he assumed the External Affairs portfolio. This statement set out Canada's positive position on the treaty text and strongly urged the UN General Assembly to complete the treaty as quickly as possible. In concluding his statement, Mr. Sharp said :

We at this twenty-second Assembly have been given the opportunity of bringing to effect the only arms-control agreement now possible of achievement. Without this agreement, is there much prospect of future progress in disarmament?

The governments here assembled have an opportunity to take a step forward towards a more peaceful and secure world by approving the proposed Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Canada urges the Assembly to act now. (1)

The second statement was delivered by the Canadian representative to the ENDC and Adviser to the Canadian Government on Disarmament, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns. This statement, made on May 23 after the representatives of over 50 countries had spoken in the debate, sought to answer various criticisms and questions which had been raised. Special emphasis was laid on the Canadian view that the treaty would in no way hamper the development of a civil nuclear technology and industry but rather, through the provisions of Articles IV and V, provide a basis for increased international co-operation in this field. Moreover, the fears surrounding the acceptance of the treaty safeguards provisions of Article III seemed groundless to Canada, and General Burns went into some detail on Canadian views regarding the application of treaty safeguards in order to reassure such countries as Australia and South Africa, which had voiced concern on this subject.

General Burns also expressed surprise at the lack of impression made on delegations by the unprecedented agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., which had so often been at variance, to co-operate to protect the smaller and less powerful nations. The inclusion of a "non-use" clause in the treaty simply was not practical (unless conclusion of the treaty was to be delayed for an unacceptably long time), for such an undertaking could not be made with respect

(1) See the June 1968 issue of *External Affairs* for full text of this speech.

to those non-nuclear states allied to nuclear powers without elaborate and positive verification arrangements. As for a nuclear-power commitment to achieve further disarmament measures, General Burns asked delegations which had criticized the weaknesses of the relevant provisions in the treaty if, in view of the history of disarmament negotiations, they would find really credible an undertaking carrying an element of compulsion in the way of a time-limit. Moreover, did delegations really think it reasonable, given the present world situation, to expect the nuclear powers to make any stronger commitments than existed in Article VI of the present draft?

At the conclusion of the general debate, changes in the draft resolution were made by its co-sponsors (the nuclear powers, Canada, and some 28 others). These changes took into account many of the concerns raised during the debate. The co-chairmen of the ENDC — the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. — also agreed to make changes in the treaty text itself, so that it might reflect more accurately the views of the UN membership and thereby become more widely acceptable.

Changes to the preambular part of the draft General Assembly resolution were designed to accommodate anxieties over the rights of all parties to develop their technology in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to satisfy demands that reference should be made to the UN Charter provision that states should refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in their international relations. Changes to the operative part were made in response to repeated criticism that the treaty's effectiveness would be impaired by the absence from disarmament negotiations of France and mainland China. This particular change expressed hope for the widest adherence to the treaty of nuclear and non-nuclear states. Another change to the operative part also was the strengthening of the call to the ENDC to make progress on further disarmament measures.

A revision of the draft-treaty preamble strengthened the paragraph expressing the intention of the parties to the treaty to effect further disarmament measures and added a paragraph, somewhat similar to that in the resolution, calling on states to refrain from the use of force in international relations, in accordance with the UN Charter. Article IV was revised to give more force to the obligation of states with developed nuclear technologies to assist those less advantageously placed. The revised article also affirmed the rights of all parties to equipment and materials as well as technological information. Lastly, a specific reference was inserted to give special consideration to the needs of the developing countries in this area of international co-operation.

Article V was changed to include provision for international observation in the regulatory agreement for the provision of nuclear explosions for civil purposes. As the Canadian delegation had been the first at the ENDC to mention that the absence of such a provision constituted a serious defect in the Article, it was therefore pleased to see the inclusion of this clause. Also, provisions for the conclusion of a separate international agreement concerning "peaceful nuclear

explosions" to be negotiated immediately on the entry into force of the treaty was inserted in the Article.

Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. were also designated depositary governments.

The above changes, which resulted from suggestions made by a wide range of UN members, including Chile, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria and Yugoslavia, went a considerable way to overcome the concerns and criticisms of many delegations. These improvements had the direct effect of improving the atmosphere in the First Committee, ensuring that the treaty would prove widely acceptable and permitting its approval by the resumed twenty-second UN General Assembly by almost all members of the organization.

On June 10, the First Committee passed the draft General Assembly resolution by a vote of 92 in favour (Canada) to four against, with 22 abstentions.

### Plenary

When the non-proliferation treaty was taken up in plenary on June 12, the draft resolution which had been adopted in the First Committee was not formally debated, though a number of member states spoke in explanation of vote, some before and others after voting had taken place. The voting was on a roll call basis and Resolution 2373 (XXII) was adopted by 95 votes in favour (Canada), to four opposed (Albania, Cuba, Tanzania, Zambia), with 21 abstentions. The pattern of voting closely paralleled that which had taken place in the First Committee. The same four countries voted against the resolution in both cases but three — Cameroun, Costa Rica (which had been absent when the vote was called in the First Committee) and Chad (which had abstained in the First Committee) — voted in favour of the resolution in plenary. Two countries — the Dominican Republic and Haiti — which were in arrears in the payment of their contribution to the United Nations regular budget, under the terms of Article 19 of the Charter, were not called upon to vote.

Immediately following the vote, the President of the Assembly announced that the President of the United States wished to make a statement. After a brief recess, President Johnson gave a speech of unusual significance, serving to stress the importance the United States attached to this item. In his speech, the President, who described the adoption of the resolution as a "momentous event in the history of the United Nations", pledged on behalf of the United States its "determination to make this but a first step toward ending the peril of nuclear war". He described the treaty further as an instrument of international peace and sanity, written "by the hands of many peoples" as "a testament to reason and to the will of mankind to endure". He emphasized that no time should be lost in bringing the treaty into force and also pledged that, as soon as it had entered into force, the United States would carry out its responsibilities under it. These responsibilities he described as: the obligation not to transfer nuclear weapons, or control of them, to non-nuclear

states; to bring the treaty safeguards into being; to facilitate the fullest possible exchange of equipment, of materials and of scientific and technical information on the peaceful uses of atomic energy; to share technical knowledge and experience in peaceful nuclear research fully and without reservations; to continue research and development in the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and to make available to non-nuclear treaty parties the benefits arising therefrom; and, finally, to pursue vigorously negotiations on effective measures to halt the nuclear arms race.

Fourteen countries spoke in explanation of vote (including all the permanent members of the Security Council except China). The statement of France was perhaps the most interesting in that it was the first time the French had made known their views on the NPT at the session. The French Permanent Representative explained that, though France would not be signing the treaty and had not participated in the Geneva discussions, it was against dissemination of the nuclear threat and would behave as if it had signed the treaty. However, it considered the real question at issue to be the need for the complete disappearance of nuclear weapons. It pledged its readiness for any initiative in the disarmament field which would lead to real disarmament. Thus the French abstention was not meant as a condemnation of the treaty.

Among the other members that had abstained and that spoke in explanation of vote, many stressed that, although they had abstained, this was not because they were opposed to the idea of the non-proliferation treaty, which they regarded as an important step forward on the road to disarmament, but because they were not yet convinced that, in its present form, it contained adequate guarantees against the threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

The last speaker on this item was the retiring Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Goldberg, who, after first referring to the question of non-recognition of certain states that might become parties to the treaty, then gave a brief valedictory statement in which he bade farewell to his colleagues in the United Nations, whose activities he expected to follow closely even though he would no longer be participating actively in their ranks.

### **Security Council**

As a sequel to the adoption of UN General Assembly Resolution 2373 (XXII), the Security Council held three meetings between June 17 and 19 to discuss the draft resolution on security guarantees. In the first meeting, the U.S.S.R., Britain and U.S.A., as co-sponsors, spoke on behalf of the draft resolution and made identical unilateral declarations of interpretation. France also spoke and took a position similar to the one it took in the General Assembly — namely, that it could not associate itself with the resolution but would not hinder its adoption. In the following two meetings, Canada, Denmark, Paraguay, Hungary, Senegal, Ethiopia and the Republic of China spoke in support of the resolution, while Algeria, Brazil, Pakistan and India indicated they would abstain, essen-

tially on the grounds that the security guarantees offered were superfluous, inadequate or lacked credibility. When put to the vote, Resolution 255 (1968) was adopted by a vote of ten in favour to none opposed, with five abstentions.

## South West Africa

### Plenary

During the twenty-second session of the General Assembly last autumn, two resolutions on the question of South West Africa were passed. One was a general resolution on the South West African situation, while the other dealt specifically with the arrest, deportation and trial at Pretoria of 37 South West Africans who had been charged under the South African Terrorism Act. In both January and March 1968, the Security Council was also seized of the problems arising from the trial of the South West Africans, and passed resolutions demanding that South Africa release the persons concerned and urging member states that were in a position to do so to use their influence to induce the Government of South Africa to comply with the Security Council's resolutions.

It was against this background that the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, which met from April 24 to June 12, considered the question of South West Africa. Furthermore, on April 5, the United Nations Council for South West Africa had left for South West Africa in an attempt to implement the resolution which had set it up in May 1967 during the fifth special session of the General Assembly. This resolution, following upon one passed in October 1966, which terminated South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, and placed South West Africa under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, requested the council, *inter alia*, to proceed to South West Africa with a view to taking over the administration of that territory. The Council was unable to enter South West Africa "because of the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to co-operate", and returned to New York after hearing representatives of South West African political parties in Lusaka (Zambia) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). The Council's report on this mission, and on the activities of the Council generally for the period from November 1, 1967, to May 4, 1968, was issued while the resumed session of the Assembly was debating the question of South West Africa.

About three weeks before the resumption of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, the South African Government introduced into the House of Assembly the "Development of Self-Government for the Native Nation in South West Africa Bill". Popularly known as the "Homelands Bill", the proposed legislation is based on certain recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, which made a comprehensive survey of South West Africa's development in 1962-1963, and, in the words of the preamble of the Bill, confirms that "certain areas in South West Africa are areas for the different native nations in South

West Africa". This bill was much criticized during the resumed session, not only because South Africa was purporting to legislate in respect of South West Africa although it no longer had any right to do so, since the mandate had been terminated, but also because the legislation was "designed to destroy the integrity of the territory, which would, in fact, amount to its illegal annexation" (report of the Council for South West Africa).

As was the case during the regular twenty-second session, the question of South West Africa was not referred to a main committee of the General Assembly but was dealt with in plenary. The resumed session heard 72 speakers during the general debate. Many of the African and Asian representatives called for immediate action by the Security Council to enforce the United Nations decisions on South West Africa. They also urged that all states should sever diplomatic, political, economic and military dealings with South Africa in order to ensure that South Africa complied with these decisions. In the course of the debate, a number of the delegates argued that continued South African "defiance" of the United Nations was made possible by the continuing economic relations between South Africa, on the one hand, and certain Western states and Japan, on the other. Many African and Asian speakers also condemned those states which continued to furnish arms to South Africa, and called for increased support of the Council for South West Africa. Certain delegations, notably Tanzania, felt that undue emphasis was given to the non-proliferation treaty when, they maintained, the question of South West Africa was a much more urgent matter.

The Soviet Union took the position that the United Nations should proclaim the independence of South West Africa. The Soviet representative felt that responsibility for the situation in South West Africa lay with Western countries. He called for the severing of relations with South Africa and a halt to public and private foreign investment in that country. The Soviet representative said that revenues from the exploitation of South West African natural resources should be used to defray the costs of measures which the United Nations would have to take in connection with the granting of independence to South West Africa and the establishing of organs of government in the territory.

The representatives of a number of Western countries, including Canada, also spoke. The Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. George Ignatieff, in his statement on May 15, noted that the general tenor of the interventions on South West Africa during the general debate had been "one of frustration and disappointment at the deplorable lack of co-operation on the part of the South African Government". The Canadian delegation, he said, shared the "general disappointment . . . that so far the United Nations has not been able to find a way to ensure the self-determination and independence of the people of South West Africa". Nevertheless, the Canadian delegation still believed that the Council for South West Africa did not represent the "most practicable method" of exercising United Nations responsibility for the territory. Also, the Canadian authorities did not see "any balance of advantage in promoting

a solution favourable to the independence and self-determination of South West Africa by resort to violence". There should be no "abandonment of principle", but an attempt should be made to find a different approach to the problem, since it was obvious that the method chosen so far had not been successful and had led only to "dilemma and deadlock". In the Canadian view, the United Nations was bound to "explore every diplomatic method in order to find the key which would unlock the barrier which separates the people of South West Africa from their destiny of self-government and independence". Mr. Ignatieff therefore suggested that the United Nations might explore the offer by the Foreign Minister of South Africa to receive a personal representative of the Secretary-General to discuss the South West African question.

A number of other delegations also urged that an attempt be made to enter into discussions with the South African authorities concerning the future of South West Africa. Certain African delegations felt, however, that the time for negotiations had passed.

The Swedish representative supported a Ghanaian suggestion of a special programme for displaced South West Africans and added that arrangements should also be made for the legal protection and the temporary settlement and employment of these persons. Furthermore, Sweden believed that more could be done to plan for large-scale financial, technical and administrative assistance for the people of South West Africa at the time of self-determination and independence. The Swedish delegation considered, as well, that thought should be given to the possibility of helping the people of South West Africa receive reliable information from the outside world, through radio communications, for example.

Finland and the United States supported the Swedish suggestions about what the United Nations could do to help South West African refugees. The Italian delegate suggested that the United Nations should explore the possibilities of getting in contact with South African public opinion "in order to awaken it to the dangers that the narrow-minded and short-sighted colonial policies pursued by the Government of Pretoria today may produce in the long run for the South African people". He urged that a particular effort be made to communicate with the youth of South Africa, who, he added, would be "sensitive and responsive to the ideals and aspirations fostered by the youth of the most enlightened nations".

On June 3, a large number of Afro-Asian countries co-sponsored a resolution on South West Africa. Among other things, the draft resolution recommended that the Security Council take "effective measures" under Chapter VII of the Charter (dealing with action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression) "to ensure the immediate removal of South African occupation of the Territory of South West Africa". As a number of Latin American delegations could not support certain of the provisions of this draft resolution, negotiations were held between the Afro-Asian and Latin

American groups which resulted in the tabling on June 11 of a revised draft resolution. This resolution was passed on June 12 by a vote of 96 in favour to two opposed (South Africa and Portugal), with 18 abstentions (Canada, most Western countries including the United States, Britain and France, and Malawi and Cuba).

The resolution proclaimed that, "in accordance with the desires of its people, South West Africa shall henceforth be called 'Namibia'". It set forth the functions which the United Nations Council for Namibia was to perform "as a matter of priority". The resolution condemned both South Africa and the "actions of those States which, by their continued political, military and economic collaboration with the Government of South Africa, have encouraged that Government to defy the authority of the United Nations...". All states were called upon "to take effective economic and other measures with a view to securing the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from Namibia", and to provide "moral and material assistance" to the people of Namibia. The "continued foreign occupation" of Namibia by South Africa constituted, in the words of the resolution, "a grave threat to international peace and security" and a recommendation was made to the Security Council "urgently to take all appropriate steps to secure the implementation of the present resolution and to take effective measures in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the immediate removal of the South African presence from Namibia, and to secure for Namibia its independence...".

Commenting on the resolution, the representative of the Netherlands, which, like Canada, abstained, argued that "the resolution once again calls for action which any realistic appraisal will show to be impracticable". He added that the Netherlands delegation did not discard the hope that "it may be possible for the Secretary-General to entrust a personal representative with the task of maintaining direct contact with the South African Government" which might eventually lead to the entry by the United Nations into South West Africa.

### Adjournment

After the 1672nd meeting of plenary had adopted the second report of the Credentials Committee, there only remained for the President of the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Manescu of Romania, to adjourn the session.

Before formally proposing adjournment, President Manescu spoke at some length, reviewing the progress made during the session. He pointed out that during it a new member state, Mauritius, had joined the United Nations, and that agenda items 28 and 64, on non-proliferation and on the question of South West Africa, had had extensive and fruitful debate. It was his view that the resumed session had been active in the search for successful solutions to important

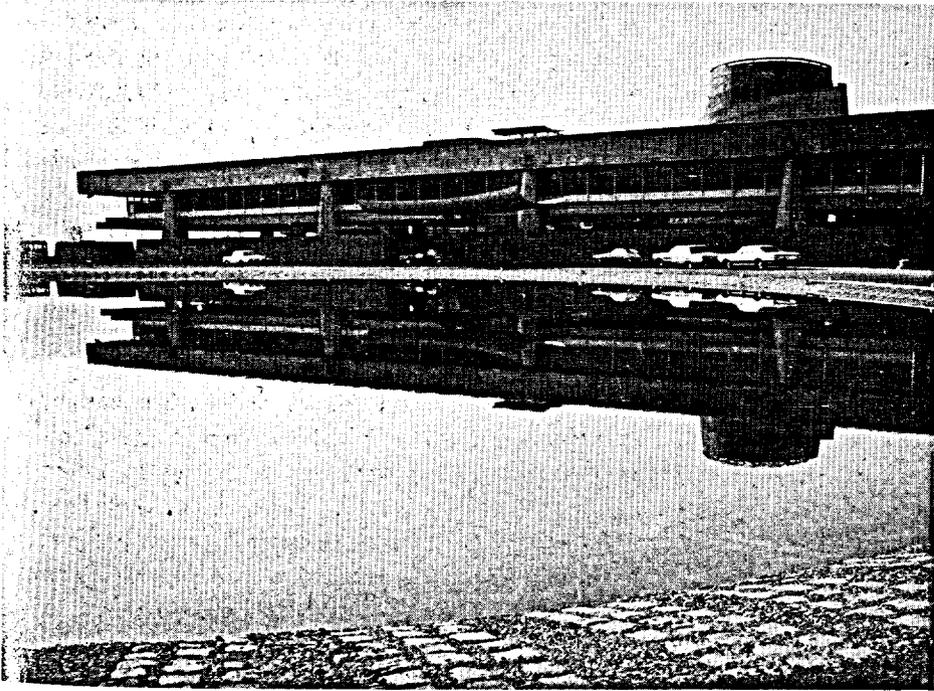
questions. He stressed, with regard to such progress, the importance of consultation and goodwill, which he linked with a continuing need for political efforts aimed at reaching consensus solutions to controversial problems, solutions based on the equality of rights of members and on mutual respect.

Regarding Item 94 of the agenda, The Situation in the Middle East, the President explained that, because this had not yet been dealt with by the session, the twenty-second General Assembly could not, from a procedural point of view, be closed. He proposed, instead, to adjourn the session *sine die*, on the understanding that the item would remain on the agenda and that the session could be resumed if the President, after consultations with member states and the Secretary-General, were to decide that appropriate conditions then existed for the consideration of the item.

## *The ECLA After Twenty Years*

**T**HE TWENTIETH anniversary of the founding of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), which fell on February 28, 1968, was observed on the occasion of the twelfth session of the Committee of the Whole, held in Santiago, Chile, from April 23 to 25. The Canadian delegation at the session was headed by Mr. G. B. Summers, the Ambassador to Chile, who has led several Canadian delegations to other ECLA meetings during the past few years.

Canada became a full member of the ECLA in October 1961. Membership is open to members of the United Nations in North, Central and South America and in the Caribbean area; all countries in the Western hemisphere, including Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago now belong to the ECLA. In addition, France, Britain and the Netherlands, which have overseas territories in the area, are members of the Commission; British Honduras and the West Indies Associated States are associate members. Other members of the United Nations may participate in a consultative capacity in discussions of matters of particular concern to them. The Commission's headquarters are located in



*Front view of the ECLA headquarters building in Santiago, Chile, construction of which was financed from the budget of the United Nations. Canada's contribution amounted to \$10,000 (U.S.) in cash.*

Santiago, Chile, and there are branch offices in Washington, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Bogota and Port of Spain.

### **ECLA Aims**

The ECLA was established in February 1948 as one of the Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for the purpose of assisting Latin American countries in the promotion of their economic development and the improvement of their living standards. In so doing, the ECLA also endeavours to strengthen economic relations among countries in the region and with other nations of the world. Its activities in this connection have been reinforced since 1962 by the creation, under its aegis, of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, which carries out research in planning techniques and provides training facilities and advisory services to the area.

In carrying out its work, the ECLA co-operates closely with the United Nations Secretariat in New York and with the Specialized Agencies. Moreover, its activities are co-ordinated with those of other international organizations operating in the region. A tripartite agreement to that effect was concluded in 1961 by the Executive Secretary of the ECLA, the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, and the President of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), whereby a number of joint programmes and activities were to be undertaken to ensure the best use of available resources. Agreements have also been reached with the IDB concerning joint activities in relation to integration, with particular reference to agriculture and industry. In addition, the ECLA works closely with the Latin American Free Trade Association and with the organs of the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration, both of which were established primarily as a result of the Commission's efforts. Finally, the ECLA has consultative arrangements with numerous international non-governmental organizations duly accredited to its parent body, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

### **Basic Ideas Unchanged**

The basic pattern of work and activities for the ECLA and its Secretariat was established by member governments during the initial meetings of the Commission. In earlier years, the efforts of the ECLA were devoted largely to producing fact-finding studies on individual countries and the region as a whole and to comprehensive studies on different sectors of the economy. As the programme evolved and expanded, it became geared increasingly to rendering practical assistance to governments. Nevertheless, the main ideas motivating the Commission's work have remained essentially the same: *first*, that dynamic development policies and programmes are required in order to accelerate Latin America's growth from within; *second*, that, to be really effective, these policies and programmes must be based on systematic and factual analyses of national economies and prospects of growth.

In addition to undertaking studies in such areas as international trade policy, industrial development, basic resources and the transport system, usually in the context of Latin America integration, the ECLA has been paying increasing attention to research on social problems and policies, the experience of planning alternative development strategies, income distribution in different countries and the improvement of administrative institutions and machinery. The work of the ECLA will continue to stress this broad approach to development problems in Latin America and the structural changes needed to ensure more dynamic development and a more equitable distribution of its benefits.

# *UN Conference on Trade and Development*

SECOND SESSION, NEW DELHI

**T**HE Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD II) was held in New Delhi from February 1 to March 29, 1967. The Conference, one of the largest intergovernmental gatherings ever held outside the United Nations General Assembly, was attended by more than 2,300 delegates representing 121 nations and 44 international organizations.

The Honourable Robert H. Winters, former Minister of Trade and Commerce, acted as chairman of the Canadian delegation and, for a brief period after his departure, the Honourable J. R. Nicholson served in the same capacity. The Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Klaus Goldschlag, was the permanent head of the delegation, which also included representatives of the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Finance and External Affairs, and of the External Aid Office.

UNCTAD II should be initially viewed in its historical setting. In December 1961, the General Assembly of the United Nations designated the current ten years as the "United Nations Development Decade". It also requested His Excellency U Thant, the Secretary-General, to explore the possibility of convening an international conference on trade and development problems. UNCTAD therefore originated at a conference convened at Geneva from March to June 1964, at which a series of resolutions was adopted reflecting the concern of the international community to promote world trade and accelerate the economic growth of the developing nations. In the opinion of the Secretary-General, the first Conference "showed the way towards a more just and rational international economic order". In January 1965, the United Nations General Assembly established the Conference as an organ of the Assembly and set up permanent machinery consisting of a Trade and Development Board (TDB), with four committees and a Secretariat. During the three years 1965-67, the Board and each of its committees held regular sessions. A number of studies were completed by the Secretariat and were considered at these sessions. As a result, a general advance was made in the identification and examination of the trade and financial problems faced by the developing countries.

## **Purpose of Conference**

The second session of UNCTAD was convened in New Delhi in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 2206 (XXI) of December 17, 1966. It was held to review achievements to date, both in the permanent machinery and elsewhere, and, above all, to try to reach agreement on a number of

important issues to ensure further progress in international co-operation for development. Prior to the Conference, the developing countries had reaffirmed their solidarity in the Charter of Algiers, which sets out their aspirations and objectives, calling for basic reform in world trade and development practices :

The gravity of the problem calls for the urgent adoption of a global strategy for development requiring convergent measures on the part of both developed and developing countries.

After noting the degree of progress made in the improvement of conditions since the 1964 Geneva Conference, the Charter focused on the "points of crystallization" to be examined by the Conference. These were : preferential tariff treatment for certain exports of developing countries; international commodity agreements and trade-liberalization of primary commodities; the volume and terms of financial assistance to developing countries; regional economic integration; the world food problem and East-West trade. For their part, the Western industrial countries carried out their own preparatory work within the framework of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development — in particular, setting out certain broad principles which they considered should govern a general system of preferences.

At a special ceremony held at the opening of the Conference, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, delivered the inaugural address. The Conference then elected Mr. Dinesh Singh, Minister of Commerce of India, as its president and established five main committees and three working-groups to undertake detailed examination of the substantive items on the agenda. Numerous informal meetings and consultations were held among delegations throughout the session.

The Conference began with a series of policy statements which generally ranged over the entire spectrum of the Conference agenda. In his statement to plenary, the chairman of the Canadian delegation expressed a determination to bridge the development gap:

In a contracting world, we cannot isolate the good fortune of the few from the misfortunes of the many. We must move forward towards new conceptions of responsibility within an expanding framework of international co-operation. Twenty years ago, we were able to muster the determination and mutual commitment required to repair the devastation the Second World War left in its wake. We did it willingly and readily. The need today is comparable and what is required now is that same determination and that same commitment if we are to make an effective response to the problems of world poverty and distress.

### **Most Important Issue**

The question of a general, non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory system of preferences in favour of developing countries became the most important issue of the Conference. At UNCTAD I in 1964, the Conference was not able to reach an agreement on the principle that the developed countries should grant, without reciprocity and discrimination, generalized tariff preferences to manufactured and semi-manufactured products of developing countries. At New Delhi, the developing countries, in accordance with the position outlined in the Charter of Algiers, held the view that the preference system should provide for

unrestricted and duty-free access to the markets of all developed countries for all manufactures and semi-manufactures, including processed and semi-processed agricultural and other primary products, from all developing countries. The developed countries were prepared to accept in principle implementation of a general system of preferences, but the maximum position on which they could all agree as to the various elements of the system fell short of the demands of the developing countries. One crucial difference, for example, concerned product coverage. The developed countries could not agree to include processed and semi-processed products, except on a selective basis. Nevertheless, it may be said that the resolution finally adopted by the Conference recorded a significant step forward for the developing countries. There was unanimous agreement in favour of the early establishment of a general system of preferences and on the need for intensive work to elaborate it. The Conference decided to form a Special Committee to perform this task.

In the field of primary commodities, the Conference adopted five resolutions on policy matters. Agreement having been reached that the best way to proceed was on a commodity-by-commodity basis, an appropriate action programme for specific commodities was drawn up. This programme sets up the time-table and procedures for commodity negotiations and/or intergovernmental consultations concerning 19 products, including cocoa, sugar, oils and fats, natural rubber, hard fibre and jute. The International Sugar Conference began in Geneva on April 17 under the auspices of UNCTAD and adjourned on June 1 until after the seventh session of the Trade and Development Board. Other recommendations refer to the stabilization of commodity prices and to access to the markets of developed countries for the commodity exports of developing countries.

### **Other Large Issues**

One of the principal aid issues concerned the attempt to re-define the "one per cent" target established at the First UNCTAD for measuring the volume of aid to developing countries. The developed countries agreed to a higher assistance target based on a new denominator — 1 per cent of gross national production rather than net national income — involving a potential increase of some 25 per cent in the amount of resources to be transferred, over and above the level implied by a target which was approved at the first Conference. Another main financial issue was the proposed scheme for supplementary financial measures which the developing countries had hoped the Conference would approve in principle. At the 1964 Conference, a resolution had been passed requesting the staff of the World Bank to study the feasibility of a scheme designed to provide financial support to developing countries to enable them to maintain their development plans in the face of unforeseen declines in their export earnings. The scheme suggested by the World Bank, in response to this resolution, has been discussed for the past two years by an intergovernmental group composed of representatives from both the developed and developing

countries. The group has not yet been able to reach agreement either on the Bank's scheme or on any alternative scheme to provide supplementary financial resources. As in the case of preferences, the Conference decided that discussions should continue. The intergovernmental group is to be reconstituted in an attempt to resolve the points of the scheme at issue within a specified time.

The Conference recognized the need to improve the terms and conditions of assistance by increasing the amount of aid given in the form of grants, or by improving interest rates, maturities, or grace periods, or by increasing the grant element of the official aid commitments of donor countries, but the resolution which was approved on this issue did not contain any commitments. It was generally accepted that improved arrangements are required to forecast and forestall debt crises. Furthermore, the Conference urged developed countries to take practical measures to reduce the extent of "aid-tying" and to mitigate the harmful effects of it.

Resolutions were passed on a variety of other subjects, including economic integration among developing countries, trade with socialist countries, the problems of the least-developed and land-locked countries, shipping questions (freight rates, merchant marines of developing countries) and the world food problem.

Tribute must be paid to the Indian Government for coping with the physical problems of a conference of this size. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his speech of February 9 before the Conference, stated:

Those who know the magnitude of effort involved in preparing for a conference of this size cannot fail to have been impressed by the feat of organization that has been performed, not only in regard to the Conference facilities proper but also with respect to accommodations and other numerous requirements.

For the most part, the recommendations and decisions of the Second Conference were considered by the developing countries to be modest in relation to what they had hoped for and had requested in the Algiers Charter. The recommendations represented compromise agreements between the diverging viewpoints of the developed and developing countries. Potentially of paramount importance to the developing countries were the agreements reached with regard to the preference issue and the new aid target.

UNCTAD II stimulated a growing international consciousness of the problems of the developing countries and of the need for international agreements and new practices in many aspects of world trade and economic development. In this way, the Conference fulfilled the goal set forth by U Thant in his opening address :

The world is entitled to expect a clearer definition of the objectives to be achieved in the longer run and an indication of the practical steps which each country and group of countries intends to take for the realization of these objectives.

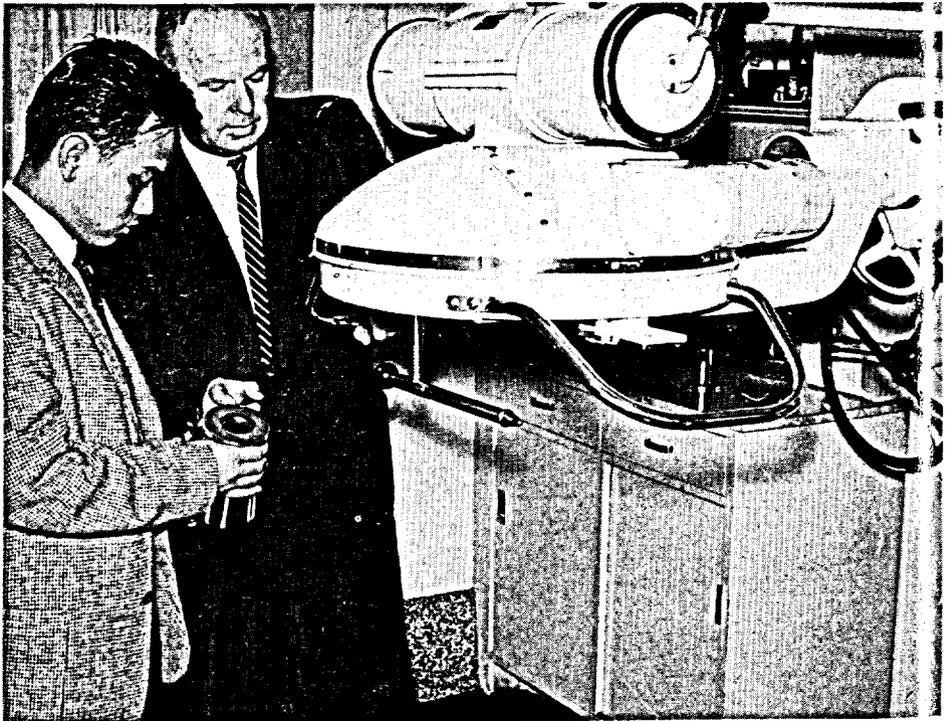
The ultimate success or failure of the Second Conference will be determined by the extent to which the good intentions of both the developed and developing countries can be translated into concrete achievements.

## *Aid to Burma*

CANADA has given \$10,000 in emergency aid to the victims of a major cyclone that devastated large parts of Burma last month. Some 400 persons were killed by the storm, another 30,000 were left homeless and about 2,400 square miles of land were flooded by the sea. The Burmese press called the cyclone the worst ever to hit the country.

The Canadian Government's assistance was sent after the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva made an international appeal for help. This response matched that of the Canadian Red Cross, which provided \$5,000 in cash and \$5,000 in clothing. The Government's contribution is being used by the Red Cross to provide food, medicine, drugs and tents, all of which have been requested.

Burma has been receiving Canadian assistance under the external aid programme since 1959. The largest project was the construction of a bridge linking Rangoon with the satellite town of Thaketa. A total of 193 Burmese



*Dr. R. J. Walton, Executive Director of the Manitoba Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation, explains to U Than Tun of Burma the operation of a Siemens Convergent Beam 220 KV therapy unit.*

students have been trained in Canada, and 13 Canadian teachers and advisers have served in Burma under the external aid programme.

Many of these students have been trained in medicine, a development to which Burma has attached great importance. The country is divided into six regions served by 2,000 doctors, one to every 11,000 persons. There are medical schools in Mandalay and Mingalallon, as well as in Rangoon.

There are at present 13 Burmese trainees in Canada, five studying medicine. Miss Joan Goodall, a Canadian nurse from Vancouver who specializes in radiology, spent a number of years in Rangoon and Mandalay, treating thousands of sufferers and training Burmans in the operation of a cobalt teletherapy unit installed by Canada in 1963 at the Rangoon General Hospital.

Canada agreed last month to a Burmese request that it expand the facilities of the Rangoon General Hospital with Canadian counterpart funds. These will be used for an addition to the radio-therapy building costing 250,000 *kyats* (approximately \$50,000 Canadian). The new ward will provide facilities for the intensive care of radiological patients.

# *Independence of Mauritius*

ON MARCH 12, 1968, the island of Mauritius became an independent and sovereign state and, as such, the twenty-seventh member of the Commonwealth. For Canada this event was of particular interest in view of the participation by Mauritius in Expo 67 and the visit to Canada of the Mauritian Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

The state of Mauritius actually consists of a number of islands. The main one, which bears the name Mauritius, is approximately 720 square miles in area and it is situated in the Indian Ocean about 550 miles east of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) and about 1,000 miles from the mainland of Africa. The island of Rodrigues (350 miles to the East) and the lesser dependencies of Agalega (580 miles north of Mauritius) and the Cargados Carajos islands (250 miles to the northeast) complete the group.

Mauritius itself is chiefly of volcanic origin and is almost entirely surrounded by coral reefs. There are several small chains of mountains with peaks reaching as high as 2,700 feet. The land rises gradually from the coast and is dissected by numerous small rivers and streams. The center of the island is composed chiefly of a fertile plateau varying in altitude from 1,000 to 2,000 feet.

There were no indigenous inhabitants of Mauritius. All Mauritians are the descendants of immigrant forbears who came to the island over a period of some 200 years. It has a multi-racial population (estimated in 1965 at 751,400 persons) of Indian, African, French, Chinese and British origins.

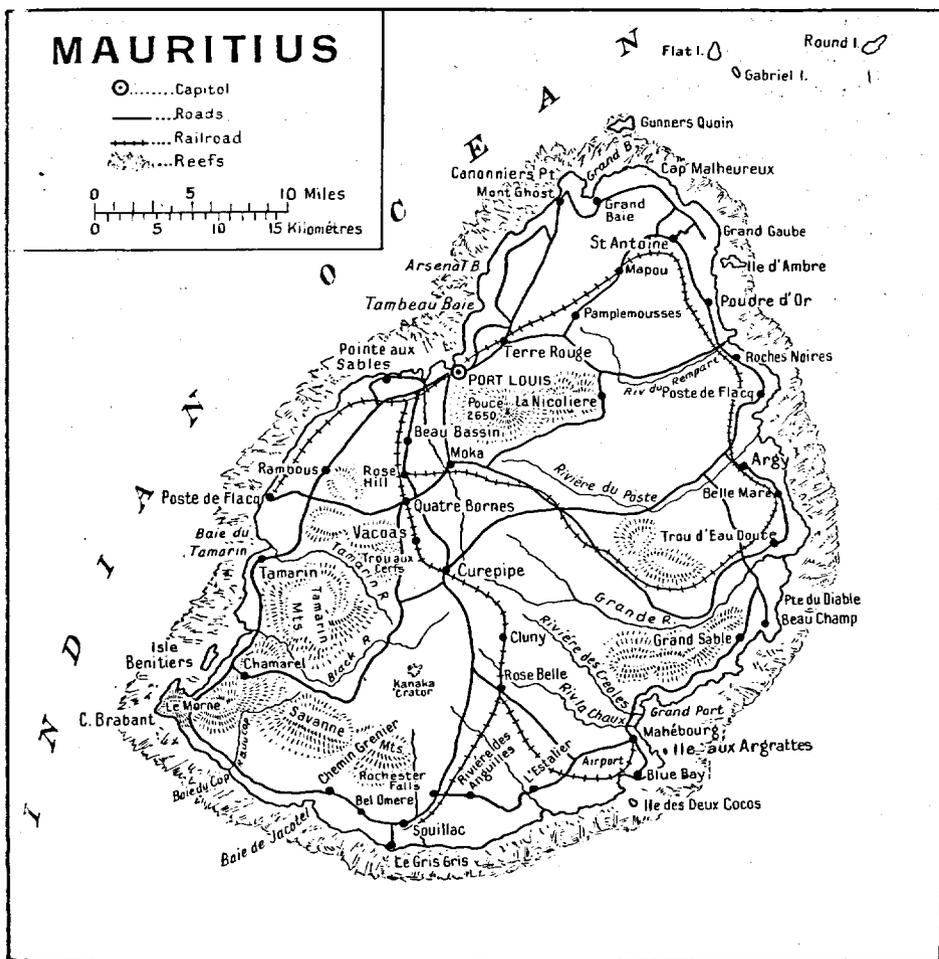
## **History**

The island of Mauritius is shown on sixteenth century maps with an Arabic name. It is thought that Arab and Malay seafarers visited the island during the Middle Ages. The first European to discover it is believed to have been Portuguese and it appears on sixteenth century maps with the Portuguese name Cerne or Cirne.

The Portuguese made no attempt to settle the island; they used it primarily as a base for provisioning their ships. The Dutch landed in 1598 and renamed the island "Mauritius" after Prince Maurice of Nassau. They made two separate attempts to settle the island from their colony at the Cape of Good Hope and in the course of these attempts a Dutch trading company established itself during the middle of the seventeenth century. The Dutch settlements never proved successful and were abandoned in 1710, after a century of occupation, to a few runaway slaves. It was during the period of Dutch occupation that the famous flightless dodo was exterminated on the island.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) This bird was commemorated on a 1 rupee Mauritian postage stamp.



In 1715, the French annexed the deserted island and changed its name to Ile de France. In 1722 a permanent settlement was established by French families from the island of Bourbon (now Réunion, southwest of Mauritius). The island was administered by the French East Indian Company. It was at this time that Port Louis was made into the capital and improved as a port. During this period, the plantation system was established on the island, with labour imported from Africa and from the French colony of Pondicherry in South India.

It was from Mauritius that French expeditions explored the Indian Ocean, annexed the Seychelles (in 1743) and mounted an expedition to relieve Pondicherry (under siege by the British) and capture Madras. During the American War of Independence, when England and France were again in conflict, the Ile de France (Mauritius) and the Ile de Bourbon (Réunion) became bases for French naval operations against the British. This continued during the Napoleonic

wars, when French privateers exploited the opportunities provided by the war between England and France to operate against British ships sailing to India.

With France blockaded by the British Navy and preoccupied with the Napoleonic wars, the island was left largely to itself. The British, after several unsuccessful attempts, captured it in 1810. Under the terms of capitulation, it was agreed that the inhabitants should be permitted to retain their religion, laws and customs, all of which were primarily of French origin. The Treaty of Paris of 1814 confirmed British possession of the island (to which Britain restored the name Mauritius) and its dependencies, including Rodrigues and, at that time, the Seychelles. The island of Bourbon, now called Réunion, was returned to France.

The slaves who were introduced into the island at various stages of its history came from many different parts of Africa, including Guinea, Ethiopia, Zanzibar and East and West Africa generally, and from various tribes in Madagascar. By the 1830s, slaves accounted for about 80 per cent of the population. The diversity of origins and languages led to the development of a Creole culture and language. Though basically French, it contains a number of Malagasy and other non-French words and phrases. It is today the common tongue throughout the island.

During the 80-year period after 1835, regular immigration to Mauritius introduced some 450,000 Indians to the island on five-year contracts; of this number only about 160,000 returned to India. Few British settled permanently, and thus the dominant European imprint on the island culture is French. Many Mauritians speak both English and French as well as the local Creole. The Napoleonic Civil Code is still partly in use, although until independence Mauritian lawyers were called to the English Bar. <sup>(2)</sup>

### **Constitutional Development**

From the beginning of British occupation, Mauritius was administered as a Crown colony, with a Council consisting of the Governor and four officials. This administration was gradually broadened, first by widening the membership of the appointed Council and then by introducing elective members under a progressively extended franchise, until by 1956 the "Legislative Council" was elected by universal adult suffrage.

The period 1937-1947 saw the emergence of the Mauritius Labour Party, first under the leadership of Emmanuel Anquetil and later under the present Prime Minister, Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. The other parties were the Independent Forward Bloc led by Mr. S. Bissoondoyal and the Parti Mauricien.

Major constitutional talks, which began in 1948, continued throughout the 1950s and by 1964 a new Constitution had been introduced, which provided for a substantial measure of internal autonomy and the creation of ministers, presided over by the Governor, who retained certain reserve powers. The new

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mauritius: Problems of a Plural Society*, by B. Benedict, has recently been published.

Constitution specifically provided that either French or English might be used in debates in the Legislative Assembly.

In 1965, discussions were held in London concerning the future of the island. Controversy centered on independence, advocated by the Labour Party, and on association with Britain, favoured by the Parti Mauricien. Independence secured the major support, and the British Government announced that independence would be granted.

Canadian interest in the constitutional development of Mauritius stems from Canadian participation in a Commonwealth observer team which visited Mauritius in August 1966 to observe the registration of voters in July and in August 1967 to observe the last elections before independence. Mr. Charles Ross, a lawyer from London, Ontario, was the Canadian on the three-member observer team.

The elections, held in August 1967, returned to office a coalition Independence Party under Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, consisting of the Labour Party, Independence Forward Bloc and the Muslem Committee of Action, with 39 seats. The opposition Parti Mauricien Social Democrate, led by Mr. Gaétan Duval, obtained 23 seats. Sir Seewoosagur and his Government then negotiated the terms of independence and a new Constitution with the British Government. On March 12, 1968, Mauritius achieved independence. Canada was represented at the independence ceremonies by Mr. Michel Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia.

On March 12, Mauritius submitted its application for membership in the United Nations. With Canada as one of the co-sponsors, the Security Council unanimously adopted on April 18 a Resolution recommending to the General Assembly that Mauritius be admitted to membership in the United Nations. In his address to the Security Council on April 18, the Canadian Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Mr. George Ignatieff said:

...Canada and Mauritius also share the distinction of being the only two states in the Commonwealth which are bilingual in English and French, a fact which constitutes an important cultural tie. We also share the historic tradition referred to by Lord Caradon [Permanent Representative of Britain] as the happy marriage of French culture and British administration.

### **Trade Relations**

Canada has, since 1962, conducted a small aid programme in Mauritius. This has included the sending of technical experts, advisers and teachers to the island and the granting of scholarships to Mauritian students for training in Canada. Canada is also the second largest market for Mauritian exports (16 per cent in 1964), which consist principally of sugar (99.9 per cent in 1966). In the five-year period 1962-1967, Canadian imports from Mauritius averaged \$7.9 million annually. Canadian exports, averaging \$165,000 annually, consist principally of aluminum-fabricated materials, laboratory equipment, newsprint, passenger automobiles and tinned fish.

## *United Nations Agreement on Assistance and Return of Astronauts*

A SPECIAL session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was convened at the headquarters of the United Nations on December 16, 1967, to consider the report of the Legal Sub-Committee on the work of its special session held the previous two days. The subject was the draft text of an Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched Into Outer Space.

The Assistance and Return Agreement, as it is called, had been under discussion for over five years, but substantial progress was not made until the adoption of UN General Assembly Resolution 2260 of November 3, 1967. The resolution requested the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, *inter alia*, to consider "with a sense of urgency" its work on the development of an agreement on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space and an agreement on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles.

Speaking in the general debate on December 16, 1967, the Canadian representative said that, although the Canadian delegation was disappointed that the sixth regular session of the Legal Sub-Committee, held the previous summer, had not made greater progress in this area, the issues were complex and the pace of the work was of necessity deliberate. He cautioned that, as the speed of space exploration accelerated, so should the Committee's efforts, lest, in a very real sense, they be overtaken by events. He recalled that Canada had supported Resolution 2260 and had said that, for its part, it would do everything in its power to assist the Legal Sub-Committee to attain the stated goals.

Following the adoption of Resolution 2260, a series of informal, bilateral negotiations were held between the United States and the U.S.S.R. which resulted in the draft text of an Agreement on Assistance and Return. This draft, as amended in the course of the special session, was transmitted to the Outer Space Committee, which unanimously decided to submit it to the General Assembly for consideration. <sup>(1)</sup> The Agreement was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 19, 1967.

### **Canadian Position**

As indicated above, Canada has consistently supported the principles relating to international co-operation in outer space. In his speech on December 16, 1967, in the Outer Space Committee, the Canadian representative recalled that Canada had been proud to become a party to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the

(1) The text of the Agreement is reproduced as an appendix to this article.

Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which had come into force earlier that year, as it gave renewed impetus to the continuing effort to develop practical legal arrangements in respect of such questions as assistance and return and liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space. Canada has always urged that the principles embodied in the Treaty be extended into a comprehensive set of rules and thereby assist in the orderly and lawful exploration and use of outer space.

When the Outer Space Treaty was under consideration in 1966, Canada had urged that its humanitarian aspects be given immediate attention. In stressing the importance of the humanitarian considerations, Canada had argued that the hazardous nature of outer space flight underlined by the tragic deaths of American and Russian astronauts necessitated that there be no legal or political barriers to prevent the swiftest and most effective help being extended to any astronaut who suffered accident, was experiencing conditions of distress or had made an emergency or unintended landing.

In supporting the consensus draft Agreement on Assistance and Return in the special session of the Outer Space Committee, the Canadian representative again stressed that it was primarily the humanitarian aspects of the Agreement that most pleased Canada. He then referred to a number of other points of particular interest to the Canadian delegation, noting the following :

- (1) The preamble expresses the wish to promote international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space.
- (2) There are provisions in Articles 1 and 3 for a public announcement or notification to be made and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to be informed of the accidental landing of a spacecraft and its personnel, particularly where the identity of the launching authority cannot be readily determined.
- (3) Article 2 clearly establishes a satisfactory balance between the rights and obligations of the launching authority and the contracting party, which is also the territorial state, so that there is no infringement of national territorial sovereignty.
- (4) Article 4 establishes an unconditional obligation to return the personnel of the spacecraft to the representatives of the launching authority, safely and promptly.
- (5) The duty of the states finding space objects is to notify the launching authority, but to take only such steps in recovering the object as they find practicable and with the assistance of the launching authority, if so requested, particularly where the object is of a hazardous or deleterious nature, and that expenses for their recovery and return operation are to be borne by the launching authority.
- (6) Article 6 provides under certain circumstances for the meaningful participation of international organizations in the Agreement by their declaration of acceptance of the rights and obligations of the Agreement.

The only reservation pointed out by the Canadian delegation was that the procedural provision of the Agreement, while appropriate in an instrument of this exceptional character, should not be taken as a precedent for all future occasions.

On April 25, 1968, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced that Canada had that day signed the Treaty for the Rescue of Astronauts and the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched Into Outer Space, which had been opened for signature by the three depositary countries, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

#### AGREEMENT ON THE RESCUE OF ASTRONAUTS, THE RETURN OF ASTRONAUTS AND THE RETURN OF OBJECTS LAUNCHED INTO OUTER SPACE

*The General Assembly,*

*Bearing in mind* its Resolution 2260 (XXII) of 3 November 1967, which calls upon the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to continue with a sense of urgency its work on the elaboration of an agreement on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space and an agreement on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles,

*Referring to* the addendum to the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, <sup>(1)</sup>

*Desiring to give further concrete expression to the rights and obligations contained in the Treaty of Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, <sup>(2)</sup>*

1. *Commends* the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;

2. *Requests* the Depositary Governments to open the Agreement for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date;

3. *Expresses its hope* for the widest possible adherence to this Agreement;

4. *Calls upon* the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to complete urgently the preparation of the draft agreement on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space and, in any event, not later than the beginning of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, and to submit it to the Assembly at that session.

1640th plenary meeting,  
19 December 1967.

(1) A/6804/Add.1.

(2) General Assembly Resolution 2222 (XXI), annex.

## ANNEX

### AGREEMENT ON THE RESCUE OF ASTRONAUTS, THE RETURN OF ASTRONAUTS AND THE RETURN OF OBJECTS LAUNCHED INTO OUTER SPACE

#### *The Contracting Parties,*

*Noting* the great importance of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which calls for the rendering of all possible assistance to astronauts in the event of accident, distress or emergency landing, the prompt and safe return of astronauts, and the return of objects launched into outer space,

*Desiring* to develop and give further concrete expression to these duties,

*Wishing* to promote international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space,

*Prompted* by sentiments of humanity,

*Have agreed* on the following :

#### *Article 1*

Each Contracting Party which receives information or discovers that the personnel of a spacecraft have suffered accident or are experiencing conditions of distress or have made an emergency or unintended landing in territory under its jurisdiction or on the high seas or in any other place not under the jurisdiction of any State shall immediately :

(a) Notify the launching authority or, if it cannot identify and immediately communicate with the launching authority, immediately make a public announcement by all appropriate means of communication at its disposal;

(b) Notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who should disseminate the information without delay by all appropriate means of communication at his disposal.

#### *Article 2*

If, owing to accident, distress, emergency or unintended landing, the personnel of a spacecraft land in territory under the jurisdiction of a Contracting Party, it shall immediately take all possible steps to rescue them and render them all necessary assistance. It shall inform the launching authority and also the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the steps it is taking and of their progress. If assistance by the launching authority would help to effect a prompt rescue or would contribute substantially to the effectiveness of search and rescue operations, the launching authority shall co-operate with the Contracting Party with a view to the effective conduct of search and rescue operations. Such operations shall be subject to the direction and control of the Contracting Party, which shall act in close and continuing consultation with the launching authority.

#### *Article 3*

If information is received or it is discovered that the personnel of a spacecraft have alighted on the high seas or in any other place not under the jurisdiction of any State, those Contracting Parties which are in a position to do so shall, if necessary, extend assistance in search and rescue operations for such personnel to assure their speedy rescue. They shall inform the launching authority and the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the steps they are taking and of their progress.

#### *Article 4*

If, owing to accident, distress, emergency or unintended landing, the personnel of a spacecraft land in territory under the jurisdiction of a Contracting Party or have been found on the high seas or in any other place not under the jurisdiction of any State, they shall be safely and promptly returned to representatives of the launching authority.

#### *Article 5*

1. Each Contracting Party which receives information or discovers that a space object or its component parts has returned to Earth in territory under its jurisdiction or on the high seas or in any other place not under the jurisdiction of any State, shall notify the launching authority and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. Each Contracting Party having jurisdiction over the territory on which a space object or its component parts has been discovered shall, upon the request of the launching authority and with assistance from that authority if requested, take such steps as it finds practicable to recover the object or component parts.

3. Upon request of the launching authority, objects launched into outer space or their component parts found beyond the territorial limits of the launching authority shall be returned to or held at the disposal of representatives of the launching authority, which shall, upon request, furnish identifying data prior to their return.

4. Notwithstanding paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article, a Contracting Party which has reason to believe that a space object or its component parts discovered in territory under its jurisdiction, or recovered by it elsewhere, is of a hazardous deleterious nature may so notify the launching authority, which shall immediately take effective steps, under the direction and control of the said Contracting Party, to eliminate possible danger of harm.

5. Expenses incurred in fulfilling obligations to recover and return a space object or its component parts under paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article shall be borne by the launching authority.

#### *Article 6*

For the purposes of this Agreement, the term "launching authority" shall refer to the State responsible for launching, or, where an international intergovernmental organization is responsible for launching, that organization, provided that that organization declares its acceptance of the rights and obligations provided for in this Agreement and a majority of the States members of that organization are Contracting Parties to this Agreement and to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.

#### *Article 7*

1. This Agreement shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign this Agreement before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Agreement shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Agreement shall enter into force upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by five Governments including the Governments designated as Depositary Governments under this Agreement.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Agreement, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification and accession to this Agreement, the date of its entry into force and other notices.

6. This Agreement shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### *Article 8*

Any State Party to the Agreement may propose amendments to this Agreement. Amendments shall enter into force for each State Party to the Agreement accepting the amendments upon their acceptance by a majority of the States Parties to the Agreement and thereafter for each remaining State Party to the Agreement on the date of acceptance by it.

#### *Article 9*

Any State Party to the Agreement may give notice of its withdrawal from the Agreement one year after its entry into force by written notification to the Depositary Governments. Such withdrawal shall take effect one year from the date of receipt of this notification.

#### *Article 10*

This Agreement, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Agreement shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Agreement.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- International Conference on Public Education (UNESCO-IBE): Geneva, July 1-10  
Economic and Social Council, forty-fifth session: Geneva, July 8 — August 2  
International Seminar for Diplomats: Salzburg, July 29 — August 9  
UNESCO International Conference on Educational Planning: Paris, August 6-14  
United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: Vienna, August 14-27.  
International Geological Congress: Prague, August 16-25  
Seventh World Power Conference: Moscow, August 20-24  
UN Symposium on Development and Utilization of Oil Shale  
Resources: Tallin, Esthonia, September 2  
Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Geneva, August 29 — September 28  
Commonwealth Medical Conference: Kampala, September 2-12  
Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of Mathematics: St. Augustine, Trinidad, September 2-14  
International Civil Aviation Organization, sixteenth assembly session: Buenos Aires, September 2-28  
UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session: Geneva, September 4-20  
Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States: New York, September 9-27 (or October 4)  
United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session: September 17 — December  
International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference: Vienna, September 24 — October 4  
UNESCO fifteenth General Conference: Paris, October 15 — November 21  
UN Conference on Road Traffic: Vienna, October 7 — November 8

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. G. Hadwen, High Commissioner for Canada in Malaysia, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Burma, effective November 22, 1967.  
Mr. T. Carter, Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, accredited concurrently to the Sudan, effective March 19, 1968.  
Miss E. Laidman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, to Ottawa, effective March 22, 1968.  
Mr. C. C. Eberts, Canadian Ambassador to Iran, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Kuwait, effective March 31, 1968.  
Mr. T. P. Malone, High Commissioner for Canada in Nigeria, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Dahomey, effective April 10, 1968.  
Mr. J. K. B. Kinsman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective April 22, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Passing of Distinguished Public Servant<sup>(1)</sup>*

**N**ORMAN A. ROBERTSON, one of Canada's most distinguished public servants, died in Ottawa on July 16, 1968. He was Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1941 to 1946 and from 1958 to 1964. He was Canadian High Commissioner in London from 1946 to 1949 and Canadian Ambassador to Washington from 1957 to 1958. From 1949 to 1952 he served as Clerk of the Privy Council.

### **Prime Minister's Tribute**

The Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, issued the following statement on the day of Mr. Robertson's death:

"The death of Norman Robertson has come as a great shock to me. He had been unwell for many months, yet the end came suddenly.

"Norman Robertson was one of the greatest servants this country has ever had. He had a mind of outstanding brilliance joined with a deep humanity, a quiet selflessness and a great dedication to Canada. During the Second World War he was the closest adviser of the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, on the whole range of problems — social, economic and administrative — that had to be faced at that time. After the war he turned his great abilities to the problems of reconstruction and the establishment of a world organization that could bring a lasting peace. It was my privilege to work under him during two years in the Privy Council Office and to realize his great qualities.

"Mr. Robertson was the perfect civil servant. He worked quietly and constantly for the welfare of his country. His ideas and proposals enriched the policy of government, but at no time did he lose sight of the role and responsibility of ministers in deciding the course to be taken. His advice was wise, far-seeing and disinterested. He did not seek recognition or credit; he sought only to contribute to the solution of the great public problems of his day.



*Norman A. Robertson*

(1) The next issue of *External Affairs* will contain some appreciation of Mr. Robertson's exceptional contribution to his country.

As Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, High Commissioner for Canada in London, Ambassador to the United States and Secretary to the Cabinet, he served Canada in superlative measure.

"Personally, and on behalf of my colleagues in the Government of Canada, I extend the deepest sympathy to Mrs. Robertson and her daughters at this time of sorrow."

#### **Statement by Mr. Sharp**

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, gave an assessment of Norman Robertson as a public servant in the following statement :

"Canada has lost one of her most distinguished sons.

"During a career that spanned some 40 years, Norman A. Robertson gave himself completely to the service of his country. He accomplished his tasks with unequalled discretion, competence and distinction.

"Mr. Robertson was an adviser and confidant to a number of successive Prime Ministers and occupied the highest posts in the Canadian Government service : twice Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Clerk of the Privy Council, Ambassador in Washington, and High Commissioner in London.

"In these high offices, Mr. Robertson always exhibited profound wisdom and a practical outlook based on knowledge that was truly prodigious.

"In addition to his role as an eminent adviser to the Government, Mr. Robertson's inspiration in all areas was unique. He contributed to the development of generations of public servants who followed his example by devoting their talents and energy to the interests of the Canadian public service. His followers and admirers are to be found throughout the public service in Canada and abroad.

"Throughout his life Mr. Robertson was self-effacing, shying away from publicity. But to those who were privileged to be his friends, he was a man who embodied the qualities of generosity and profound loyalty.

"During the last few decades, most of his activities centred on the Department of External Affairs, which bears his indelible imprint. The Department is proud to have had him as its permanent head for so long a time. It will continue to be inspired by the rare qualities which he possessed and which are so essential to a great public servant."

## *Canadian Relief for Nigeria*

ON July 12, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, met with representatives of Canadian relief agencies to discuss international relief efforts to alleviate the distress of civilians in the areas of Nigeria affected by the current fighting. In a statement issued at the end of the meeting, Mr. Sharp said the Canadian Government would be prepared to help by giving substantial food aid and by participating in an airlift to Nigeria if this mode of transport was found to be feasible.

### **Announcement by Prime Minister**

On July 31, the following statement was issued by the Office of the Prime Minister :

"The Prime Minister announces that the Canadian Government has approved the allocation of \$500,000 for the provision of emergency supplies from Canada for relief in that area of Nigeria affected by hostilities. This relief will be in the form of urgently needed commodities such as food staples, drugs and medical supplies. The Canadian Government will also contribute towards the cost of transportation to the area.

"Because of the urgency with which these relief supplies are needed in Nigeria, the Government has agreed to make available a *Hercules* aircraft of the Canadian Armed Forces to transport an initial shipment of these supplies from Canada to Nigeria. This aircraft will be taking off for Nigeria as soon as flight arrangements can be completed. Subsequent use of this aircraft and of a second Canadian Armed Forces *Hercules* aircraft on standby in Canada will be determined in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"This aid is in addition to the cash grant of \$60,000 which the Canadian Government gave the International Committee of the Red Cross in May for use in those areas of Nigeria where the need was greatest. . . .

"The Canadian Government urgently appeals to the disputants to reach the earliest possible agreement on a land corridor which will alone provide the practical means of distributing food and other relief supplies at the required level to the affected areas."

Discussions were held with the Canadian Red Cross to determine what items were most needed and could be provided by Canada. The Canadian relief supplies not carried on the initial airlift by aircraft of the Canadian Armed Forces will be transported by commercial means to points agreed on with the International Committee of the Red Cross, which, it is generally agreed, is the most appropriate agency to co-ordinate international relief operations in areas of need in Nigeria. The ICRC will be responsible for the distribution of this Canadian relief contribution within the affected areas of Nigeria.

# North Atlantic Treaty Organization

## MINISTERIAL MEETING, REYKJAVIK

*The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Reykjavik, Iceland, on June 24 and 25, 1968. In attendance at this meeting, the first to be held in Iceland, were the foreign ministers or their representatives of the 15 member states of the North Atlantic alliance. Because of the coincidence of the 1968 general election, the Canadian delegation was lead by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Marcel Cadieux.*

*The following communiqué was issued at the end of the session:*

In reviewing the international scene, Ministers examined the situation created by the recent measures affecting the access routes to Berlin.

- (a) Ministers stressed again that the Soviet Union is responsible for any action which has the effect of hampering or endangering the freedom of communication with Berlin and urged that such courses of action should be discontinued.
- (b) By challenging international agreements and long-standing practices concerning Berlin, the East German authorities have created a serious situation. Ministers considered these measures a deliberate attempt to jeopardize *détente*, from which Berlin and its inhabitants must not be excluded.
- (c) Ministers recalled the declaration of the North Atlantic Council on Berlin of December 16, 1958, and the responsibilities which each member state assumed in regard to the security and welfare of Berlin.
- (d) Member governments do not recognize the "German Democratic Republic". They consider that its actions, having no juridical basis, cannot create international rights nor consecrate the division of Germany against the will of its people. The Three Powers and the Soviet Union remain responsible for Berlin and Germany as a whole, pending a peace settlement.
- (e) Ministers approved and associated themselves with the expressed determination of the Three Powers to maintain freedom of access to the city. They took note of the decision of the governments of the Three Powers responsible for the security of Berlin, together with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, to remain in continuous consultation concerning Berlin and to stand ready to meet any contingency. The Council will be kept continuously informed and will consult as appropriate on the situation.

Ministers discussed the follow-up to the report, approved at the Ministerial Meeting of December 1967, on the future tasks of the Alliance. For this purpose

the Council in permanent session submitted to Ministers a comprehensive report on work which it has accomplished thus far in carrying out the main tasks set for the Alliance in the years ahead.

The first part of this report reviewed East-West relations since 1966. It set forth the results of a co-operative study by member governments of their policies designed to promote progress towards a more stable relationship in which the underlying political issues in Europe can be solved. The study noted that in certain respects improvements in East-West relations had taken place. It concluded that, while in the longer term prospects for further improvements could be favourable, opportunities for rapid progress towards general *détente* should not be overrated.

Ministers nevertheless reaffirmed their intention to continue their efforts to promote *détente*. Each ally should play its full part in improving East-West relations, bearing in mind the established practice of timely consultation within the Alliance. Ministers concluded that the intensified examination and review, within the Alliance, of suitable policies to achieve a just and stable order in Europe, to overcome the division of Germany and to foster European security had proved of great value and should continue. This task will be part of a process of active and constant preparation for the time when fruitful discussions of these complex questions may be possible bilaterally or multilaterally between Eastern and Western nations.

A second part of the Council's report summarized the results so far of intensive work on a programmed study of disarmament and practical arms control measures. As an initial effort, member governments and their experts have concentrated on the study of the possibility of balanced force reductions as between East and West. The Ministers confirmed the decision of the Permanent Council to give priority to this complex and important work. They did not underestimate the existing obstacles but they confirmed the need to prevent an escalation in arms levels on both sides.

Ministers representing the nations participating in the NATO defence programme adopted a declaration on mutual force reductions, which is attached to this communiqué. The French Delegation declared, for reasons of principle and procedure, that it could associate itself only with Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the attached declaration. It has nevertheless affirmed that, since the study of possibilities of balanced and mutual force reductions has not been completed, France will continue to take part in the further work in the Council foreseen in Paragraph 13 of the report on the future tasks of the Alliance.

Ministers examined and approved a report from the Permanent Council which dealt in detail with the situation in the Mediterranean and related defence problems. They directed their permanent representatives to consult fully on this situation and to extend their consultations in range and depth as circumstances required. To this end, the Secretary-General was requested to co-ordinate the exchange of information among members of the Council and to keep the

Council closely advised on the situation in the Mediterranean. It is, of course, understood that member countries, or the Secretary-General, may put forward matters to be considered by the Council in accordance with their rights and responsibilities.

The Ministers of the countries taking part in the Defence Planning Committee, concerned at the recent expansion of Soviet activity in the Mediterranean, decided that their permanent representatives, with the assistance of the NATO military authorities, would take under early consideration measures designed to safeguard the security interests of NATO members in the Mediterranean area and to improve the effectiveness of allied forces in that area. The permanent representatives will also consider other measures or organizational changes that may be needed to enhance the effectiveness and co-ordination of allied surveillance activities in the Mediterranean and that may require further authorization.

France did not associate herself with the decisions referred to in the preceding paragraph.

The Council heard statements of the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey on the subject of relations between the two allied countries. The Council noted with satisfaction recent developments in Greek-Turkish relations and expressed the hope that further progress, to the benefit of both countries and of the Alliance, might be achieved in the future. The Council also expressed the hope that the informal talks started between the two communities of the Republic of Cyprus would make an important contribution towards a final settlement of the problem.

The next Ministerial Meeting of the Council will be in Brussels in December 1968.

## **Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions**

### **Declaration Adopted by Foreign Ministers and Representatives of Countries Participating in the NATO Defence Programme**

Meeting at Reykjavik on 24th and 25th June, 1968, the Ministers recalled the frequently expressed and strong desire of their countries to make progress in the field of disarmament and arms control.

Ministers recognized that the unresolved issues which still divide the European continent must be settled by peaceful means, and are convinced that the ultimate goal of a lasting, peaceful order in Europe requires an atmosphere of trust and confidence and can only be reached by a step-by-step process. Mindful of the obvious and considerable interest of all European states in this goal, Ministers expressed their belief that measures in this field including balanced and mutual force reductions can contribute significantly to the lessening of tension and to further reducing the danger of war.

Ministers noted the important work undertaken within the North Atlantic Council by member governments in examining possible proposals for such reductions pursuant to Paragraph 13 of the "Report on the Future Tasks of The Alliance", approved by the Ministers in December 1967. In particular, they have taken note of the work being done in the Committee of Political Advisors to establish bases of comparison and to analyse alternative ways of achieving a balanced reduction of forces, particularly in the central part of Europe.

Ministers affirmed the need for the Alliance to maintain an effective military capability and to assure a balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Since the security of the NATO countries and the prospects for mutual force reductions would be weakened by NATO reductions alone, Ministers affirmed the proposition that the overall military capability of NATO should not be reduced except as part of a pattern of mutual force reductions balanced in scope and timing.

Accordingly, Ministers directed permanent representatives to continue and intensify their work in accordance with the following agreed principles:

- (a) Mutual force reductions should be reciprocal and balanced in scope and timing.
- (b) Mutual reductions should represent a substantial and significant step, which will serve to maintain the present degree of security at reduced cost, but should not be such as to risk destabilizing the situation in Europe.
- (c) Mutual reductions should be consonant with the aim of creating confidence in Europe generally and in the case of each party concerned.
- (d) To this end, any new arrangement regarding forces should be consistent with the vital security interests of all parties and capable of being carried out effectively.

Ministers affirmed the readiness of their governments to explore with other interested states specific and practical steps in the arms control field.

In particular, Ministers agreed that it was desirable that a process leading to mutual force reductions should be initiated. To that end they decided to make all necessary preparations for discussions on this subject with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe and they call on them to join in this search for progress towards peace.

Ministers directed their permanent representatives to follow up on this declaration.

## Voluntary Agencies and World Development \*

SO FAR as Canada's external policy concerns itself with helping two-thirds of the human race find the food, education and health they need, the voluntary agencies are assisting in carrying out this policy. And in this sense they are giving practically every citizen a means of taking part in national policy.

There is, of course, no common control over private and governmental aid programmes beyond the imperatives imposed on each by the needs of developing nations. And the private agencies, like the External Aid Office and the United Nations agencies, respond to these needs only as they are asked to do so by the needy countries. The response of the private agencies is now strengthened by money grants from the EAO.

For the Canadian who is already concerned for the needs of body and mind that dominate most of his fellow humans, the agencies are media through which his concern can be directed to specific projects. For the Canadian who does not know about these needs, the agencies are primary sources of information. However, this information is likely to reach the reading and viewing public piecemeal, usually stressing only the most spectacular or the most pressing aspects of overseas needs.

Some of the voluntary agencies are designed to deal with immediate troubles -- the results of wars, floods, drought, famine, earthquakes. Most deal with the factors, in people and in nature, that help nations to become self-supporting. The parallels in Canadian history would be, on one hand, the providing of emergency homes for the United Empire Loyalists or work projects for victims of the depression years of the 1930s; on the other hand, helping the first settlers of the Western plains to develop their crops, to build roads, schools, and factories.

At present, there are Canadians serving in at least 103 countries in some sort of aid-giving operation. This is not quite the limit. There are 131 nations and territories defined as "developing" -- that is, in strictly economic terms, whose *per capita* income is under \$750 a year (Canada's is \$3,042).

Some 900 Canadians are abroad carrying out the Government's aid programmes. In the past year, at least 6,500 have served overseas in the private programmes. They represent more than 150 Canadian organizations, which vary in size from a church group supporting one missionary to Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), with its current 811 volunteers in 40 countries.

Many agencies, such as the Unitarian Service Committee, keep Canadian staffs abroad to a minimum by employing citizens of the host country. Some,

\* Written by Mr. Edward W. Devlin, Canadian Council for International Co-operation (formerly Overseas Institute of Canada).

such as World University Service and the Canadian Lutheran World Relief, hold down administration costs by channelling their contributions through a central office in Europe or the United States. Some, like Oxfam and the Hunger Foundation, collect money and give it in grants to the major agencies.

The handbook of voluntary organizations compiled by the External Affairs Office lists 46 services or functions supplied by Canadian agencies. The most popular service, apparently, is education in some form. At least 52 organizations from the Africa Inland Mission to World University Service in Canada, provide books, teachers, school buildings, vocational training, and instruction in household economics, credit unions and business administration.

Health and welfare services come from at least 31 groups, including medical ones such as the Association of Medical Colleges and MEDICO (a division of CARE). Other groups, such as the overseas boards of Protestant churches and many of the Catholic bodies, combine medical with educational and evangelist work. Special programmes of education and welfare for children come from at least ten organizations, including three major "adoption" agencies: Foster Parents' Plan (with 10,000 Canadian-sponsored children), Save-a-Family Plan (with over 3,000 families) and CANSAVE (supporting 6,000 children in 25 countries).

As the emphasis in both private and governmental programmes has shifted from aid to long-term development (or from food-parcels to agricultural colleges), most of these special services are included in the work of the "self-help" agencies, such as the Unitarian Service Committee, CARE or Oxfam.

On June 18, 1968, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, announced the first five grants from a \$5-million fund to help the projects of the voluntary organizations. The recipients were the Unitarian Service Committee, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Association of Medical Students and Internes, the Red Cross, and the former Overseas Institute of Canada (which, after many changes of title and function, is now known as the Canadian Council for International Co-operation). The next EAO grants are planned for an organization that helps the universities of French-speaking developing countries, l'Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de Langue française; for CUSO and its business counterpart, the Canadian Executive Service Overseas; for the African Students Foundation; and for the Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees, which works on Canadian campuses to help the 9,000 overseas students in Canada. The EAO's contributions do not exceed a third of the cost of any project.

### **Education**

Barbara Ward points out, in her book *Towards a World of Plenty?*,<sup>(1)</sup> the handicap imposed on a struggling nation by a lack of trained and educated people.

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(1) Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1964.

In many nations, she says, "this is a crucial handicap in the state of semi-modernization which these nations inherit from the colonial period" — a situation for which the Western nations should accept a measure of moral responsibility.

Fortunately, education is the main concern of some strong and efficient agencies. Some, like World Literacy and the Overseas Book Programme, direct their resources into a single area of need. Some, like the Canadian Teachers' Federation and Mouvement universitaire national pour le Développement outre-mer (MUNDO), supply teachers and equipment to many countries. Others give training in special subjects such as trade unionism (the CLC), or business and industry (the Chamber of Commerce), or co-operatives and credit unions.

Education in family planning is part of the development programmes of the Unitarian Service Committee and the Friends' Service Committee. The Family Planning Federation of Canada is set up to educate people at home and abroad on the issues of population control. The major Protestant churches belong to it, and it has local associations in the larger cities. At the moment, and until Canadian law is changed, the Federation can do little more than contribute trained people to international conferences and foster public understanding.

World Literacy concentrates on one project: Literacy Village, a famous training-centre near Lucknow, India. Money donated by Canadians helps the centre send teachers throughout the North Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan; it helps provide teaching manuals to other literacy centres; it helps spread the work of Literacy Village throughout Southeast Asia; and at the Centre it helps young farmers to absorb new methods as they learn to read and write. WLC's most recent gift was \$15,000 to establish the first extension training-centre in Uttar Pradesh.

Another agency with a single objective sends a million books yearly to 68 countries. The Overseas Book Programme (part of the former Overseas Institute) provides its books — mostly donated — to East and West African countries, to supplement their indigenous literacy programmes, to the Carribean islands, to Malaysia and to the Philippines. A recent picture in the *Montreal Gazette* showed the Bishop of Masaka in Uganda accepting 20 tons of reading matter for his country. In the first six months of 1968, more books have been shipped abroad than in the first half of any other year.

### Youth

The work of most agencies benefits the young people of developing countries. Canada's own young people are getting into this work by the thousands. They can start in primary school — through Red Cross Youth or UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund) — and continue through university.

Certain youth operations at the university and postgraduate levels, like CUSO and the World University Service of Canada (WUSC), serve the academic

needs of developing countries. CUSO sends to 40 countries, on request, food technologists, lawyers, computer experts, forestry experts, engineers, librarians, and teachers at all levels. WUSC answers requests for physical supplies: books, hostels, health services, technical equipment, etc. WUSC projects across Canada each year involve some 5,000 students and teachers.

Some organizations concentrate on sending young Canadians to live and work beside the people of other countries — notably the Conference of Inter-American Study Projects (CIASP) and Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA). This summer, the former has nearly 200 young men and women scattered through the Mexican state of Hidalgo, living on farms and in villages, helping to inspire new initiatives in farming, water-supplies, health, and education (including the delicate question of the peasants' use of their democratic rights). OCA has 18 "Crossroaders" in Africa this year, doing much the same sort of work — living with the people and helping them do the things their communities need. There is also l'Association internationale des Études en Sciences économiques et commerciales (AIESEC), which exchanges students between Canada and 51 other countries.

These organizations, of course, involve a relatively small number of young Canadians, who are specially trained and who work outside the country. Hundreds of thousands of others work in their home communities without special training.

Their special project is the "Miles-for-Millions" walk programme. The involvement of their feet is only the most spectacular part of the phenomenon. During school assemblies and special displays that precede the walks, they learn about the specific overseas needs to which they are contributing. This year 140 thousand young people have taken part in some 25 communities across Canada. They have raised \$1.25 million, which has been shared among 11 national agencies. (Operation Crossroads Africa, for instance, got over half its budget this year from these walks — about \$60,000.)

The inter-agency committee set up early this year to plan the marches gives a working unity to 14 agencies, including the recently-formed Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, and two of the UN agencies — UNICEF and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Some imaginative programmes involving Canadian youth accept, and even encourage, the participation of adults. Students in all parts of British Columbia have raised nearly \$205,000 for a centennial operation called Project 100. With judicious help from the B.C. Centennial Committee and the provincial Department of Education, the students have sent mobile educational vans to Guyana, Tanzania, Zambia, Hong Kong, India and West Pakistan. The vans carry books, films, tapes and equipment for teaching science. By the end of this year, five more areas will have received vans provided by Project 100.

Manitoba's Centennial Corporation, and its uninhibited youth section, produced MAWD — the Manitoba Association for World Development — a

logical extension of enthusiasm from "Hurray for us!" to "What can we do for the world?". The youthful organization decided to collaborate with provincial branches of national agencies, but not as a "youth programme." Integration was the thing, they felt, and in a broadminded way they agreed to involve adults "on an equal footing." They chose as their target area the island of St. Lucia, into which, through the channels of CUSO, UNICEF, the Family Planning Centre and others, they have been pouring money (raised partly by marches) and educational supplies. They find themselves swamped by youthful volunteer workers. MAWD is not an agency but rather a vigorous ally of the agencies, an informer of people and enlister of youth.

### Food and Food Development

The business world also starts programmes that work with the agencies or independently of them. What more natural than that the food and grocery industry should advance from feeding Canadians (who are not, on the whole, undernourished) to helping feed the masses of people who *are* undernourished? This the industry is doing, with the eager co-operation of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), through the project Canada Plus-One. By June of this year, the business community had contributed \$650,000, and the first of ten mobile food laboratories was on its way to Chile. The programme aims to train people on the spot to process and transport food so that the 30 per cent of the food supply which is now generally spoiled can be saved.

Relatively few agencies now concentrate on food alone. Most of them treat it as a part, if a large part, of the whole development pattern. CARE, Oxfam, FAO and WHO and the Unitarian Service Committee are among those that both feed the hungry and attack the causes of hunger.

The agency most concerned with food-development is the Canadian Hunger Foundation, a charitable trust which since 1963 has spent abroad \$1-million worth of aid. With FAO and the Indian Government, CHF supports the Mysore Food Project, which serves the food needs of ten Asian countries. It has recently contributed \$500,000 to the building of a student hostel at Mysore.

CARE of Canada, one of the largest and most effective of the food-plus-development agencies, contributes money and advice to the development needs of 33 countries.

CARE's "Food for Work" programme, which receives Canadian money, enables workers to be paid in food for the construction of roads, houses and schools. In Hong Kong, CARE helps to get families out of the floating colonies into good houses by assisting a co-operative for fishermen. In Saigon, CARE contributes to home-building; in Central America, it finances school-building.

Oxfam of Canada is primarily a fund-raising agency. Since it was founded in 1963, it has made over 100 grants to more than 30 agencies. The original English body was set up to give emergency famine relief. Now, Oxfam of Canada devotes a good 80 per cent of its funds to long-term development operations

(health and family planning in India, thousands of tons of fertilizer to the Mysore Agricultural University, social development centres in Latin America, and so on). The rest of its aid money goes to meet emergencies — the famine in Bihar, the Sicilian earthquake, the present emergency in Biafra.

### **Food Relief**

The Red Cross, of course, continues to be the major co-ordinating agency, the main channel for a concerted attack, when a food crisis (or practically any crisis) develops. When the International Red Cross in Geneva called on the Canadian and other national bodies for help for victims of the civil war in Nigeria, the Canadian body responded with an immediate grant of \$7,500. It also informed the Federal Government of the need. This led to a direct appeal from the Canadian High Commissioner to Nigeria for an end to the blockade of food supplies for Biafra. An initial federal grant of \$60,000 for relief was followed by grants from several major Canadian agencies, under the co-ordination of the Red Cross.

In July, when the Government was announcing its further grant of \$500,000 for food and drug supplies, the Nigeria-Biafra Relief Fund was being set up under the Red Cross by the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, the Canadian Council of Churches (Protestant), CANSAVE, UNICEF and Oxfam.

The Fund's first action was to launch a public drive for money. Oxfam had meanwhile granted an additional \$100,000. The distribution of money and supplies was undertaken in Nigeria-Biafra by the International Red Cross and other agencies on the spot (such as Caritas International and the World Council of Churches).

### **Credit Unions and Co-operatives**

Barbara Ward lists credit for the farmer, and assurance of proper prices for his produce, as two of the fundamental needs of the developing world. As she emphasizes, adequate credit and savings facilities are essential to getting a nation's economy airborne.<sup>(1)</sup> Several Canadian agencies (and, of course, agencies of many other developed countries) are at work in the rural areas of the needy countries helping to spread the use of co-operatives and credit unions. The White Fathers of Africa, among their various services, pass on the example of the *caisses populaires* of Quebec. The Coady Institute specializes in this instruction. The Scarboro Mission Society has its model co-operatives in Brazil and the Dominican Republic. CARE and Oxfam also sponsor this type of development.

Two Canadian bodies specialize in exporting these techniques for marketing and saving. The Canadian office of the Co-operative Union National Association (CUNA) contributes some ten per cent of the international body's yearly budget.

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(1) *Towards a World of Plenty?*

Its funds are earmarked for use in chosen areas by Canadian credit union leagues. Guyana, for instance, receives help from Manitoba, Kenya from Ontario, Ecuador from Saskatchewan, and three African states from Nova Scotia.

The Co-operative Union, as the co-ordinating body for co-operatives in Canada, does for them what CUNA does for credit unions.

The Union, with the help of the External Aid Office, brings students from abroad to study co-operative methods in the universities of Newfoundland, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and, of course, at the Coady Institute.

### **Coady Institute**

Although the Coady International Institute works almost entirely in Canada, its effects are felt around the world. As the "Antigonish Movement" it is probably the best-known Canadian institution after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It receives overseas students from as many as 86 countries, gives them diploma courses in economics and social sciences, and sends them home to run co-operatives, credit unions and adult education courses. During the last academic year alone, Coady trained 86 students from 32 countries.

Since it was founded in 1959 the Institute has trained some 966 people, 720 of them from developing countries.

Funds for its work come from private agencies, and from the External Aid Office. A full scholarship costs \$2,000, with transportation still to be paid. Five scholarships for African students came out of Calgary's "Miles-for-Millions" walk in 1967. Five or six for Latin Americans come annually from the Canadian Catholic Conference. The Anglican and United Churches, the Catholic Women's League and the provincial Knights of Columbus all contribute, mostly with scholarships. The Canadian Hunger Foundation has recently given money for audio-visual equipment.

Coady gets most of its students from African countries — 151, compared to 109 from Asia. But more are coming from Latin America. There have been 143 so far from there and from the Caribbean.

### **Labour**

The labour forces of emerging countries, of course, need trained leaders who can work for better conditions and higher pay for their co-workers. This kind of grass-roots training is one service which seems to be in short supply from Canada. The Canadian Labour Congress does send \$50,000 yearly to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels to finance labour colleges in India and Africa. But the only direct training given by Canada at present comes from the Labour College in Montreal. There the CLC arranges courses for overseas students sponsored by the EAO. Last term 26 students from 15 countries took courses in such subjects as economics, union organization, collective bargaining and technological change.

The CLC has its own International Activities Fund, by which it helps

working people in other countries. It has recently helped a poor area of Ecuador to establish a chain of workshops, which means better housing and cultivation, and vocational training for the young generation.

### **Churches**

Most churches, Catholic and Protestant, are deeply involved in aid and development. They are described here as a group, because, while they do much the same sort of work as the non-denominational agencies, they stand closer to the lives of people and have more direct means of informing them.

The churches are also particularly aware of the truth that development of nations must flow from development of people.

The larger Protestant bodies — Anglican, Presbyterian, United and Baptist — make their contributions to emergencies through the Canadian and World Council of Churches. By mid-July, these four churches had provided almost \$110,000 for the emergency needs of Biafra and Nigeria. Between 1965 and 1967, the Council sent at least \$50,000-worth of aid to both North and South Vietnam.

Each denominational group makes its own allocations for direct assistance. For example, in May the United Church announced that it was spending over \$2 million in 15 countries in aid to hospitals, health centres and family-planning programmes.

The Anglican Church has its emergency machinery in the Primate's World Relief Fund, which has just, through the Red Cross and the National Council of Churches, given a grant of \$20,000 for Biafra and Nigeria. This, added to allocations for African refugees and for self-help programmes, makes a grand total of \$201,000 for this year. To its own overseas projects — the churches in India, Africa, and elsewhere, each with its own development programmes — the Anglican Church last year sent \$742,000. It is committed to placing the work of the churches in the hands of nationals of the countries, rather than of Canadians.

The overseas work of the Roman Catholic Church is based firmly on the diocese and the religious institution. Forty of its 62 dioceses, and 100 institutions, have people working continuously in 101 countries. This work is co-ordinated by the Canadian Catholic Conference in Ottawa, which looks after the distribution and support of people whose work is basically that of missionaries. The Conference has its special Latin American Office, which handles the development needs, as well as the religious needs, of the Latin American work. But the Church's best co-ordinated advance into the development field on a world scale has come through an organization set up to involve laymen more directly in overseas aid. This is the CCOOP (Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace), which was launched in March 1968 by Canada's Roman Catholic bishops and then turned over to the leadership of laymen. It was the Church's response to Pope Paul's appeal for the world's needy in the Encyclical

*The Development of Peoples.* It began with a list of 200 possible projects, to be carried out by sending Canadian money and advice to agencies already in the field. Its first attack, inevitably, is on hunger. Its further aim is to obtain "a thorough transformation of the living conditions in a village, a region or a territory, through precise and well-adapted aid". Now, with CCODP in action, the Canadian Catholic Conference turns over to it any requests for schools or hospitals anywhere in the world. It is already helping projects in Peru and Paraguay, and in the Congo and three other African states.

It might seem that the Salvation Army has too much to do in the streets and homes of Canada to have any money or staff to spare for other countries. Yet 67 of its officers are at present serving the religious and development needs of East Africa, Ceylon, Korea and other parts of Asia and the Caribbean. Their work as missionaries involves them in teaching school, training nurses, running medical dispensaries, and, in Hong Kong, furnishing a school for re-settled refugees.

### **Latin America**

Latin America — with its 240 million people, low literacy rate, fast-rising population and fast-widening gap between population and food supply — has had less help from Canada than the other major developing areas. An exception is the work of the Roman Catholic agencies, both French-speaking and English-speaking. The Church, beginning as early as the 1850s, opened the way for lay organizations to help the Latin American countries. (It is worth noting that Prime Minister Trudeau has announced that a ministerial mission will tour Latin America this year, with the object of demonstrating "the importance the Government attaches to strengthening our bilateral relations with leading Latin American countries.")<sup>(1)</sup>

The newly-founded CCODP, which has been described earlier, is devoting 55 per cent of its work to Latin America.

By last winter, there were, according to the Canadian Catholic Conference, 2,738 religious and lay people serving in 31 Latin American territories under the auspices of the Catholic Conference alone. As with the Protestant bodies, their work combines pastoral service and assistance in growing new crops, running schools for children and adults, staffing hospitals, setting up co-operatives for fishermen and farmers, distributing food, books, tools, and performing the other services that help people to become masters of the environment.

In 1962 the Scarboro Fathers (from the Toronto area) took on a region of Northern Brazil, where the jungle stretches for over 1,000 miles along the Amazon. Their diocese, based on the river town of Itacoatiara, covers 600 square miles. There are 200 miles of road. They found malaria as common as head-colds are with us. Ninety per cent of the families in the region were undernourished. The

(1) Statement on May 29, 1968.

Scarboro Fathers now have a hospital in which three doctors treat 12,000 out-patients a year. They have a school of 600 students taught by Brazilian and Canadian sisters. A thousand students have already passed through their night-schools. By 1970 they will be graduating teachers. The priests have helped the people to set up co-operatives and credit unions.

### **Ultimate Purpose**

It is not possible to describe all the better-known agencies, let alone the lesser-known ones. More than a fleeting reference is due to such bodies as the White Fathers of Africa, with their 380 members teaching and building and printing in 14 African countries; the Catholic Women's League, with its diocese-based projects abroad and its national grants to the Coady International Institute; the Friends' Service Committee with its contributions to rural development, health, sanitation, schools and clinics, and its aid to both North and South Vietnam; the Tibetan Refugee Aid Society, which maintains 75 Tibetan children in homes in Northern India, and helps to feed and educate some 500 more; the Canadian Teachers' Federation, which this summer has 62 teachers at work in schools and colleges of Africa, Asia and the West Indies; or "TDH" (known, in the days before Expo 67 appropriated the title, as "Terre des Hommes") which has already brought three Vietnamese children to Montreal for medical treatment as part of its programme of caring for especially needy children; or "Fame Pereo", the fund set up by Cardinal Léger to fight hunger and leprosy in Africa. The list could be extended indefinitely.

All this is on the Canadian side of the door. On the other side stand the results — the millions of people whose own efforts, aided by those of a score of countries like Canada, are beginning to effect a breakthrough to daylight and freedom. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recently sent a message to Canada which suggested the ultimate value of this work :

Canada's sympathy for the aspirations of developing nations is well illustrated by its economic relations with India. A number of fine Indo-Canadian projects have come to fruition as lasting monuments to a well-established friendship.

# *An Achievement in International Co-operation*

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION<sup>(1)</sup>

At its annual assembly held in May 1968 in Geneva, the World Health Organization celebrated its twentieth anniversary as an intergovernmental body for the advancement of health and as one of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. As the Director-General said at the time, this occasion provided an opportunity to review past achievements as well as to look ahead to visualize in positive terms the next steps on the road to world health.

The outcome reveals that in its 20 years of existence the World Health Organization has achieved truly impressive and inspiring advances in assisting national health programmes, thereby improving international health. Much has been written in official and popular publications of its progress in a variety of aspects of health preservation and promotion, particularly in such specialized areas as malaria and smallpox eradication, professional education and training, and medical research.

## **Evidences of Progress**

A few examples of a very general nature provide conclusive evidence of this progress, especially when the first and second decades of the WHO's activities are compared. While dollars do not, of themselves, form a basis for firm conclusions, it is noteworthy that in the first ten years of the Organization the total income from the regular budget was approximately \$115 million, more than \$113 million of which was spent on approved programmes. In the second decade, corresponding amounts were \$425 million in income with slightly in excess of this sum disbursed for all purposes — almost a fourfold increase.

One of the special areas of attack upon disease is the WHO malaria-eradication programme. By the end of 1967, it was estimated that 1,328 million people were living in areas where malaria had been eradicated or where eradication programmes were in progress. This constituted 79 per cent of a total population of 1,692 million living in the originally malaria-infested areas of the world.

Again, in a particularly important segment of the WHO programme — education and training —, it is recorded that, during the first decade, some 6,400 fellowships were awarded, not counting travel grants for educational meetings organized by the WHO or related meetings. In the second ten years, the total was 17,396, roughly a threefold increase, rising from a figure of 1,385 in 1957 to practically double this in 1966.

<sup>(1)</sup> This article is in two parts, the second of which, dealing mainly with Canada and the World Health Organization, will appear in the September issue of *External Affairs*.

### **Medical Research Programme**

About ten years ago, the World Health Assembly decided to initiate an intensified programme of medical research, the fourfold objective of which was to support national research, provide services for research, train research workers and improve communication among scientists. In collaborative research, contracts concluded with institutions and individual investigators, for *new* projects only, totalled 1,100 over the past ten years. Starting with a minimum of five contracts in 1958, the numbers grew almost steadily, with minor variations, to nearly 200 in 1967.

These figures speak clearly, and while they are more than impressive in relation to the efforts of the WHO itself, perhaps the true extent and worth of this progress can only be properly appreciated by a glance at the earlier days of the international health movement — though not as early as might be expected.

### **A Glance at History**

According to an historical review published by the WHO, international public health activities began a little over a century ago, in 1851 to be precise, at the first International Sanitary Conference in Paris. Before that date, measures to control the spread of disease internationally were sporadic. For example, during the Crusades a primitive form of quarantine was developed — a form of “civil death” — involving medical inspection and isolation within a community and prohibition of association, wherever possible, with others. One beneficial result of this was what has been described as “a great social and hygienic movement”, the building of a vast number of leprosaries from which, according to some historians, evolved our present hospital system.

Another important development of the Middle Ages was the growth of an international drug trade. Arabic pharmacy was well advanced and for six or seven centuries many Western countries benefited financially because “drugs were the lightest, most compact and most lucrative of all cargoes”. However, the rapid increase in trade between the Oriental and Occidental countries resulted in the importation of diseases largely unknown in the West before that era.

In the development of both national and international health-protective measures necessity has been the mother of invention. There was nothing spontaneous about the movement, which was forced upon legislators by outbreaks of epidemic diseases and as a result of poverty, overcrowding, unfavourable industrial conditions and increasing migration.

### **Early Conferences**

Probably the first and most frightening of the epidemics in the “modern” world was the invasion of Europe by Asiatic cholera, starting in 1826. This terrifying affliction spread rapidly throughout Europe and reached America, *via* Quebec and New York, in 1832. As a result, the first International Sanitary Conference

was convened to consider the spread of cholera, principally in Western Europe. At the time it was noted that:

By the mid-1800s, increased speed and facility of transportation has made possible the more rapid and extensive spread of this and other hitherto exotic diseases, thus giving rise to public alarm.

Considering the means then available of international and intercontinental transportation — by coach, sailing-ship and steamboat — it is a sobering thought to contemplate the hazardous and even potentially lethal methods of travel now available, which could, in a few hours, without effective quarantine and screening measures, precipitate a national or even world-wide health crisis.

The first International Health Conference, held in Paris in 1851, was attended by delegations from 12 European countries, each consisting of a diplomat and a physician. It lasted for some six months and led to the production of an international sanitary convention to which was appended the text of the first international sanitary regulations, containing 137 articles.

The ultimate failure of this effort was due partly to the neglect of many of the governments concerned to ratify the convention, but also, and more importantly, to the lack of basic knowledge of the nature and mode of propagation of the diseases primarily under consideration — cholera, plague and yellow fever.

This and succeeding conferences — 12 in all — failed to make significant progress, and the main stimulus to concerted action was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1859, which breached the natural barrier to the spread of cholera from the Far East to the Mediterranean basin. After much discussion, the "Paris Office" — L'Office international d'Hygiène publique (OIHP) — was established in 1907. This was the first truly world-wide international health organization. The OIHP was formally constituted in 1908, and in 1909 its secretariat was established. It studied epidemic diseases, administered and revised the numerous international sanitary conventions and acted as a centre for the exchange of epidemiological information, in which it collaborated with the then developing Pan-American Sanitary Bureau and other bodies. Some 55 countries were represented on its governing body.

In retrospect, it is evident that, in the first half-century of international public health, 1850-1900, progress was very slow. Objectives and orientation were simple and limited. Two main ideas dominated the earlier international conferences — the removal of hindrances to trade and transport and "the defence of Europe" against exotic pestilences.

To round out the regional picture, it should be mentioned that there were also four other health bodies constituted in the Mediterranean and adjacent areas during the nineteenth century. The first was the Conseil supérieur de Santé de Constantinople, which was responsible for sanitary control of foreign shipping in ports of the Ottoman Empire. The second was the Egyptian Quarantine Board, with similar functions relating to Egypt and traffic through the Suez Canal; it is noteworthy that this body ultimately became the health agency of the League

of Arab States, still an active agency. The other two were the Conseil sanitaire de Tanger (Morocco), and the Conseil sanitaire de Teheran, each having quarantine responsibilities in their respective areas. With the exception of the Egyptian Board, these bodies passed out of existence in the succeeding years.

### Events in the Americas

While these developments were taking place in Europe and the Middle East, a similar movement was under way in Central and South America. The situations were comparable in that the dividing-lines between the states in both Europe and South America were, in many cases, mere lines on the map. Fortunately, it was appreciated that there was a common advantage to all in a system which kept track of the occurrence and spread of epidemic diseases.

In 1887, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay joined in an agreement directed against the spread of cholera, yellow fever and plague. Paraguay joined in 1904. The Sanitary Convention, acceded to by 14 American countries in 1905, was the forerunner of the Pan-American Sanitary Code, which was signed in Havana in 1924. These dates and incidents are of interest because the South American Members of the PAHO and the WHO are justifiably proud to point out that the founding date of their organization, 1905, preceded by two years the establishment of the "Paris Office" of the OIHP.

The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau was formally created by the American republics in 1912. It was designed

... to lend its best aid and experience towards the widest possible protection of public health of each ... republic, in order that diseases may be eliminated and that commerce between the said republics may be facilitated.

It was given broader public health authority by the Pan-American Sanitary Code of 1924, a treaty ratified by all 21 member republics of the Americas.

### Notion of Prevention

In the beginning, the main effort in international health was directed towards blocking the spread of epidemics. New work in specific disease immunization stimulated the growth of the idea of *prevention*, which led to rapid changes in attitude. The end of the First World War marked a resurgence of interest. In 1921, the Assembly of the League of Nations set up a provisional Health Organization, which was formally established in September 1923 and undertook a varied range of activities. It received and distributed intelligence concerning the occurrence of epidemic diseases, set up an epidemiological bureau at Singapore, initiated work on international standards for vaccines, serums and certain important drugs, and undertook expert studies on nutrition and housing as well as a number of health problems of international importance, including malaria.

The Health Organization of the League marked a new departure in international health work in that it was no longer concerned merely with the erection of sanitary barriers but was moving toward attacking poor health conditions wherever they might exist.

Owing to complications in the relations of the United States with the League of Nations, including its Health Organization, the OIHP continued its defined responsibilities, with the result that there were two autonomous international health organizations, one in Paris and the other in Geneva. For 30 years the older Organization (OIHP) continued, and to a certain extent developed, its assigned functions, while the health section of the League sought opportunities for useful work by evolving new methods and extending the field of international health work to new areas. Thus three organizations, the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, l'Office international d'Hygiène publique and the Health Organization of the League of Nations, continued to function with only minor conflicts of interest until the Second World War.

### **Effects of Second World War**

During the Second World War, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was established, and its Health Division was given the task of restoring and assisting national health services dislocated as a result of the war, providing medical care for displaced persons and reviving the machinery for international exchange of information on epidemic diseases. It had been foreseen that no existing international health organization would be in a position to undertake the task of helping war-devastated countries to combat epidemics and restore their health services at the end of hostilities. Accordingly, UNRRA was established and, at the first session of its Council in 1943, it was agreed that health work would be one of its "primary and fundamental responsibilities". While UNRRA was a temporary organization, created to deal with an emergency situation, the work of its Health Division in combating epidemics, administering the international sanitary conventions, providing essential medical supplies, and aiding the governments of 15 countries to rebuild and even improve their health services provided the indispensable link between continuing inter-governmental health activities before and after the war. It is noteworthy that UNRRA assumed responsibility for the OIHP's duties in respect of the international sanitary conventions since that body was unable to exercise its functions throughout most of the war.

Thus, up to 1946, several international health organizations had been formed, but none of these had world-wide scope or membership. The next step was their gradual integration into a truly global health organization as a Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

The World Health Organization, as it is now called, was, like the United Nations, the outcome of a world-wide longing for peace and international understanding. In April 1945, the San Francisco Conference which set up the United Nations approved a proposal by Brazil and China that an international health organization should be established. In June 1946, the United Nations summoned an International Health Conference in New York, at which the constitution of the World Health Organization was drafted, adopted and signed by representatives

of 51 member countries of the United Nations. It was agreed that the constitution should come into force when 26 governments had ratified their signatures. This occurred on April 7, 1948, a date now observed each year as World Health Day.

Meanwhile, an Interim Commission under the leadership of Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada had been carrying on the essential international health services and preparing the way for the establishment of the World Health Organization, to which it formally handed over responsibility in 1948. Meeting for the first time in June of that year, with its headquarters in the League of Nations Building — the Palais des Nations — in Geneva, the WHO governing body, the World Health Assembly, approved the programme and the budgets for 1948 and 1949, and appointed Dr. Chisholm as the first Director-General.

The health activities of the OIHP, the Health Division of the League and UNRRA were taken over and expanded by the World Health Organization. From the beginning, it has carried out their various duties: it broadcasts daily warnings of the occurrence of pestilential disease to national health administrations, port health officers, airports and ships at sea; it has replaced all the earlier international sanitary conventions by one uniform set of sanitary regulations governing travel and trade throughout the world; it published the first international pharmacopoeia giving international norms for the strength and purity of important drugs, and has continued the establishment of international standards for vitamins and biological substances, including vaccines.

More important, however, is the fact that, within a developing international framework, the World Health Organization has taken on new and more dynamic responsibilities. Where many of the earlier health bodies were concerned with trying to prevent disease from spreading across national frontiers, the WHO, under the terms of its constitution, refuses to accept as part of the natural order the existence of preventable disease or suffering in any part of the world. In this context, the Organization is taking full account of one of the principles enunciated in the preamble to its constitution:

Unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of disease, especially communicable disease, is a common danger.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- International Conference on Public Education (UNESCO-IBE): Geneva, July 1-10
- Economic and Social Council, forty-fifth session: Geneva, July 8 — August 2
- International Seminar for Diplomats: Salzburg, July 29 — August 9
- UNESCO International Conference on Educational Planning: Paris, August 6-14
- United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: Vienna, August 14-27.
- International Geological Congress: Prague, August 16-25
- Seventh World Power Conference: Moscow, August 20-24
- UN Symposium on Development and Utilization of Oil Shale Resources: Tallin, Esthonia, September 2
- Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Geneva, August 29 — September 28
- Commonwealth Medical Conference: Kampala, September 2-12
- Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of Mathematics: St. Augustine, Trinidad, September 2-14
- International Civil Aviation Organization, sixteenth assembly session: Buenos Aires, September 2-28
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session: Geneva, September 4-20
- Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States: New York, September 9-27 (or October 4)
- United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session: September 24 — December
- International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference: Vienna, September 24 — October 4
- UNESCO fifteenth General Conference: Paris, October 15 — November 21
- UN Conference on Road Traffic: Vienna, October 7 — November 8
- UNESCO Conference on the Scientific Basis for Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere: Paris, September 4-13

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. D. Wilgress posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective January 19, 1968.
- Mr. M. B. Caron resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective March 14, 1968.
- Mr. E. P. Foychuk appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Service Officer 2, effective April 2, 1968.
- Mr. O. W. Dier, Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, posted to Ottawa, effective April 11, 1968.
- Miss A. Laycock posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective April 26, 1968.
- Miss M. C. MacGillivray posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective April 27, 1968.
- Mr. T. A. Keenleyside posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, effective April 29, 1968.
- Mr. C. St. J. Anstis posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective April 30, 1968.
- Mr. C. Bélanger resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective April 30, 1968.
- Mr. B. I. M. Applebaum appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 2, 1968.
- Mr. W. C. R. MacKay posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective May 2, 1968.
- Miss B. Lonsdale posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective May 5, 1968.
- Miss J. Dove posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, effective May 10, 1968.
- Miss P. J. Keirstead resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 10, 1968.
- Mr. G. J. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 13, 1968.
- Mr. L. J. Villeneuve appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 13, 1968.
- Miss J. E. Stewart appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective May 13, 1968.
- Miss J. B. Veit resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 14, 1968.
- Mr. H. L. Weidman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York, effective May 15, 1968.
- Mr. G. S. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective May 16, 1968.
- Mr. M. J. G. Henrie appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Service Officer 6, effective May 17, 1968.
- Miss V. Kilsby posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, effective May 18, 1968.
- Mr. A. A. Després appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 21, 1968.

- Mr. J. Cousineau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective May 25, 1968.
- Mr. D. G. Bishop posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective May 29, 1968.
- Mr. J. F. Tanguay posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective May 31, 1968.
- Mr. J. C. G. Regalbutto appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Organization and Methods Officer 1, effective June 3, 1968.
- Mr. N. Belair appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 1, effective June 4, 1968.
- Mr. R. F. Douglas resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 6, 1968.
- Miss L. Smith posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to the Canadian Consulate General, Marseilles, effective June 6, 1968.
- Mr. J. A. Colvin resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 9, 1968.
- Mr. A. M. Leith posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, to Ottawa, effective June 12, 1968.
- Mr. R. Choquette, Canadian Consul General in Bordeaux, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, effective June 12, 1968.
- Mr. T. H. W. Read posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, to Ottawa, effective June 16, 1968.
- Mr. J.-P. Carrier appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Officer 1, effective June 17, 1968.
- Mr. L. E. Green appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 17, 1968.
- Mr. D. P. Richards appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 17, 1968.
- Mr. P. J. Thibault appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 17, 1968.
- Miss E. Hesketh posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective June 18, 1968.
- Mr. P. Boudreau appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Information Officer 5, effective June 3, 1968. Posted to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 20, 1968.
- Mr. R. Bougie posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 21, 1968.
- Mr. E. G. Drake posted from Ottawa to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, effective June 21, 1968.
- Mr. J. C. Piper resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 21, 1968.
- Mr. M. Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of Somalia, effective June 23, 1968.
- Miss L. M. Kelly posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, effective June 27, 1968.
- Mr. G. B. Bost posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective June 27, 1968.
- Miss H. Francis posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, effective June 27, 1968.
- Miss V. Edelstein posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective June 29, 1968.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Barbados

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Barbados relating to the Canada Pension Plan.

Signed at Ottawa July 4, 1968.

Entered into force July 4, 1968.

To be effective from May 1, 1967.

##### Bulgaria

Protocol to extend for a period of three years the Trade Agreement between Canada and the People's Republic of Bulgaria signed at Ottawa on October 8, 1963.

Signed at Ottawa April 26, 1967.

Entered into force provisionally April 26, 1967.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa July 11, 1968.

Entered into force definitively July 11, 1968.

#### Multilateral

Treaty of the Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Done at London, Moscow and Washington July 1, 1968.

Signed by Canada at London, Moscow and Washington July 23, 1968.

Food Aid Convention.

Done at Washington D.C. October 15, 1967.

Signed by Canada November 2, 1967.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1968.

Entered into force July 1, 1968.

Wheat Trade Convention.

Done at Washington D.C., October 15, 1967.

Signed by Canada November 2, 1967.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1968.

Entered into force July 1, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *The late Norman A. Robertson*<sup>(1)</sup>

*Three of Mr. Robertson's colleagues and friends of many years — the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, Mr. John Holmes, President of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and a former senior official of the Department of External Affairs, and Mr. Marcel Cadieux, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs — have set down their memories and appraisals of Mr. Robertson as a man and as a public servant. These appreciations follow :*

### **Mr. Pearson**

Norman Robertson and I joined the Department approximately at the same time, he in 1929 and I a year earlier. A friendship then began which grew closer as the years went on and, for me, became a rich and rewarding experience which I shall always cherish. Indeed, it was strong enough to adapt itself easily and without constraint to the changed conditions brought about by my desertion of the External Affairs service for politics. I think that Norman may have thought that I was merely slightly mad, rather than overly ambitious, to wish to transfer from Under-Secretary to Secretary of State for External Affairs. But he was always a person of broad tolerance and charity. He even accepted without any noticeable distress my further transformation from SSEA to Leader of the Opposition to Prime Minister.

"N.A.R." had a deep respect for the political side of public service, which was, I suppose, the main reason why he had such a deep and wise understanding of the relationship between the civil servant and his political chief. He was one of the truly great Canadian civil servants and his influence touched nearly every aspect of our country's development. The wide range of his interests, the catholicity of his knowledge, the wisdom of his advice, and the high office of state that he filled at home and abroad, ensured that this influence would not only be strong, it would also be good.

It may be that his most important work was done during the War, when he was so close to Mr. King; when his counsel was so often sought and so greatly valued.

Personally, however, I like to think of the part he played in building up the Department of External Affairs and Canada's Foreign Service. His role in that process is not, I think, sufficiently appreciated, in large part because he had an almost pathological reluctance to talk or write about any of his own achievements or views. Yet he was a worthy member of that trio, Skelton, Wrong and Robertson, who, in the twenties and thirties, ensured that the foundations of

(1) The death of Mr. Robertson, which occurred on July 16, was reported in the August issue of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. That issue contained tributes by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

the new Department and the new service were well and truly laid, and able to bear the superstructure of responsibility that came with Canada's emergence as an independent state, with its own foreign policies and its own special contribution to make to the international community. If Canada has conducted its international affairs efficiently and well and if its work in this field has gained acceptability at home and high repute abroad, it is largely due to the selfless and sensible guidance and leadership given by these three men. This should be recognized more widely than it is, but, as I say, these men cared little for recognition but deeply for excellence in achievement.

It is Norman Robertson, the last of the three, whose loss we now lament and whose memory will always be fresh and warm in the hearts of those who were privileged to know him; especially those whose knowledge went deeper than official contacts, however close.

Personally, I never have come in contact with a mind so gifted, so wise and so broad in its knowledge and understanding of so many things. I believe that, in his early days, he was something of a child prodigy. To me, and I am sure to many others, he never ceased to be a prodigy; to amaze with his fund of knowledge, and, more important, to impress with the calm good judgment he always showed in the application of that knowledge to the particular matter under consideration, whether it was the technical relationship between the currencies of East and West Berlin or the influence of Jean-Paul Sartre on college teaching in Quebec.

Best of all, however, was Norman Robertson the man, the friend, the good companion. Those who did not know him well may have thought that his mind dominated his heart; that he was more cerebral than compassionate and human. They could not have been more mistaken. He was a warm and lovable human being, kind and generous; with a very genuine and hence a most appealing modesty, which some mistook for aloofness and diffidence; a man tolerant of everything except intolerance and cruelty.

He did not wear his heart on his sleeve or excel in the casual and convivial exchange of public receptions. But he was the best of company with his friends and he warmed to gossipy talk, more, even, than to a comment about the cold war or Canadian politics. I don't remember him to have said anything unkind about any person, or anything disloyal or cynical about those with whom, or for whom, he worked. His manner, courteous, quiet and unassertive, was the same with the newest stenographer as it was with the oldest minister. It is a never-to-be forgotten privilege to have had a colleague for whom respect was equalled only by affection.

His friends will always be the richer for his friendship, as his country is the better for his service. We will not forget that big, shambling figure, hunched over some important paper at his desk, or some important cards at the bridge table; with clothes that seemed only to have an accidental association with him, and the black battered hat for all seasons. That figure, in recent years, was

emaciated by sickness borne with great and uncomplaining courage, but, until the very end, the intellect within continued to amaze and delight, and the heart remained warm and big and generous.

### **Mr. Holmes**

That Norman Robertson was one of the great men of our times I have no doubt. You didn't doubt this if you knew him. History may not record him as such; there is too little record. But he will live on as a legend, a kind of Paul Bunyan of the public service — and the legend will not be much exaggerated. He shaped the best traditions of Canadian foreign policy and left his mark, distinguished perhaps only by those who observed, on the United Nations Charter, the new Commonwealth, the structure of international trade — on the standards of public life and international behaviour. His influence was discreet but wide. I like to recall him inducing Mackenzie King to do those things which he ought not to do, or expounding, on request, to Sir Stafford Cripps remedies for the British post-war economy. His special genius was to foresee in order to forestall the unhappy consequences on international relations of crisis and change. Typical was his early perception of the inevitable bitterness that would poison transatlantic relations as a result of wartime economic dislocations. We should better appreciate his contribution to this question if we could know how much worse things would have been without him. Fortunately there are many witnesses to record how he cut to the heart of an issue, perceiving how we might advance to what was desirable by way of what was possible. He led his colleagues into thinking that way too. We grew terribly dependent on him — and now the flashing light has gone out. His pen had never gleaned his teeming brain. There was too much in it. He was prodigally generous of his intellect in his lifetime and now there are his traditions to carry on.

But the great public servant was also a great human being. Like most legendary characters, he was a sight to be seen. You knew you were in the presence of someone extraordinary before he spoke. There was that towering dome surmounting the tall body, dignified, commanding, and gangling. He had a noble brow and penetrating but soft eyes. He listened with his eyes and laughed with them too. When he had listened, pondered, frowned a bit to signify concern, he would raise his shoulders, throw back his head and utter something usually unforgettable and probably startling. From a memory fantastically stocked he could filter and assemble all the relevant precedents and considerations. His policy recommendations might be safe or daring; they were never trite, never just the dogma of the moment. There might be no decision at all, because he knew how often the wise thing to do was nothing. In a crisis his mind worked deftly and decisively, but he was a master of the fine art of defusing. He knew the harm done in international politics by compulsive activists.

You could never relax your brain in his company. He could be cryptic

or allusive and leave you panting after the clue, for the literary or historical reference which made his point. The point, even when serious, was often hilarious. He was a great wit. His wit was not decorative but illuminating, neither precious nor malicious, and always humane. He loved good talk, political or metaphysical, gossip and fun, and he would sparkle brilliantly through an evening or guffaw at the wry absurdities of the morning paper. His sense of humour was a weapon in the exposure of false convictions. He was wary of absolutes, but he was not without convictions of his own and, from conviction, he could cut and thrust. He never drew blood; he couldn't stand the sight of it. He had the patience not so much of a tolerant man as of a kind man.

He will be called modest for his avoidance of publicity, his willingness to let others take the credit, and for leaving no record of himself, but it is not the right word. He readily acknowledged that he had a fantastic memory, and he was not diffident in his judgments. False modesty he avoided because it was false. He was pleased by the honours awarded him, but he was more interested in good government and truth than in himself. He was uncomfortable in the limelight and he was a dreadful public speaker. He had his few warts, of course, easily detected because he drew your attention to them. His mechanical aptitude was notorious; he was wise enough never to drive a car. His passion for bridge, which he of course played superbly, tempted him occasionally into truancy. His disinclination to write things down extended to not answering letters. When he was at Oxford his father, a revered professor of classics from whom he clearly inherited his sense of the absurd, was finally induced to send him a telegram "Why the hell don't you write?" — and signed it "Mother"!

He had no ear for music, and one wonders how he would have had time for it. It was perhaps the only gap in a man of great cultural sensibility. He knew English and French literature wide and deep, although he respected the French language too much ever to speak it; it would have offended him to speak any language imperfectly. He always found exactly the right word and used the bare minimum for his purpose. He was a classical scholar and an economist, a discriminating but catholic reader of novels, poems, essays, biographies, as well as financial, sport and gossip columns. One often wondered if there was anything he hadn't read and remembered. He was rich in ideas, but most of all he was fascinated by people, all kinds of them, their genealogies, their foibles, and their achievements. He could identify with detail a mediaeval sect, a Persian philosophy or an eighteenth century scandal.

Though reading and talking were his favorite avocations, aside from bridge, he loved galleries and good theatre, good menus and old monasteries. He loved to prowl in the country, through the woods of Wakefield, in the Swiss mountains, on the English downs. On such occasions his flights of wit and fancy, his recounting of experiences of famous men made him the best of companions, provided you were not winded by his long-legged strides. He had

a weakness for large dogs and broad black hats. He never passed through villages without being noticed. The greatest joy for his friends was to be with him *en famille* at his own fireside — the only platform where he seemed entirely comfortable. He was blessed, as are his friends, by his wife, whose qualities of wit and wisdom and warmth were so marvelously complementary.

Norman Robertson was distinguished by rare intellectual qualities, but above all I think he was a great moralist — although that judgment would have made him uncomfortable. It was his intellectual integrity which had the greatest impact on his colleagues and on Canadian policy. His only bias was humanitarian. He would clear away prejudice and dogma from an issue to be decided, disposing an adviser to purge his mind likewise. He left you feeling unworthy if your presentation was distorted by temper or a desire to be clever. And yet human prejudice was always a factor to be reckoned with in his political calculations. Mankind, he knew, was fallible and gullible but respectable and not to be dismissed as wrong-headed. Given some disposition of Canadians to crusade, Norman Robertson's accomplishment was to save us from ourselves, to channel our good intentions away from moral posturing into activities that could and did alleviate the lot of humanity. No banner-bearer in the country agonized more than he over the bomb. He felt a terrible responsibility to steer his Government in directions that would lead to its control. It was precisely that moral obligation that prevented him at one time from accepting an enticing invitation to escape from the strain of diplomacy.

In particular he resisted calumny, even of those whom he disliked — if indeed he ever really disliked anyone. People bored him or tried his patience, but he always had an eye for the mitigating circumstance. He was not an orthodox believer, but few believers lived as close as he to the Christian ethic. If it seemed surprising, it was nevertheless fitting that the final tribute should have been paid to him in a cathedral. He had a massive conscience and worried about right and wrong in policy. That is why he was particularly sensitive to charges of consciencelessness in his profession. He knew, of course, that the road to peace was rarely direct, and he could be shrewder than Machiavelli in plotting the route. There was no doubt, however, about the end he had in mind.

His philosophy fitted no simple category. Left or right are irrelevant terms. Those who believe in an "Establishment" would have been surprised to find this free spirit at the heart of it. His inclination was perhaps conservative but at the same time startlingly radical and innovative. He realized that it was not his role to be a politician. He was in the best sense of the word an operator. He knew that governments move most effectively not by leaps and bounds but by the manipulation of circumstances. They must always work from here to there. And yet his intellectual leadership came from the bold ideas with which he was constantly surprising his colleagues and from the temporarily blinding but ultimately illuminating flashes on a problem from an unexplored perspective. When I talked with him shortly before he died about

Canada's constitutional dilemmas, he startled me with the suggestion that immigration might become the responsibility of the provinces. It was characteristic that this was not contemplated as a political concession regardless of consequences. He was too deeply concerned over immigration policy because it involved human beings. This seemed to him a way to involve responsibly in the flow and care of immigrants those authorities most directly involved in their welfare. He was terribly ill at the time, but it was the kind of unconventional idea, the product of a mind deeply experienced in the practice of government, which he used to put out for fermentation at the height of his powers. You were expected not to accept it as it stood but to work away at it to see where it led.

So much of the intellectual excitement of being in the Canadian Department of External Affairs in the Robertson era came from this bubbling fountain. He established patterns of thought, approaches to policy by encirclement or ambush rather than assault, avoiding confrontation except when attack was unavoidable and the ground prepared. He knew better than any other how a country whose role was not decisive in the world could nevertheless be influential. Above all it was his own towering intellectual quality and the quality of the Canadian ideas he instigated that made his country respected. He was a Canadian by all his roots, untroubled about his identity, understanding of the compulsions of politics and national sentiment, but he knew that the world was too serious a business to be endangered by parochial minds.

He was the greatest mandarin of them all, and one of the few things for which he was criticized was his resistance to the revelation of government secrets.

He was in no sense arrogant, even though it was not easy for a man of his experience and intellect to find common ground with the general public. What occasionally might have seemed like intellectual snobbery was innocence. He never seemed to realize how very much less there was in most people's minds than his own. He was alert and sensitive to what was being said about foreign policy in the country, and open to criticism, although he probably never quite satisfactorily reconciled in his mind the dilemma of open government and good government. He was faithful to the classical theory that government worked best when the relationship with the public was a matter for ministers rather than civil servants. He encouraged civil servants to be lively and inventive but disciplined, to know their place as advisers rather than policy-makers. No civil servant had less interest in power as an abstraction.

With a mind like his, he should have been cold and aloof. He was not. He was warm, tender and gregarious, beloved by a host of friends who were devoted to him because of the joy of his company and their debt to him for inspiration, guidance, and kindness when they needed it. He was unusually sensitive to illness and bereavement among his friends and staff. He had a special tenderness for the elderly and the unsuccessful. His desk was cluttered, he was not easily organized, and his secretaries adored him. He was beloved

likewise by junior assistants, senior assistants, Cabinet ministers and ambassadors, chauffeurs and butlers.

In later years, as the External Affairs service expanded, he may have seemed aloof. It bothered him that he had lost the personal contact he once had with all his colleagues young and old. He had become Under-secretary in the wartime at thirty-six and in two decades of being the indispensable man, the mind and conscience of the service, he exhausted himself. Neither his mind nor his affections were dimmed, even in the years of discouraging illness, but he had lost the strength to spread himself wide. Those who had been associated with him closely in the years of his strength and never ceased to regard him with love and wonder were sometimes regarded as the adherents of a cult. He was not and he is not easy to explain beyond the circle of his presence, and the simple affirmation of a phenomenon may not convince. His memoirs would be hard to compile; he liked conversation too much to write letters. He was content if others picked up his thoughts, wrote their own memoranda, and took credit. In the files will be found the mark of his blue pencil, wielded like a scalpel, and everywhere the impress of his genius. We shall not see his like again, but a country is fortunate to have one such man in its history and his friends are blessed to have known one such man in a lifetime.

#### **Mr. Cadieux**

I did not become acquainted with Mr. Robertson until rather later in my career.

In 1941, a few days after I entered the Department, I saw him play in a ball-game between the Department of External Affairs and the United States Embassy. I had been surprised by his height, his bald head, his awkward manner. It was not until much later that I realized how extraordinary was such participation on the part of Mr. Robertson, who neither before nor since ever distinguished himself in sports. Quite the contrary.

My colleagues who had been in contact with him formed a sort of fraternity of admirers of N.A.R. or Norman. Naturally, I was influenced and, I, too, admired one of the foremost personalities of the Department, but for several years I did not have the opportunity of forming personal opinions about Mr. Robertson or of fully sharing in their enthusiasm.

Having briefly met Mr. Robertson on various occasions, such as a conference or a trip, I came to work closely with him over a period of approximately ten years from 1958 until the very serious illness which forced him to retire from his position as Under-Secretary in 1964, during his mission in Geneva, and later when he was special adviser to the Department.

Like all those who knew him, I was struck by the erudition of Mr. Robertson. He was not only thoroughly familiar with the work of the Department but was interested in everything and could suggest books and ideas to us and open up horizons on an incredible variety of topics.

In 1952, in Paris (while he was High Commissioner in London), I sat with

him on the jury for our large recruiting competition. One applicant told us that he was preparing a doctoral thesis on a secondary French author. N.A.R. began to question him on various characters and themes in the novels of the author, showing a profound knowledge of his work. Before long, he was wondering whether the applicant was acquainted with the critical works on this author published in England, the United States and elsewhere. After a moment's conversation, the applicant discovered a vast, unexplored area that had escaped his research. What an extraordinary thesis director Mr. Robertson would have been!

One day, I had to discuss a personnel problem with Mr. Robertson . . . . I explained to my chief that I had been impressed, upon reading Marcel Proust, by a certain method of approaching and understanding this problem that I had not found in any other book. Mr. Robertson shared my feeling. Each time he re-read Proust, he explained, he found that the author had made a great contribution to the analysis of that problem. How such a busy man found time to read and re-read Marcel Proust in the original French remains a mystery to me.

Those examples show not only his erudition but his curiosity and rigid self-discipline as an academic. In this respect, Mr. Robertson was in the tradition of his predecessor, Dr. Skelton. For him, when one worked for the Department, one had to distinguish oneself intellectually. He felt that all available academic resources had to be mobilized for the benefit of Canada's foreign policy. And yet he was the most natural, the least pedantic, of men.

As I got to know Mr. Robertson better, I was impressed by his wisdom, his breadth of outlook and, above all, his integrity. He was extremely cautious in his approach to problems. He could see far ahead. His reactions were always calm and moderate. He favoured flexibility, conciliation and long-lasting solutions over precarious expedients. I am convinced that, during his long career, Mr. Robertson never expressed an opinion that was not totally disinterested or inspired by an exclusive concern for the interests of the country.

In the course of time, after several years, his friends and associates discovered in Mr. Robertson another, more hidden, and perhaps more winning, aspect of his personality: his humanity, his extreme kindness, his unshakeable loyalty towards his friends, his principles, his interest in people or the personal aspect of things. While he could rise in a twinkling to the summits of thought, while he shouldered many crushing responsibilities, he was concerned at the same time with the health, the family life, of his co-workers. If my firstborn, my son François, had the measles and I had spent a sleepless night, the next morning Mr. Robertson would ask for the latest news. The same held true for the living accommodation and activities of our officers abroad. He was interested in everything that could affect them — their forebears, their studies, their hobbies; he showed infinite patience and care in his concern for their problems. As for remaining faithful to his principles, to the countries he admired, he was as solid as the Rock of Gibraltar.

In this connection, I should like to cite an example of Mr. Robertson's loyalty towards his co-workers. One day, we had a problem with a certain friendly country. We wanted to pursue one policy; the country in question preferred another. The Government decided to forge ahead. In the interval, the other country had asked us to receive one of its representatives, doubtless to persuade us to change our position. We had agreed to receive him. The country had looked upon our acceptance as a decision on our part to do nothing in the meantime. When it was subsequently learned that Canada was going ahead just the same, a number of officers, myself included, were accused of having cheated, of having acted precipitately to prevent a dialogue. The representative of the country in question complained to the Government. Mr. Robertson could have kept safely out of the matter, maintaining that he had not been personally involved in the affair — which was true. Without a moment's hesitation, Mr. Robertson went to the Prime Minister and upheld those involved, pleading their cause and showing that the accusations levelled against them were entirely unfounded. Needless to say, the officers in question would have given their eye-teeth for such a superior.

Mr. Robertson's habits were often disconcerting. Often, when he studied a question and saw objections, he simply heaved a long, very long, incredibly long, sigh. He had said everything. We understood that there were a multitude of problems we had not foreseen in our plans. And we withdrew without further ado. A colleague had warned me when he took over as Under-Secretary. He had told me: "If N.A.R. does not agree, if he sees objections to a plan, no memorandum or report leaves his office. They remain in abeyance for days, weeks, months! You must not get upset. You must, on the contrary, take back the document and ask yourself where the weak point is. And you will see. If, after re-examination, you remain convinced of your position, you can always tell him so. Otherwise, after you have revised your plans, you will see that things go smoothly." And I learned from experience that, when a document did not pass and I took it back, I had forgotten important points or aspects. It was his way, discreet, patient, indirect, of inviting people to reflect more fully on the matter . . . .

Within his complex personality, Mr. Robertson reconciled seemingly contradictory interests and loyalties. With a humanist background, Mr. Robertson had acquired great competence in economics and was an outstanding expert in tariff matters. And yet, to the end, he remained a great devotee of poetry and literature. An internationalist *par excellence*, with profound views on the major questions of foreign policy, he had an instinct for domestic politics and closely followed our regional problems. He even knew the current line of thought of *Le Devoir*! As for religion, I believe that Norman was agnostic. He professed, however, a smiling scepticism, with no hint of fanaticism. But I would not have ventured upon a debate with him on the proofs of the existence of God or advised a seminarist to attack him on a question of theology!

That devil of a man would quote Thomas Aquinas or the Scriptures in the most unexpected manner. Incredibly detached from material things, with never a thought of himself, his personal interests, above the pettinesses of life, Mr. Robertson on occasion could be wily and full of subtlety; his great resources of invention and ingenuity in finding solutions to the most complicated problems contrasted sharply with his large and open signature, his slow steps and the very curious and swinging way of moving which was characteristic of him and made one think that he had always proceeded uphill.

One last word, as a French-Canadian. Having known Norman and having been assisted and supported by him in such a constant and generous manner has helped me discover a new dimension in our country. That man did not merely speak of bilingualism. He upheld and practised throughout his life a respect for the two great cultures of our country. And not only in general terms: I owe the position I now hold to his continued support and protection. Many of my French-speaking colleagues in the Department have also been generously assisted by Mr. Robertson over a great number of years. During times of trial, sickness, failure, Norman was there, ready to help, ready to pitch in and clear the situation. I have faith in a Canada which produces men of this calibre, men who prove that co-operation and friendship between Canadians of different origin is not a myth but a reality, the possibilities and scope of which we have not yet measured. In this respect, may I point out that, although he was born in Vancouver, Norman (as those who knew him affectionately called him) chose to rest beside a former colleague, Hume H. Wrong, in a small Quebec cemetery, in St. Pierre, near Wakefield, overlooking the Gatineau and the hills surrounding Ottawa, his chosen city.

Before coming to Ottawa, my heroes were the Abbé Groulx and Mr. Edouard Montpetit, to mention only two. With the years, I have added to the list, at the top, among the best and most admired, the name of Norman Robertson.

*Many newspapers and other periodicals, both in Canada and abroad, carried editorials and obituaries. Prominent among these were THE TIMES of London, THE OTTAWA JOURNAL and LE DEVOIR of Montreal.*

*On July 18, a TIMES editorial tribute to Mr. Robertson read, in part:*

... Norman Robertson was the man, more than any other, who made the Canadian diplomatic service one of the very best in the world in the years of the Second World War and during all the succeeding time of peace-making, cold war and co-existence, London knew his quality during his two terms as High Commissioner at Canada House, first from 1946 to 1949 and then from 1952 to 1957. Even during the war, before his first term, he had been a visitor with Mr. Mackenzie King and had been a quiet persuasive force at many of the highest meetings.

Everyone who met him in those years gained a heightened respect for Canada, for the profession of diplomacy, and for Norman Robertson himself. The description often applied to Canada, a middle power, took on real meaning as he spoke; indeed, it was Canada's special position that determined its policy in the world. Between the U.S.A. and the Commonwealth, between the big and the little powers, and possessing a cool, dispassionate, reconciliatory and imaginative diplomacy, Canada became very largely the spokesman for the middle powers, and often a guide for the larger powers as well.

For years on end, in Ottawa, in London, in Washington, D.C., at the UN, and at most of the international conferences, Norman Robertson was at the heart of this policy. Many of the Canadian initiatives grew out of his brain. He shared to the full Mr. Mackenzie King's and Mr. Lester Pearson's view of the Commonwealth as an association that could do good in the world by not trying to be an exclusive, self-centred partnership but by acting as an example of the right kind of association — in a sense, as a kind of leaven — in the whole world.

To think of Norman Robertson as only a Canadian representative, although he was a superb one, is less than half the truth. He was a diplomatist of world rank with world-wide interests. Cabinet ministers in Ottawa, London, and Washington D.C. would like to talk over every kind of problem with him . . . .

*On the same day, The OTTAWA JOURNAL said :*

It is hard to speak of Norman Robertson without homage and love. For to us he was, and always will be, someone set apart, a knight errant who reminded us of a better age than ours. Here were wisdom, understanding, qualities of heart and mind given to few men we have known, a classic and romantic at once, with a range of knowledge and a catholicity of taste that was the joy and despair of his friends.

He was a humanist in the truest sense of that word, free from abstractions about humanity but concerned deeply with human beings. Many spoke of his modesty. But this modesty misled no one who knew him well, and least of all those who had the privilege of his friendship, those who came to understand that this man who had long associated with the shaping forces of his time had only the humility of wisdom, was without personal ambition and perhaps could not understand the hold ambition had on others; one to whom the need to be famous and to be loved would be incomprehensible.

He was never an "organization man", nor one for detail, could never become murderous about trifles, could never have won to high achievement in the field of administration, and he disregarded convention. His world was the larger one of humanity, the earthy worst, the heavenly best, yet he was without intellectual snobbery, and never lacking in practical understanding that democracy began at home.

Winston Churchill once turned his wrath upon "those who have a passion for freedom abroad yet would not speak to a British workman in the street". Norman Robertson was never of that kind; he could walk with kings and meet minds with scholars but was equally at home with those who could not glimpse his horizons, and he understood the meaning and even the often meanness of the menial tasks of politics.

To him, democracy and freedom were not merely slogans but something that had to be endured in the hard and stony places of the human spirit; no one in the community, no matter what his place or power, had any right to be above it.

He once said to the writer of these lines that freedom was a thing that we had to conquer for ourselves every day, and that we are always losing freedom because after each victory we think we can settle down and enjoy it without further risk or struggle. And that struggle must begin at home, in our own community.

Others will speak of Norman Robertson's place in diplomacy; of the men and issues he influenced. We can only speak of him as a person, of the sweetness of his character, the spaciousness of his mind, an intellect that was deep and sharp and shining, what someone once called a "deep-sea mind" — a mind that encompassed politics, literature, philosophy, even theology.

He was no slave of dogma, but he was more familiar with all its forms than most men we have known and while he could not pray with some he always had a reverence for the devotion and the ecstasy which filled the hearts of sincere believers in one or another of religious forms.

*LE DEVOIR* carried the following tribute on July 18 in *Bloc-Notes* :

The death of Norman Robertson deprived Canada of an outstanding citizen, a Canadian who dedicated the best of himself to the service of his country without seeking the slightest publicity.

Such was his modesty that his name may have remained unknown until the end to the majority of his compatriots. However, he probably exercised a greater influence than anyone else on the external policy of our country, particularly during the last quarter of a century. He retired about two years ago.

Mr. Robertson became Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1941. In that strategic post, and under various ministers, he developed, with his colleagues Wrong and Pearson, policies that brought Canada into considerable prominence on the international scene. Mr. Robertson was a man of sure intuition and of experienced judgment. His advice always carried weight. While he was Canadian High Commissioner in London, it was a common occurrence for experienced diplomats from other capital cities to seek his advice . . . .

# United Nations General Assembly

## TWENTY-THIRD SESSION

ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1968, representatives of the 124 member states of the United Nations will gather in New York for the opening of the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly. The head of the Romanian delegation (the President of last year's session) will open the proceedings and, after a few remarks, will ask the members of the Assembly to rise for a minute of silent prayer or meditation. He will then proceed to appoint the Credentials Committee, which examines the credentials of delegations.

The Assembly will next elect the President of the twenty-third session by secret ballot. The newly-elected President will take his seat on the dais and call the session to order. Only one presidential candidacy, that of Dr. Emilio Arenales Catalan, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, has been announced, and his election seems assured.

The next step will be the election of the 17 vice-presidents, who include, in addition to representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, seven vice-presidents from the Africa-Asia group, one from the Eastern Europe group, three from the Latin America group and two from the Western Europe and Others group. The regional group providing the Assembly President loses one of its vice-presidencies, so that the total number of vice-presidents remains 17. Canada is a candidate for a vice-presidency. At the time of writing, the following are candidates for vice-presidencies:

Afro-Asian: Guinea, Iran, Lebanon, Philippines, Togo, Uganda

Latin America: Peru, Guyana

Eastern Europe: Bulgaria

Western Europe and Others: Canada, Sweden

The Assembly will proceed to constitute seven main committees of the whole through which it functions. The likely or known candidates for Committee chairmen are as follows:

First Committee — political and security questions, including disarmament (Italy)

Special Political Committee — shares the work of the First Committee (Somalia)

Second Committee — economic questions (Ghana)

Third Committee — social and cultural questions (Austria)

Fourth Committee — Colonial and trusteeship questions (Congo, Trinidad and Tobago)

Fifth Committee — budgetary and administrative questions (Byelorussian S.S.R.)

### Sixth Committee — legal questions (India)

The President, the vice-presidents and the seven committee chairmen form the General Committee, whose function is to make recommendations to the Assembly on the adoption of the provisional agenda and the assignment of agenda items to the main committees, and subsequently to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Assembly.

In addition to the seven main committees, the Assembly has established two standing committees, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Question, and the Committee on Contributions, as well as a number of other standing subsidiary and special bodies all of which deal with specific or recurrent problems.

After the Assembly has adopted the agenda, it holds a general debate lasting normally about three weeks. During this period, heads of delegations deliver policy statements explaining the attitudes of their respective governments on the subjects placed before the Assembly and emphasizing those matters that their countries consider to be of the greatest importance.

At the beginning of October, the seven main committees meet to elect their vice-chairmen and rapporteurs and to decide the order of business.

After a committee has concluded its consideration of an agenda item, it recommends a resolution or some other course of action through the medium of the rapporteurs' report to a plenary meeting of the Assembly. Plenary meetings are called from time to time to deal with the agenda items assigned exclusively to plenary or to consider the reports of the committee rapporteurs. In practice, very few committee decisions are reversed by plenary. However, this may happen when the membership is almost equally divided on specific issues, since a resolution in committee needs only a simple majority for adoption, whereas the Charter requires a two-thirds majority in plenary meetings on all matters of importance.<sup>(1)</sup>

Consideration of an agenda item usually begins with a general debate on all facets of the problem, which may last, depending on the item, from a few hours to two or three weeks. During this debate ideas crystallize and draft resolutions and amendments to these resolutions are tabled by various delegations and finally voted on. Basically, there are three ways in which a resolution may be adopted. If the presiding officer is convinced that all the member states are in favour of a resolution, he may simply announce that unless he hears any objections the resolution will be considered as adopted unanimously. If this is not the case, delegations may signify their approval, rejection or abstention, by a show-of-hands vote, a procedure under which only the total number of votes in favour, against or abstaining are recorded. Or there may be a roll-call vote, in which each delegation casts its vote orally and has it recorded in the records of proceedings.

(1) See Article 18 of the UN Charter.

Since there will be over 90 items on the final agenda of this Assembly, it is not possible to give here a detailed background for each one, nor is it possible to indicate with certainty to which committee each will be assigned. The final agenda for each committee will be available in document form when the Assembly has taken action on the reports of the General Committee. In the meantime, a provisional agenda is available. The most important items are mentioned below, but the reader should remember that many items have a long history the complete understanding of which would require many hours of study.

## Plenary Items

### Elections to the Security Council

The Security Council, which has 15 members, consists of the five permanent members (China, France, Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and ten non-permanent members. The non-permanent members are elected from four geographical regions, five being elected each year for two-year terms. Canada, which was elected during the twenty-first session, completes its term at the end of this year. The following table shows declared candidates for office at the time of writing:

	<u>Seats of Region</u>	<u>Vacancies</u>	<u>Candidates</u>
Africa and Asia	5	2	Nepal Zambia
Eastern Europe	1	0	
Latin America	2	1	Colombia Haiti
Western Europe and Others (including Canada)	2	2	Spain Finland

### Elections to the Economic and Social Council

At the twentieth session (1965), nine new seats were added to the original 18, so that ECOSOC now consists of 27 members. The new seats are formally allocated as follows: seven to Africa and Asia, one to Latin America and one to the Western European and Others group (including Canada).

The following table shows the vacancies for each region, with known or likely candidates (the customary pattern of distribution for the original seats has been combined with the formal regional allocations of the new seats):

	<u>Seats of Region</u>	<u>Vacancies</u>	<u>Candidates</u>
Great powers (Britain, France, U.S.A., U.S.S.R.)	4	2	Britain U.S.S.R.
Africa and Asia	12	3	Sudan, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia, Syria
Latin America	5	2	Haiti Uruguay
Western Europe and Others	4	1	Norway
Eastern Europe	2	1	Yugoslavia

### **Chinese Representation**

The substantive issue in the question of Chinese representation is whether the People's Republic of China (Peking) or the Republic of China (Taipei) should represent China in the United Nations. Delegations opposed to the seating of Peking maintain that the essential issue involved is the question of qualifications for United Nations membership and that Communist China lacks these qualifications. Others would welcome the admission of Peking if it were not at the expense of Taipei. These two groups have supported a procedural resolution that requires that any decision to change the representation of China in the United Nations should be approved by a two-thirds majority as an "important question" (Article 18(2) of the Charter). This resolution has always had majority support.

Other delegations are in favour of seating Peking even if it is at the expense of Taipei. They support the so-called Albanian Resolution, which explicitly links the seating of Peking with the expulsion of Taipei. It has so far failed to get a simple majority.

Before 1966, Canada voted for the "important question" resolution and against the Albanian Resolution. In 1966, Canada suggested an interim solution which, without prejudice to the eventual settlement of the conflicting territorial claims of the two governments or to their view that China was a single sovereign entity, envisaged the participation in the Assembly of the People's Republic of China as the member representing the territory of China over which it exercised jurisdiction and of the Republic of China as the member representing the island of Taiwan and other islands over which it exercised jurisdiction, and the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council as one of

the permanent members. Accordingly, when it became apparent that there was not sufficient support for the above solution, and in the absence of any progress on the issue, Canada moved from a negative vote to an abstention on the Albanian Resolution.

In 1967 Canada restated the main outlines of its 1966 proposal and voted the same way.

### **Report of Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism**

The Special Committee of Twenty-four has the task of supervising the implementation of the Colonial Declaration of December 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations to an end. The Committee meets almost continuously in the interval between Assembly sessions. This year the Assembly will consider its recommendations on a variety of colonial territories including Rhodesia, Equatorial Guinea, Gibraltar, the Portuguese territories, Oman, Fiji and New Guinea. These territories differ widely in their political and economic development and each presents special problems. The recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-four are dealt with by the Fourth Committee.

## **First Committee**

### **Disarmament and Arms Control**

At the time of writing there were four disarmament items on the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, but other items will probably be added. The four present items are:

- General and complete disarmament (Item 26);
- Suspension of nuclear testing (Item 27);
- Elimination of foreign military bases (Item 28);
- Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament (Item 39).

The course of the debate on disarmament is difficult to forecast since it will probably be heavily influenced by developments at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) and the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (CNNWS), neither of which had concluded their meetings by August 1968.

With the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and its signature by over 60 countries, including Canada, no other disarmament question had yet emerged in the ENDC as a main subject of discussion that might lead to the conclusion of an international agreement. The most hopeful development — agreement by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to begin talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive and defensive missiles — had not actively involved the ENDC so far, but it was expected to receive some consideration both in the Committee and subsequently in the General Assembly. The NPT

also envisages nuclear arms control in a wider sense and other measures will no doubt be urged by UN delegations anxious to hold the nuclear powers to general commitments made in the NPT.

The agenda of the CNNWS is very broad and covers a number of items of particular concern to the less-developed countries arising out of the NPT, such as security assurances for non-nuclear states, measures of nuclear arms control, provision of nuclear explosive services and greater access to the peaceful benefits of nuclear energy. If the Conference decides to make a report or recommendations to the General Assembly, there is a good chance that much of the attention in the disarmament debate will focus on issues already discussed at the Conference.

Discussion of general and complete disarmament (GCD) is likely to be brief and rather theoretical, although, if chemical and bacteriological warfare (CBW) is not inscribed separately, it will probably be discussed under this item. Attention will be directed towards recent British proposals at Geneva that, on the precedent of the recently published UN Secretary-General's Report on Nuclear Weapons, the Secretary-General be requested to prepare a report on the nature and possible effects of chemical weapons and on the implications of their use.

Another conventional arms control measure, which may be discussed under the GCD heading but will more likely be inscribed as a separate item, is a Danish proposal, which has earlier appeared in other forms, that the UN Secretary-General study the merits of a scheme for registering international transfers of conventional arms. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have shown interest in the idea of controlling the conventional arms build-up in areas of tension, particularly in the Middle East. These are suggestions that Canada believes hold promise and should be explored more fully.

The ENDC is still considering the question of a comprehensive nuclear test ban and serious efforts are being made to break the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. deadlock over the question of verification of the ban by on-site inspection. Despite these efforts, which include a British suggestion for a committee to decide whether on-site inspection of alleged or suspected nuclear explosions is required, it is very unlikely that the stalemate will be broken during this session. Consequently, the Assembly is likely simply to refer the question back to the ENDC. There may, however, be some discussion of recent advances in teleseismology and their implications for a comprehensive test ban — in particular, the question of establishing an international system of seismic data exchange, which might serve as the basis for a verification system for a treaty.

The elimination of foreign bases is a routine item that appears on the agenda on the initiative of the Communist countries, which use it for anti-Western propaganda. Although it appears in the nine-point Soviet memorandum on disarmament, little interest has been displayed in the subject in the ENDC and the same is likely to be true in the General Assembly.

The item on conversion to peaceful needs of resources released by disarma-

ment is also a routine item, which now appears biennially when the Secretary-General reports to the General Assembly on information provided to him on national studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament. There has been some interest among less-developed countries in the possibility of employing some of the resources so released in external aid programmes and, though the subject has not yet aroused great interest, it may occasion more serious discussion as a result of its having been discussed at the CNNWS and having taken on greater relevance in the wake of the NPT and possible subsequent arms control measures.

To what extent the disarmament debate will occasion anti-Western polemics by Communist delegations and some of the more radical non-aligned will probably depend on chances of concrete progress on some of the items under consideration.

### **Outer Space**

The 28-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, on which Canada has served since its formation in 1959, is required to report to the General Assembly on present and potential activities and resources of the United Nations relating to the peaceful uses of outer space; to investigate areas of possible international co-operation under the United Nations auspices; and to explore the nature of legal problems which might arise in the exploration and use of outer space. The Committee functions through a Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee (which will meet in New York early in September for its sixth session) and a Legal Sub-Committee (which held its seventh session in Geneva in July). The reports of the sub-committees and of the working group set up to study the need, feasibility and implementation of a navigation services satellite system will be considered by the full Committee in September and then by the General Assembly at the twenty-third session. The full Committee and the Assembly will also review the proceedings of the International Outer Space Conference held in Vienna, August 14-27, 1968.

## **Special Political Committee**

### **Peace-keeping**

The Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations has adjourned until September after holding a number of meetings in the spring in response to the Assembly's instructions that the Committee prepare a study on matters relating to facilities, services and personnel for United Nations peacekeeping operations. The Committee's report of July 1 stated that it had approved a request to the Secretary-General to compile material relating to United Nations military observer groups. On the basis of this material, the Committee would study various aspects of such groups, including their strength, equipment, recruitment,

organization, relations with the host governments and their legal status. The Secretary-General's report will be available towards the end of August.

This decision, small though it is, represents a significant step forward for the Special Committee, because it implies some narrowing of the disagreement between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. on the future of peacekeeping operations. It is unlikely that the Committee will have time to establish guide-lines for observer missions before the twenty-third session, but at least it now has a concrete programme of work which it is to be hoped the Assembly will approve and encourage.

The Committee's final report may also refer to the question of voluntary contributions to meet the United Nations' budgetary deficit. This was the primary purpose for the establishment of the Committee in 1965, but it has not been able to suggest ways of doing this because of the unwillingness of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and France to make such contributions except on the basis of prior agreement. The Chairman of the Committee, the Permanent Representative of Mexico, is seeking means to break through this impasse. Canada is giving him what support it can. Canada made a voluntary contribution for this purpose of \$4 million in 1965 and 23 other United Nations members have also made voluntary contributions.

#### **Apartheid**

The *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa are deplored and condemned by almost all members of the Assembly, including Canada. There is, however, a wide divergence of views on what pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa to change its policies. Many members from Africa and Asia advocate economic and other sanctions against South Africa as the only means of achieving a peaceful solution. Others, including Canada, have argued that for the General Assembly to concentrate on maximum action, in the absence of agreement among the members of the Security Council, is unrealistic and likely to damage the credibility of the United Nations. Some members of the United Nations have urged that increased status and assistance should be given to the various African liberation movements in exile from Africa that advocate the use of violence to overthrow *apartheid*. Canada opposes the use of force, but has supported United Nations programmes and funds designed to educate and assist South Africans abroad.

#### **UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees**

This agency was set up in 1950 to provide relief for and to facilitate the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees who lost their homes and means of livelihood during the hostilities which accompanied the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Since UNRWA's inception, the refugee population, originally estimated at from 700,000 to 800,000, has risen to nearly 1.6 million. Last year, UNRWA provided rations and services (health, education, vocational

training) to over 1.2 million refugees. Its budget is made up of voluntary contributions from governments, UN agencies, and private associations and individuals. In order of size of contribution, the three largest contributors have been the United States, Britain and Canada. With its increased responsibilities, resulting from the war of June 1967, UNRWA had by last March run up a deficit of some \$4 million. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, discussion of the Agency's work will probably focus on how to deal with UNRWA's seemingly insurmountable financial problems. The character of the debate itself will depend to some extent on the progress made by the Secretary-General's special representative (Ambassador Jarring) toward achieving a settlement of the Middle East question, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967. In the absence of real progress by Ambassador Jarring, however, the debate can be expected to produce a reiteration by the Arab states and by Israel of their established positions on the refugee problem, and on the whole Palestine question. In this context, the Arabs would probably again propose the appointment of a UN custodian of Arab property in Israel.

#### **Effects of Atomic Radiation**

The 15-member United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) was established by the General Assembly at its tenth session to collect, study and disseminate information on the effects of nuclear radiation on man and his environment. The Committee, chaired by Dr. G. C. Butler, the Canadian delegate, at its eighteenth session in New York last March, will submit its yearly report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. Comprehensive reports were prepared in 1958, 1962, 1964 and 1966, and the next one is scheduled for completion in 1969.

### **Second Committee**

The Second Committee is the body by which matters of trade, aid and economic development are considered before being forwarded to plenary for approval. In view of the increasing attention being given within the United Nations to the problems of the economic development of the developing countries, the Second Committee has become one of the Assembly's more important committees. It considers the reports of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Industrial Development Board of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. In 1968 the emphasis will probably be on the disappointing results of the second UNCTAD session, the financing of economic development in the developing countries and the plans for a "Second Development Decade".

The 27-member Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) not only serves as an executive body for economic, social and human rights activities of the United Nations system but provides a forum for discussion of the broad issues and policies and acts as preparatory body for the General Assembly in considering these questions. Canada's membership on the Council lapsed in December 1967 at the end of a three-year term. The only opportunity, therefore, for Canada to comment on the work of ECOSOC will be during the consideration of the Council's report. During its sessions in 1968, the Council will be giving particular attention to items related to strategy for the Second Development Decade, and the co-ordination of UN activities in the economic and social fields.

Established in 1964 as an organ of the Assembly, with its own Secretary-General and Secretariat in Geneva, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is concerned with the trade and development problems of the developing countries. The second session of UNCTAD was held in New Delhi from February 1 to March 29, 1968. In view of the compromise nature of the results of the Conference and the evident dissatisfaction of the developing countries with what they considered the unforthcoming attitude of the developed countries, it is certain that there will be considerable discussion of the report of the Conference.

The financing of economic development will probably again be a major item of discussion, including such questions as the volume and terms of aid, the problem of indebtedness and the promotion of the flow of private capital. The forty-third session of ECOSOC adopted a resolution requesting members of the International Development Association (IDA) to treat the replenishment of its resources as a matter of priority. Although the Committee's agenda does not include a separate item on trade, discussion of this subject is possible since the developing countries are pressing for improved access for their products to the markets of the industrialized countries, and other measures to expand their share of international trade.

The UN Industrial and Development Organization (UNIDO) was established by General Assembly Resolutions 2181 (XX) 1965 and 2152 (XXI) 1966. Its purpose is to promote industrial development in the developing countries and to be responsible for reviewing and promoting the co-ordination of UN industrialization activities. In particular, it is hoped that it will be responsible for encouraging, co-operating with and advising developing countries in the implementation of their industrial development. UNIDO is an organ of the General Assembly; it has its own Executive Director and Secretariat and is located in Vienna. The governing body of UNIDO is the 45-member Industrial Development Board (IDB), of which Canada is at present a member. IDB held its second session in Vienna earlier this year and passed a number of important resolutions concerning the future activities of UNIDO. The report

of this Board session will be considered by the Second and Fifth Committees and their recommendations will be passed on to the General Assembly.

Two other significant items of the agenda of the Second Committee are the "Second United Nations Development Decade" and multilateral food aid. The Committee will have for consideration a report by the Secretary-General on a development strategy for the seventies, and will in addition consider the appropriate procedures to be followed for proclaiming the 1970s a "Second United Nations Development Decade". The Committee will be concerned with the world food supply — the consideration of a report by the Secretary-General on multilateral food aid, particularly the problems of co-ordination and adequacy of present food-aid programmes. Another report by the Secretary-General will deal with efforts made by member countries to close the "protein gap" and the possibility of establishing a special World Protein Fund for the support of projects designed to increase the world supply of protein foodstuffs.

Other items on the agenda of the Second Committee which are likely to receive considerable attention are the operations of the United Nations Development Programme and the so-called "brain-drain" from developing countries.

### **Third Committee**

The Third Committee considers human rights and social questions, with much of its work originating in four of the seven Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council: the Commission for Social Development, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

Resolutions and recommendations from these bodies having been approved by ECOSOC, they go to the General Assembly, where they are considered in the Third Committee. The Committee also deals with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and some general aspects of the work of ECOSOC.

#### **International Declarations and Conventions**

One of the most important aspects of the work of the Third Committee is the consideration and approval of international conventions in the human rights field. In past years, for example, the Committee has considered, and the General Assembly has adopted, an International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (which Canada has signed), an International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, an International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and a draft declaration on social development. During its last session, the Committee considered and approved a Declaration on the Right of Asylum (territorial) and a Declaration on the Elimination of

Discrimination Against Women, both of which were adopted in plenary. Once these declarations and conventions have been adopted, the Committee hears periodic reports on their implementation. Canada's Federal Government is consulting the provinces with respect to all these conventions and covenants.

At this session the Committee will continue consideration of a draft declaration and a draft convention on freedom of information, as well as a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. It will also continue consideration of a draft convention that would provide that no statutory limitations should apply to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

As has been the case with other important international conventions adopted in the field of human rights in recent years, the draft conventions, which will be considered at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, contain appropriate implementation provisions. In the debates on the various conventions, Canada has consistently supported the inclusion of implementation measures to which signatory states would bind themselves. Others believe, however, that such implementation provisions must be consistent with the full protection of national sovereignty. The result, in previous instances, has been a compromise designed to achieve, to the greatest extent possible, both of these goals.

#### **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights**

After study by a special group, the Commission on Human Rights has recommended, and ECOSOC has transmitted the recommendation to the General Assembly, that a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights should be appointed. The resolution adopted by the Commission on Human Rights envisages that the High Commissioner will have four distinct functions: (1) If requested to do so, he will give advice and assistance to any of the organs of the United Nations or its Specialized Agencies which are concerned with human rights, and he will be required to maintain close relations with such organs. (2) If requested to do so, he will render assistance and services to any member state and, with the consent of the state concerned, submit a report on such assistance and services. (3) He will have access to communications concerning human rights addressed to the United Nations. When deemed appropriate, he could bring such a communication to the attention of the government to which it refers. (4) Finally, he will be required to "report to the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, on development in the field of human rights, including his observations on the implementation of the relevant declarations and instruments adopted by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and on his evaluation of the significant progress and problems". His report will be considered as a separate item on the agenda of the General Assembly, ECOSOC and the Commission on Human Rights. Canada has supported the creation of this post because it is felt that the High Commissioner will co-ordinate activities carried on in the United Nations system to advance the cause of human rights.

Owing to lack of time, this item did not receive extensive consideration at the last session. However, on a resolution co-sponsored by Canada and Costa Rica, the Committee agreed to give this subject a high priority at the forthcoming session.

### **International Year for Human Rights and International Conference on Human Rights**

The present year has been designated "International Year for Human Rights". As a highlight of its observance, the United Nations sponsored an "International Conference on Human Rights", which was held in Tehran in the spring and was attended by some 80 nations. The conference produced a large number of resolutions, as well as a report which will be considered by the General Assembly in the Third Committee and by relevant Specialized Agencies during this session and for some time to come. It is not expected that the Committee will have time, during this session, to consider specific resolutions and proposals from the Tehran Conference. However, many of the items on the Committee's agenda were considered, not always in the same form, at Tehran and the deliberations of that Conference are bound to have a profound effect on the Committee's work.

### **Other Items**

The Third Committee will consider the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; portions of the report of ECOSOC; the report of the Secretary-General on the world social situation; questions of violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms; the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and a draft declaration on social development.

## **Fourth Committee**

The Fourth Committee considers colonial questions. In the past few years the pressure for rapid advance to self-government and independence has been so great that there has been a general discussion of colonialism in plenary, while individual territories are normally considered in the Fourth Committee. Thus it is possible to have a debate on a colonial territory proceeding in the Fourth Committee while plenary is discussing the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-four on Colonialism. However, the Fourth Committee remains the focal point of the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations.

Basically, the aim behind the work of the Fourth Committee is to encourage the speedy political development of the remaining colonial territories. Three classes of colonial territory come within its field of responsibility:

(a) *Non-Self-Governing Territories*. There are some 50 of these, ranging from Angola and Mozambique to small island dependencies like St. Helena and the Falkland Islands.

(b) *Trust Territories.* Only two territories remain under the trusteeship agreements negotiated after the Second World War: Australian New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the U.S.A. Their administration is supervised by the Trusteeship Council, which reports annually to the General Assembly.

(c) *The Territory of South West Africa* (see below).

The hard-core colonial problems which will come before the Fourth Committee at this session can be narrowed to three: Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, and South West Africa. In these territories power is in the hands of a minority of European settlers, and the Africans, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are still deprived of many basic political rights.

#### **Namibia (formerly South West Africa)**

South West Africa was the only mandated territory not placed under UN trusteeship after the world organization was established. Since then, repeated attempts to bring South Africa to acknowledge that it is answerable to the UN for the territory have failed, culminating in the refusal by the International Court in mid-1966 to render a judgment on the issue. At the twenty-first session, the General Assembly decided that the mandate under which South Africa administered South West Africa was terminated and that henceforth the United Nations would exercise direct responsibility for the territory. At its fifth special session, in April-June 1967, the General Assembly established an 11-member UN Council to administer the territory and lead it to independence. Since then, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have sought in vain to obtain South African compliance with the General Assembly's decision to assume responsibility for the territory, whose name was changed to Namibia by the General Assembly in June 1968. There will be demands at the twenty-third session for strong measures, such as economic sanctions, to bring about South African co-operation with the Council and withdrawal from the territory.

#### **Rhodesia**

Since Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965, there have been sustained efforts on the part of the world community to put an end to the rebellion. On December 16, 1966, the Security Council adopted a number of selective mandatory sanctions designed to cripple the Rhodesian economy and in this way to bring about the downfall of the illegal regime. These sanctions were considerably broadened by the unanimous Security Council resolution of May 29, 1968. Since the regime continues in power, there will be criticism that sanctions have not been effective. There will also be pressure from many African and Asian states on Britain to use force to end the rebellion, and demands that sanctions be extended to South Africa and Portugal, which have not been applying them to Rhodesia. Canada has consistently supported

the sanctions against Rhodesia but has spoken against the use of force.

### **Portuguese Territories**

The Fourth Committee is likely to adopt further recommendations seeking to persuade Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and to co-operate with the United Nations in preparing the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, etc., for eventual self-government and independence. In addition, the African states may try to strengthen these recommendations and to isolate Portugal further by, as in the past, bringing in resolutions calling for various forms of economic sanction against Portugal as well as a total ban on military and technical assistance. Canada believes that Portugal should recognize the right of self-determination, but differs with the majority over the means they believe necessary to achieve this objective. Canada has complied with a Security Council resolution asking member states not to ship arms to Portuguese territories, but has not agreed with other measures proposed by African states, including a trade embargo and the rupture of diplomatic relations.

### **Fifth Committee**

Administrative and budgetary questions are assigned to the Fifth Committee. Some of the principal items before the twenty-third session will be:

#### **Report of Committee on Contributions**

The Committee on Contributions is an expert body established by the General Assembly to recommend to the Assembly the scale of assessments according to which the expenses of the United Nations are to be apportioned. The scale is reviewed periodically by the Committee, which assigns a percentage of the total expenses in the regular budget to each member state according to its relative capacity to pay. The scale is determined in the first instance by comparing the national-accounts data of member states. However, the Committee is also required to take into account certain other principles and factors as laid down in various directives of the General Assembly: the "ceiling" principle, which provides that no member state should pay more than 30 per cent of the total budget and, in accordance with which, the U.S.A. assessment is being gradually reduced; the "*per capita* ceiling" principle, which stipulates that the *per capita* contribution of any member state should not exceed that of the member paying the highest assessment, namely the United States; the "floor rate", which sets the minimum rate of assessment at 0.04 per cent; and the provision of special allowances for countries with low *per capita* incomes. In 1967 the Assembly approved a new scale of assessments devised by the Committee on Contributions for the years 1968-70. Under the new scale, Canada's assessment has dropped from 3.17 per cent of the total to 3.02 per cent. The

assessments of Britain, France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have also gone down, while those of Italy and Japan have risen appreciably. Fifty-seven countries are assessed at the minimum rate under the new scale.

### **Personnel Questions**

In its discussion of personnel questions, the Fifth Committee will again consider the Secretary-General's report on the composition of the Secretariat and will discuss the progress achieved towards realising the objective of "equitable geographical distribution" of professional posts in the United Nations Secretariat. It will be recalled that, at the seventeenth session, the General Assembly established guide-lines to govern equitable geographical distribution by approving "desirable ranges" for each member state. At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, a further resolution on the composition of the Secretariat was passed which requests the Secretary-General to prepare information concerning the composition of the Secretariat and to take further steps towards achieving the equitable balance required. The Committee will also be considering the question of working languages. The attempt last year to introduce a greater use of French as a working language in the United Nations will be examined in some detail and progress being made as a result of General Assembly Resolution 2359 (B) will be discussed by the Committee. In particular, the means to be employed in advancing the actual use of French as a working language will be closely examined by the Committee. This will require an examination of the use of advanced or accelerated language instruction programmes and of language bonuses. It is also likely that the question of the introduction of Spanish and Russian as "working", as opposed to "official" languages, into the United Nations Secretariat will be discussed.

### **Pattern of Conferences**

At its twenty-second session, the Assembly considered the first report of the Committee on Conferences composed of 15 member states which had been established at the twenty-first session as a result of a resolution co-sponsored by Canada and New Zealand. In its report, the Committee was unable to recommend any reduction in the 1968 calendar of meetings, partly because the Conference calendar was, by and large, firmly determined by the time the Committee began its meetings. The Committee report, however, contained a number of useful recommendations which, if applied in future, could be of great assistance in rationalizing the United Nations conference programme. The Committee also agreed that it should meet outside as well as during the regular sessions of the General Assembly, as this would enable it to recommend reductions in the Conference and Meetings Programme for a given year before the calendar for that year had been completed. The Committee also recommends that its report be accepted by the General Assembly; it approved the calendar of meetings in conference for 1968 and it requested the Committee

on Conferences to meet as early as possible in 1968 to examine a schedule of meetings for 1969 and 1970. This recommendation was passed by the Fifth Committee and was later adopted without objection in the General Assembly. During the twenty-third session, the Fifth Committee and later the General Assembly will be considering the second report of the Committee on Conferences. It is to be hoped that a realistic attitude will prevail concerning the question of conferences and meetings, as the concern of a number of states, including Canada, is that certain conference services such as competent translators and technicians are in such short supply that, regardless of the level of funds made available, it will not be possible in the future to service adequately all UN conferences and meetings if the conference programme continues to grow at such a high rate.

#### **Implementation of Recommendations of Ad Hoc Committee of Financial Experts**

At the twenty-first session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution approving the recommendations for administrative and budgetary innovations contained in the second report of the Ad Hoc Committee of 14 Financial Experts, which had been established at the twentieth session on the initiative of France. The resolution urged that the recommendations be given the most attentive consideration by member states and United Nations organs and related bodies with a view to their early implementation, and requested the Secretary-General to submit to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly a progress report on implementation in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. As one of the 14 countries which was represented on the Ad Hoc Committee, Canada studied with interest the Secretary-General's progress report, which indicated that a number of useful changes had been made in the preparation and presentation of the budgetary estimates for 1968. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly and in the individual organs and bodies of the UN family, Canada will continue to press for the effective implementation of the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations for improved methods of budget preparation and presentation, inspection and control, better administration, long-term planning and evaluation and, basic to all recommendations, the most efficient utilization of available resources for the vital work of human, social and economic development. Parallel to this, Canada will continue to urge member states which have not yet done so to consider what contributions they can now make to strengthen the financial position of the UN.

#### **Approval of 1969 Budget Estimates**

After approving the financial accounts of the United Nations for the 1967 financial year and any supplementary estimates required for 1968, the Fifth Committee will be called upon to approve the budget estimates for the 1969 financial year, aided by the report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). The gross expenditures proposed by the

Secretary-General in the 1969 estimates are \$140,520,210 (U.S.), which is an increase of \$89,260 above the current appropriations. It should be noted that the figures are not exactly comparable since, at this stage, the budget estimates do not provide for certain expenditures whose amounts cannot yet be estimated — most notably the sum to be spent under the regular United Nations Programme of Technical Co-operation. Neither do they include estimates of expenditures resulting from decisions taken by the Economic and Social Council at its summer session or to be taken by the General Assembly this autumn, which will be the subject of revised estimates later this year. The Secretary-General has advised that, when all the additional items have been precisely estimated, they may well have the effect of adding a further \$10 million to his initial request of \$140.5 million. After deducting estimated income, the net budget for the items of expenditure presented thus far for 1969 amount to \$115,460,970, which is approximately \$1.2 million less than the net amount appropriated in 1968. While the Advisory Committee has further recommended reductions of \$2,203,260 in estimated expenditures, nevertheless, after additions and adjustments, it is tentatively estimated that member states will be assessed a total of approximately \$124.5 million for 1969, compared to \$115.6 million for 1968.

Factors leading to the projected budget rise are higher salary and wage rates and other staff costs that amount to approximately \$4 million. An increase in the allocation for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) will cost \$1.2 million more in 1969 (for a total of \$9.4 million) than in the current year. Partially offsetting these higher figures is a decline of \$1.5 million in the amount requested for special meetings and conferences, owing to the fact that, under present plans, the schedule for such meetings will be much lighter next year.

After detailed consideration in the Fifth Committee of the budget estimates, the Advisory Committee's recommendations and any further submissions by the Secretary-General, the budget will be acted upon by the General Assembly. Adoption of the budget by the Assembly after debate requires a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

It will be of interest to readers, that on August 20, 1968, Canada became the candidate agreed on by the WEO group for the vice-chairmanship of the Fifth Committee.

### **Sixth Committee**

The Sixth Committee deals with the items of the agenda that are essentially (but not exclusively) of a legal nature. For this year the subjects are the following:

**Report of International Law Commission on Work of its Twentieth Session**  
The International Law Commission (ILC), a body of legal experts appointed in

their personal capacities to codify and develop international law, will report on the work of its twentieth session, which was held in Geneva from May 27 to August 2, 1968. The programme of work of the Commission included relations between states and intergovernmental organizations, and the succession of states and governments — in particular, succession with regard to treaties.

#### **Report of Special Committee on Defining Aggression**

The definition of aggression has been the subject of many efforts over several years within the General Assembly, as well as within the ILC, the Sixth Committee and various special committees. To date it has not been possible to reach an agreement on a definition that would be generally acceptable and would cover all conceivable situations, including acts of indirect aggression. Canada is a member of the 35-country committee, which met in Geneva from June 4 to July 5, 1968, and will report to the General Assembly during this session.

#### **Report of Commission on International Trade Law**

The Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) was established in 1966 to promote the development of international commercial law by the harmonization and the unification of existing conventions, law and trade practices. UNCITRAL held its first session in New York in January 1968; the second session will be held in Geneva in March 1969. Canada is not a member of this 29-member body.

#### **Technical Assistance to Promote Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law**

During the eighteenth session, a special committee was established to elaborate practical methods for assisting member states, in particular in developing areas, to train specialists in international law. A programme was set up and it was suggested, mostly by developing countries, that its cost be included in the regular budget of the United Nations. This programme includes seminars on international law, fellowships, advisory services of experts and the translation of legal publications. Although they recognized the need for such a programme, Canada and other developed countries were opposed to having the cost of it included in the United Nations regular budget; they would have preferred that it be financed through voluntary contributions. A compromise was worked out by which the programme would be financed partly by the UN and partly by voluntary contributions. The progress made in carrying out the programme will be a topic of discussions for the Sixth Committee during the present session, as well as the problem of financing it.

#### **Draft Articles on Special Missions**

The International Law Commission has prepared a set of articles which could be used for a convention on special missions to cover certain forms of diplomatic

activities not included in the Vienna Treaty on Diplomatic Missions (1961). The Sixth Committee will discuss this project with a view to recommending that the General Assembly adopt such a convention, but it is expected that a serious debate will arise on the extension of privileges and immunities to special missions. On this matter, the Canadian position is that the General Assembly should not go too far in assimilating the status of special missions to those of regular diplomatic missions; the granting of privileges and immunities to special missions should be governed strictly by considerations of functional necessity and should not go beyond the minimum required to ensure the efficient performance of the task assigned to such missions.

#### **Report of Committee on Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States**

This intercessional Committee, established in 1964, numbers 31 members, including Canada. It undertook to develop and codify seven principles of international law flowing from the UN Charter in the area of friendly relations and co-operation among states, formerly called "peaceful co-existence". These principles deal with the prohibition of the threat or use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention, the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the sovereign equality of states, the duty of co-operation between member states, and the duty of member states to fulfill the obligations under the Charter. The Committee has already formulated four of the seven principles; it still has to agree on the formulation of the principles of prohibition of the threat or use of force, of non-intervention, and of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The debates on these last principles have been complicated by a disagreement on procedure; some members are of the opinion that to be acceptable these principles must be adopted by a consensus; their opponents are of the opinion that the majority should rule and that the dissenting minority must accept the decision. On this matter Canada supports the requirement of a consensus.

## *Republic of Somalia*

**O**N JUNE 23, 1968, Mr. Michel Gauvin, Canada's first Ambassador to the Republic of Somalia, presented his credentials in Mogadishu to Abdirashid Ali Shermarke. Mr. Gauvin, who is also Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, is resident in Addis Ababa.

The Somali Republic, which has a population estimated at 2.5 million and covers an area of 246,000 square miles (about the size of the Province of Alberta), is located on the east coast of Africa north of the equator. Somalia and Ethiopia together comprise what is referred to as the Horn of Africa. The former British Protectorate of Somaliland joined Italy's former Trust Territory of Somalia to form the Somali Republic on July 1, 1960.

### **People**

The Somalis are a Hamitic people, predominantly Moslem, more than 75 per cent of whom live a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence. The original inhabitants of the area were members of various Hamitic groups who mixed, particularly along the coastal regions, with Arab traders. Today there are



Mr. Michel Gauvin, newly-appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of Somalia, presents his credentials to President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke in Mogadishu.

four major tribal groups: the Darod, largest of the groups, predominating in the northern and northeastern parts of the country; the Hawiya in the central part; the Rahenevein in the south-central region; and the Ishaak in the north-central portion. The language is Somali, which as yet has no generally accepted written form. The official written languages are Arabic, Italian and English.

### **History**

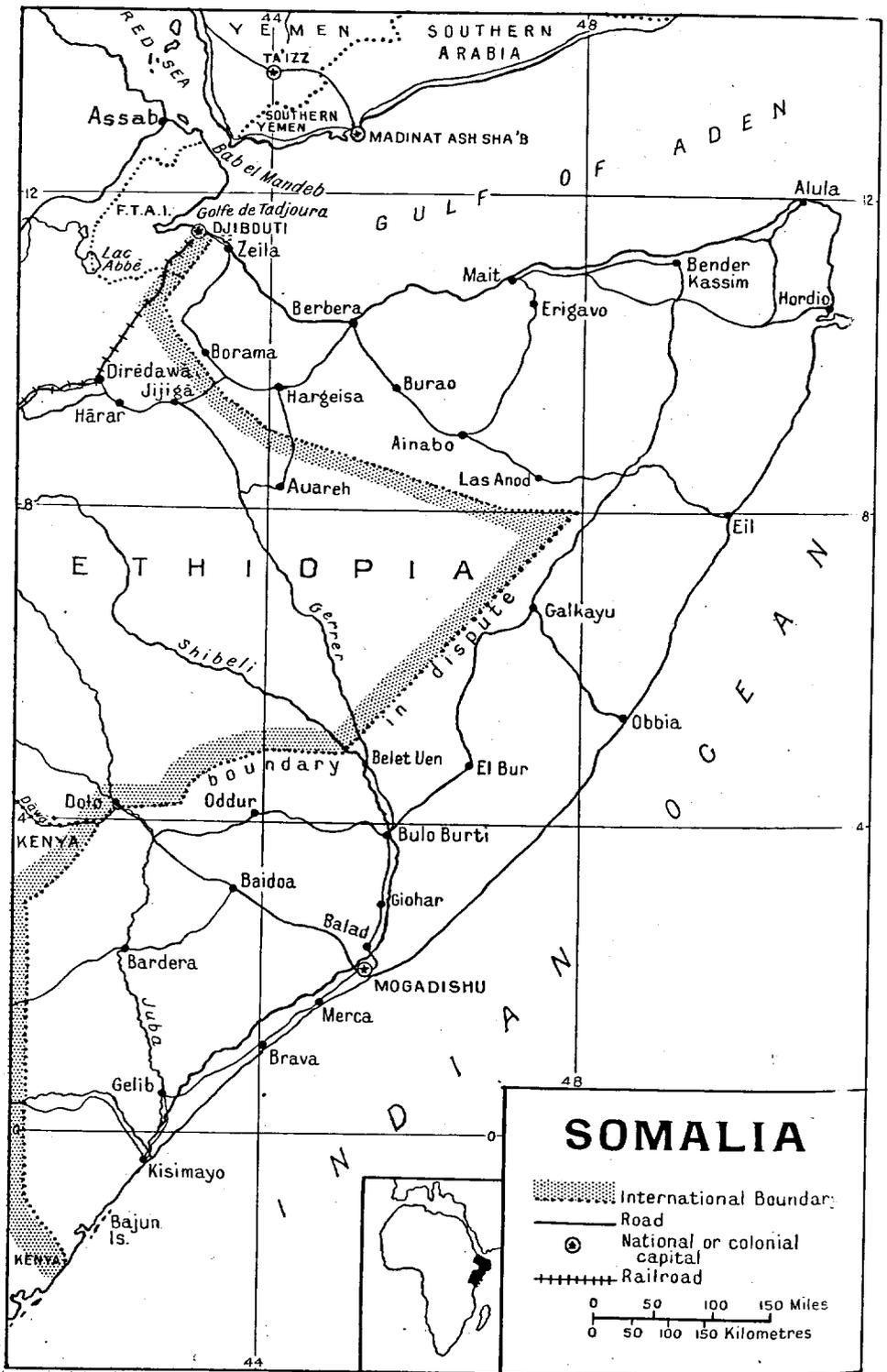
During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Portuguese landed in the Somali territories to carry on trade activities, and for a while ruled some of the towns on the coast. Later the Sultan of Zanzibar took control of certain coastal towns and surrounding territory. In the late nineteenth century, the various European powers began to seek trade and otherwise establish themselves in the area of Somalia. British interest arose largely from the desire of the East India Company for a place to harbour its vessels without restriction. In 1884, when Egyptian garrisons were withdrawn from the area, the British signed treaties with various Somali chiefs guaranteeing British protection. The boundary between Ethiopia and British Somaliland was established by treaty in 1897.

In 1885, Italy obtained commercial advantages in the area and, in 1889, concluded agreements with sultans who placed their territories under Italian protection. The Italians gradually extended their territory and, by 1927, the whole territory along the eastern and southern coasts was brought under their direct administrative control. This control continued until the Second World War. Following the declaration of war on Britain by Italy in July 1940, British forces began operations against the Italian East African empire and, by February 1941, the greater part of Italian Somaliland was under British control. From 1941 to 1950, Somalia was under British administration and the transition toward self-government was begun.

In 1949, Italian Somaliland was placed under the international trusteeship of the United Nations system for a period of ten years with Italy as the administering authority. In 1959, the UN General Assembly, at the request of the Somali Government, advanced the date of independence from December 2 to July 1, 1960. Meanwhile, rapid progress toward self-government was being made in British Somaliland. Elections were held in February 1960 and one of the first acts of the new legislature was to request Britain to give the area its independence so that it could be united with Italian Somalia when the latter became independent. Britain agreed and the protectorate became independent on June 26, 1960. Five days later, on July 1, it joined Italian Somalia to form the Somali Republic.

### **Economy**

The economic development of the Somali Republic is complicated by the nomadic movements of the people, as well as frequent droughts that cause much hardship.



It is a pastoral-agricultural economy with livestock constituting the main form of wealth. Bananas composed nearly half the country's total exports in 1965. This source of revenue was seriously affected by the closing of the Suez Canal in 1967. Other principal crops are sorghum, maize, beans, peanuts, sesame, sugar cane and cotton. Because of the nature of Somalia's exports the Republic is particularly susceptible to the random fluctuation of prices for agricultural goods in world markets. Movement of produce is restricted by an inadequate transportation system. There are no railways in the Somali Republic and all transportation is by trucks and buses. The present state of the Somali economy increases the importance of external financial assistance to its future development.

### **Government**

Somalia is a representative, democratic, unitary republic. The President, who is chief of state, is elected to a six-year term with the possibility of one consecutive re-election. The President appoints the Prime Minister, who in turn recommends the other ministers from the Deputies of the National Assembly elected to a five-year term by universal, free, direct and secret suffrage.

### **"Greater Somalia" Question**

The Republic has been much interested in the question of the Somali minorities who live outside the Republic, notably in the French territory of the Afars and the Issas, the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, and the northeast region of Kenya. Since 1960 the Republic has been engaged in a dispute with neighbouring states in an effort to unite the peoples and territories of the one million "outside" Somalis with those in the Republic. This issue has been a source of conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia and Kenya. The "Greater Somalia" question has been aggravated by the movement of nomads, who ignore what they regard as artificial borders.

The continuing dispute had placed a strain on Somalia's scarce resources and largely disrupted trade among the three countries involved. In Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, development of the affected areas had been retarded. The Somali Government elected in August 1967 is seeking to normalize Somalia's relations with its neighbours. The new President, Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, and the new Prime Minister, Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, moved quickly to indicate a willingness for discussions on the questions in dispute, at the same time placing greater emphasis on Somalia's economic development programmes. Consequently, Prime Minister Egal welcomed President Kaunda of Zambia's offer to mediate the difficulties between Somalia and Kenya and Somalia and Ethiopia. The outcome of the October 20, 1967, summit conference in Arusha, Tanzania, was agreement among Somali, Ethiopian and Kenyan representatives to try for peace. As part of its programme to normalize relations, Somalia restored relations with Britain and Kenya in January 1968. (Relations with Britain had been severed upon the granting of independence to Kenya in 1963.) Concurrently, relations with Ethiopia have steadily improved.

### **Foreign Policy**

Somalia follows a policy of non-alignment internationally and has established diplomatic relations with many countries, including Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union. The policy of *détente* with Kenya and Ethiopia has led to closer relations with other African states, and Somalia has expressed an interest in joining the East African Common Market. (The closing of the Suez Canal has made closer economic relations with Eastern Africa of even greater importance to Somalia, as many European markets are now difficult to reach.)

### **Relations with Canada**

Although Canada's relations with Somalia have been somewhat limited in the past, Mr. Michel Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, was, as mentioned above, accredited recently as non-resident Ambassador to the Somali Republic. Similarly, the Somali Republic will be accrediting an ambassador to Canada in the near future. The establishment of diplomatic relations is expressive of the friendship and goodwill that exist between Somalia and Canada. The spirit of co-operation evident in Somalia's foreign policy indicates a common concern with Canada to pursue the cause of peace and strengthened relations among all nations. Canada is particularly eager to share in the improvement of relations with the peoples of Africa, and its closer ties with Somalia should enhance this possibility.

# The International Joint Commission in Action

## MEASURES TO CONTROL POLLUTION OF NIAGARA RIVER

*On January 16 and 17, 1968, the International Joint Commission held a public meeting in Niagara Falls, New York, to review progress in both countries toward the control of the pollution of the Niagara River. In the following letter to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, dated April 11, the Commission reports on the results of the meeting and on its intention to take similar action in other areas where transboundary pollution has become a source of concern :*

INTERNATIONAL JOINT  
COMMISSION

COMMISSION  
MIXTE INTERNATIONALE

April 11, 1968.

Marcel Cadieux, Esq., Q.C.,  
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,  
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Cadieux,

I have the honour to report to you the development by the International Joint Commission of a new and promising procedure in the discharge of the Commission's growing responsibilities in the field of transboundary air and water pollution between the United States and Canada. I refer to the "pilot" public international meeting conducted by the Commission at Niagara Falls, New York, on January 16 and 17, 1968, with regard to the pollution of the Niagara River.

The Commission has long served as the chosen instrument of the two Governments to deal with transboundary pollution. Article IV of the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty, which established the Commission, contains a solemn pledge that "the waters herein defined as boundary waters and waters flowing across the boundary shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property on the other". One of the earliest References to the Commission, on August 1, 1912, requested an investigation into the extent of boundary waters pollution. The Commission reported on September 10, 1918, that the entire stretch of boundary waters, with the exception of the Great Lakes beyond their shore waters, was polluted and that conditions existing in the Detroit and Niagara Rivers especially were in clear contravention of the treaty. The Commission recommended in its 1918 report that it be given jurisdiction to regulate and prohibit such pollution; but although the two Governments considered this suggestion and even went so far as to exchange drafts of a convention on the subject, nothing further was done until 1946.

In that year the two Governments asked the Commission to conduct a new investigation into the pollution of the Great Lakes connecting channels, comprising ultimately the St. Mary's and St. Clair Rivers, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit and Niagara Rivers. In its report of October 11, 1950, the Commission recommended that the continuing problem of pollution of these waters be dealt with by adoption of criteria specified as "Objectives for Boundary Waters Quality Control," and in addition that the Commission be vested with supervisory jurisdiction to oversee the achievement of these "Objectives." The two Governments accepted these recommendations as a means of complying with their treaty undertakings, and in the ensuing years the "Objectives" have served as a model for the formulation by Federal, State and Provincial authorities of their own water quality standards. For its part the Commission has kept abreast of abatement progress through regular reports from international advisory boards appointed by the Commission for this purpose and has taken follow-up action when required.

In recent years the Commission's responsibilities in the field of transboundary pollution have increased significantly in scope and complexity. For example, on October 7, 1964, the two Governments asked the Commission to investigate the pollution of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the International Section of the St. Lawrence River. On September 23, 1966, the Commission was given a new Reference charging it with the responsibility of inquiring into the extent of air pollution across the international boundary, beginning with the Port Huron-Sarnia and Detroit-Windsor areas but extending ultimately to other areas where the Commission may determine there is a serious problem. When the Commission has concluded its comprehensive investigations now under way pursuant to these two References, it will have to consider what remedial measures to recommend to Governments and in particular whether it should propose a continuing supervisory role for itself and if so on what terms.

It is in this context that the Commission's experience of the last few months with pollution of the Niagara River may prove instructive.

The Niagara River has long been seriously polluted. The Commission in 1918 reported that the waters below the Falls showed "an intense pollution from shore to shore and from the surface to the bed of the stream." In 1950 the Commission found "progressive overall degradation" of the waters in the connecting channels from pollution sources culminating in heavy industrial and municipal waste discharges on the upper Niagara River. The current and still unsatisfactory condition of the river is described in the October 1967 Summary Report of the Commission's Lakes Erie-Ontario Advisory Board, a copy of which is attached for your information. As if to highlight the continuing seriousness of the situation described in this Summary Report, the Commission has just learned from its Advisory Board that the 1968 spring flushout of the Buffalo River has carried an unusually heavy discharge of oils and other concentrated wastes into the Niagara River, causing a substantial number of duck kills.

The condition of the Niagara River below the Falls, particularly discolouration of the water and occasional distressing odours, is offensive to local residents on both sides of the border and also to the three million tourists who annually visit the Falls from every State and Province in the two countries and from many foreign countries. Their concern, which is often given sharply critical voice, is symptomatic of broad and growing public insistence on restoring the quality of our common North American natural environment. This popular pressure, of relatively recent growth, has brought new urgency to the pollution-control efforts of Federal, State, and Provincial authorities in both Canada and the United States, and at the same time has cast into clearer relief the special contribution that has been and can continue to be made by the International Joint Commission.

On the United States side, where the principal sources of the pollution of the Niagara River are located, there has been a recent profusion of new laws and regulations by both Federal and State Governments. The 1965 New York State Pure Waters Program, funded by a billion-dollar bond issue, includes stream standards and abatement schedules which have been submitted to and approved by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration pursuant to Federal law. For the Niagara River, the approved standards are based upon the Commission's 1950 "Objectives" and in some respects are more demanding.

Section 206 of the Federal Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 provides in addition for direct federal enforcement measures to be taken in the case of pollution from United States sources which endangers the health or welfare of persons in a foreign country, but this section is applicable only to a foreign country which extends reciprocal rights to the United States. Moreover, the law as written purports to confer on the foreign country the status of a "State water pollution control agency," which makes its enforcement procedures something less than truly international.

Section 206, however, explicitly subordinates its procedures to the provisions of the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty.

In Canada the primary responsibility for pollution control resides in the Provincial authorities. The Ontario Water Resources Commission Act of 1957 empowered the OWRC to deal comprehensively with industrial and municipal waste, and it has issued regulations and directives thereunder. Ontario and New York officials have worked closely together on the Niagara River to compare stream data and water quality objectives with a view to concerting their efforts along the international boundary.

It is here that the Commission has been able to play a role that is perhaps especially useful; namely, that of bringing together the pollution-control authorities in the relevant jurisdictions on both sides of the border and working with them towards the common objective of a satisfactory environment. Nothing better illustrates this function than the composition of the Commission's Lakes Erie-Ontario Advisory Board; chaired on each side by an official of the respective federal pollution control agencies, its membership includes also the Deputy

Commissioner in charge of New York's Pure Waters Program and the General Manager of the Ontario Water Resources Commission. It is these knowledgeable and responsible officials who submitted the Summary Report attached to this letter.

In the past the Commission has usually acted on Board reports by issuing citations to particularly delinquent industries and municipalities or by conferring privately with responsible pollution-control authorities to urge acceleration of abatement programmes. This time the Commission decided to go further and to draw on an aroused public opinion as a spur to pollution-control efforts. In late October the Commission released the Summary Report and announced that an international meeting open to the public would be held in January to review the adequacy and effectiveness of existing programmes and to consider ways of ensuring that these programmes are successful.

The response was gratifying. The Commission heard testimony or received written statements from 26 persons, including Federal, State, Provincial and local elected representatives, officials of pollution-control agencies at all levels of government, industry spokesmen and interested private citizens and associations; 30 additional representatives of these various groups registered their attendance. Because of the nature of the problem, a great deal of time was devoted to close questioning of the New York State representative about the detailed functioning of the Pure Waters Program. But the two volumes of transcript and associated papers, on file with and available for inspection at the Washington and Ottawa offices of the Commission, also disclose far-reaching discussion of many matters not dealt with in the Summary Report: emerging evidence of degradation of Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Niagara River, future problems of thermal pollution associated with nuclear and conventional power plants, the difficulties of coping with major oil spills of the *Torrey Canyon* type, and a variety of other questions. The Commission expects to be considering these issues in the course of its investigation of Lakes Erie-Ontario and the International Section of the St. Lawrence River, and will at the appropriate time have specific recommendations to make to the two Governments.

As to present conditions on the Niagara River itself, the Commission has reached the following major findings and conclusions:

### **Findings**

1. International pollution, caused principally by sources on the United States side, exists in the Niagara River to the detriment of water uses in both countries including public water supply, fish and wildlife, recreation, and aesthetic enjoyment.
2. The Commission's 1950 water quality "Objectives" are not met in various portions of the river. Furthermore, in some respects the "Objectives" are inadequate and should be up-dated to reflect advances in the state of the art and to produce truly satisfactory water quality.

3. New York State, as the jurisdiction with primary enforcement responsibility, has developed a comprehensive Pure Waters Program including detailed effluent requirements and timetables on the Niagara River, and these standards have in turn been approved by the United States Secretary of the Interior.

4. Barring major inflation or diversion of available financial resources, the abatement program established for the Niagara River should — if effectively enforced — bring the quality of its waters progressively into satisfactory condition by the end of 1972.

5. It is essential that sufficient flexibility be maintained to augment existing abatement programs so as to meet new demands on or threats to water quality as they arise.

### Conclusions

1. New York State is providing a constructive example of the initiatives that can be taken to meet growing public demand for restoring the quality of our natural environment. It is essential that the United States Federal Government join in this effort by appropriating the authorized federal share of the cost of these programs.

2. The lessons learned from this public international meeting will be helpful to the Commission's Advisory Boards in completing the task assigned to them of recommending improvements to the Commission's 1950 "Objectives."

3. There is at present no occasion for the convening of an enforcement conference on the Niagara River under Section 206 of the U.S. Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966. At the same time the two Governments should continue to consult together about harmonization of national laws or other means of fulfilling the pledge contained in Article IV of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

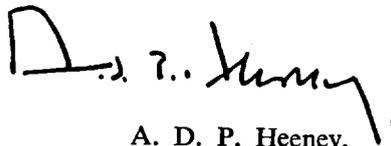
4. The Commission intends to augment its monitoring of the achievement of water quality objectives on the Niagara River in two ways. First, it will ask the Lakes Erie-Ontario Advisory Board to review with the New York State authorities on a regular basis the detailed composition of the effluent discharged by each industrial and municipal plant covered by an enforcement order, to compare these data with the effluent criteria and timetables established for each such plant, and to advise the Commission as to which if any of such plants are doing less than possible to meet the established schedules and to improve pollution control in the interim. Second, the Commission intends to hold another comprehensive public international meeting no later than July 1, 1970, to assess the progress of abatement programs and to advise the two Governments at that time whether the forecast completion date at the end of 1972 will be met.

A more general and "institutional" conclusion drawn by the Commission is that the technique of enlisting informed public support for abatement measures, through such procedures as the release of special Advisory Board reports and the convening of public international meetings, greatly strengthens the hand of

the Commission in exercising the supervisory jurisdiction with which it has in the past and may in the future be entrusted by the two Governments. Thus the Commission is pleased to be able to report its development of a procedure which promises to add new effectiveness to its functions in the field of both air and water pollution.

This communication has been reviewed and approved by the Commission as a whole at its meeting of April 8-11, 1968. An identical letter is being sent by the Chairman of the United States Section to the Under Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. D. P. Heeney". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "A" and a long, sweeping tail.

A. D. P. Heeney,  
Chairman.

# Canada and the World Health Organization<sup>(1)</sup>

IN recalling the general theme of the introductory part of this review it may be appropriate to quote the full text of the preamble to the constitution of the World Health Organization.

The opening principle, which has been universally accepted as the most appropriate definition of health in its broadest context, is known chiefly as being "basic to the happiness, harmonious relations and security of all peoples", in that:

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

The completeness of this pronouncement is equally only by the breadth of vision and the fullness of thought incorporated in the subsequent provisions:

The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition.

The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest co-operation of individuals and States.

The achievement of any State in the promotion and protection of health is of value to all.

Unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of disease, especially communicable disease, is a common danger.

Healthy development of the child is of basic importance; the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment is essential to such development.

The extension to all peoples of the benefits of medical, psychological, and related knowledge is essential to the fullest attainment of health.

Informed opinion and active co-operation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of the health of the people.

Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provisions of adequate health and social measures.

Accepting these principles, and for the purpose of co-operation among themselves and with others to promote and protect the health of all peoples, the contracting parties agree to the present Constitution and hereby establish the World Health Organization as a Specialized Agency within the terms of Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations.

## Canadian WHO Pioneers

Among those taking a prominent part in the drafting of the preamble to the WHO constitution as well as the specific articles of the document itself was Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada, who was appointed rapporteur of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the International Health Conference of 1946 and, as previously noted, was elected Executive Secretary of the Interim Commission of the WHO, subsequently becoming its first Director-General. Other illustrious names will also be recalled as representing Canada's interests in advancing the

(1) The first part of this two-part article appeared, under the title "An Achievement in International Co-operation — The World Health Organization", on Page 335 of the August 1968 issue of *External Affairs*.

cause of world health at this time. These include the Honourable Brocke Claxton, first Minister of National Health and Welfare; Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Dr. Chisholm's successor as Deputy Minister of National Health; Dr. F. W. Jackson, then Deputy Minister of Health and Public Welfare for Manitoba; and Dr. T. C. Routley, at the time General Secretary of the Canadian Medical Association.

As the third member state to ratify the constitution of the WHO on August 29, 1946, the Canadian Government clearly marked a new era in Canadian medical affairs and provided the most tangible evidence of the entry of the health professions of Canada into the international field. It is true that, in earlier years, Canadian medicine had contributed substantially to progress and to the total fund of knowledge in the medical sciences. Thus, among the more illustrious names in Canadian medical history are those of Osler in the clinical field, Banting and Best in the research laboratory, and Fitzgerald and Fraser in public health.

But Canada's capacity, as an emerging country in the early years of the twentieth century and as a developing nation in the interval between the two world wars, for a more comprehensive contribution to the improvement of the health of the world was limited. Its accession, therefore, to formal participation in the international health field coincides, fittingly, with the birth of the World Health Organization. Now, since Canada is one of the nations better-equipped to advance the cause of world health, it is timely to review and to weigh, if possible, the extent to which this self-imposed role in world health affairs has been fulfilled.

### **WHO Structure**

It would be appropriate at this point to outline in general terms the basic structure of the Organization as constitutionally established. Like Canada, the WHO has a parliament (the World Health Assembly), a cabinet (the Executive Board) and a civil service (the Secretariat). The World Health Assembly, which now consists of 127 members and four associates, meets annually to decide on policies, a programme and a budget, to review continuing programmes and new ones, and to adopt necessary international health measures.

Canada has regularly been represented at these annual Assemblies by delegations reflecting the basic language composition of the nation, as well as a broad spectrum of health levels and disciplines: federal, provincial and community; official and voluntary bodies; doctors, nurses and a variety of other health workers. World Health Assemblies are usually held in Geneva, the headquarters of the Organization, but occasionally, on the invitation of member countries, the Assembly has met in regular sessions in Rome, Mexico City, Minneapolis, New Delhi and elsewhere.

Canadian delegations have been headed at most of these meetings by the Deputy Minister of National Health or a senior officer of the Department. These

have included Drs. G. D. W. Cameron and J. N. Crawford, Deputy Ministers of National Health, Dr. P. E. Moore, Director of Medical Services, Dr. Olivier Leroux, Assistant Director, Health Insurance Studies, and Dr. B. D. B. Layton, Principal Medical Officer, International Health. Ministers of National Health and Welfare or other parliamentary representatives have occasionally officiated, since earlier delegations included the Honourable (Dr.) J. J. McCann, Acting Minister of National Health and Welfare, Drs. E. A. McCusker and F. G. Robertson, Parliamentary Assistants to the Minister of National Health and Welfare, and the Honourable J. W. Monteith and the Honourable Judy LaMarsh, Ministers of National Health and Welfare.

As the principal executive organ of the WHO, the Executive Board meets at least twice a year and is unique among such bodies in the United Nations family in that its membership is, by constitutional provision, made up of technically-qualified persons who represent the World Health Assembly as a whole and not the governments, which name specific members on being elected to do so by the Assembly. Canada has been so favoured four times during the life of the WHO, its three-year terms having commenced in 1952, 1956, 1962 and 1968. Its designated members have included Dr. Olivier Leroux, Dr. P. E. Moore and Dr. B. D. B. Layton, the latter two having been elected Chairmen of the Board during the 1958-59 and 1963-64 sessions respectively.

#### **Canadians in the Secretariat**

In the third major division of the Organization, the Secretariat, Canada has also played a full part in proportion to its ability. Here too, Canadians have found a fertile field for their special qualifications, in many instances possessing, in addition to a high standard of training in the medical, nursing and other health and related professions, a facility in two languages that greatly enhances their function and capacity in an international agency such as the WHO.

In the Secretariat, during the current year, will be found 62 Canadian professionals — 4 per cent of the whole staff. Two-thirds of the Canadian members (42 in all) are nurses, with five doctors, five scientific and technical advisers, and 10 occupied in the administrative field.

Another important part of the WHO's continuing activities is that dealing with the provision of expert advice to and consultation with the Director-General and his staff. By the latest count there are 72 Canadian experts listed as members of 29 of the established 43 expert advisory panels and committees of the WHO. In a total of just over 2,500 such experts from 90 member countries, the Canadian component, therefore, approaches 3 per cent.

#### **Canada's Financial Contribution**

An important factor in Canadian participation in the work of this Organization is the financial support of the annual and continuing programmes. In the WHO, Canada's contribution amounts to 2.83 per cent of the budget. Canada's

assessment for the annual budget has risen from \$154,000 in 1949 (the first full year of operation for the WHO) to \$1,632,000 in 1968, with the expectation that this amount will rise to about \$1,710,000 next year. During the current year, as heretofore, the U.S.A., by established policy, provides about one-third of the total budget, followed by the U.S.S.R., the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France, with Canada in sixth position as determined by the UN scale of assessment. The regular budget of the WHO in the same 20 years has increased under \$5 million at the outset to nearly \$60 million for the current year, which, with other funds available, brings the total amount administered directly or indirectly by the Organization to over \$90 million.

It would be fitting at this point to recall a statement by Dr. Candau in reviewing the accomplishments of the first ten years of the World Health Organization :

This brief story of the WHO is barely the end of the beginning.

The philosophy and objectives of the Organization might again be summed up best in Dr. Candau's words:

We in the WHO believe... that the tragic and all too familiar cycle of ill health leading to poverty and poverty causing ill health must be broken through the concurrent and concerted action of all branches of science and technology. Only then can we be sure that our Organization may make its modest but essential contribution to the great undertaking launched in our time to eliminate poverty, disease and ignorance from the face of the earth, so that the people of all races and of all nations can build the healthy, prosperous and peaceful international society which is still the cherished dream of all of us.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- UN Symposium on Development and Utilization of Oil Shale Resources: Tallin, Estonia, September 2
- Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Geneva, August 29 — September 28
- Commonwealth Medical Conference: Kampala, September 2-12
- Commonwealth Conference on Teaching of Mathematics: St. Augustine, Trinidad, September 2-14
- International Civil Aviation Organization, sixteenth assembly session: Buenos Aires, September 2-28
- UNESCO Conference on the Scientific Basis for Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere: Paris, September 4-13
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, seventh session: Geneva, September 4-20
- Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States: New York, September 9-27 (or October 4)
- United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session: September 24 — December
- International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference: Vienna, September 24 — October 4
- UNESCO fifteenth General Conference: Paris, October 15 — November 21
- UN Conference on Road Traffic: Vienna, October 7 — November 8

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Miss K. Reid posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa, effective May 23, 1968.
- Mr. J. A. Millard posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective May 24, 1968.
- Mr. Y. Fortin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, effective May 25, 1968.
- Mr. G. I. Warren posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective June 7, 1968.
- Mr. P. J. A. Hancock posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective June 14, 1968.
- Mr. G. P. Creighton, posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, effective June 20, 1968.
- Mr. G. R. Skinner posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective June 25, 1968.
- Mr. R. G. Seaborn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Bordeaux, effective June 26, 1968.
- Mr. H. D. Peel posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to Ottawa, effective June 27, 1968.
- Mr. R. A. J. Chrétien posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 28, 1968.
- Mr. L. C. Brown-John resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective June 28, 1968.
- Mr. M. H. Hébert posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective June 28, 1968.
- Mr. J. D. L. Rose posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa, effective June 28, 1968.
- Mr. W. M. Agnes posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1968.
- Mr. J. F. Cyr appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 6, effective July 1, 1968.
- Mr. J. A. Sims posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective July 1, 1968.
- Mr. C. V. Cole posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague, effective July 2, 1968.
- Mr. A. B. Roger posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, effective July 2, 1968.
- Miss M. A. MacPherson posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1968.
- Mr. D. D. MacKinnon posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective July 2, 1968.
- Mr. D. J. Whitlaw posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1968.
- Mr. J. W. Carrière posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, effective July 4, 1968.

- Mr. S. M. Malone resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 5, 1968.
- Mr. W. T. Warden posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective July 7, 1968.
- Mr. R. W. MacLaren posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective July 8, 1968.
- Mr. S. F. Carlson posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective July 8, 1968.
- Mr. E. P. Foychuk posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective July 9, 1968.
- Mr. J. R. Plourde posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Bordeaux, to Ottawa, effective July 10, 1968.
- Mr. Y. St. Hilaire posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Addis Ababa, effective July 10, 1968.
- Mr. B. A. Wallis resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 12, 1968.
- Mr. M. Dupuy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective July 15, 1968.
- Mr. R. Choquette, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Uruguay, effective July 17, 1968.
- Mr. J. M. Harrington posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective July 17, 1968.
- Mr. J. F. A. Dumas posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective July 19, 1968.
- Mr. A. Kroeger posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective July 19, 1968.
- Mr. J. M. Sinclair appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 3, effective July 22, 1968.
- Mr. A. J. Torobin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Solicitor 1, effective July 22, 1968.
- Mr. A. Couvrette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa effective July 25, 1968.
- Mr. J. D. York posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective July 26, 1968.
- Mr. J. A. R. Brazeau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective July 27, 1968.
- Mr. W. W. Thompson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Service Officer 2, effective July 29, 1968.
- Mr. P. A. E. Johnston posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa, effective July 30, 1968.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Brazil

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Brazil concerning scientific relations between the two countries.

Ottawa August 29, 1968.

Entered into force August 29, 1968.

##### Hungary

Protocol to renew for a period of three years the Trade Agreement between Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic concluded at Ottawa June 11, 1964.

Signed at Budapest August 9, 1968.

Entered into force provisionally August 9, 1968.

##### Sweden

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Sweden relating to the Canada Pension Plan.

Ottawa June 26 and August 21, 1968.

Entered into force August 21, 1968.

To be effective from January 1, 1968.

#### Multilateral

Convention for the International Council for the exploration of the sea.

Done at Copenhagen, September 12, 1964.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited July 22, 1968.

Entered into force July 22, 1968.

International Convention for the conservation of Atlantic Tunas.

Done at Rio de Janeiro, May 14, 1966.

Canada's Instrument of Adhesion deposited at Rome, August 20, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Canada's Reaction to the Tragedy of Czechoslovakia*

As soon as confirmed reports of the invasion of Czechoslovakia were received and assessed, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, issued the following statement to the press on August 21 outlining Canada's position :

"The Canadian Government views the invasion of Czechoslovakia with shock and dismay. We condemn this use of force. All Canadians feel the deepest concern for the courageous people of Czechoslovakia in this hour of trial.

"The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia constitute a flagrant breach of the principle of non-intervention to which the Soviet Union itself professes to subscribe. It is also a tragedy for all peoples who prize human freedom and national independence and I am confident that its significance will not be lost on the people of Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union.

"We are engaged in consultations on the developing situation with other interested governments in the respective capitals, at the United Nations, and in the North Atlantic Council. As far as the Atlantic alliance is concerned, I am sure that all of us will be anxious to keep in mind our ultimate goal of seeking a durable East-West accommodation, but no one can doubt that the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia constitutes a serious setback to a rational dialogue.

"We are in continuing touch with our Embassy in Prague and are taking such measures as are available to us to ensure the safety of all Canadian citizens there."

### **Invading Countries Censured**

The same afternoon, Mr. Sharp summoned representatives of the invading countries to his office and informed them in an unequivocal manner of Canada's condemnation of their actions. The representatives sought to maintain that the action of their governments should have no effect on their relations with Canada — that, in effect, action within the Warsaw Pact areas was nobody's concern but their own. The Minister made it clear to them that this was far from the Canadian view, that Canada's relations with the invading countries had inevitably been severely strained and that they could not be restored to the state which they had reached before the invasion, at least until the occupying forces were withdrawn from Czechoslovakia.

In view of the massive movement of forces taking place in Eastern Europe, Canada and its NATO allies were naturally in early consultation concerning Western security. The focus of Canadian attention, however, quickly shifted to New York and the Security Council.

## **Canada at the UN**

Within hours of the invasion, Canada and like-minded fellow-members of the Security Council requested that the Council be called into emergency session. On the following day, August 22, Canada and six other co-sponsors introduced a resolution affirming that the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia must be fully respected, condemning the armed intervention of the U.S.S.R. and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, and calling on them to withdraw forthwith and on members of the United Nations to exercise their diplomatic influence with the invading countries to bring about prompt implementation of the resolution.

When this resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union, Canada introduced a further resolution requesting the despatch of a special United Nations representative to Prague to seek the release and ensure the personal safety of the Czechoslovak leaders then under Soviet arrest. Happily, by the next day, it appeared that the intentions of this initiative had been achieved, as the Czechoslovak leaders returned to their country to resume their functions under the Czechoslovak constitution.

The debate in the Security Council was also beneficial, as Mr. Sharp stated on August 27, "in the way in which it helped to focus world attention on the fact that the armed intervention of the U.S.S.R. and certain of its Warsaw Pact allies was in contravention of two vital principles of the UN Charter: First, the principle of the sovereign equality of all members of the organization; and second, the obligation that members must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

## **Refugees Welcomed**

On another front, Canada moved to meet the harsh realities of the situation with a policy to provide on an emergency basis for those refugees from Czechoslovakia who sought to come to Canada. Since the circumstances were different from those in Hungary in 1956, comparably large numbers of refugees did not leave Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, Canada took measures promptly as soon as it became clear that even a relatively small flow was about to begin, in accordance with the Government's declared policy that all those Czechoslovak refugees who wanted to come to Canada would be welcome.

Mr. Sharp described these measures in his statement of August 31 as follows:

Our Embassy in Prague has been authorized on an urgent basis to streamline the handling of applications from Czechoslovaks who are able to leave Czechoslovakia. Other urgent measures include the despatch of a senior immigration officer to Belgrade from Geneva to help deal with applications from Czechoslovaks there who were outside Czechoslovakia when the invasion took place. Immediate reinforcement of staff at Canadian missions wherever and whenever the number of applications requires it is already provided for.

The Minister continued :

At the same time, we must realize that many who might want to leave may not be able to. Canada would be doing no service to them by moves which could lead to reprisals and more intense repression. Concern for the welfare of those who can leave should not blind us to concern for those who must remain.

On September 6, the Honourable Allan J. MacEachen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, whose department had the operational responsibility for Canadian policy with regard to refugees, outlined the various measures being taken on a priority basis to assist Czechoslovak refugees who wished to come to Canada:

These refugees will not be required to meet Canada's normal immigrant selection standards but instead will be dealt with on the basis of the more relaxed standards which Canada has traditionally applied to refugees. In addition, the necessary examinations will be speeded up, transportation assistance will be granted and passport requirements waived if necessary.

## *Independence of Swaziland*

ON SEPTEMBER 6, the Southern African kingdom of Swaziland became an independent nation within the Commonwealth. Canada was represented at the celebration, held in the capital city of Mbabane, by its Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. C. J. Woodsworth. It has been announced that Canada's independence gift will be a ceremonial chair for the use of the presiding officer of the Swaziland Senate.

Swaziland is the smallest of Britain's former high commission territories in Southern Africa and, following Lesotho and Botswana in 1966, is the last to gain its independence. It has an area of 6,705 square miles, about three times the size of Prince Edward Island. Swaziland is bounded on three sides by the Republic of South Africa and on the fourth by the Portuguese territory of Mozambique. Its population is approximately 400,000, of which about 389,000 are of African and 8,000 of European origin. The country is well-endowed with natural resources and covers one of the best-watered areas in Southern Africa. The economy is primarily agricultural. The main exports are asbestos, iron ore, and agricultural commodities, especially sugar and forest products. There is a multi-million dollar pulp industry.

In the elections of 1967, the Imbokodvo Party won all 24 elected seats in the Assembly. This party advocates policies of non-racial democracy and the preservation of certain aspects of the traditional political structure of the Swazi nation. The head of state is Sobhuza II, King (or Ngwenyama) of the Swazis, who was born in 1899 and acceded to the throne in 1921. His son, Prince Makhosini Dlamini, is Prime Minister.

Canadian contacts with Swaziland have been infrequent in the past. However, it is expected that they will increase with the accession of Swaziland to membership in the Commonwealth. Canadian aid to Swaziland since 1962, totalling \$100,674, has taken the form of scholarships. For 1968-69, a sum of \$55,000 has been allocated for scholarships. In addition, Canada provides support for the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.



# *The Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*<sup>(1)</sup>

UN CONFERENCE, VIENNA, AUGUST 1968

A DECADE of intensive activity in outer space following the launching into orbit in late 1957 of the first artificial satellite of the Earth led to a growing realization of the practical benefits to be derived from space technology not only for the major powers but for all nations of the world. Communications by satellite over vast distances and meteorological observations from satellites are almost commonplace today, but other important applications are coming into view, many of which may be in the service of mankind within half a decade. Among these possibilities are direct broadcasting from satellites for mass education, longer-term weather forecasts, better means of navigation and air-traffic control, and mapping and observation of the earth's resources.

Against this background, the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its twenty-first session in 1966, unanimously decided to convene a United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space for the purpose of examining "the practical benefits of space programmes on the basis of scientific and technical achievements, and the opportunities available to non-space powers for international co-operation in space activities, with special reference to the needs of the developing countries".

Speaking to the Assembly on that occasion, the Secretary-General, U Thant, commended the Assembly's decision as "a major step toward bridging the ever-widening gap between the space powers and the non-space powers, particularly the developing countries" and expressed the hope that the Conference "will only be a first step and will not only explain the practical benefits of space exploration but will result ultimately in joint practical ventures that will actually bring the benefits of space exploration to all nations, thus helping to alleviate some of the economic and social problems that beset mankind".

In conclusion, the Secretary-General hoped that "the United Nations will be able to ensure that the exploration and use of outer space shall be a growing point of co-operation rather than a new area of conflict and mistrust".

## **Conference Organization**

The Conference was convened in the Vienna Hofburg from August 13 to 27, 1968, and was organized in an introductory session, eight thematic sessions, related discussion periods, and a series of evening lectures by noted space scientists from many countries. The presiding officer of the Conference was

(1) Based on material submitted by Dr. R. S. Rettie, Chief, Space Research Facilities Branch, National Research Council of Canada.

Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Foreign Minister of Austria and Chairman of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The Vice-President and Technical Chairman was Dr. Vikram A. Sarabhai, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission of India, while the Executive Secretary was A. H. Abdel-Ghani, Head of the Outer Space Affairs Group of the UN Secretariat.

Among the other officers of the Conference, Dr. R. S. Rettie of the National Research Council of Canada acted as chairman of the thematic session on international co-operation and opportunities for participation in outer space activities. This session, one of the longest of the Conference, lasted one and a half days, and was free of conflicting attractions. Many other sessions were necessarily held in parallel with highly technical or specialized sessions or with discussion periods, and these arrangements, together with the simple mass of material, posed difficult problems, particularly for the smaller delegations.

The Conference opened with a largely historical introductory session followed by thematic sessions on practical applications in communications, meteorology, navigation, and earth resources observations and surveys. Other thematic sessions were devoted to reviews of biological and medical advances, non-space applications of space technology in industry and in everyday life, and of economic, social and legal problems. Near the end of the Conference came the session on international co-operation and opportunities already referred to.

### **Participation**

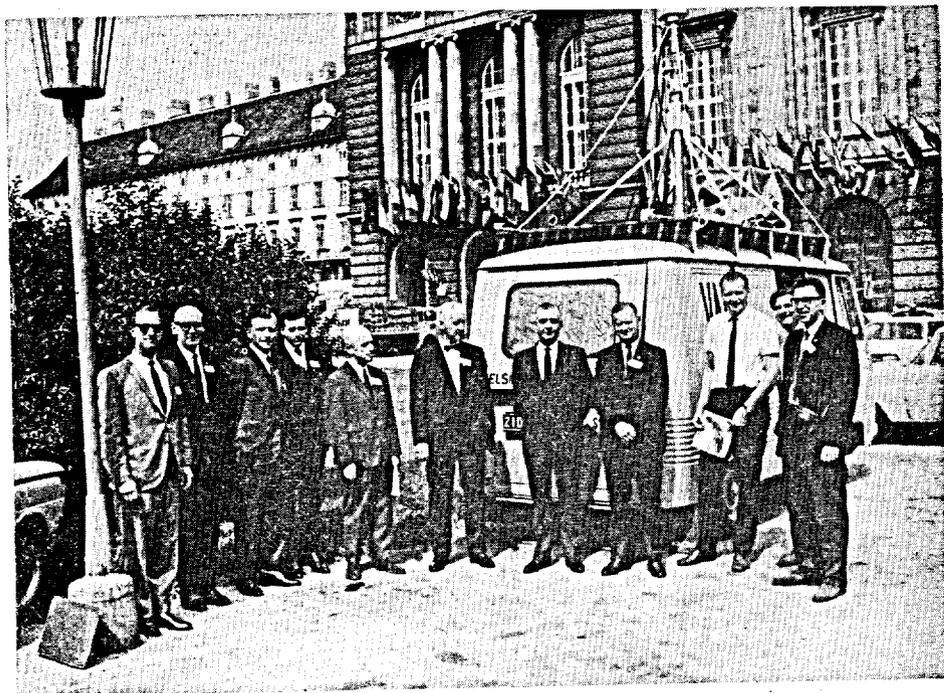
A total of 79 countries were represented, with 12 international organizations, the total number of delegates reaching approximately 600. Of the nations represented, about 25 are normally considered sufficiently advanced technologically to carry out space-related activities using their own scientific and engineering resources and personnel. The remainder require varying amounts of assistance or guidance from more advanced countries or from international bodies. Few, if any, of the countries not represented at the Conference fall into the advanced class.

### **Papers Presented**

Although 198 papers were proposed for the Conference, a few were not presented. The United States prepared 46 papers, the Soviet Union 37. Sixteen were prepared by international or regional organizations and 99 by 20 other nations. Of these nations, only one is usually regarded as being among the developing nations, although several are small countries with well-advanced technological capabilities and a few are large, with considerable capability in the midst of a great deal of poverty and illiteracy.

### **Canadian Papers**

In seven papers presented on behalf of Canada, an attempt was made to tell a coherent story of an advanced country which, while by no means a major space



*Part of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in front of the Hofburg, Vienna. Left to right : Mr. Eric Bishop, Chief, Space Propulsion and Special Products Division, Aerospace Branch, Department of Industry; Mr. F. G. Nixon, Director, Telecommunications and Electronics Branch, Department of Transport; Mr. Germain Gauthier, Director General of Advanced Studies, Department of Education, Province of Quebec; Mr. J. C. Tremblay, Third Secretary, Canadian Embassy, Vienna; Mr. Spencer Moore, International Liaison Officer (Satellites), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; Mr. H. Flynn, Science Secretariat, Privy Council Office; Mr. J. A. McCordick, Canadian Ambassador to Austria; Mr. Alistair G. Carr, Head, Communications Section, Electrical and Electronics Branch, Department of Industry; two Finnish meteorologists; and Dr. R. S. Rettie, Chief, Space Research Facilities Branch, National Research Council.*

power, had an active and continuing programme of space research. Since Canada's people and resources are thinly spread over a vast area, its needs for the applications of space technology may be very similar to those of other large areas, national or regional, whose current resources are thinly spread among a larger and perhaps poorer population.

An historical summary of the past decade of space research in Canada was prepared by Dr. D. C. Rose and Dr. R. S. Rettie of the National Research Council. Mr. F. G. Nixon of the Department of Transport discussed domestic telecommunications satellites and Dr. J. A. Clodman of the Meteorological Service (DOT) described an automatic picture-transmission network for Canadian use. The Department of Energy, Mines and Resources (Dr. J. M. Harrison, Dr. Y. O. Fortier, Mr. S. G. Gamble, and Dr. L. W. Morley) provided an exposition of the value of satellite techniques in the evaluation of Canada's

natural resources. The benefits of space research to Canadian industry were discussed in a paper prepared jointly by representatives of three important Canadian aerospace corporations — Mr. W. M. Auld of Bristol Aerospace Limited, Dr. P. A. Lapp of Spar Aerospace Limited, and Mr. G. B. MacKimmie of RCA Victor Company Ltd. Space activities in Canadian universities were discussed by the Vice-President of the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. B. W. Currie, and the final Canadian paper on international co-operation was prepared by the National Research Council.

### **Canadian Delegation**

The Canadian Ambassador to Austria, Mr. J. A. McCordick, headed the Canadian delegation. The Canadian papers mentioned above were presented by Dr. Rettie, Mr. Nixon, Dr. Clodman, Dr. Harrison, Dr. Lapp and Dr. Currie. Another co-author, Dr. Morley, was also present. Other members of the delegation were Mr. H. Flynn of the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council Office, Mr. S. Moore of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. E. P. Bishop and Mr. A. L. Carr of the Department of Industry, Mr. P. Bowers of the Ontario Department of Education, Mr. Germain Gauthier of the Quebec Department of Education, and Mr. Jacques Gauthier of Radio Quebec. In addition, some Canadian companies engaged in work relating to outer space were represented at the Conference by senior officials.

### **Communications and Direct Broadcasting**

The thematic session on communications and that on international co-operation and related discussion periods became, to some extent, an unplanned forum for the comparison of the now four-year old *Intelsat* system of international satellite communications and the recently-proposed Soviet system *Intersputnik*. These two systems are similar in technical conception, the former in being and the latter based on alterations to the Soviet *Orbita* system now using *Molniya* satellites for internal Russian TV distribution. Differences are organizational, in that investment in and control of *Intelsat* are in proportion to the anticipated use of the system; this means that the United States has at present a majority position, while it is proposed that *Intersputnik* should be controlled on a one-country one-vote basis. No information was obtained as to the distribution of investment proposed for *Intersputnik*.

Direct broadcast from satellites of TV and radio programmes, particularly for educational purposes, received a great deal of attention. It may be concluded that the power capabilities of satellites in the 1970s will not permit transmissions in a form suitable for reception in every home but that reception on a village basis or equivalent is completely practical and imminent. The exploitation of such a powerful tool for mass education will undoubtedly proceed rapidly, and at least one pilot programme is in the advanced planning stages. For instance, the United States, in co-operation with India, plans in 1970 to position an AT

synchronous satellite above the Indian Ocean. Indian transmitters will then direct programme material to this satellite for rebroadcast to special receivers in some 2,000 villages in India.

In the session on international co-operation, it became clear that more countries had taken up opportunities for participation in space-research activities than were actually present at the Conference. One American speaker gave a figure of 84 as representing the number of countries with which the United States has had formal co-operative arrangements. However, as Dr. Rettie pointed out in his summary statement, this number must be low because no American permission was needed to receive APT transmissions from U.S. meteorological satellites or to use special transmissions from others for ionospheric studies. It is of interest to note that Canada, on the basis of material provided to the Conference, is apparently in second place in this form of international co-operation, having carried in its sounding rockets experiments for scientists from five other countries.

### **Closing Statements and Results**

It had been expected that the Secretary-General of the United Nations would attend the closing sessions, but the sudden crisis arising in Czechoslovakia resulted in the cancellation of his proposed European tour.

In closing statements, deliberately few in number, some of the developing countries expressed their satisfaction at receiving so much information and guidance in regard to the potential benefits that they might acquire through participation in space activities. It is, however, clear that follow-up actions will be necessary to ensure a continual flow of information and advice in regard to such a rapidly-changing technology.

In his final statement, Dr. Sarabhai suggested several steps which might be taken up by the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. He said there was need of a small group to look continuously at present and future applications of space research, and suggested that a dozen specialists might form a "think tank". He suggested that the UN might organize special panel meetings several times a year to consider specific problems and also survey missions, on request, to explore applications of space techniques in the context of local situations.

Dr. Waldheim mentioned specifically the advantages of global communications-satellite networks and the importance of these for the United Nations itself. He declared that the Conference was only a first step on a "long and challenging path" and that the next step would have to be taken by governments. In this he was pointing out that the Conference itself had not been called upon to make any recommendations to the United Nations. In conclusion, Dr. Waldheim observed that the Conference was coming to an end "at a moment of political tension, filled with unrest and anxiety". "We have demonstrated at this Conference the possibilities for a peaceful exploration of outer space and its use in the interest and for the progress of all mankind," he said. "May we also have the wisdom to find and to secure, here on earth, peace for all men."

## *Visit of West German Defence Minister*

**T**HE Minister of Defence of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, accompanied by Mrs. Schroeder, visited Ottawa from July 24 to 26 at the invitation of the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Léo Cadieux.

During his stay in the capital, Dr. Schroeder talked with his host Mr. Cadieux and with the Minister of Defence Production, Mr. Jamieson. He also held a press conference, parts of which were subsequently carried on Canadian television. Apart from his activities in Ottawa, Dr. Schroeder visited the Man and His World exhibition in Montreal and the Canadian Forces Base at North Bay, which includes Air Defence Command headquarters, Northern NORAD headquarters and Number 446 Surface-to-Air Missile Squadron.

Following the official part of their visit, Dr. and Mrs. Schroeder flew to the West Coast. They toured the Vancouver area by car and boat and made a sightseeing tour of Victoria. In the British Columbia capital, the Defence Minister and his wife called on the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the



*Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, the West German Defence Minister (left), chats with Canada's Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux, during Dr. Schroeder's visit to Ottawa.*

Honourable John R. Nicholson, and later attended a luncheon given by him. Returning to the mainland the same afternoon, they left shortly for Alaska.

Dr. Schroeder's visit underlines the close co-operation between Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany in defence matters resulting from common membership in NATO, the presence in the Federal Republic of a Canadian mechanized brigade group and air division, and joint participation in several defence production projects. It followed by three months a visit to the Federal Republic by Mr. Cadieux, who met with the German Minister of Defence and visited Canadian forces stationed in that country, as well as German naval units.

# *The Languages of Canadian Diplomacy*

AN ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,  
TO OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

YOU will no doubt be familiar with the statement made by Mr. Pearson in the House of Commons in April 1966 on bilingualism in the Public Service of Canada. Let me say at the outset that the guide-lines set forth in that statement remain an important part of the Government's policy on bilingualism in Canada and that I, for my part, will do my best to see that they are implemented in our Department.

I do not intend to review Mr. Pearson's statement in detail today. . . . Nevertheless, some of the main points are worthy of special attention because of their implications for all members of the Department, and particularly for officers starting out on a career in the government service. In describing the Government's goals in this field, Mr. Pearson noted that, within a reasonable period, it was the Government's objective to realize four basic and very significant steps in the Public Service :

- (1) That as a matter of practice all internal communications, whether oral or written, should take place in either English or French, depending on the language of the person concerned;
- (2) that all communications with the public should normally be in either language as appropriate;
- (3) that in matters of recruitment and training the values of both linguistic communities be given full weight; and, finally,
- (4) that it should be a general objective to create a climate in which civil servants of both linguistic groups can work together towards common goals, using their own language, and on the basis of their own cultural values, while at the same time appreciating those of the other linguistic community.

I will return in a few moments to the implications of these objectives for the foreign service. I should underline here, however, that they are not merely, or even primarily, a matter of achieving impressive statistics with respect to the percentage of fluent English-speakers or French-speakers. They relate rather to the fundamental human concern of ensuring that every Canadian, particularly those in the employ of the Federal Government, can feel fully at home working in his own language.

I said at a luncheon of the Reform Club in Montreal, when I was Minister of Finance, that "the aim of the present Government is to give every Canadian

the right to express himself in either French or English and be understood when he deals with his Federal Government, at least in the capital of the country". I also went further, stating that "for the first time, Canadians whose mother tongue is French will be able to compete on an equal footing with English-speaking Canadians". It is clear that these goals are of particularly fundamental importance within the government service itself.

My immediate concern as Minister of External Affairs, and yours as members of the Department, must be to ensure that they are met as fully and as rapidly as possible both in Ottawa and abroad. For this reason, our Department anticipates meeting two important deadlines in the Government's declaration of principles, which means that, by 1970 in the case of appointments from outside the service and by about 1975 in the case of promotions, bilingual proficiency or a willingness to acquire it at government expense within a reasonable time will normally be required.

For this reason also, the Department has established a number of practical procedures designed to develop a comprehensive approach to bilingualism in the foreign service. These procedures are already beginning to bear fruit. Last year's figures show that, among our foreign service and administrative officers, 28 per cent can be classed as bilingual and a further 20 per cent have a good knowledge of both languages. It is also estimated that, during the past year alone, one-fifth of all departmental employees attended language courses.

These accomplishments must, however, be seen against the broader background of the basic requirements of Canadian foreign policy. If you read carefully the White Paper *Federalism and International Relations* and its supplement *Federalism and International Conferences on Education*, you will recognize that one of the main purposes for writing these papers was to outline the steps being taken by the Federal Government to frame and implement a policy which meets the requirements of the two major linguistic communities in Canada. In that way, the White Papers contribute to constructive consideration and discussion of the implementation of the Canadian system in the field of international relations. They also provide an opportunity for an examination, not only by experts but by the public at large, which can only serve to enhance Canadian unity and the interests of all Canadian citizens.

Canadian foreign policy must not only be consonant with the interests of Canadians across the country but must also take account of our distinctive Canadian cultural and linguistic heritage. Thus, in framing and implementing foreign policy, the Canadian Government must recognize the traditions which both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians seek to maintain and develop within the fabric of the Canadian federation. Accordingly, it must be based upon equal status for the two official languages across the range of operations of the Department of External Affairs. It must also promote the interests of all Canadians of both major linguistic communities. Particularly in

the projection of the Canadian character abroad, it implies that Canada must make a special effort to establish a proper balance by increasing its relations with *francophone* countries not only in Africa, where our programme has been stepped up, but also in Asia and in Europe. It also entails pursuing the effort which is already under way to reinforce and promote the use of our two official languages in international organizations and agencies. This we are doing.

At the same time, if our intention is to create a climate and conditions which will enable every officer to serve his country in either of the official languages, we must continue to encourage the use of the officer's own language as a working tool and to ensure that both English-speaking and French-speaking officers have a sufficient knowledge of the two languages to be able to comprehend each other in day-to-day working situations. Especially in the performance of their duties abroad, our officers should be a living illustration of the Canadian linguistic duality. They must also meet the requirements of their fellow citizens travelling outside Canada.

All this means in practice that, in our Department and others concerned with Canadian activities abroad, there is a particularly striking need for officers to be competent in both official languages. We therefore have to be very sure that this need is being met as effectively as possible. I think your presence here today, together with representatives from other departments which share in the important task of representing Canadian interests abroad, testifies to the importance which all of us attach to this task.

Over the past few years, we have, in fact, accomplished a good deal towards translating the principles of bilingualism into practice. Our recruitment of junior officers, as you know, has been particularly successful in terms of their ability to work in the two official languages. We have also been fortunate in recent years in being able to bring about a substantial increase in the proportion of new officers speaking French as their mother tongue. In the last three years, close to one-third of the new entrants have been French-speaking. Because these groups, taken together, involve some 140 officers, they have improved the linguistic balance in the service as a whole. This is of vital significance, for bilingualism cannot possibly flourish unless both groups are well represented.

In promoting this policy it is important to keep in mind that French-Canadian diplomats, in the same way as English-speaking officers, should be assigned to a great variety of functions in all our missions and divisions. It is not the policy of the Department to have one or other group specialize in particular fields, or particular geographical areas, to the exclusion of others. There should be no functional or geographical area where either French-speaking or English-speaking officers cannot be asked to serve. This, in itself, will entail for the future a solid competence in both languages for all our officers.

Some recent developments in departmental practice will perhaps give you a more graphic idea of the effort we are pursuing. You are aware, for example,

of our language-training programme. It is still not entirely adequate, but it has begun to make its contribution to the general level of proficiency in the two official languages. To improve this proficiency, the government school of languages is now in the process of testing all officers to determine their rating in order to facilitate future training of the individual officer.

An increasing proportion of our stenographers are bilingual. Any of you who has ever tried to draft a memorandum or a telegram in French will know what an important advance this represents.

Last year, following the recommendations of an *ad hoc* departmental committee on bilingualism, regulations covering the use of the official languages were included in our departmental *Manual of Procedures*. The two languages have been set on an equal footing where transmission of general policy information to our posts abroad is concerned. Concrete results have been obtained in devising and publicizing equivalent terminology in the two languages for a wide range of common expressions which are in everyday use in the Department.

It is worthy of note that the *Manual of Procedures* not only stresses the importance of performing a substantial part of your duties in your own language — it gives detailed directives concerning the procedures which we wish to put into practice. Supervising officers are advised that they should encourage both French-speaking and English-speaking officers working under their direction to use their own language as a working language. This is of the highest importance, to my mind, for it is not sufficient to accept bilingualism "on principle" if it is not encouraged on a day-to-day basis at all levels of the service.

With regard to written communications in particular, the regulations make plain that in preparing documents designed for use within the Government, both in Ottawa and at posts, drafting officers shall be free to choose the language to be used in their drafts. Documents destined for use outside the federal administration will be prepared in the addressee's language.

I should also draw attention to the recent appointment of a departmental bilingual adviser. . . . In order to ensure continuity in his and our efforts, a permanent advisory committee on bilingualism has also been set up.

I might mention other developments. For example, the wives of our diplomatic officers are now entitled to learn their second official language either in Canada or abroad at public expense within the limits of the availability of funds, and of teaching facilities. We are also in the process of improving the supply to our divisions in Ottawa and our posts abroad of basic reference books in the two official languages.

These measures, and others you will hear about in the next two days, show that the efforts of the Department are not based on a purely theoretical approach but involve well-planned, practical solutions. All this is impressive, I think, as tangible evidence of our willingness to move ahead. We cannot afford to be complacent, however. Much more remains to be done if we are to live up to

our commitments; there is a formidable list of problems on which we are, or will be, working.

We want the new policies to be better known throughout the Department, so that all members are fully aware of their responsibilities. We want a higher proportion of French-speaking members, for we must not blind ourselves to the fact that bilingualism, as important as it is, will not in itself solve the problem of ensuring greater participation in government by members of the two linguistic communities. Only an adequate number of individuals belonging to each group, both in Canada and in our missions abroad, will guarantee the realization of our goals. We also need a supporting staff which will be linguistically equipped to assist in carrying out these policies. We want a communications system which will facilitate, not hamper, communications in both languages.

In brief, we want French-speaking Canadians to make greater use of their language as a living instrument. We do not want our linguistic investment to go to waste. The Government and the Department can go only so far in assisting individuals in their attempts to master their second language. Thereafter it will be for each individual concerned to ensure that he develops his potential to the maximum.

To some this outline may sound like a dream; in fact, these policies are already being put into practice. They have been adopted because we believe them to be essential to the life and progress of this country and essential, on a smaller scale, to the effective functioning of this Department. I can assure you that all steps will be taken to carry them out promptly.

For all these reasons, the Department is anxious to encourage young people of both cultures who are interested in a career in the foreign service to help in the task and to participate in the Department's efforts to give full recognition to the values of each of the two main Canadian linguistic communities. Some welcome these policies; others have been and perhaps still are reticent, but we must move beyond these doubts. We need the co-operation of all of you, particularly the new generation of officers. In order to find a climate and conditions which will enable you to serve your country in either of the official languages, you will have to be the dynamic force and the continuing inspiration of this policy. You will have to remember that relations between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians depend not only upon laws but upon the workings of the human spirit. It will be necessary for all of us to work in harmony and to engage in honest and constructive discussion in order to discover what is needed for the full and effective implementation of this policy. By taking part in that process you will continue to affirm your own culture and language and you will render a service of great value to Canada.

I want you to be very sure that the Government means business. I hope your commitment to these goals will be no less firm.

## *Canada-Brazil Scientific Exchange Agreement*

**A**N agreement providing for the exchange of scientists was signed by Canada and Brazil. Under its terms, some ten scientists will have the opportunity each year of doing research abroad, participating in conferences, and so forth.

The agreement came into effect with an exchange of notes between the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and the Ambassador of Brazil, Her Excellency Dora Alencar de Vasconcellos. This is the first instrument of its kind Canada has signed with a Latin American country and reflects this country's growing relations with its hemispheric neighbours.

The programme will be administered jointly by the National Research Council and the Brazilian Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas. The National Research Council plans to initiate its first competition in the near future.



— Canadian Press Photo

*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, signs the agreement between Canada and Brazil for the exchange of visits by scientists of the two countries. Seated beside Mr. Sharp is the Ambassador of Brazil, Her Excellency Dora Alencar de Vasconcellos.*

# Non-Proliferation Treaty

SINCE 1958 the United Nations has been addressing itself to the danger inherent in the dissemination of nuclear weapons. The recently concluded Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) can be traced back directly to the unanimous adoption of "Irish" Resolution 1665 (XVI) by the United Nations General Assembly in 1961, which called for undertakings from the nuclear powers not to relinquish control of nuclear weapons and from the non-nuclear states not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons. The resolution also urged that this goal be achieved through the conclusion of an international agreement, subject to verification, differing in this respect from earlier resolutions, which had simply called for voluntary restraint. The General Assembly also endorsed an increase in the size of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee, which was to be the main forum for discussion of the NPT, by the addition of eight non-aligned states, so as better to reflect the expanded membership of the United Nations. The delegates of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were to remain co-chairmen. A further hopeful sign in the same year was the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to resume recessed disarmament negotiations on the basis of a joint statement of principles.

The newly-created Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) was active in 1962 and 1963, but, because it directed its efforts mainly to the negotiation of a nuclear test-ban agreement and to proposals for general and complete disarmament, the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons was not discussed in depth or detail. With the conclusion of the partial test-ban treaty of August 1963 and the emergence of fundamental differences on the approach to GCD, the Committee was left free to turn its attention to other arms-control and disarmament measures.

## Treaty Takes Shape

From 1963 to 1965, the ENDC and the United Nations discussed the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons only sporadically, together with a number of other disarmament and arms-control measures, and no significant progress was made. This was partly because an NPT was considered to be only one of a number of potential arms-control measures and was not regarded as possessing the degree of urgency that later became associated with it. Another factor was the position of the U.S.S.R., which held that an NPT would be of little value if it did not preclude non-nuclear members of NATO having any voice in control over the disposition of nuclear weapons.

At one of its rare sessions in the spring of 1965, the United Nations Disarmament Commission adopted a resolution addressed directly to the ENDC and recommending, *inter alia*, that the Committee give special priority to measures for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the

subsequent debate in the ENDC centred largely on non-dissemination, a course advocated by the Western members of the Committee.

The importance the Western members assigned to an NPT was given expression by the tabling of a draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons on August 17, 1965, by the U.S. delegation supported by the other three Western delegations (Britain, Canada and Italy). The draft, the product of intensive Western discussions in which Canada had played an active role and contributed a number of ideas, represented a significant step forward in the work of the ENDC, since it provided for the first time a concrete text for discussion and demonstrated that the West was prepared to negotiate seriously on this vital question. The key provisions of this draft, as of all subsequent drafts, were to be found in Articles I and II, which provided for undertakings by the nuclear powers not to transfer nuclear weapons to the control of other states, either directly or indirectly through a multilateral alliance, and for reciprocal obligations on the part of non-nuclear states regarding the acquisition of nuclear weapons. The language of these articles was designed to meet the concern of the U.S.S.R. that nuclear-sharing arrangements, including proposals for a NATO Multilateral Nuclear Force or an Atlantic Nuclear Force, should not result in any increase in the number of authorities having control over nuclear weapons. At the same time, it was designed to avoid undermining the effectiveness of the NATO nuclear deterrent.

After several weeks of consideration, the Soviet delegate indicated that his Government could not accept the U.S. draft as a serious basis for discussion. However, it soon became clear that the Soviet Union had not lost interest in an NPT, for, on September 24, 1965, the Soviet Foreign Minister tabled a draft treaty in the United Nations General Assembly. The subsequent debate in the First Committee of the Assembly confirmed that there was general agreement that an NPT was highly desirable, but it did not succeed in reconciling the important differences between the United States and Soviet draft treaties. The U.S.S.R. maintained that its draft would close "all possible loopholes" to nuclear proliferation and that the U.S. draft, in permitting allied nuclear-sharing arrangements, would not. Western representatives pointed out that under none of the arrangements existing or contemplated for NATO would control of nuclear weapons pass to non-nuclear states and that Soviet criticism on this point was, therefore, unjustified.

Most non-aligned states acknowledged the importance of an NPT but began to voice a widespread feeling that, if non-nuclear states were formally to renounce the right to nuclear weapons, there should be some *quid pro quo* from the nuclear powers, possibly in the form of commitments to nuclear-arms control and nuclear disarmament and of assurances that nuclear weapons would not be used against non-nuclear states or that assistance would be forthcoming in the event of the threat or use of nuclear weapons against them. The non-aligned position was reflected in United Nations Resolution 2028 (XX), which was

initially put forward by the eight non-aligned members of the ENDC as a compromise between conflicting Soviet and U.S. draft resolutions and which, after some modification, was adopted by a substantial majority in the General Assembly. This resolution called on the ENDC to negotiate a non-proliferation treaty based on the following principles :

- (a) The treaty should be free from any loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form.
- (b) It should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear powers.
- (c) It should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.
- (d) There should be acceptable and workable provisions to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty.
- (e) Nothing in the treaty should adversely affect the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

Negotiations in the ENDC started again on January 27, 1966, but when the Committee recessed in May the significant gap between the U.S. and Soviet drafts had not yet been bridged. On March 22, the United States has tabled several revisions to its draft treaty with a view to refining and improving the language of Articles I and II in the light of comments made by other members of the ENDC. The U.S.S.R. and its allies, however, maintained that the changes did not remove the basic features of the U.S. draft to which they objected. Although it was obvious that an impasse had developed and the prospects for further progress seemed dim, the discussion had served a purpose in clarifying the issues. The non-aligned members of the Committee were beginning to play an increasingly important role and were putting forward in detail their views on what the NPT should comprise and what measures should supplement a treaty. The early summer recess made it possible for governments to reconsider their positions in the light of the negotiations and current international developments.

It had also become clear as a result of discussions in the ENDC that, in spite of the divergence of opinion on exactly what constituted "proliferation", virtually all delegations were agreed, at least in principle, on the necessity of prohibiting the manufacture of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear states. They were also more or less agreed on the fundamental question of transfer; none were prepared to countenance the simple handing over of nuclear weapons by a nuclear power to a non-nuclear state. A study of the two draft treaties also revealed a close correspondence of views between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. on other aspects of the proposed treaty.

With this degree of accord in mind, the Canadian delegation tabled a working paper in tabular form, comparing the two drafts, when the ENDC again resumed its deliberations in June. Canada suggested, as did some other delega-

tions, that it should be possible, through a detailed comparative analysis of the two drafts, to produce treaty language for those points on which there seemed to be close accord. It was felt that such an approach, by giving greater momentum to negotiations, would encourage governments to take such further decisions as might be required to overcome the remaining obstacles. The Soviet and allied delegations, however, continued to argue that this approach could not deal adequately with the problem of preventing proliferation. They repeated their familiar objections that, under the terms of the U.S. draft treaty, it would be possible for the allies of the U.S., particularly the German Federal Republic, to acquire control of nuclear weapons through NATO channels. They professed to be unconvinced by U.S. assurances that foolproof safing and locking procedures would prevent this.

The concerns of the non-aligned delegations were of a somewhat different nature. Many delegations took the position that the treaty articles dealing most directly with military alliances would have to be decided by the nuclear powers, and they raised little or no objection to the clauses which involved an undertaking on their part not to manufacture or acquire their own nuclear weapons. Some went on to argue, however, that, in return for this concession, the treaty should be coupled with or followed by tangible steps to halt the nuclear-arms race and to limit, reduce and eliminate the stocks of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. They also suggested that they would like some assurance that their security would not subsequently be endangered.

A further basic problem was beginning to emerge at this time—the question of treaty-verification procedures (that is, safeguards on nuclear activities). Article III of the U.S. draft treaty called for co-operation in applying the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA), or their equivalent, to the peaceful nuclear activities of all signatories. The principle of effective treaty safeguards was supported in the ENDC by a number of Western (including the Canadian) and non-aligned delegations. The position of the U.S.S.R., however, was non-committal. The Soviet draft treaty did not contain a safeguards article, although the Soviet delegation stated that it would be prepared to examine the question at an appropriate time. This was consistent with its position that agreement should first be reached in principle on the basic provisions of a treaty.

Many problems were thus still unresolved when debate shifted again to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly in the autumn of 1966. Of all the arms-control measures discussed, the NPT attracted by far the most attention, and interest was further stimulated by press reports that, during his visits to New York and Washington early in October, the Soviet Foreign Minister had indicated that his country was ready to enter into serious negotiations with the United States on the details of a treaty. This was taken to mean that the U.S.S.R. was willing, at least tacitly, to accept existing NATO nuclear-sharing arrangements as compatible with a treaty. Since most delegations in the First

Committee were anxious that nothing should be done to upset this encouraging turn of events, there developed an early consensus in favour of procedural Resolution 2153A (XXI), which urged that all steps conducive to the early conclusion of an NPT be taken. It was overwhelmingly adopted by the Assembly.

The debate again revealed the concern the non-aligned states felt about their security and this concern was reflected in Assembly Resolutions 2153A (XXI) and 2153B (XXI). In addition to urging conclusion of an NPT, the former resolution called on the nuclear powers to refrain from the use of or threat to use nuclear weapons against nuclear-free zones and requested the ENDC to consider urgently a Soviet proposal for assurances by these powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states without such weapons on their territories, together with other related proposals. The latter resolution provided for a conference of non-nuclear-weapon states (CNNWS) to consider, *inter alia*, the question of security assurances.

### **Final Phase of Negotiations**

At the beginning of 1967, there was a distinct feeling that most of the major difficulties in the way of an NPT had been resolved and that the ENDC could look forward to the early conclusion of a treaty. The United States and the Soviet Union had both consulted their allies regularly during the previous year and there appeared to be general East-West agreement on most points to be covered by a treaty. On the one hand, the prospect of some sort of a collective nuclear force within NATO had become so remote as no longer to be an important factor in the negotiations and, on the other, the U.S.S.R. had evidently decided that it could accept existing and planned NATO nuclear-sharing and consultative arrangements, although it did not altogether refrain from criticising these arrangements.

Progress on the precise non-proliferation and safeguards formulae, however, was not as rapid as had been expected and only a month after the resumption of the ENDC on February 21, 1967, the U.S. requested a recess to provide time for further allied consultation. The recess lasted for two months, during which intensive discussions on the NPT took place among NATO members. When the session resumed on May 9, the gap between the positions of the U.S. and Soviet co-chairmen was reportedly very narrow (with the exception of their positions on safeguards), but a further three months of painstaking negotiations were necessary to reconcile remaining differences.

Finally, on August 24, 1967, the co-chairmen tabled separate but identical draft treaties. These drafts represented a wide area of agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the basic non-proliferation formula and other peripheral questions, but the thorny issue of safeguards remained unresolved. However, rather than further delay consideration of the revised draft by the ENDC, the co-chairmen had decided to submit their identical drafts with the relevant Article III left blank. The reason for the impasse was disagreement as

to whether the IAEA safeguards system should be the only one written into the treaty, as the U.S.S.R. now wanted, or whether the treaty should also admit equivalent or similar systems established by other organizations, such as EURATOM.

After August 24, the ENDC concentrated exclusively on the revised draft. The non-aligned members took a very active part in the discussions and many of them tabled amendments. The Swedish delegation tabled a draft text for Article III, which called for IAEA safeguards to apply to all nuclear-energy activities of non-nuclear parties and to the peaceful nuclear-energy activities of nuclear parties. This proposal received some support from other non-aligned members but was not discussed at length. Its non-discriminatory approach to the issue attracted support from non-nuclear members but proved to be unacceptable to the Soviet delegation. Amendments were also proposed by Mexico, the United Arab Republic, Nigeria, Brazil and Romania, the last two proposing far-reaching modifications to the draft treaty designed to place heavier obligations on nuclear parties. Several of the amendments, moreover, reflected growing non-aligned concern that their development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy might be hampered by the treaty and a "nuclear monopoly" consolidated in the hands of the nuclear powers. Although the co-chairmen had made it clear that they were considering some of the proposed amendments, they were not prepared to commit themselves on safeguards or other matters still at issue. Consequently, earlier hopes that a complete draft treaty might be submitted to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly began to diminish as time wore on and the ENDC session began to overlap the Assembly session. Only a week before the end of the first part of the Assembly session, with agreement between the co-chairmen on a complete text still unachieved, an interim report was finally submitted to the General Assembly. Lacking a substantive report and sufficient time to debate the question before the close of the first part of the session, the Assembly decided, in Resolution 2346A (XXII), to defer detailed discussion to a resumed session after submission of the final ENDC report, for which March 15, 1968, was set as the deadline.

When the ENDC reconvened on January 18, 1968, after a short winter recess, it was expected that this session would be decisive. The deadline imposed by Resolution 2346A (XXII) underlined the urgency of arriving at final agreement. During the recess, the co-chairmen had remained in close touch and on the opening day of the new session they were able to table a complete draft treaty, which now included a safeguards article. The new Article III represented a compromise between the positions of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. on treaty safeguards, the latter having accepted the important principle that other than IAEA safeguards were admissible provided they conformed to IAEA standards and were verifiable under terms to be negotiated in bilateral or multilateral agreements with the IAEA. In other modifications, the co-chairmen had also taken into account those amendments proposed by other ENDC delegations

which had commanded wide support. Some disappointment was expressed by delegations whose amendments had not been accepted, but the co-chairmen explained that, in their opinion, the draft treaty now represented the most widely acceptable compromise among differing national positions.

They did not insist, however, that the treaty had taken final form, and in the course of the next two months further textual improvements were made in response to suggestions from other delegations. The committee's next step was the preparation of the final report to the General Assembly. Agreement was reached on March 14, 1968, one day before the deadline, thus concluding the basic work of the ENDC on the NPT. Annexed to the report was the latest revised text of the draft treaty and a draft Security Council resolution on security assurances to non-nuclear states, sponsored by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

On April 26, the final debate on the NPT began in the First Committee of the resumed session of the twenty-second General Assembly. In many ways it was an extension of the very short general disarmament debate held during the first part of the session, which had discussed the NPT on the basis of brief information given in the interim report of the ENDC. At the outset, many delegations, especially the non-aligned, appeared to feel some resentment at what they considered to be an attempt by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to push through the NPT without opportunity for adequate discussion. Criticism reflected themes already voiced in the ENDC and followed three main lines: discontent with the weakness of the obligations assumed by the nuclear powers to pursue further disarmament measures, particularly with regard to nuclear disarmament; a fear that the treaty would inhibit the development of the technology and utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful uses by the non-nuclear countries; and disappointment, if not apprehension, over the lack of assurances in the treaty text for the security of non-nuclear signatories, which, in the view of many delegations, was not compensated for by the offer of security assurances in the draft Security Council resolution. In short, it was argued that the draft treaty failed to reflect the principles set out in Assembly Resolution 2028 (XX). Various delegations suggested specific changes that would bring the treaty more into line with the principles laid down in earlier UN resolutions as a basis for a non-proliferation treaty. Other delegations supported the idea that final consideration of the treaty should be deferred until the twenty-third session of the General Assembly in the autumn of this year, to permit any inadequacies in the text of the draft treaty to be removed at the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (CNNWS) in September.

By the end of six-week debate, however, and after considerable lobbying on the part of the sponsors of a resolution promoting the treaty (the U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R., Canada and 28 other Western, Communist and non-aligned states) and some presentational changes in the draft treaty by the co-chairmen, a substantial majority of the more than 90 delegations that had expressed their

views on the treaty had conceded that it constituted an acceptable compromise among many divergent views. On June 12, 1968, the Assembly passed Resolution 2373 (XXII) commending the treaty and expressing the hope that it would be opened for signature at an early date and would attain the widest adherence from all states. The vote was 95 in favour (most Western and Communist states, including Canada, and many non-aligned states) to four opposed (Albania, Cuba, Tanzania and Zambia), with 21 abstaining (mainly non-aligned).

As a sequel to the adoption of this resolution, the Security Council, on June 19, 1968, adopted the tri-sponsor Resolution 255 (1968), in which assurances of multilateral or unilateral assistance were offered to victims of the threat or use of nuclear weapons by a vote of ten in favour including (the U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R. and Canada) to none opposed, with five abstaining (France, Algeria, Brazil, Pakistan and India). The three co-sponsors, the U.S.A., Britain and the U.S.S.R., had already made identical declarations of interpretation of the resolution.

On July 1, 1968, the NPT was opened for signature in Washington, London and Moscow. Canada signed in Washington and London on July 23 and in Moscow on July 29. As of September 11, a total of 80 states had signed and one had already ratified the treaty.

## Treaty Provisions <sup>(1)</sup>

### Basic Formula

The main articles of the treaty, Articles I and II, prohibit nuclear parties from transferring nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices or control over them to non-nuclear parties, and non-nuclear parties from producing or otherwise acquiring control of such weapons and devices.

### Safeguards

Article II of the treaty applies international safeguards to the peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear parties, to ensure that source and special fissionable material intended for peaceful purposes are not diverted clandestinely to military purposes. Precisely, it:

- (a) applies safeguards to all non-nuclear parties to the NPT, but not to nuclear parties, except in respect of their transfers of nuclear materials to non-nuclear states;
- (b) applies safeguards according to the terms of agreements reached unilaterally or multilaterally between parties to the treaty and the IAEA;
- (c) defines the exclusive purpose of treaty safeguards to be to prevent the diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices;

(1) Complete text attached as Appendix I

- (d) applies treaty safeguards to all sources of special fissionable material used in the peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear parties, whether in nuclear facilities or outside such facilities;
- (e) stipulates that treaty safeguards shall not hamper economic or technological development or co-operation between states in peaceful nuclear matters;
- (f) fixes a time-limit of up to two years from the date the treaty enters into force within which safeguards are negotiated and applied.

While Soviet refusal to accept safeguards on its internal peaceful nuclear activities has made it impossible to negotiate an article which would apply safeguards equitably to all parties, the United States and Britain have given separate undertakings to accept safeguards voluntarily on all their non-military nuclear activities when treaty safeguards come into effect.

### **Peaceful Nuclear Activities**

Non-nuclear parties are barred from exploding any nuclear devices for any purpose whatsoever. However, the right of non-nuclear parties to exploit nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is reaffirmed in Article IV and the principle that the benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions should be made available to non-nuclear parties is acknowledged in Article V.

### **Nuclear Arms Control**

Article VI provides for undertakings by all parties to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the early cessation of the nuclear arms race and towards nuclear disarmament.

### **Nuclear-Free Zones**

Article VII provides that the NPT shall not affect the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties to assure the absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

### **Procedural Matters <sup>(2)</sup>**

Amendments to the treaty can come into effect only after having been approved by a majority of parties, including the nuclear parties and those non-nuclear parties that are members of the IAEA Board of Governors. The treaty is subject to review at a conference to be convened five years after its entry into force, and, at five-year intervals thereafter, a similar conference may be convened if desired by a majority of the parties. The treaty is open to all states for signature. It will enter into force when ratified by the three depository governments (the U.S.A., Britain and the U.S.S.R.) and 40 other states. It will run for 25 years, after which time a conference will be convened to determine on what terms it will be extended; these terms will be decided by a majority vote. Parties will be permitted to withdraw at any time if their supreme interests are jeopardized, three months notice and an explanation of this withdrawal are required.

(2) Articles VIII-XI

### **Security Assurances <sup>(3)</sup>**

The U.S.A., Britain and the U.S.S.R. co-sponsored Security Council resolution, with the identical declarations of interpretation, recognizes the need for immediate Security Council action in the event of nuclear aggression against a non-nuclear state and reaffirms the right to individual or collective self-defence against armed attack.

### **Canadian Position on the Treaty**

As one of the four Western members of the ENDC, Canada has from the start been actively involved in the formulation of the NPT. It has strongly supported the principle of and has attached high priority to the treaty. It believes that the treaty will be an important factor in maintaining stability in areas of tension, in creating an atmosphere conducive to nuclear-arms control and generally enhancing international stability.

### **Basic Formula <sup>(4)</sup>**

Canada considers that it will effectively prevent proliferation without prejudicing the right to legitimate collective defence arrangements.

### **Safeguards Article <sup>(5)</sup>**

Canada believes that effective safeguards are essential to the effectiveness and durability of the treaty. It would have preferred that safeguards be applied equitably to all parties, but it realizes that the Soviet position has made this impossible. However, with the U.S. and British undertakings to accept safeguards voluntarily on their peaceful nuclear activities, it acknowledges that all parties to the treaty but one will be effectively subject to safeguards on their peaceful nuclear programmes.

### **Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy <sup>(6)</sup>**

Canada does not believe that the NPT will inhibit the development of the nuclear programmes of signatories for legitimate peaceful purposes or interfere with international trade in nuclear material and equipment. On the contrary, it believes that the treaty will tend to enhance such development and trade. It has strongly supported the provision that will prohibit non-nuclear states from conducting nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, since it maintains that military and civil nuclear explosive technologies are indistinguishable and that the development of the latter would inevitably accord a non-nuclear state a nuclear-weapon capability. It has, however, been insistent that, in return for surrendering their nuclear-explosion option, non-nuclear states should be guaranteed access to peaceful nuclear-explosive services from the nuclear

(3) Complete texts attached as Appendix II

(4) Articles I and II

(5) Article III

(6) Articles IV and V

powers under appropriate international procedures and on a bilateral basis or through an international body. While this principle is contained in Article V, Canada thinks it should be further elaborated in a separate agreement.

#### **Nuclear Arms Control <sup>(7)</sup>**

Canada believes the nuclear parties have made an important commitment to achieve further progress rapidly towards effective measures of nuclear-arms control. Canada supports the right of groups of states to establish nuclear-free zones.

#### **Procedural Questions <sup>(8)</sup>**

Canada considers that the procedural provisions will enable the treaty to be implemented smoothly and will, at the same time, give it sufficient flexibility for adaptation to changing circumstances.

In sum, Canada considers the treaty to be a major contribution to international peace and security and to represent the optimum reconciliation of many divergent national objectives, interests and concerns in respect of the threat of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. It hopes that, in the near future, there will be a sufficient number of ratifications to enable the treaty to come into force.

### **Appendix I**

#### **TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

*The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",*

*Considering* the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

*Believing* that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war,

*In conformity with* resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

*Undertaking* to co-operate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,

*Expressing* their support for research, development and other efforts to further the application, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system, of the principle of safeguarding effectively the flow

(7) Articles VI and VII

(8) Articles VIII-XI

of source and special fissionable materials by use of instruments and other techniques at certain strategic points,

*Affirming* the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology, including any technological by-products which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices, should be available for peaceful purposes to all Parties to the Treaty, whether nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear-weapon States,

*Convinced* that, in furtherance of this principle, all Parties to the Treaty are entitled to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific information for, and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other States to, the further development of the applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes,

*Declaring* their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament,

*Urging* the co-operation of all States in the attainment of this objective,

*Recalling* the determination expressed by the Parties to the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water in its preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,

*Desiring* to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

*Recalling* that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, States must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, and that the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security are to be promoted with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources,

*Have agreed* as follows :

### *Article I*

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

## *Article II*

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

## *Article III*

1. Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Procedures for the safeguards required by this article shall be followed with respect to source or special fissionable material whether it is being produced, processed or used in any principal nuclear facility or is outside any such facility. The safeguards required by this article shall be applied on all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within the territory of such State, under its jurisdiction, or carried out under its control anywhere.

2. Each State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to provide : (a) source or special fissionable material, or (b) equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissionable material, to any non-nuclear-weapon State for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable material shall be subject to the safeguards required by this article.

3. The safeguards required by this article shall be implemented in a manner designed to comply with article IV of this Treaty, and to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of the parties or international co-operation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities, including the international exchange of nuclear material and equipment for the processing, use or production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of this article and the principle of safeguarding set forth in the preamble.

4. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall conclude agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency to meet the requirements of this article either individually or together with other States in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Negotiations of such agreements shall commence within 180 days from the original entry into force of this Treaty. For States depositing their instruments of ratification or accession after the 180-day period, negotiation of such agreements shall commence no:

later than the date of such deposit. Such agreements shall enter into force not later than eighteen months after the date of initiation of negotiations.

#### *Article IV*

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with articles I and II of this Treaty.

2. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world.

#### *Article V*

Each Party to this Treaty undertakes to take appropriate measures to ensure that, in accordance with this Treaty, under appropriate international observation and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty on a non-discriminatory basis and that the charge to such Parties for the explosive devices used will be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall be able to obtain such benefits, pursuant to a special international agreement or agreements, through an appropriate international body with adequate representation of non-nuclear-weapon States. Negotiations on this subject shall commence as soon as possible after the Treaty enters into force. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty so desiring may also obtain such benefits pursuant to bilateral agreements.

#### *Article VI*

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

#### *Article VII*

Nothing in this Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

### *Article VIII*

1. Any Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all Parties to the Treaty. Thereupon, if requested to do so by one third or more of the Parties to the Treaty, the Depositary Government shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties to the Treaty, to consider such an amendment.

2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to the Treaty, including the votes of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The amendment shall enter into force for each Party that deposits its instrument of ratification of the amendment upon the deposit of such instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Thereafter, it shall enter into force for any other Party upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification of the amendment.

3. Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the operation of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty.

### *Article IX*

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by the States the Governments of which are designated Depositaries of the Treaty, and forty other States signatory to this Treaty and the deposit of their instruments of ratification. For the purposes of this Treaty, a nuclear-weapon State is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to 1 January 1967.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and the date of receipt of any requests for convening a conference or other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### *Article X*

1. Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject-matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

2. Twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a Conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

#### *Article XI*

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_.

#### **Appendix II**

### **DECLARATION ON SECURITY GUARANTEES MADE IN UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL BY GOVERNMENTS OF U.S.A., U.K. AND U.S.S.R. JUNE 12, 1968**

The Government of the U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of states to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

We welcome the willingness of these states to undertake not to receive transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) also notes the concern of certain of these states that in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all states.

Bearing these considerations in mind the U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) declares the following :

Aggression with nuclear weapons or threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon state would create a qualitatively new situation in which nuclear-weapon states which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take measures necessary to counter such aggression or to remove threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter which calls for taking "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace". Therefore, any state which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

The U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) affirms its intention as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance in accordance with the Charter to any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

The U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) reaffirms in particular the inherent right recognized under Article 51 of the Charter of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack including a nuclear attack occurs against a member of the United Nations until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) votes for the resolution before us and this statement of the way in which the U.S.A. (U.K.) (U.S.S.R.) intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations is based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon states and are also proposing to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and that these states have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter.

## Appendix III

### Resolution 255 (1968)

ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 1433rd MEETING  
ON 19 JUNE 1968

*The Security Council,*

*Noting with appreciation* the desire of a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and thereby to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices,

*Taking into consideration* the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security,

*Bearing in mind* that any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States,

1. *Recognizes* that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear-weapon State permanent members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter;

2. *Welcomes* the intention expressed by certain States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used;

3. *Reaffirms* in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Throne Speech**

*In the Speech from the Throne which was read at the opening session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament on September 12, 1968, the following passage dealt with external policy :*

In international affairs generally, my Ministers regard the current situation as uncertain and deeply disturbing. Talks are under way in Paris concerning Vietnam but so far negotiations have not advanced as we had hoped they might. The Government has followed with anxiety the attempts to promote a peaceful settlement in Nigeria and has participated actively in international efforts to relieve the sufferings of the civilian population. The situation in Czechoslovakia has also caused the gravest concern to the Government, not only for its effect on the prospects of *détente* and future evolution within Communist countries but also for its consequences for the freedom and well-being of the Czechoslovak people. For those of them who have to seek refuge in other countries, my Ministers have already taken steps to offer permanent homes in Canada.

The Government has undertaken and is pursuing a thorough review of our external and defence policies. Canada's contribution to NATO, relations with Peking, with Latin America and with Europe are being studied currently. Reviews of our relations with other areas will be undertaken later and, as conclusions are reached, Parliament will be invited to consider them.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session : New York, September 24 —  
December 20

International Atomic Energy Agency, General Conference : Vienna, September 24 —  
October 4

FAO Council, fifty-first session : Rome, October 7-22

IMCO Assembly, sixth session : London, October 15-30

UNESCO fifteenth general conference : Paris, October 15 — November 21

UN Conference on Road Traffic : Vienna, October 17 — November 8

International Narcotics Control Board : Geneva, October 21 — November 8

FAO Regional European Conference : Malta, October 28-31

United Nations Capital Development Fund — Pledging Conference : New York, October

Economic and Social Council, resumed forty-fifth session : New York, October — November

ILO Governing Body and Committees, 173rd session : Geneva, November 4-15

FAO Conference, fifteen session : Rome, November

Economic and Social Council, resumed forty-fifth session : New York, December

Economic Commission for Africa, ninth session : Addis Ababa, February 3-14

**APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS  
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
AND FOREIGN SERVICE**

- Mr. C. O. Spencer posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective July 1, 1968.
- Miss R. C. Rodger posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1968.
- Mr. J. R. Sharpe posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 12, 1968.
- Mr. J. R. Roy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective July 18, 1968.
- Mr. M. N. Bow posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to Ottawa, effective July 22, 1968.
- Miss F. Caron resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective July 24, 1968.
- Mrs. I. J. Lyon posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective July 25, 1968.
- Mr. L. A. H. Smith posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 30, 1968.
- Mr. H. F. Clark posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective August 1, 1968.
- Mr. A. B. Bonnezen posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective August 5, 1968.
- Mr. R. Choquette, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Paraguay, effective August 7, 1968.
- Mr. J. S. Roy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective August 8, 1968.
- Mr. T. D. Monaghan posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective August 9, 1968.
- Mr. J. O. Parry posted from the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, to Ottawa, effective August 11, 1968.
- Mr. I. W. McLean appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 12, 1968.
- Mr. D. K. Hallman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective August 12, 1968.
- Mr. J. J. Jacques appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee effective August 12, 1968.
- Mr. R. Martel appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective August 12, 1968.
- Miss C. J. Stock appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective August 12, 1968.
- Mr. E. Hebert posted from the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, to Ottawa, effective August 13, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

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Secretary of State for External Affairs

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# *The Canadian View on United Nations Affairs*

*The following statement was made during the general debate of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, on October 9, 1968.*

... My country... has made special efforts since 1945 to implement the principles of the Charter and to nurture the growth of this organization. Speaking in this Assembly for the first time as the representative of a new Canadian Government, I wish to reaffirm Canada's determination to do all it can to support these principles. It is our aim to help to achieve a better world by strengthening the United Nations and its agencies as indispensable instruments for international co-operation.

Canada's contribution will be pragmatic and realistic. It will be based on our assessment of what the situation requires the United Nations to do and what Canada can best do in the fulfilment of its responsibilities as a faithful member of the United Nations. In matters of peace and war there are limits on the kinds of agreement likely to be reached. Member states, however, must work towards strengthening the authority of the organization. Success will come slowly. Some would use this forum for the ends of propaganda alone. Others sincerely expect the Assembly to act as a quasi-government or legislature. Our yardstick ought to be the capacity of the United Nations to perform the functions which are its proper responsibility and on which there can be at any time a reasonable measure of agreement.

Canada's experience has led us to value our independence while recognizing the interdependence of all states in the modern world; to prize political diversity and cultural freedom; to cherish pride of country but to mistrust chauvinistic dogmas; to adapt but not to overthrow the traditions we have inherited from others; to govern by consent. We believe it is possible, indeed essential, to reconcile the affinities of geography and history and the close associations they imply with the universal conceptions set out in the Charter of equal rights, territorial integrity and political independence.

It follows that we cannot accept that a community of interest, real or alleged, political, cultural or economic, entitles one country to take upon itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. In the Commonwealth of Nations to which we belong, the right of national self-determination is so taken for granted that member countries are free to develop ties with any other countries, including socialist countries.

## **Czechoslovakia**

Above all, no international order can be founded or can exist on the self-appointed right of any government or group of governments to impose their

policies on other sovereign states by force. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and some of its allies was nothing less than the assertion of a proprietary right of a great power to exercise domination over Eastern Europe under the guise of a "fraternal" ideological relationship. It was naked power politics without regard to the Charter of the United Nations. Have the governments of the U.S.S.R. and its allies forgotten that, less than three years ago, this Assembly, by a vote of 109 to none, declared:

No state has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other states. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned.

Although we are bound to take note of the wishes of the Government of Czechoslovakia that the Security Council refrain from further action at this time, the Council quite rightly remains seized of this question, which has profound implications for the independence and sovereignty of all member states. The concern of members of the United Nations for Czechoslovakia, its leaders and its people will inevitably continue until the soil of that country is once again free of foreign troops.

We must also be aware of the danger to peace in Europe arising from recent charges levelled by the Soviet Union against the Federal German Republic and the evocation of an alleged unilateral right of intervention in yet another country. In the view of Canada, no such right exists.

While condemning the Soviet Union and its allies for what they have done, we must be ready to seize every opportunity for serious and constructive discussion of the issues that divide East and West. So long as Soviet troops remain on Czechoslovakian territory the progress of such discussions will, of necessity, be slow and cautious. But there is one area in which we must press on. Negotiations to end the arms race should be pursued vigorously. Progress on this front will benefit all nations, including Czechoslovakia.

### **Arms Race**

Canada, and no doubt a great majority of members of the United Nations, were heartened by the announcement of the United States and the Soviet Union on July 1 of their agreement to begin negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, including anti-ballistic missiles. I urge the United States and the Soviet Union to begin these talks without delay and to support the early resumption of negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on a comprehensive test-ban, a halt in the production of fissionable material for military purposes and the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear stockpiles.

Since we last met, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was opened for signature and has been signed by some 80 countries. Canada has signed the Treaty and in due course intends to ratify it. All countries should help to realize the Treaty's full potential by acceding to it soon.

The continued use of force in international disputes and the incalculable

human suffering caused by war have drawn attention to the part played by the traffic in conventional arms in contributing to the conditions which lead to outbreaks of violence. In the days of the League of Nations, efforts were made to impose some restraints on the arms traffic by publicizing statistics about weapons and other types of armament transferred between states. In our view, the conception of an international register of arms-transfers should be revived.

My Government is interested, too, in the possibility of limiting supplies of armaments in regions of acute political and military confrontation and has noted with approval the recent indication that, under certain conditions, the U.S.S.R. favours "the implementation of measures for regional disarmament and reduction of armaments in various parts of the world, including the Middle East".

### Nigeria

Next to the fear of war, which I have so far been discussing in its various current aspects, we are all keenly aware that hunger and serious privation are issues which, especially when they reach disastrous proportions, cannot be ignored in this body. The Secretary-General recognized this point when he drew to our attention the situation in Nigeria in the introduction to his annual report.

The Canadian delegation acknowledges and fully understands the request of the Organization of African Unity that governments abstain from any action which might impair the unity, territorial integrity and peace of Nigeria. We are also aware and appreciative of the efforts made by the Government of Nigeria and many other governments to deal with the humanitarian issues. We trust that such efforts will expand in keeping with the requirements of the situation. In the face of the human tragedy which has unfolded before our eyes, it is only natural that people everywhere should feel deep sympathy for the Nigerian people and be anxious that no international effort be spared to come to the help of those in need.

Because of our sympathy and concern for the Nigerian people, the Canadian Government is providing *Hercules* aircraft with crews and has allocated over \$1 million for relief supplies for Nigeria through the International Red Cross, whose invaluable service on this occasion, despite the difficulties arising from civil war, has given us grounds for admiration. In addition, Canadian voluntary agencies have made substantial contributions. My Government also agreed, at the request of the Government of Nigeria, to participate in the international team which has been observing the situation in the territories of the Eastern Region where Federal Government authority has been restored, and whose continuing reports will give an impartial account of what is happening. The reports should be as full and detailed as possible in order to serve their intended purpose.

We do not yet know the full dimensions of the problems of immediate

relief which may be required, still less the extent of reconstruction which will face the people of Nigeria when peace, we hope, is mercifully and quickly restored. We do know that these problems will call for international co-operation and assistance on a substantial scale. Canada stands ready to play a full part.

### **Middle East**

In the Middle East, continuing tension and sporadic fighting between Israel and its neighbours sow the seeds of future conflict. There is a danger that the escalation of violence in the Middle East could involve outside powers and thus constitute a grave threat to world peace. Yet we are all conscious that the time and effort devoted to settle this dispute since the end of the fighting in June 1967 have led to no improvement in the situation. Agreement by the Security Council last November to certain basic provisions and principles for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East was an important achievement. But principles are of little use unless the parties accept in good faith the duty of implementing them fully and effectively.

The Canadian Government reaffirms its support for Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967 in all its parts and pays tribute to the patient and tenacious efforts of the special representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, to assist the parties. We give him our full support, and call upon the parties to use his good offices and earnestly seek agreement on a peaceful and accepted settlement based on the provisions and principles of Resolution 242. This is particularly important in the days which lie ahead when foreign ministers are in New York and readily available to consult.

### **Arab Refugees**

The events of June 1967 tragically aggravated the problem of the Palestine refugees. I am sure I speak for all member countries when I pay tribute to the work of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and his staff. In extremely difficult conditions, the Agency, in conjunction with the host governments, has carried out its responsibilities with perseverance, skill and compassion. In recognition of the vital need for UNWRA to continue its work, my Government, during the current fiscal year, maintained its voluntary pledge of cash and food aid value at \$1.2 million and, in addition, contributed to the Agency the equivalent of \$650,000 in special donations.

The Agency can assist in supplying the refugees with the basic requirements for subsistence, and it has done notable work in providing education for thousands of refugee children. For the future, however, what is required is a just settlement which would offer the refugees the opportunity of living in peace and dignity. A solution to the refugee problem will only be feasible in the context of an agreed settlement between the Arab states and Israel. Meanwhile, pending the attainment of such a settlement, this urgent humanitarian problem

remains. My Government, therefore, calls upon all member states to demonstrate the reality of their concern for the refugees by supporting, tangibly and generously, the operations of UNRWA.

### **Vietnam**

It is deeply discouraging that no tangible progress has been made towards a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. The high hopes universally aroused by the initiation of the talks in Paris reflected the overwhelming desire of mankind to see this agonizing and destructive conflict brought to an end.

While it is appropriate that this body should be concerned with the situation in Vietnam, responsibility rests, in the final analysis, with the two sides to the conflict. Canada has already expressed the view that the bombing of North Vietnam should stop. This is an essential first step. But a political settlement requires a general military de-escalation, and North Vietnam must demonstrate its willingness to contribute to this process.

### **Racial Discrimination**

We are often reminded that the United Nations is a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. One of the main threats to such harmony is racial discrimination and the effects it has on international stability. The divisions amongst the membership which these questions provoke must not be allowed to lead to a breakdown in communication between us. The objective is clear. It is to ensure that the majority of the peoples of the countries of Southern Africa will no longer be deprived of their rightful place in the political, economic and social development of their countries.

The main issues are the future of South West Africa and Rhodesia, the question of *apartheid* in South Africa, and the refusal of the Government of Portugal to accept the overwhelming opinion of this Assembly in favour of self-determination for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. In all four situations, minority groups have decided that they alone have the right to determine for an indefinite period the rate of progress and the capacity to govern of the unenfranchised majority. These inequities must be ended. The process of peaceful change must be accelerated.

But how? We are all looking for some way out of the present impasse over South West Africa. At the twenty-second session of the Assembly, the Canadian representative suggested that the Assembly explore the offer made by the Foreign Minister of South Africa to receive a personal representative of the Secretary-General, without prejudice to any position which may have been taken by members of this organization. We still hope that this approach can be followed up. We are prepared to consider other approaches if they command a wide measure of agreement and if they are realistic.

We have agreed on the principles of United Nations action against Rhodesia. We must do everything possible to see that these decisions are carried out by all states, and especially by South Africa and Portugal. We must continue also

to confront these two states with our unanimous judgment that policies of racial repression and political subjugation are incompatible with United Nations principles. Canada respects and intends to abide by the decisions of the Security Council.

### **Human Rights**

Violations of human rights are not restricted to Southern Africa. All member states are under an obligation to look to their own records of achievement in protecting human rights. My Government supports the initiatives which have been taken in the United Nations in the formulation of the various international covenants and declarations in the field of human rights. Canadian legislation reflects this concern in various enactments prohibiting discrimination based on sex, race, colour, creed or national origin, in living practices, conditions of employment, public accommodation and trade-union membership. Voluntary organizations have promoted amongst all Canadians an awareness of their basic rights. Several provinces have established human rights commissions or *ombudsmen*, and a Bill of Rights enumerating individual rights has been adopted by the Federal Parliament. The Federal Government is proposing entrenchment of a code of human rights in our constitution.

In order to facilitate the implementation of such covenants and conventions, my Government recognizes the need for new approaches to the machinery of implementation. The proposal to create an Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is, in this context, an important and welcome development, which I believe deserves the broadest possible support from member states.

In the broader context of human rights, the review of the arrangements for co-ordination between the activities of international relief agencies in case of natural disasters should, we think, be extended to cases of hostilities so that, in such cases also, assistance can be provided quickly and effectively to the innocent victims involved.

### **Economic Development**

This organization is dedicated to the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease. At the end of the First Development Decade, this goal is still far off. We can look back with satisfaction to some achievements (I think of the establishment of the United Nations Development Programme, for example) and we have learned some lessons. We have learned that economic development is a long-term process and that co-ordination of international programmes involves more than setting targets and adjusting priorities. We know better now that the terms and conditions under which aid is offered are of fundamental importance, as is the relation of trade to aid. We realize that the improvement of agricultural techniques is critical to the whole development process.

Nevertheless, there is no hiding the fact that the level of international assistance to developing countries is inadequate. The needs grow faster than

the resources are made available, partly because population increases so rapidly. So far as Canada is concerned, our aid programme will continue to grow year by year to reach the goal of one per cent of the gross national product as quickly as possible. We are pursuing a set of economic policies which will free resources for high-priority purposes and, notwithstanding the imposition of strict limitations on expenditures in general, our aid effort will increase substantially next year. This includes an increase of 25 per cent in our contribution to the United Nations Development Programme in the coming year, as well as significant increases in our contribution to the United Nations Children's Fund and for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. At the same time, we have always recognized the importance of the terms of aid, and have therefore, through extensive use of grants and long-term, low-interest loans sought to meet the needs of recipient countries.

On the eve of the Second Development Decade, we in Canada look forward to the conclusions of two major evaluations of development assistance and related policies of trade, one commissioned by the UNDP and one by the World Bank. The latter is to be headed by a former Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson. There has been some scepticism whether resources made available for development purposes have been used with maximum efficiency. These assessments should identify the lessons to be learned from past experience and provide useful indications as to the policies to be pursued in the future. In this context, there may be greater confidence in development operations and, we hope, greater willingness on the part of developed countries to increase their contributions.

It seems apparent that, to a significant degree, the gap between the more developed and less-developed societies reflects the differences in the extent to which they have learned to apply the techniques and the fruits of science and technology to their fundamental development problems. No mere transfer of the experience of the more-developed nations can bridge this gap. The developing nations require their own capabilities in the field of science and technology. For this purpose, they must have ready access to the reservoir of knowledge and experience which exists elsewhere, and their efforts to adapt these to their own special needs and aspirations should be welcomed.

Recognizing this, the Canadian Government intends to establish in Canada an institution devoted to the practical application of science and technology to the fundamental social and economic problems of development. This institution will have a directing board and staff drawn from many countries and the results of its studies will be freely available to the international community. It will be designed to add a new dimension to the search for solutions to those social and economic ills which are the root cause of so many of the difficulties brought to this Assembly.

My Government recognizes that the terms of world trade must be improved if the developing countries are to be able to utilize technological change to greater

effect and attract investment capital. We have heard various comments from this rostrum about the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. No one can be content with its results. But it is an encouraging fact that, as new forms of aid such as tariff preferences are formulated in UNCTAD, the need for far-reaching changes in the working methods of the organization has also been recognized. We look forward to the presentation by the President of the Second UNCTAD Conference to the General Assembly in plenary session of the issues raised at the Conference in New Delhi.

### **Problems of Human Environment**

The Canadian delegation welcomes the fact that, in addition to examining comparatively unfamiliar questions relating to outer space and the ocean-floor, attention will be paid at this session to the problems of the human environment. We in Canada are keenly aware that the effects of pollution of the air and water respect no boundary. We and our neighbour the United States have together pioneered in the development of international machinery to deal with this problem. For these reasons we have welcomed the initiative of Sweden to have this important matter considered as a problem of world significance, and therefore one which it would be appropriate to deal with in the first instance in plenary session.

### **Peace-keeping**

Despite the scientific revolution and startling advances in world organization, the sad fact is that governments are all too often forced to give military expenditures priority over the requirements of peaceful development. Resources which might be used to increase production and foster education must be applied to reconstruction and relief. It may be utopian to believe we can banish the use of force in relations amongst states. But we must strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to act as an agency for the control of conflict and the mediation of disputes.

My Government is encouraged by the signs of progress in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. We have been among those governments which have attempted to contribute to this work by summarizing their own practices and by pointing to the lessons which might be drawn. Papers on observer missions, prepared by the Secretary-General and now being studied by a working group of the Special Committee, represent a significant contribution to our study of peace-keeping in all its aspects. Discussions due to take place in the Committee should help in narrowing the differences among member states about preparations for peace-keeping. I hope the Assembly will instruct the Committee to expand its investigation to include other aspects of United Nations peacekeeping experience and attempt to draw some agreed conclusions. In this way, we should be able to develop an understanding about the practice of peace-keeping acceptable to all.

### **Universality of United Nations**

We shall not be able to improve very much the capacity of the United Nations to realize its full potential in promoting peace and security unless the institution itself reflects the world as it is. The question of universality of membership remains pressing. We regret the absence from this Assembly of states that play an important part in world affairs.

The question of the representation of China is the most important of these issues, even though it is not strictly a question of membership. My Government has made public its decision to explore the possibilities of entering into diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is not in the long-term interests of world peace and security that the Government in Peking should remain isolated. For this reason, we think that this Government should be represented at the United Nations. We should welcome any equitable proposal which would facilitate the representation of the People's Republic of China in this organization, having regard, however, to the rights of existing members.

### **Conclusion**

The United Nations is a very different organization from the one Canada helped to found more than 20 years ago. Its membership has almost tripled. It has formulated new priorities and is moving in new directions. It has demonstrated powers of adaptation in response to new demands. Human rights, economic development, co-operation in new environments, such as outer space and the ocean-floor, have taken their place as matters of major concern alongside the more traditional but nonetheless vital questions of war and peace. Indeed, it is now understood better than it was that all these questions interact.

As we endeavour to meet new challenges, we should not lose sight of the fact that the effectiveness of the United Nations is bound to be measured in the eyes of world opinion against the practical results which follow from our resolutions. It is not by the number of resolutions that we pass that posterity will judge us but rather by the determination that we show in dealing with the pressing issues of our times and in carrying out the decisions that we make. In this spirit, on behalf of Canada, I pledge sustained and vigorous support of the United Nations.

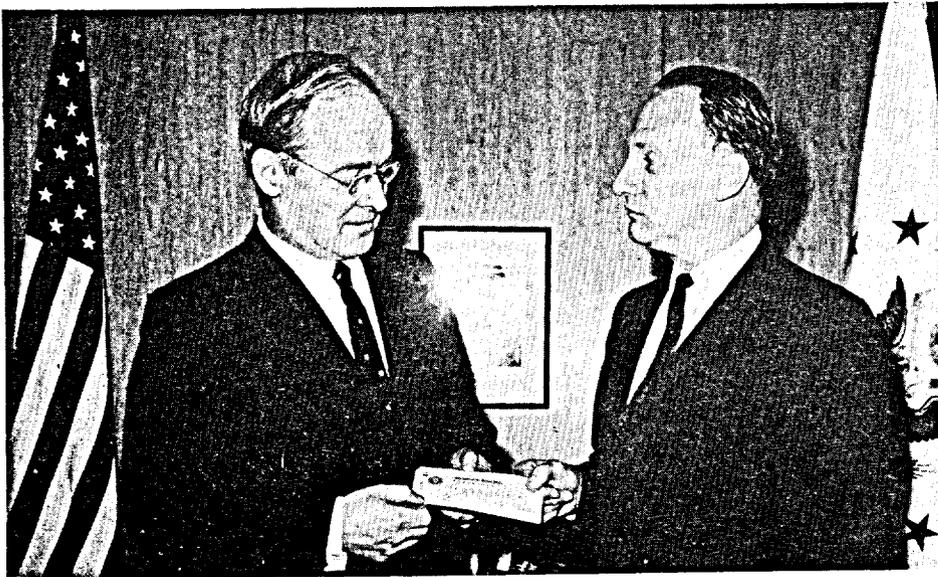
# Columbia River Treaty

## ARROW DAM SETTLEMENT

**A**T A State Department ceremony in Washington on October 10, 1968, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, George Springsteen, presented a cheque for \$52.1 million to Canada's Ambassador A. E. Ritchie in payment for flood-control benefits which the United States would receive from the Arrow Lakes Dam in British Columbia. The payment, which is prescribed in the Columbia River Treaty, was then transferred to the Government of British Columbia, which, under a federal-provincial agreement, had assumed responsibility for construction of the Canadian Treaty projects.

This occasion represented the second step in the execution of the Treaty, which was ratified by the Canadian Parliament in 1964. Of the three Canadian projects (Duncan Lake Dam, High Arrow Dam and Mica Creek Dam), only Mica Creek is not yet in operation. This project is expected to be completed in 1973.

The intrinsic importance of the Treaty to both countries is amply clear. In addition to increasing power-production and providing flood-control, the Treaty has an indirect value as a demonstration of the capacity of the two countries to co-operate in the rational use of a tremendous international resource for the benefit of both.



*Canada's Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. E. Ritchie (left), receives a cheque from Mr. George Springsteen, the United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, in payment for flood-control benefits the U.S. will receive from British Columbia's Arrow Lakes Dam.*

## *The Nigerian Problem*

*The Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence was convened on October 8 to hear evidence respecting the war situation and reported famine conditions in Nigeria. The Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, appeared before the Committee on October 10 and made the following statement :*

This Committee has devoted its urgent attention during the past two days to the important and compelling problems posed by the situation in Nigeria and the Biafran area of that country. My comments will, I hope, contribute further to this enquiry and will also give a more comprehensive account than has previously been possible of the principles on which the Government has been basing its policy and actions toward the complex problems involved.

I should like first to touch on three fundamental aspects which condition the Government's approach.

The first is that the Government shares to the full the deep concern that has gripped the Canadian people in recent weeks as they have watched the Nigeria-Biafra situation unfold.

The second aspect is that the Government's policy on the Nigerian problem has evolved within the context of the long-standing relations Canada has had with Nigeria. That country, a federation of many peoples and the most populous nation in Africa, attained independence as a member of the Commonwealth on October 1, 1960. This event was greeted warmly by Canada and other Commonwealth nations, and opened an era of development of increasingly close relations. Contacts between Canada and Nigeria have been frequent and friendly, based on full and continuous respect for the sovereign status of each nation. We have also been able to provide assistance for the development of Nigeria. This aid has not only been appreciated but effectively used. In the light of our relationship, we have watched with concern as the internal situation in Nigeria has deteriorated over the past two years and more.

My third point is that the Canadian Government's policy and actions on this problem must be seen in the broad context of Canadian foreign policy. This involves Canadian policy toward all the African states, as well as its policy at the United Nations. One of the principles of international relations is that of non-interference by one nation in the internal affairs of another. Non-interference and territorial integrity are issues of manifestly great importance to the newly-formed states of Africa — as, indeed, they are to Canada. African concern was reconfirmed only recently in the overwhelming majority by which the members of the Organization of African Unity, at their heads of state meeting in Algiers, underlined the importance of these principles with specific reference to Nigeria. It would be a grave move for any non-African state, and particularly a white non-African state, to take steps which could be interpreted as intervention.

## Background to Conflict

I should now like to review the background of the present situation in Nigeria. These difficult and heart-rending problems have not arisen overnight. They are the result of a long series of developments with which the Canadian Government has been constantly in touch and sought to influence in a favourable direction where such action was open to us.

To the outside world, the first break in the progress being made by the new Nigeria was the *coup d'état* that occurred in January 1966, during which the Prime Minister and other Nigerian leaders were killed. This resulted in the installation of a military government dominated by Ibos. Dissatisfaction with the centralizing trends that developed in six months under this regime led to new frictions among the regions and resulted in another *coup* by military officers in July 1966, from which issued the present Federal Military Government. Subsequent to these events, friction and conflict between the Ibos and the other main groups which comprise the nation grew steadily more bitter. To recite these events in this simple manner is to suggest a mere struggle for power among military officers was involved; in fact, the conflict had roots deep in the previous experience of the peoples of the area.

In the course of the remainder of 1966 relations between the new Federal Military Government and the Ibo military leadership of the then Eastern Region became increasingly tense; it was also a period of riots leading to massacres concentrated largely in the Northern Region — the number of those who died have never been accurately established and may never be — and of the return to the Eastern Region of large numbers of Ibos who had lived peaceably and successfully in other parts of the Federation. As relations became more strained, it became evident that only in a meeting of the Supreme Military Council (which included the head of government and the military commanders of the four regions) could some agreement be found to ease the strain and allow for renewed co-operation and progress. This meeting occurred in January 1967 at Aburi in Ghana, under the sponsorship of the Ghanaian Head of State, General Ankrah. Whatever the actual results of that meeting, about which there are different versions, it did not in practical terms produce any improvement. The situation thereafter steadily deteriorated and further efforts to bring the two sides together were unsuccessful. The final break occurred at the end of May 1967, when, in response to a Federal Government decree replacing the existing four regions with a new structure of 12 smaller states, the Ibo-led government of the former Eastern Region declared the independence of the "Republic of Biafra". Fighting between this regime and the Federal Government did not begin seriously until July, and has gone on with intermittently mounting intensity since then.

## Negotiation Attempts

I should not wish to give an account of the various stages in this bitter civil war, but I think it would be useful to point out that, interspersed with the

fighting, there have been numerous attempts at negotiation between the two sides. From the early stages of the conflict, both sides were in touch with the Commonwealth Secretary-General, who assiduously explored the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. It might be noted that, from his central position of trust, Mr. Smith is often able to provide assistance and good offices to Commonwealth governments who might be reluctant to seek such help farther afield. His efforts culminated in a series of meetings at the end of May 1968 at Kampala, the capital of Uganda. After these were broken off, Mr. Smith remained in contact with both sides, but the initiative passed to the Organization of African Unity, which had already, in September 1967, established a Conciliation Committee of six African heads of government to assist the Nigerian sides to come to a negotiated settlement. This initiative led to talks in Niancy and later, in August, in Addis Ababa, but again it was not found possible to come to agreement.

While avoiding involvement in the political issues, the Canadian Government has been very actively concerned throughout with the human problems raised by the conflict in Nigeria. Our concern with the human element has been continuous but has naturally grown in intensity since the Biafran area was cut off from the sea. We have allocated more than \$1 million in food and other aid and we sent an aircraft out to Lagos with the first shipment. The remainder of this allocation will be going forward next week, to replenish the stocks of relief supplies in Lagos and in Fernando Po, which were until recently sufficient for the distribution arrangements available. Now that these stocks are going down, our shipment will help maintain the flow of urgently needed relief.

Our food and other contributions have been consigned to the International Red Cross through the Red Cross of Canada. The organization has co-ordinated foreign relief efforts in Nigeria and has maintained an organization supervised by ICRC personnel for the distribution of relief in the areas under the control of both the Nigerian and the Biafran authorities. The Red Cross has, despite great difficulties, been able to send in relief supplies and distribute them in the areas controlled by both sides. It has been able to do so because its activities do not carry the political implications that actions by governments may do. Remembering that there is great suffering on both sides of the lines, and that the Red Cross is able to get relief to both sides, it is, in our view, best to leave it to the International Red Cross to send relief where it is needed most. We have given the Red Cross discretion as to where the food supplies provided by the Government should be shipped, whether to Lagos, for distribution in federal-held territory, or to Santa Isabel on the island of Fernando Po, whence they can be airlifted into the Biafran area.

There has been much discussion of the possibility of Canada providing service aircraft to assist with the distribution of the food and other supplies in the areas of need on both sides. I should like to report to the Committee on the efforts we made to provide assistance, and particularly to find a satisfactory arrangement under which Canada could be helpful in bringing relief to the rebel-held area.

Although international concern has been concentrated on an airlift as the only way to bring relief to the needy in the Biafran area, it is well to remember that it is not the only means possible. Since February 1968, the Federal Nigerian Government has repeatedly offered to co-operate in the delivery of food and relief supplies, first by sea and then by road. The Red Cross has given its opinion that only by the opening of land-routes could supplies be sent in the quantities required. These offers have been declined by the Biafran authorities. Whatever the motives of either side in this matter, it is important to recall that, in this question of an airlift into the Biafran area, there is more than one dimension.

### Conditions for Airlift

As I told the group of representatives of Canadian private relief agencies that came to see me on July 12, the Government would respond to the request to provide an aircraft if a way could be found that would have the approval of both parties. The search for an agreed arrangement was pursued intensively by the International Red Cross during the succeeding weeks, unfortunately without success. In this period, the Canadian Government provided a lieutenant-colonel from the Canadian Forces as an expert adviser to the ICRC in planning the airlift. By mid-September, it became clear that agreement could not be reached with the Biafran authorities for the flights into their area which had been sanctioned by the agreement made on September 3 between the ICRC and the Federal Nigerian Government.

I might point out in this connection that Canada faced special problems which did not necessarily apply to other countries who were as eager to help. First, the Canadian Red Cross, which was asked for an aircraft, was unable through lack of funds to charter one privately. They therefore turned naturally to the Government. Secondly, when they did make a request to the Government, it was a specific request for a *Hercules* aircraft. This meant immediately that service aircraft and crews would be involved. The result was that we had to be extremely careful, more so than other nations, that our actions conformed to the basic principles underlying relations between sovereign states. Moreover, I think we can say that, apart from Britain, Canada has had the closest relations of any nation with Nigeria, and it was necessary to work this question out in the spirit of that relationship, a relationship which can allow Canada to exert a moderating influence.

While I was in New York, I had a number of lengthy conversations with Dr. Arikpo, the Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, during which I had the opportunity of pursuing this question further. I explored with him the possibilities of our providing aircraft for deliveries of supplies into the rebel-held area. Our earlier offer of an aircraft for service within Nigerian federal territory had been agreed to. As to flights into the Biafran-held area, there was obviously some hesitation, in line with the opposition to the unofficial ICRC airlift which the Nigerian authorities had expressed earlier. After my discussion with Dr. Arikpo,

I ascertained that his Government was now prepared to permit Canadian aircraft to make flights into rebel territory with relief supplies. This was a significant move, and may give rise to similar arrangements with other countries.

We hope that a Canadian *Hercules* aircraft will be on its way to Nigeria within 48 hours with a reconnaissance party to survey the condition of all available airstrips in federal and rebel-held areas of Nigeria, as well as Fernando Po. A second aircraft is being placed on standby for possible early departure.

### **Role of Observers**

I think it would be useful at this point to mention the international team of observers operating in Nigeria, to which some attention has already been given by the Committee. As is known, the Federal Nigerian Government invited four governments and two international organizations to send observers to witness the conduct of federal troops in their current efforts to subdue the rebels.

The observer team has full freedom of movement in federally-held territory. It does not operate in the rebel area, but along the lines where the federal troops are fighting. (Indeed, as our High Commissioner in Lagos recently reported, the team has on occasion been "uncomfortably close" to the fighting.) The team has investigated thoroughly and reported impartially. This is illustrated by its two reports issued thus far. It will continue its activities in different areas of the front, and in response to individual reports and incidents. The capacity to move quickly on their own initiative enhances the value of the observer team and, as I noted in announcing the Canadian decision to participate, we believe the team's very presence has a calming influence on the situation.

Members may have noted press references of the reports made to U Thant by his representative on the observer team, Ambassador Gussing. The texts of his first two reports, which cover the same ground as the team's reports thus far, have now been released and copies are available. They support the team's findings, but are worth reading for the additional light they throw on the situation.

General Milroy, the Canadian observer, has reported that the team has received full co-operation and support from the Nigerian authorities. As to whether the team should operate in the Biafran area as well, I would point out that their task is to observe the conduct of the federal troops, of which there are, of course, none in the Biafran area.

### **Genocide Charges**

This brings me to the question of whether genocide is being committed in this conflict. There have been many charges made and opinions offered. This is a delicate area in which I believe it is necessary to tread very carefully. The word genocide, recalling as it does certain horrors of the past, cannot be used loosely. In the genocide convention, the word denotes any of a number of acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical,

racial or religious group as such. Among the acts cited are killing of members of the group, causing them serious bodily or mental harm, and deliberately inflicting on them conditions calculated to bring about the group's physical destruction. All the reports and accusations that refer to genocide must be weighed with care because of the gravity of the charge.

Members of the Committee have noted that the first interim report of the observer team contained the statement that there was no evidence of genocide by the troops they have seen in action; in contrast, they have observed federal forces attempting to help with the feeding and resettlement of Ibo and other civilians displaced by the war. It is also a fact that there are many Ibos living and working freely in federal territory, and the Ibos found in villages retaken from the rebel forces stand as proof that the federal troops have no directives or determination to destroy this tribe. I think we must take into account the fact that this is a bitter civil war.

I realize that the Committee is understandably concerned over the possibility of action through the United Nations. The Canadian delegation undertook intensive consultations with a number of delegations, and with the Secretary-General, to try to establish what if anything could be done to help with the urgent humanitarian problem of improving the delivery of food and relief supplies to those suffering from the conflict. I continued discussing this problem in the numerous contacts I had with other foreign ministers in New York. It became increasingly clear during these conversations that, in the view of the vast majority, there was no way of attempting to achieve action through the United Nations without raising the political issues which everyone agreed should be left to the Nigerians themselves to resolve.

It would not be appropriate to give a list . . . of those countries whose views were sought or how they reacted. It may, nonetheless, be useful to have on the record of the Committee the comments of some of the delegates who have touched on this subject in their major addresses in the general debate in New York. I have with me a summary along these lines . . . . It illustrates that there is widespread concern among the nations of the world with the humanitarian problems posed by the Nigerian conflict, but it also shows that there is a great deal of caution about taking at face value the charges that genocide is being committed, and about the desirability of intervening in the internal affairs of a sovereign member of the United Nations against the wishes of that member. This is the difference between the present situation and the two previous situations when the United Nations was able to intervene — at the request of the Governments of the Congo and of Cyprus.

In my own address in the general debate yesterday, I made reference to the concern of the Canadian people and Government with this question, and we shall continue to be alert to the possibility of advancing the humanitarian aspects of this problem in the United Nations context.

### **Rejection of Intervention**

Throughout the negotiations to which I have referred earlier in this statement, the one unqualified condition upon which the Federal Government has insisted is that the insurgents must acknowledge the unity in some form of the Nigerian state. Only on this basis has Lagos been prepared to consider a cease-fire. It is, therefore, evident that from the Nigerian point of view any attempt by an outside agency, even the United Nations itself, to impose a cease-fire would be tantamount to underwriting the Biafran claim to the right to secession. The view is accepted by all but four of the member states of the Organization of African Unity and explains their opposition to United Nations action, as well as their own reluctance to go further than extend their good offices in the effort to stop the fighting.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the significance of this in the African context. We must bear in mind the bitter tribal rivalries which the newly-independent states are striving to overcome in the task of building nations from the geographical units they have inherited from their colonial past. In the eyes of these emergent nations, the spectre of secession on a tribal basis threatens their very foundations. More than that, it opens the way to bloodshed across the whole of Africa and could far outstrip the death toll in Nigeria, tragic as we must all recognize this to be. It opens the way also to the very outside intervention from which Africa is passionately concerned to rid itself. The fate of Africa and of Africans has only recently been returned to African hands, and there has yet to be built up the confidence that it will be allowed to remain there. Katanga and its aftermath are only too fresh in African memories.

We cannot — whether as individuals or as governments — turn our backs on the suffering in Nigeria. No one, least of all in Canada, would wish to do so. But neither can we in the name of humanitarianism and with the best of intentions commit ourselves to action which, in the wider context of the situation in Africa and African experience of alien intervention, could turn out to be the height of irresponsibility.

I might conclude with a brief reference to a conversation I had in New York with Henry Labouisse, the Director of the United Nations Children's Fund. The Fund has been deeply involved in relief in this area, and Mr. Labouisse was most concerned about the food situation, not only in the present period of crises but in the future, when he considered it would become yet more serious. We all need to be conscious of the fact that the need for assistance in Nigeria will continue for some time. I referred in my address at the General Assembly to the fact that Canada stands ready to play its part in the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. In the immediate future, I hope that the Canadian people will do their full part in supporting the appeals of the voluntary agencies which are trying their best to provide food to the hungry.

## *Sale of Plutonium to France*

ATOMIC Energy of Canada Limited announced on September 30, 1968, that arrangements had been made to sell plutonium, valued at approximately \$1,500,000, to the Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique (CEA) of France. Under the contract, irradiated fuel from Canadian nuclear-power reactors will be shipped over a period of about three years to Eurochemic, a nuclear-fuel reprocessing plant at Mol, Belgium, where the plutonium contained in the spent fuel will be extracted for onward shipment to France.

The sale of plutonium, the first such sale by Canada to France, is one of the more tangible results of the increasingly close co-operation which has developed over many years between the national nuclear-energy agencies of the two countries. The plutonium will be used by the CEA in a programme to test the feasibility of employing fast-breeder nuclear reactors in the production of electric power. Although France is able to fill domestically some of its requirements for plutonium, additional quantities are required in order not to delay the fast-breeder development programme. On the other hand, current Canadian research programmes do not fully employ the plutonium produced in Canadian reactors. Discussions between the Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique and Atomic Energy of Canada Limited on the possible supply of plutonium from Canada came, therefore, as a natural result of the co-operation between the two government agencies.

In commenting on the safeguards arrangements which will be applied to the transfer of plutonium, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, stated the following in the House of Commons:

It is a long-standing policy of the Canadian Government that nuclear materials be exported from Canada for peaceful purposes only. With the full agreement of the French Government, it has been decided that the plutonium, which will be used in the French civil nuclear programme, will be transferred to France under the provisions of the agreement between Canada and the European Atomic Energy Community, of which France is, of course, a member. This agreement provides for the application of EURATOM safeguards, and for procedures whereby Canada may obtain assurance that the Community's safeguards-and-control system is satisfactory and effective for any material transferred under the agreement from Canada to the member states of EURATOM. The role is fully compatible with Canada's signature of the Test-Ban Treaty and of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

# *United Nations Day - A Time for Rededication*

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

ON OCTOBER 24, 1968

**T**ODAY marks the twenty-third anniversary of the creation of the United Nations. Over the years governments and peoples around the world have come to regard October 24 as an occasion for rededicating ourselves to the principles of international order and morality set out in the Charter. It is appropriate on this occasion to reflect upon the present state of the United Nations organization and the difficulties which must be overcome if the organization is to remain a viable and dynamic instrument.

The basis of the United Nations is the pledge of sovereign states to cooperate in order to maintain international peace and security, to solve pressing problems of an economic and social character, and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

## **Organization Transformed**

As the United Nations approaches the mid-point of its third decade, its character and procedures are changing. The items on the agenda of the General Assembly and the Security Council are vastly different from those of 1945. There are now 125 member states, compared to the 51 original members. Disagreements among the great powers caused changes in thinking and emphasis, which in turn meant that the middle and smaller powers, such as Canada, have had to take on greater responsibilities. Perhaps the greatest change has occurred in the fields of economic and social development, and of human rights. The United Nations now acts as a catalyst for peaceful change in the economic field, rather than being simply a forum for debate and discussion, as in the early years. And, in the area of human rights, United Nations declarations and conventions set the accepted standards for state behaviour.

The prevailing international situation has had its effect on the United Nations. Secretary-General U Thant has reported that, during the past year,

... little progress, if any, has been recorded towards the growth of international order based on law and justice. On the contrary, there has been a serious decline in the standards of international ethics and morality; with states relying increasingly on force and violence as a means of resolving their differences.

The Secretary-General has warned us that, if this tendency to return to force as a means of national policy is not reversed, the future of international peace and security is indeed a dark one.

## Responsibility of Members

We in Canada, when reflecting on the shortcomings as well as the accomplishments of the United Nations, should always remember that it is the member states that have the responsibility to give it life and a sense of direction. It is for the members to decide what kind of organization they want. Only they can provide the United Nations with the strength and resources required to meet the increasing demands placed upon it. And only states can provide the will for peace and matching action needed to overcome the present malaise and reinvigorate the United Nations.

The Canadian Government believes that in the months to come we must be ready to seize any opportunity for a serious and constructive discussion of the issues that divide East and West. We have urged at the United Nations that negotiations to end the arms race be pursued vigorously. Canada is also in complete agreement with the Secretary-General that a most helpful step in these times would be the strengthening of the peace-building and peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations system.

The year 1968 has been designated the International Year for Human Rights. In recent months the world has witnessed an increase in violence, often in protest against alleged infringements of human rights coupled with economic and social injustice. We must view such violence as a phenomenon capable of being understood and, through understanding, susceptible of restraint and eventual elimination. Youth now challenges a world that has shown it is capable of the achievement of plenty but . . . falls short of its possibilities. One of the major tasks facing the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies is the promotion of the economic and social well-being of all peoples, in conditions where basic human rights are not only acknowledged but implemented. In this endeavour, perhaps the greatest challenge of our age, Canada is determined to play a full and active role.

In concluding I wish to pay tribute to the many non-governmental organizations in Canada, such as the United Nations Association and the Canadian Committee for UNICEF, which have done so much to make Canadians aware of the work of the United Nations family. They have an important role to play. I am sure that I speak for all Canadians in pledging our renewed support to the United Nations and the Secretary-General on United Nations Day 1968.

# *Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers*

*The annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) are customarily preceded by the annual meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers. This year, the meeting took place in London on September 25 and 26. The Canadian delegation was led by the Honourable Edgar Benson, Minister of Finance, and included senior officials of the Bank of Canada, the Department of Finance and the Canadian International Development Agency, as well as the Canadian High Commissioner to Britain, Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie.*

*Last year's meeting devoted itself to discussions of the IMF's proposed special drawing rights. This year the meeting considered developments in the IMF, the new arrangements for sterling concluded between overseas sterling-area countries and Britain in connection with facilities recently announced by the Bank for International Settlements, and general development questions, particularly the need for the early replenishment of the International Development Association (IDA).*

*After the meeting a communiqué was issued, the text of which follows:*

A meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers was held in London on September 25 and 26, 1968, under the chairmanship of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Honourable Roy Jenkins. This meeting was immediately preceded by a meeting of senior finance officials of the Commonwealth.

2. Barbados was represented by the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, India by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Guyana by the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Australia by the Treasurer, Britain by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Botswana, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, the Gambia, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia by their Ministers of Finance, Ghana by the Member of the National Liberation Council and Commissioner responsible for Finance, Trinidad and Tobago by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, Malaysia by its High Commissioner in Britain, and Nigeria by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance. The Associated West Indian States were represented by the Premier and Minister of Finance of Antigua and the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Trade Development and Tourism of St. Christopher, Nevis and Anguilla. Representatives of the British Dependent Territories of Bahamas, British Honduras, Hong Kong and Fiji also took part in the deliberations.

3. This was the first finance ministers' meeting which Mauritius and Swaziland had attended after becoming independent members of the Commonwealth, and the other ministers were particularly pleased to welcome their ministers of finance to the deliberations.

4. Ministers broadly reviewed recent developments in the world economic situation. They noted that the growth of output in the industrialized countries and the volume of world trade, which had slowed markedly through the second half of 1966 and the first half of 1967, recovered strongly in the past 12 months. However, the increase in export earnings of developing countries, which in 1967 was less than half the world average and less than one-third of the increase achieved in 1966, has not shown any significant recovery in the past year. In spite of a relatively poor export performance, the increase in gross domestic product of the developing countries as a whole was higher in 1967 than in the immediately preceding years. This was largely due to a substantial improvement in agricultural output.

5. They noted two continuing areas of concern — the unsatisfactory state of major export markets for many primary products and the need to restrain demand to correct balance-of-payments deficits in the reserve currency countries. Ministers expressed the hope that, in adopting policies to deal with their balance-of-payments problems, measures taken by these countries would not adversely affect the momentum of advance of developing countries. They also urged that countries with balance-of-payments surplus pursue policies aimed at economic expansion and the export of capital to compensate for the effects of deficiency in the non-surplus countries so as to prevent adverse effects on world developments.

6. Ministers had a full discussion on the balance-of-payments prospects for the sterling area. They stressed the importance for the sterling-area countries as a whole of the British balance-of-payments position and noted with satisfaction the statement by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer about the improving prospects of Britain's balance of payments. They also noted with satisfaction the arrangements concluded between the governments of the overseas sterling-area countries and the British Government, in association with the Bank of International Settlements facility for \$2 billion. Ministers welcomed these developments as a major contribution to the stability of sterling and of the international monetary situation. They also noted the importance of encouraging additional capital inflows from non-sterling-area countries, particularly the European surplus countries. Ministers considered the need for and means of improving consultation and co-operation among Commonwealth sterling-area countries and agreed to consult further on this matter.

7. Ministers noted the progress made in the scheme for the creation of special drawing rights through the International Monetary Fund to supplement reserve assets and stressed the need to activate the scheme as early as practicable. The hope was expressed that these arrangements for international monetary stability will result in more liberal trade and aid policies.

8. Ministers recognized that the results of the UNCTAD II had been most disappointing to the developing countries in that no specific plan of action had been agreed to on any of the crucial issues relating to trade and development

financing. They noted, however, that certain decisions in principle had been taken on these matters and stressed the need to give practical effect to these as early as possible.

9. Ministers discussed international assistance for economic development. They noted that the prospects for total flows of official aid to developing countries were discouraging and that, in view of the increasing burden of interest and debt repayments, which are already heavy, the net flow may remain static or may even decline.

10. Ministers expressed their strong support for the objectives of the International Development Association and recognised the urgency of the replenishment of its resources. They further expressed the hope that early implementation would be possible for the second replenishment and that higher levels of contribution would be considered in the years ahead.

11. The chronic shortage of foreign exchange was a matter of increasing concern, particularly to developing countries. Ministers stressed that increased export earnings, through fair and remunerative prices for their major exports, commodity agreements, and improved access to and development of export markets, were essential to continued economic growth in developing countries. In this context ministers were concerned to note that no decision had yet been reached on the proposal for a scheme of supplementary financing and urged that the work of the intergovernmental group on this should be finalized as soon as possible.

12. Ministers welcomed the appointment of the International Commission, chaired by the Right Honourable Lester Pearson, to review the total aid picture in the past two decades and make recommendations for the future, and they looked forward to the results of its deliberations.

13. Ministers urged that the special problem of smaller countries in respect of more funds on softer terms should be especially examined.

14. The ministers had before them a report by the Secretary-General on the flow of intra-Commonwealth aid in 1967. They noted that the flow of intra-Commonwealth official aid exceeded the level of the previous year by 4 per cent and that the expenditure on technical assistance experts and training was also appreciably higher. Ministers noted with satisfaction the progress already made in implementing the new Commonwealth technical-assistance programme in the areas of planning and project appraisal, and the feasibility study on co-operation in export trade promotion. They expressed the hope that this study would lead to early practical proposals for assisting Commonwealth countries in expanding export earnings.

15. Ministers agreed to consult through the Secretary-General regarding the venue for the 1969 meeting.

16. Ministers expressed their warm appreciation of the generous hospitality of the British Government and the excellent arrangements made in providing host facilities for the meeting.

## *Belgian Foreign Minister Visits Ottawa*

AT the invitation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pierre Harmel, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid an official two-day visit to Ottawa recently. Arriving by a Canadian Government plane on the afternoon of October 15, he was welcomed at the airport by Mr. Sharp. The following morning the Belgian Foreign Minister conversed with his Canadian colleague for two hours and then paid a visit to Prime Minister Trudeau. Following a lunch in his honour by Mr. Sharp, Mr. Harmel had talks with the President of the Treasury Board, Mr. Drury, and the President of the Privy Council, Mr. Macdonald.

### **Special Import of Visit**

The circumstances surrounding this brief visit lent it a particular significance. Indeed, it gave the two ministers of foreign affairs an opportunity to compare and concert their appraisals of the consequences of the events in Czechoslovakia for NATO and for the policy of *détente*. As both Mr. Harmel and Mr. Sharp were returning from a long session at the United Nations General Assembly, they were able to discuss their conclusions on a number of current issues dealt with there. A new Canadian Government having recently been formed, they were interested in establishing closer contacts, particularly in view of the current re-examination of Canadian policies regarding Europe and China. Finally, the presence in Canada of a Belgium scientific mission led naturally to a discussion of the possibilities for scientific and technological co-operation between the two countries and between Canada and Western Europe. These talks were cordial and profitable.

The Canadian Government was specially honoured to welcome Mr. Harmel, whose previous visit to Ottawa had been in the autumn of 1966. The Belgian Foreign Minister has had an exceptionally rich university and political career. A professor of law at the University of Liège, he was elected a member of the Belgian Parliament more than 20 years ago. He was a minister on several occasions and Prime Minister in 1965-66. For two years Mr. Harmel has devoted great energy to the conduct of foreign affairs, thus giving Belgian diplomacy a very special role in NATO, in East-West relations and elsewhere.

### **Canada's Ties with Belgium**

Mr. Harmel was also assured of a particularly warm welcome to Canada because he is a representative of Belgium. Belgium was, in fact, one of the first countries with which Canada established diplomatic relations; the Canadian Embassy in Brussels is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary this year. The capital of NATO and of the European Communities, Brussels continues to view with particular interest the special ties uniting Belgium to Canada. A desire for

such special ties also underlies Canadian policy, as the Secretary of State for External Affairs pointed out during the visit:

I am very happy to welcome Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs. We are honoured to receive in him the statesman, many times a minister and a former Prime Minister, as well as the representative of a country dear to us.

You all know what unites our countries — history, blood shed in common causes, the sons of Belgium settled in great numbers among us, the solid character of our peoples and their dual cultural heritage. These facts we are familiar with. What your visit and our conversations this morning have enabled us to contemplate in a new light is all that our two peoples may be able to accomplish together in the future.

Thus your visit will open up new opportunities for promoting the spirit of friendship and co-operation between Belgium and Canada.

# *International Monetary Fund and International Bank*

ANNUAL MEETINGS 1968

THE Governors of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) held their annual meetings for 1968 in Washington from September 30 to October 4. The Canadian delegation was led by the Minister of Finance, the Honourable Edgar Benson, and included the Governor of the Bank of Canada, Mr. Louis Rasminsky, and the President of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. Maurice Strong.

## **International Development Problems**

In contrast with last year's meetings, which concentrated largely on developments within the IMF, this year's meeting concentrated on developments within the World Bank group. Of particular interest was the first public address of Mr. Robert S. McNamara, the new President of the Bank and the International Development Association, its principal affiliate. Mr. McNamara assumed his duties as President on April 1 of this year, replacing Mr. George Woods, who had served with great distinction for several years.

In his address to the Governors of the IMF and the IBRD on the opening day of the session, Mr. McNamara outlined the direction he would like the Bank to take under his leadership. He noted that, despite the many billions of dollars in aid provided by developed to developing countries over the past few years, he found that the "requirement for assistance was never higher, while the will to provide it was never lower in many, though not all, of the countries which provide the bulk of economic aid". It could not, however, be denied that the willingness to provide such aid had been diminished by the fact that the aid has not been employed to its full effectiveness. Following the suggestion of Mr. George Woods, one of Mr. McNamara's first acts has been to establish a commission of men experienced in world affairs to undertake a review of past aid efforts for the purpose of providing a plan of direction and co-operation. The former Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, will lead the commission, which will proceed independently of the Bank.

Mr. McNamara went on to outline the Bank's priorities as he saw them. In the next five years, the Bank will strive to lend twice as much as during the previous five years. The allocation of loans will be altered both as to geographic area and to economic sector. In the past, the Bank has concentrated geographically on the subcontinent of South Asia. In the next five years, it is expected that the rate of Bank investment in Latin America will double and in Africa

increase threefold. The rate of investment in education will be increased substantially, with special emphasis on educational planning and the employment of modern communications techniques for teaching purposes. The sector of greatest expansion, however, will be agriculture. It is hoped that the agricultural loan volume over the next five years will quadruple as efforts are concentrated on irrigation schemes, fertilizer plants, agricultural machinery and storage facilities.

Mr. McNamara devoted the last part of his address to the problem of the control of population growth. He noted that this held back the advancement of the poor and thereby widened the already dangerous gap between rich and poor. To help deal with this problem, Mr. McNamara proposed that the Bank undertake to inform the developing nations of the extent to which rapid population growth retards potential development. The Bank would seek opportunities to finance facilities required by member countries to carry out family-planning programmes and engage in research to determine the most effective methods of family planning and of national administration of population control programmes.

Mr. McNamara concluded his remarks by noting that, despite the magnitude of the tasks, there was no cause for despair but rather every reason for hope.

#### **International Payments Problems**

Within the IMF, interest was largely centred on three issues: the status of the special drawing rights proposal, the state of the international monetary system, and the progress made on last year's resolution calling for a possible IMF and IBRD role in the stabilization of primary commodity prices.

The meeting noted that considerable progress had been made during the past year in developing a mechanism to meet the need for a supplement to existing reserve assets. At last year's session in Rio de Janeiro, the Board of Governors approved an "outline for a facility based on special drawing rights in the Fund". The Board of Governors requested the Executive Directors to prepare a report proposing amendments to the Articles of Agreement for the purpose of establishing such a new facility. Despite many problems, agreement was reached and the Board of Governors gave their approval to the proposed amendments on May 31, 1968. This cleared the way for the next stage in the implementation of the new facility.

(Effective establishment of the facility requires acceptance of the proposed amendments by at least three-fifths of the member states of the Fund with four fifths of the total voting-power. In addition, members having 75 per cent of the total quotas must deposit instruments of participation in the special drawing rights account before it can become operational. As of October 22, 19 countries having 42 per cent of the total voting-power had accepted the proposed amendment. It is hoped that the IMF will be in a position to make an initial distribution of special drawing rights some time in 1969. While Canada has

not yet approved the amendments, Parliament has been asked to give its attention at an early date to a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act, which is the legal basis of Canada's participation in the IMF.)

The Governors also gave their attention to the general state of the international monetary system and noted the several shocks that it had sustained over the past year. Beginning with devaluation of the pound sterling last November, uncertainty about the viability of the existing international monetary arrangements became widespread. This was reflected in the unusually heavy speculative demand for gold which resulted in the termination in March 1968 of the gold-pool arrangement whereby a number of central banks co-operated to provide gold to the private market to maintain the price of gold near the long-established level of \$35 (U.S.) an ounce. Since then, the price of gold in transactions between governments in the settlement of international transactions has been maintained at \$35 (U.S.) an ounce, while the price of gold on the private market has been free to find its own level. This decision has found widespread acceptance. Satisfaction was also expressed that the general international monetary situation had normalized, and particular note was taken of the strenuous action of Britain and the United States to remedy their respective balance-of-payments deficits. The new arrangements for sterling concluded between overseas sterling-area countries and Britain in connection with facilities recently announced by the Bank for International Settlements were also welcomed as contributing to this trend towards normalization.

#### **International Development Association**

The IDA is a member of the World Bank group. It make loans on concessional or "soft" terms to developing countries which bear less heavily on their balance of payments. The IBRD obtains its funds from private capital markets, where it borrows at commercial terms. Accordingly, it lends at conventional terms. The IDA was created to overcome this limitation. All of the resources of the IDA, which are largely provided in the form of interest-free advances from governments, have now been committed. Negotiations for a replenishment have been prolonged over a period of nearly two years. The importance of an early replenishment was emphasized by most Governors, especially those from developing countries, who regard such replenishment as a matter of the highest priority. Canada has actively supported an early replenishment at a substantially higher level and is in the process of passing the necessary Parliamentary legislation, which will authorize the Canadian contribution to the proposed replenishment exercise.

#### **Canadian Statement**

In his statement, Mr. Benson pointed out that, though the world's production of goods and services had at least doubled in the previous two decades, total aid levels were slipping even further behind the objective of 1 per cent of national income.

He pointed out that:

The international community recognized in 1960 that the resources of the Bank would have to be supplemented by credits which did not weigh so heavily on the balance of payments of countries unable to take all their capital requirements on terms provided by the Bank.

Mr. Benson continued:

A significant part of the needed expansion of Bank Group activities must take the form of IDA lending, if the Bank Group is to play its full role in all parts of the world and if the burden of supplying concessional aid is to be widely spread among the aid-giving countries. The prompt completion of the recent IDA replenishment agreement is essential if these objectives are to be secured.

He noted that Mr. McNamara had called for a revolution in agriculture. In his view, its greatest significance was its dramatic demonstration that even the most intractable of development problems would yield to the concerted application of science and technology. With this in mind, he said that Canada was examining the possibility of establishing an International Development Centre

Regarding the problem of population, Mr. Benson stated:

There is an increasing awareness of the negative effects which high and rising rate of population growth are having and will continue to have on the fulfillment of human needs and aspirations. Much remains to be done. The United Nations system is playing an increasing role in assisting countries with the problem. . . . As an important part of this system, the World Bank, as noted by Mr. McNamara, should be able to make a significant contribution.

He continued by saying he endorsed Mr. McNamara's initial assessment and the plans for the World Bank Group. He thought that:

. . . the basic economic problems of the developing countries, however, are structural in character. We ask ourselves whether it would not be of particular benefit to the process of development if the often unfavourable trend of commodity prices and incomes could be improved. We need to consider how the competitive position and market access of primary commodities can be improved, and how the economies of primary producing countries can be diversified.

With reference to the IMF, Mr. Benson stated that:

. . . last winter's financial storms had crossed our shores, and the Canadian dollar came under severe downward pressure in the first three months of this year. . . . During the crisis, Canada received substantial financial help from the International Monetary Fund from the Bank for International Settlements, and from several countries, for which we were most grateful. As a result of favourable developments in both the external financial environment and in our internal financial policies, the Canadian payments crisis was of short duration. Confidence in the Canadian dollar has now been completely restored.

He continued by saying that confidence in the world's international monetary arrangements received indispensable support from the completion of the work on special drawing rights. The Canadian Government would seek Parliamentary authority for the acceptance of the amendments at the earliest possible date.

Mr. Benson commented that the changes which had taken place in gold marketing arrangements would allow newly-mined gold in Canada to be channelled into the private markets. The two-tier gold system appeared to have worked and had introduced a greater degree of realism in attitudes toward gold. The establishment of the special drawing rights scheme would facilitate the evolution of the role of gold in the international monetary system.

**He concluded:**

I find it most fortunate that the Fund and the Bank meet together on these annual occasions. Their fields of concern are deeply interwoven, as we have seen in such diverse matters as the international flow of capital and the problems of primary commodities. Their co-operation should become ever closer and more productive, led by the collaboration between the distinguished heads of the two institutions. Both institutions have done much to advance the progress of international co-operation in the economic and financial fields, which has served us all so well.

## *Visit of the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic*

His Excellency Dr. Mahmoud Riad, Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic, accompanied by Mrs. Riad and senior officials of the U.A.R. Foreign Ministry, visited Ottawa from September 25 to 27. The visit provided an opportunity for a frank and useful exchange of views on international questions and bilateral relations between the distinguished visitor and the Canadian Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

*En route* to Ottawa, Dr. Riad and his party met leading members of the Canadian Arab community and visited the Montreal exhibition *Terre des Hommes*. The Foreign Minister proceeded from Ottawa to New York to lead his country's delegation at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.



*His Excellency Dr. Mahmoud Riad, Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic (right), walks from his plane at the Uplands Airport, near Ottawa, in conversation with the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp.*

# The Canadian International Development Agency

CANADA's current aid programme had its genesis in the years after the Second World War. That was the period when Canada moved from aid that was clearly associated with the war and its aftermath to assistance for the less-developed nations.

In 1950, in co-operation with Britain, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, Canada entered the field of international development assistance. The result of this collaboration was the Colombo Plan. Between 1958 and 1964, the Canadian aid programme expanded to include the Caribbean region, Commonwealth and *francophone* Africa, and Latin America.

Canada is today one of the few countries that is increasing its foreign aid expenditures significantly, and the Government intends, subject to economic conditions, to raise expenditures to the point where they will approximate the internationally-accepted goal of 1 per cent of the gross national product by the early 1970s.

New plans and administrative machinery are being developed to enable Canada to mount more effectively the even larger programmes made possible by the growing budget the Government is providing for assistance to developing countries.

## The New Name

During 1968, many changes have occurred within the administering agency of Canada's development assistance programmes. Last September, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, announced a change in name from the External Aid Office to the Canadian International Development Agency. The chief executive of the CIDA, Director-General Maurice F. Strong, is designated as President and the External Aid Board, the Government's senior advisory committee in this area, becomes the Canadian International Development Board. The change of title has been effected by Order-in-Council. The CIDA, as was the case with the External Aid Office, will report to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The Prime Minister forecast the change in a statement on May 29, 1968, when he said:

In order to stress the true objectives of our aid programme, we shall change the name of the External Aid Office to Canadian International Development Agency.

Mr. Sharp explained:

"Ten years ago, our aid programme was running at the level of \$73 million. Our Colombo Plan relationship with the nations of South and Southeast Asia was in its seventh year of growth and we had just begun our assistance to

the Commonwealth Caribbean with an allocation of \$3 million. We had not begun to help the English-speaking or French-speaking nations of Africa and we had no plan for Latin America. Our contributions to multilateral agencies were slightly more than \$6 million. Few opportunities existed for the international co-ordination of development assistance and the economic theories which have since become the guide-lines of this new science were then in a formative stage.

"Much has happened. This year's programme will run in excess of \$350 million, extended in an effective, co-ordinated form to the continents of Asia and Africa and to Latin America. One dollar in seven will go to support the programmes of the World Bank, the development agencies of the United Nations and the newly-created regional lending institutions. The world has yet to appreciate fully the importance of the struggle against global poverty, but we, on our part, are pledged to play a full part. We plan to expand our assistance to a level equivalent to 1 per cent of our gross national product, and to ensure, by all the means at our disposal, that the resources we make available are applied with maximum impact to the growth problems of our partners in the Third World.

"It is now realized that the attainment of this objective requires skills and techniques that were practically unknown ten years ago. Aid administration has become a profession, involving a knowledge of all the political, economic, social and cultural conditions that govern the efficient and effective transfer of resources from the industrialized countries to the developing nations.

"Although direct aid continues to be necessary to meet emergency needs, it has been in many ways a short-term expedient, which does not provide a satisfactory basis for the relation between rich and poor nations in the long run. 'Giveaway' programmes of aid must increasingly be supplemented by a much more complex and sophisticated set of arrangements in the fields of trade, investment, education, science and technology, designed to support and strengthen the self-help efforts and initiatives of the less-developed nations.

"In short, the activities in which we are involved in the name of civilization are no longer aid, with its connotations of 'handout' and 'hand-up', but international development in the truest sense of partnership.

"The new name we have chosen for our administering agency reflects our dedication to this purpose."

### **Reorganization**

No less important is the extensive reorganization of the Canadian International Development Agency, which followed a year of intensive studies made in the light of the increasingly complex requirements of international development assistance and Canada's growing role in the field.

The Canadian aid programme has tripled in size since 1963-64 to its current level of more than \$300 million. Of equal significance is the need to ensure effective use of Canadian aid funds and Canadian skills and resources,

now concentrated, to an increasing extent, in areas where they can make a maximum impact on economic development.

Developments in the aid field in recent years have created a requirement for a more comprehensive and professional approach to the administration of aid, for better analysis of the needs of recipient countries in relation to Canadian capacities, for improved assessment of project requests and for better evaluation of projects during and after implementation.

One of the significant developments in the new Canadian International Development Agency administration is the creation of a Planning and Economics Branch, under the direction of Mr. L. D. Hudon, who is also Canadian executive director of the World Bank. Besides filling the need for a thorough evaluation of all requests for Canadian aid, the Branch will provide the programme with expert advice on Canadian human and physical resources and will maintain relations with the private sector and with multilateral development-assistance agencies.

Development and implementation of projects is now the responsibility of the Operations Branch, under Mr. George Kidd, formerly Minister (Economics) at the Canadian Embassy in Washington. This Branch contains the divisions which oversee large capital projects, recruit Canadian teachers and experts for service abroad and arrange training programmes for foreign students sponsored by the Canadian Government. Provision has been made for a co-ordinating function, designed to facilitate the development of projects in which all these elements of aid are combined.

The Government's policy is to encourage greater participation in international development by non-governmental agencies, business and industry. The CIDA will draw, to an increasing extent, on the skills and experience available in Canada. More and more Canadians will be involved in aspects of the international development task.

There has been a growing awareness that aid is only one of a number of factors, including trade, tariff, commercial and taxation policies, through which a country such as Canada can affect significantly the economic and social progress of developing countries. The evaluation of these factors as offering alternatives to, and complementing, direct aid requires the application of highly-sophisticated skills and techniques.

The regular staff of the Canadian International Development Agency is being supplemented by the engagement, for short periods, of people who have experience in particular fields. Data-processing methods are already being applied to several aspects of CIDA operations. Greater use is also being made of special-purpose task forces. Overseas personnel are receiving greater support, both through more frequent visits to the field by CIDA officers and the appointment of personnel with specialized aid-experience to Canadian missions in countries with which Canada has external aid relations.

### **Allocations for 1968-69**

The Canadian Government's external economic-assistance plans for the fiscal year 1968-69 show an increase of \$38 million over the 1967-68 programme. Exclusive of export credits, the programme will reach a new level of \$291 million. (This figure does not include Section 21A loans to developing countries, advanced by the Exports Credits Insurance Corporation, which are calculated with the official aid programme to produce a total contribution to international development. In the fiscal year 1967-68, the programme level was \$253,100,000. In addition, \$63,600,000 was advanced under Section 21A credits, giving a total for 1967-68 of \$316,700,000.)

Plans call for a \$48-million contribution to multilateral development agencies, including an amount earmarked for replenishment of the funds of the International Development Association, the World Bank agency which extends loans on concessional terms. The remaining \$243,100,000 in the programme will be allocated through grants of \$68,100,000 (\$50 million last year), interest-free and medium-term development loans of \$106 million (\$90 million last year), and food aid, which drops from last year's figure of \$75 million to \$69 million. The reason for the decline is to be found in the improved crop production of developing countries — particularly India, which is reporting an exceptional harvest.

The largest percentage increases in programme assistance go to the French-speaking countries of Africa and to the Commonwealth Caribbean region.

The total of grants, loans and food aid allocated to *francophone* Africa is \$22,500,000, an increase of 87 per cent over the 1967-68 allocation. The Commonwealth Caribbean will be eligible to receive \$22 million, compared to \$17,200,00 in 1967-68.

The Canadian Government is continuing to develop its policy of concentrating the bulk of Canadian assistance in countries where it will clearly contribute to the effectiveness of development efforts.

### **South and Southeast Asia**

Grant allocations to India are being increased to \$6 million from \$2 million, and the level of development loans is being maintained at \$38 million. The increase in grant funds will help India to meet its substantial need for foreign exchange. Work will continue on Canadian-financed projects such as the Idikki dam in the state of Kerala, and emphasis is being placed on the provision of commodities, fertilizers and agricultural assistance. Increases in crop production make it possible to reduce planned food aid from \$50 million in 1967-68 to \$40 million.

Grant allocations to Pakistan are being increased to \$4 million from \$2 million and development loans will be maintained at \$18 million. Work will continue on the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant and the East-West interconnector electrical transmission-line, and other projects are being considered

for financing in 1968-69. Increases in crop production have made it possible to reduce food-aid allocations from \$8,500,000 in 1967-68 to \$5 million.

Canada's allocation to Ceylon is being maintained at the level of \$4,500,000. (This figure includes \$500,000 in grants, \$2 million in loans and \$2 million in food aid.) Construction of the Katunayake Airport, Canada's major aid project in Ceylon, was completed in 1968.

The commitment of loan funds for Malaysia in 1967-68 for a series of feasibility studies should lead to specific project proposals for development-loan financing in 1968-69. As a result, the Canadian programme is being maintained at \$3 million (\$1,500,000 in grants and \$1,500,000 in development loans).

### **Commonwealth Africa**

Allocations to Nigeria are being maintained at the 1967-68 level of \$3 million in grants and \$4 million in development loans. Projects financed from these funds will include the personnel-training project for the Niger Dams Authority, and further phases of the Nigerian telecommunications-improvement project.

The grant allocation to Ghana has been increased to \$2,500,000 from \$2 million to permit expansion of the technical-assistance programme, which has concentrated heavily on the provision of teachers. A development-loan allocation of \$2 million is being provided for the first time and is earmarked for the Ghana portion of the recently-announced Ghana-Togo-Dahomey transmission line.

### **French-speaking African States**

Canada's programme of aid to seven nations of French-speaking Africa will be expanded and diversified. In 1968-69 the allocations are increased to \$22,500,000 from 1967-68's \$12 million. Grants have been increased by \$2,500,000 to a total of \$11 million; development loans are up \$2,500,000 to a total of \$5 million and food aid has been increased by \$5,500,000 to a total of \$6,500,000. To provide maximum flexibility in developing an effective programme in this area, no specific allocations have been made to individual countries, with the exception of Rwanda, where Canada has made a long-range commitment to the University of Butare.

### **Commonwealth Caribbean**

The total allocation to Jamaica has increased by \$1,350,000 to a total of \$5,350,000. This includes an increase of \$750,000 in grants and \$500,000 in development loans. Work will continue on the provision of rural schools, low-cost housing, water-distribution schemes and pre-investment and feasibility studies.

Canada's aid allocation to Trinidad and Tobago in 1968-69 is being increased by \$1,250,000 to a total of \$5,250,000. The increase consists of \$750,000 in grants and \$500,000 in loans. Projects under way include a

dairy-industry development programme and water-resources, transportation and aerial surveys.

The Canadian allocation to Guyana is being increased by \$1,300,000 to \$4,500,000 in 1968-69. The grant allocation is increased by \$800,000 to \$2 million, a substantial part of which will be used in construction of the New Amsterdam Vocational School and supporting technical assistance. Development loans have been increased by \$500,000 to \$2,500,000.

Canadian allocations for the Leeward and Windward Islands and British Honduras in 1968-69 are increased by \$1 million to a total \$6 million. There are now school-construction, water, air-transport and agricultural-development projects under way in the islands with Canadian financing, and the Canadian Government has indicated that it would like to concentrate aid in these fields.

Canada has agreed to provide a minimum of \$1 million to the University of the West Indies each year for the next three fiscal years, and this figure will be maintained in 1968-69.

### **Latin America**

Each year since 1964, Canada has provided \$10 million in development-loan funds for Latin America through an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank. The 1968-69 allocation of \$10 million makes a total of \$50 million. The Bank administers the funds for Canada. Projects undertaken include the development of the port of Acajutla in El Salvador, studies of the Guayas River basin in Ecuador, highway-development studies in Paraguay, hydro-electric development studies in Argentina, the supply of mining and industrial equipment to Bolivia, pre-investment studies in Mexico, development of the State Technical University in Chile, feasibility studies in Peru, and various projects, mainly in the field of grain storage, for the Central American Bank for Economic Integration. In addition to its soft loans to Latin America, Canada is developing a technical-assistance programme.

## *Official Opening of Katunayake Airport*

**S**ENATOR the Honourable John B. Aird, Q.C., the personal envoy of the Prime Minister, represented Canada at the official opening on August 5 of the Katunayake International Airport in Ceylon. The opening ceremony was attended by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Right Honourable Dudley Senanayake, the Minister of Communications, and other members of the Ceylonese Government.

Construction of Katunayake Airport, about 30 miles outside Colombo, was undertaken jointly in November 1964 by the Canadian and Ceylon Governments as a Colombo Plan project. The first phase involved the strengthening and extension of the airport runway to a length of over 11,000 feet so that it might take the largest jet passenger aircraft. In 1965, a start was made on the new terminal building under the direction of engineers of the Canadian Department of Transport and in co-operation with the Ceylon Department of Civil Aviation. The terminal was completed in June of this year, three months



*Senator the Honourable John B. Aird delivers the opening address at the inauguration of the Katunayake International Airport near Colombo, Ceylon, on August 5, 1968. Listening to him (foreground) are Mr. John Timmerman, High Commissioner for Canada in Colombo, and the Honourable Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon.*

ahead of schedule, and turned over to the Government of Ceylon. It was opened for use by international air traffic on July 1.

Senator Aird delivered the following message from the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau:

At this time, when we are celebrating the successful completion of yet another stage in the development partnership of our two countries, I should like to take this opportunity of extending my warmest good wishes to the Government and to the people of Ceylon. This new international airport, representing a combination of Canadian technology and Ceylonese craftsmanship, symbolizes the principles and objectives of the Colombo Plan. In practical terms, our relationship has led to the provision of a facility which will assist Ceylon in making the delights of its beautiful country available to increasing numbers of foreign visitors. In a less tangible but equally significant fashion, the airport of Katunayake will help to facilitate Ceylon's ties with the world community and enable Western nations to come to a closer acquaintance with the cultural and spiritual values represented in your way of life. Through political association within the Commonwealth and through economic co-operation, Canada and Ceylon have laid the basis of firm and enduring friendship.

## *The Second Commonwealth Medical Conference\**

**T**HE Second Commonwealth Medical Conference met in Kampala from September 2 to 12, 1968, under the chairmanship of the Honourable J. W. Lwamafa, Minister of Health for Uganda. Twenty-five Commonwealth countries were represented, 17 by their ministers of health. An Assistant Director-General of the World Health Organization and the Director of the Commonwealth Foundation were present as observers. The representative of Swaziland, which became independent during the course of the Conference, was warmly welcomed and congratulated on the occasion.

The defined purpose of the Conference was to review the progress of intra-Commonwealth medical co-operation, and to consider whether any improvements or additions were desirable. As a working arrangement, it was divided into five committees on: family planning; medical education in local or regional institutions; medical education abroad; co-operation in health services; and the mechanics of co-operation. These committees were chaired by the health ministers of Pakistan, Tanzania, Ghana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Malta respectively. In addition, a symposium was held on the New Zealand School Dental Nurse Scheme.

The Conference was the subject of more than a year's preparation, and had before it considerable documentation, prepared by member governments and by the Commonwealth Secretariat, which was responsible for the organizational arrangements. This documentation made possible a more comprehensive review of the existing facilities and potentialities for Commonwealth medical co-operation than had ever before been undertaken.

### **Family Planning**

The Conference took note of the evolution of international opinion on family planning and the considerable increase both in national programmes and in outside assistance since the First Commonwealth Medical Conference in 1965. Then the question had been discussed at an informal seminar; at the Second Conference, a full agenda item was devoted to the subject, as well as an exhibition of educational materials provided by India.

The Conference did not find it appropriate to attempt any general recommendation on national policies in the family-planning field. These, it was felt, were for individual governments to decide. Nevertheless, a most valuable and constructive discussion took place on the factors determining such policy.

\* Based on a communiqué issued by the Conference, edited by Dr. B. D. B. Layton, Principal Medical Officer, International Health, Department of National Health and Welfare.

The meeting had before it recommendations by the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference on possible methods of using the adult-education system in those countries where a family-planning policy had been adopted. It was suggested, however, that, where there was a family-planning policy within a national, social and economic development programme, its effectiveness required that the whole educational system should be involved.

Several specific aspects of the problem were discussed. They included the help provided by voluntary organizations, the usefulness of incorporating a family-planning programme, where adopted, into existing governmental maternal and child-welfare services, methods of publicity, providing and distributing equipment and supplies, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of programmes already under way.

Consideration was also given to identifying opportunities for mutual assistance where requested. Such assistance in setting up and running family-planning programmes has materially increased over the past few years.

Several members referred to their own experience in building up groups of experts on operating population programmes and expressed their willingness to make such staff available to other Commonwealth members if requested. The establishment of a Population Bureau in Britain as a means of access to experts available as short-term advisers was welcomed.

### **Medical Education**

In the discussion of medical education, a recurrent theme was the need to increase local training facilities. There was consideration of the much greater cost of training overseas and of the temporary (sometimes permanent) loss of manpower. But, quite apart from these, it was essential that training at all levels should be carefully dovetailed into the practical requirements of the country — occasionally even the district — in which the individual was to work. These views were reinforced by the evidence of an increasing shortage of doctors as the demand for medical service increased in the more-developed countries and as this in turn increased pressure on the number of undergraduate places available to overseas students in the medical schools of those countries.

There had been an encouraging response to the recommendations of the First Commonwealth Medical Conference on accelerating the development of local training institutions and several members acknowledged the help, particularly in technical assistance, which they had received from fellow Commonwealth countries.

The Conference called particular attention to the value of links between teaching and training institutions in developed and developing countries. These were discussed at length at the First Conference in Edinburgh, and progress has been made since. There is now a better understanding of the problems and benefits of departmental and institutional links to both parties. The Conference hoped that further links would be developed as opportunity offered.

### **Co-operation and Co-ordination**

It was felt that further progress should increasingly be sought through regional co-operation, not necessarily limited to the Commonwealth. This could provide economies and make the best use of scarce skilled manpower, while enabling local conditions to be taken fully into account. It was, therefore, recommended that, where necessary services were lacking, special centres of excellence for teaching in particular subjects should be developed, building, wherever possible, on what already existed. This could be often be done most fruitfully on a regional basis. There was a special need to establish centres for the joint training of teachers in the medical and ancillary fields.

The Conference recorded the hope that Commonwealth governments in geographic regions might consider the establishment of such centres for teacher-training, postgraduate studies and para-medical education. It suggested that expansion of the postgraduate education facilities and personnel already centred in Uganda might provide a significant example of planning on a regional basis which could be emulated elsewhere in the Commonwealth. Although less formally planned, other such arrangements exist in Commonwealth countries in Asia, West Africa and the Caribbean and might be further developed. The initiative for such schemes must come primarily from the governments in the region, but some assistance would be required, at least initially, from outside the region. It was suggested that possible donor countries should be invited to join in planning at an early stage. The Commonwealth Secretariat might encourage and support such planning meetings and its services might be used to provide a point of co-ordination.

Although, in the long run, only increased local training could be expected to fill the manpower-gap, expatriate services would be needed for the foreseeable future, especially in case of specific shortage in individual countries. Here, too, the Commonwealth could provide a more useful grouping for recruitment in terms of cost-effectiveness. The older distinction between donor and recipient was being increasingly modified by the conception of mutual assistance. The Conference felt that all Commonwealth countries could and should consider themselves to be potential donors; there was no member, however small its size or resources, which could not make a contribution to its fellow members. The discussions indicated many examples of a network of co-operation. It was agreed that the possibility of "third-party" financial assistance from Commonwealth governments willing to provide it be explored.

The Conference reviewed existing channels of co-operation, particularly the annual pre-World Health Assembly meetings of Commonwealth representatives and the network of contacts through Commonwealth capitals. Nonetheless, it noted a need for improved communications between governments to correlate the needs of some with training plans and assistance being offered by others. In some cases, places were being made available of which potential recipient countries were unaware. It was recognized that, in these respects, more use could be made of the Secretariat's services.

It was agreed that the Conference had identified a number of opportunities for progress and had been most productive in enriching co-operation and widening the experience of all representatives. The Conference agreed that a Third Commonwealth Medical Conference should be held in 1971.

The Conference expressed its warmest appreciation to the chairman, and to the Government of Uganda for its generous hospitality and for the excellent arrangements which had been made.

Canadian representation at this Conference consisted of Dr. Gaston Isabelle, M.P., as head of delegation, with Dr. B. D. B. Layton, Principal Medical Officer, International Health, Department of National Health and Welfare, and Dr. Colin Forbes, paediatric specialist associated with the Canadian team at present in Nairobi on an external aid project.

## CONFERENCES

United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session: New York, September 24 —  
December 20

UNESCO fifteenth general conference: Paris, October 15 — November 21

UN Conference on Road Traffic: Vienna, October 17 — November 8

International Narcotics Control Board: Geneva, October 21 — November 8

GATT Contracting Parties, twenty-fifth session: Geneva, November 12-29

Economic and Social Council, resumed forty-fifth session: New York, October — November

ILO Governing Body and Committees, 173rd session: Geneva, November 4-15

Economic and Social Council, resumed forty-fifth session: New York, December

Economic Commission for Africa, ninth session: Addis Ababa, February 3-14

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Mr. A. P. Smyth posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, effective August 2, 1968.
- Mr. W. H. Montgomery posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, effective August 7, 1968.
- Mr. C. M. Bédard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 8, 1968.
- Mr. Y. R. J. Parent posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective August 9, 1968.
- Mr. N. H. R. Etheridge posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, effective August 11, 1968.
- Mr. H. G. Korn appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 12, 1968.
- Mr. G. L. Ohlsen appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 12, 1968.
- Miss J. Matthews posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective August 13, 1968.
- Mr. L. Benedict retired from the Public Service, effective August 14, 1968.
- Mr. A. Bernier posted from the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, to Ottawa, effective August 14, 1968.
- Mr. M. Faguy posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, effective August 16, 1968.
- Mr. P. A. Joncas resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective August 16, 1968.
- Mr. G. Wilkinson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, effective August 16, 1968.
- Mr. F. L. Brodeur posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, effective August 17, 1968.
- Mr. P. Slyfield posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra to Ottawa, effective August 18, 1968.
- Mr. S. April appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 19, 1968.
- Mr. R. D. Auger appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 19, 1968.
- Mr. W. F. S. Beattie posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, effective August 19, 1968.
- Mr. T. P. J. Lonergan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 19, 1968.
- Mr. D. A. Moorman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective August 19, 1968.

- Mr. B. W. Mawhinney posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to Ottawa, effective August 23, 1968.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier, Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, posted to Ottawa, effective August 23, 1968.
- Mr. C. T. Stone posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, effective August 23, 1968.
- Miss M. C. M. Girard appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Solicitor 1, effective August 26, 1968.
- Mr. F. A. Mathys posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 26, 1968.
- Miss L. Thompson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective August 26, 1968.
- Mr. W. M. Weynerowski posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective August 26, 1968.
- Miss M. P. Shea posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective August 29, 1968.
- Mr. T. J. Arcand posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to Ottawa, effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. J. M. Fraser posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. A. F. Hart, High Commissioner for Canada in Ghana, posted to Ottawa, effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. F. Pillarella posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. G. Plamondon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. G. F. Stubinski resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective August 30, 1968.
- Miss N. J. Walsh resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective August 30, 1968.
- Mr. D. E. Waterfall appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer I, effective September 3, 1968.
- Mr. R. H. Jay, High Commissioner for Canada in Jamaica, posted to the Directing Staff of the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 3, 1968.
- Mr. W. M. Elie appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 3, effective September 3, 1968.
- Mr. S. H. C. Nutting posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 3, 1968.
- Mr. R. D. Jackson posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 3, 1968.

- Mr. G. K. Grande posted from the Directing Staff of the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective September 3, 1968.
- Mr. E. T. Wiens posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, effective September 4, 1968.
- Mr. N. H. Mailhot posted from Ottawa to Hong Kong, effective September 6, 1968.
- Mr. F. L. Wiebe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective September 10, 1968.
- Mr. J. E. G. Spénard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective September 10, 1968.
- Mr. M. K. Esselmont posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective September 12, 1968.
- Mr. F. R. Thibault posted from Ottawa to Beirut, effective September 12, 1968.
- Mr. M. K. Nelles posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 13, 1968.
- Mr. J. M. J. Hughes, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective September 14, 1968.
- Mr. W.-G. Licari appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 16, 1968.
- Miss A. M. Hyndman posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to Ottawa, effective September 16, 1968.
- Mr. C. E. McGaughey, High Commissioner for Canada to Pakistan, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Afghanistan, effective September 17, 1968.
- Mr. B. N. D. Rodal resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 20, 1968.
- Mr. E. F. Publicover appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective September 20, 1968.
- Mr. M. F. Kergin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, effective September 21, 1968.
- Mr. M. Careau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santo Domingo, effective September 23, 1968.
- Mr. H. B. Carnall posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective September 23, 1968.
- Mr. G. H. Duguay posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, effective September 27, 1968.
- Miss I. M. Hall appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 30, 1968.
- Mr. N. R. J. Gwyn posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective September 30, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **The Conflict in Nigeria**

*On November 26, Prime Minister Trudeau made the following statement to the House of Commons:*

One of the strengths of Canada, Mr. Speaker, one of the qualities of the Canadian people that makes me proud to be a Canadian, is the interest which Canadians take in the welfare of others less fortunate than themselves. We are, I think it is fair to say, human beings first and citizens second. Successive Canadian Governments have received full public support for measures which have been designed to relieve the suffering of persons elsewhere. In addition to our programmed external aid, Canada has again and again provided emergency food and relief supplies in generous measure to victims of famine and natural disasters. We have on several occasions welcomed to our midst in large numbers the unfortunate victims of wars and disruption.

We all stand taller as a result of our sympathies for human beings and our efforts to assist them. We stand taller not because we are seeking to mollify our own consciences, nor because we need to boast to others of our humanitarian motivation; we stand taller because we have chosen the right path of conduct and have been effective in the help we have tendered.

And this to me, Mr. Speaker, is what this entire debate today is about. It is unnecessary to discuss whether Canadians actively wish to assist the unfortunate victims of the civil war in Nigeria. They do. It is irrelevant to discuss whether a Canadian Government can properly involve itself in a relief effort abroad. It can. The single point at issue is whether this Government has acted correctly and wisely in doing what it has done.

In this respect correctness is not measured in red tape or technicalities and I shall not therefore make any attempt to suggest these considerations as an explanation for Canadian policies. But in this same respect, Mr. Speaker, neither is wisdom measured in the volume of our own voices raised in international arenas.

If we are truly and honestly committed to assisting the peoples of Nigeria, both correctness and wisdom must be measured in terms of the effectiveness of our efforts to help. Victims of war are not helped by grandiose speeches in the General Assembly; starving children are not nourished by acts which prolong hostilities.

For several weeks, Mr. Speaker, the Canadian people have shown much concern and sympathy for the problem now being discussed. Opinions, comments and questions about it have increased. A standing committee (the

Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence) has considered that matter.

The civil war in Nigeria is a particularly complex matter. Its outbreak is linked to various factors and its roots go back quite far in the history of that great country and it is possible that only those who are engaged in that conflict can measure its intensity and understand its full meaning. In any case, Canadians as individuals have been deeply moved by the stories and pictures describing the suffering of the people of that country and they have felt involved. It is necessary, however, to grasp a fundamental point, namely that it is a civil war and that the solution of the conflict can be arrived at only by the belligerents themselves. Of course, those from outside can offer their services, but they cannot impose a settlement which would be contrary to the will of either side. In that connection, the good offices of the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, as well as those of the Organization for African Unity, have been and will always be available, and I hope that they will continue to be used.

The fact is that, during all the hostilities, there have been periodic discussions between Nigerian authorities and the rebels, some of them extending over several weeks. But it appears that it is not enough to have the belligerents talk things over, or even declare the urgency of a cease-fire. They must also be willing to make concessions leading to a peaceful settlement, and this is exactly this conciliatory spirit which cannot be imposed from the outside.

We have expressed on several occasions the earnest hope of this Government to see the opponents in this tragic war show at least the goodwill necessary to negotiate a lasting peace.

In testifying before the Committee, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr. Arnold Smith, helped us to understand some of the implications of the problem. He explained, for example, that, on several occasions during the past 18 months, certain compromises which he, as an outsider, thought quite acceptable, might have been found. However, Mr. Smith then added that there was no hope of a settlement unless the two sides themselves made some compromises. I quote some of his words:

The Biafrans will have to make concessions with regard to sovereignty, and Lagos will have to make concessions with regard to physical security and economic viability.

I bring up that statement again, Mr. Speaker, to make clear that those who were in a position to offer their good offices made a close study of the question and that it is up to the belligerents to find within themselves the true spirit of conciliation which is the prerequisite of any compromise. Above all, we must not think that we, in Canada, were the first to become aware of that war, and that we have all the answers. We do not have them.

If Canada attempted, in one way or another, to impose any solution whatever to the conflict, that effort would constitute an intervention in the internal affairs of another country.

The policy which my Government has followed in this situation has been motivated, as is proper, by humanitarian considerations. But what a government cannot do in this or in any other situation is to depart from the broad context of its foreign policy or its general and carefully formulated outlook on the world. Thus our policy involves our attitudes toward the aspiration of the developing countries; it touches on our position in the Commonwealth and the United Nations; it urges us to be realistic in our continuing desire to play a useful, responsible role on the world scene. I emphasize this concept of responsibility in foreign policy both because it is particularly relevant to the question of Nigeria and because it is our belief that in the increasing complexities we have to face in international affairs it is steadily more important that countries like Canada play their parts responsibly.

We see in Nigeria a tragic and bloody civil war taking place in a Commonwealth country with which Canada has developed strong ties of friendship. I am not now talking about red tape or protocol or diplomatic technicalities. I am talking about a real issue. Contemporary international practice recognizes a fundamental legal obligation not to interfere in the internal affairs of another state. The United Nations General Assembly's unanimous declaration on non-intervention in 1965 describes this duty in no uncertain terms:

No state has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state.

Certainly, world concern for the promotion and protection of basic human rights has enabled the Assembly effectively to overcome past objections that even the mere discussion of these rights constituted a form of intervention. However, in this particular instance, there was no general desire to have the item discussed at the United Nations. Moreover, in so far as actual intervention is concerned, that is, action by the United Nations within the territory of a state without its consent, it should be realized that only in the most extreme circumstances involving the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security can the appropriate United Nations organs authorize or approve such intervention.

I emphasize that to many of the states of the world — those which have only recently gained independence — the principle of non-intervention is a dominant consideration. As an example, I need only recall that, for all of the concern of the countries of Africa for the plight of the native population in the Republic of South Africa, there has never been a proposal from an African country that the United Nations possesses the right to violate the territorial integrity of South Africa. The question of South West Africa because of its mandate is distinct and not to be confused. If, therefore, the Africans for fear of creating a precedent which might be used against themselves later have not raised the argument of intervention on humanitarian grounds in South Africa, it is not likely that any Canadian effort to intervene in Nigeria would be met with other than outraged opposition.

There have been persistent proposals in this House and in the press that Canada raise this issue at the United Nations. Notwithstanding what I have just said, I should like to assure the people of Canada that we have gone into this deeply. There have been intensive consultations with other delegations in New York; the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Sharp) sought the views of the United Nations Secretary-General in an exchange of messages in September; our missions abroad have sought advice; I talked personally with the Secretary-General about this and other matters. As a result of all this, of my own talks with the Secretary-General, of continuing inquiries made at the official level at the United Nations and in a number of foreign capitals, I remain convinced that an attempt to inscribe the Nigerian conflict on the agenda of the General Assembly would not only be bitterly resented by the Nigerian Government and the member states of the Organization of African Unity but would also be totally unsuccessful because of the procedural requirement of support of 63 other members. In view of the OAU resolution, there is not a chance that even a small fraction of that number would agree. And Hon. Members should not forget that of the 126 United Nations members, 42 are from the continent of Africa.

There is an alternative to the General Assembly, we are told. A committee. Should we attempt to employ a General Assembly committee for such a discussion, conceding for the moment that we could do so, which is not entirely clear, our efforts would prove not only divisive but totally counter-productive. The soundings to which I have referred and others revealed the following probable consequences of any such attempts: First, hostility and opposition from almost all African states. Canada's long-term relations with these countries, which we now find amiable and productive, would be prejudiced for some years to come, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. Any doubts in this respect should have been resolved by the OAU vote of 33-4 against intervention. Second, Nigeria would demand that we cease participating in relief assistance to any part of that country. Third, we should be asked to withdraw from the international observer team in Nigeria.

I need only add that, in the view of the Government, such a policy by Canada would be completely irresponsible and indefensible.

However much it might salve the feelings of concerned Canadians, it would be wrong. For these reasons I am reluctant to strain the very real and very meaningful ties of friendship which Canada enjoys with Nigeria and with other African states. I have accordingly assured General Gowon of our continuing support for his government as the government of all Nigeria. I have at the same time informed him of our desire to see an early conclusion of the hostilities in Nigeria on terms permitting Nigerians to live within a federal structure which provides adequate guarantees of personal and economic security to all persons. General Gowon has for his part assured us of his intention to provide such guarantees and has welcomed the understanding and interest of the Canadian people.

What I have said about action through the United Nations applies also to proposals that initiatives be mounted through the Commonwealth. Like the United Nations, the Commonwealth is an association of sovereign states, admittedly bound by special ties of affection but also bound by tradition not to intervene in each other's affairs or to discuss them at Commonwealth meetings. The Commonwealth does offer the unique facility of the good offices function of the Secretary-General which I mentioned earlier. Members who are familiar with Mr. Arnold Smith's testimony before the Standing Committee are aware of the untiring efforts which Mr. Smith has lent to the search for a solution. These efforts have not met with success but they have served to keep open a channel of communications between the disputants.

Recently there have been proposals that Canada attempt to arrange a cease-fire. It is argued that this would not involve making a political or moral judgment on the merits of either side's case, and the advocates see it in terms of "let the fighting cease and peace will prevail". I agree with the theory but the practice is more complicated, as shown by reports of discussions already held by the Nigerian parties about a possible cease-fire. It is clear that this question has been surrounded by political conditions. For example, at one point the rebel proposals for a cease-fire stipulated a withdrawal of federal troops behind the pre-war boundaries, an action which the Nigerians claim would place some five and a half million non-Ibos under Ibo rule without their being able to make a choice. This one example illustrates that in this situation a cease-fire is not a simple proposition to be seen in isolation from the political factors. In present circumstances, any cease-fire inevitably involves a major concession of principle by one side or the other. I am not suggesting that a cease-fire is undesirable or that it is impossible; I am saying that it will be difficult to accomplish.

What I have been attempting to make clear, Mr. Speaker, is the legal, moral and political framework in which the Government has viewed this human crisis in a friendly country. It has been clear to me throughout that the concern of the Canadian people in this situation is that their Government should act to help relieve human suffering without interfering in the politics of the situation or being used to advance the political aspirations of one side over the other.

This challenge we have accepted; this concern of the Canadian people we have attempted to meet. I should like nothing more than to be able to stand here today and to announce that the Nigerian civil war has been concluded. It is of little consequence to me whether that conclusion is reached as a result of any special Canadian intervention. It is a solution that I seek, not necessarily a "made in Canada" solution. What is important is that the war cease, that the unnecessary deaths be avoided, and that the record of Canadians and their Government be an honourable one. I think that the record to date is honourable and I should like to recount briefly some of the actions the Government has taken.

The Government's concern with the Nigerian situation was engaged long

before the Canadian people became aware of the problem and Hon. Gentlemen opposite began to ask questions. Our ties with Nigeria have been strong, affectionate and mutually advantageous, and because of this we watched with deepening anxiety as the situation deteriorated in 1966 and 1967. When the secession occurred and the fighting broke out we became increasingly concerned that this conflict would tear irreparably the fabric of this fellow Commonwealth country. We told the Lagos Government that we believed a peaceful rather than a military settlement should be found. We supported the Commonwealth Secretary-General in his efforts to bring about negotiations. Later we supported the initiative of the Organization of African Unity in the same direction. And we have repeatedly urged the Nigerian Government, which we continue to recognize as the government of all Nigeria, to seek a peaceful negotiated settlement.

In terms of action, the Canadian Government has concentrated on humanitarian assistance to those in need. We were involved in this well before the human problem reached its acute and well-publicized stage. As early as February of this year, we made representations to the Federal Nigerian Government urging greater co-operation with the International Red Cross in its mercy flights into rebel-held territory. Since then we have spoken frequently with the Nigerian authorities on related subjects and have always been given a cordial hearing and explanation of their position. These explanations have made clear, for example, their long-standing willingness to open land and water corridors for the movement of relief supplies, a willingness which is not shared, I should emphasize, by the rebels.

In May, long before this unfortunate war was the subject of constant questions in the House, the International Committee of the Red Cross asked Canada for urgent financial help in their operations in Nigeria. We responded with a substantial cash grant. In July we allocated half a million dollars in food aid for Nigeria and sent an initial food shipment to Lagos by *Hercules* aircraft. At that time we decided in principle to provide *Hercules* aircraft for an airlift under Red Cross auspices if the agreement of the two sides could be obtained.

In August we lent the services of a Canadian expert to the International Red Cross to assist that organization in studying the feasibility of increased and improved airlift operations.

In September another allocation was made of half a million dollars in food aid. The large sea shipment of food sent under these allocations arrived in the area early this month and we have reports of its reaching the forward centres from which the Red Cross distributes it to needy civilians. These are significant contributions being made by the Government in the name of the Canadian people, and they have been acknowledged warmly by the Nigerian authorities. But the story does not end there. Further food aid in large amounts will continue to move forward from Canada.

Private Canadian organizations have also made significant contributions, and their work should be praised and encouraged. I would pay special tribute to the efforts of the Canadian Red Cross Society, which has been in this situation from the beginning, working patiently and hard to bring aid and comfort to the suffering in all parts of Nigeria affected by the fighting.

Mr. Speaker, the most acute problem was that of transportation. The House is well aware of the sincere and sustained efforts the Government made in this regard. Generally, attention was concentrated only on air transport into the rebel zone. But, in fact, it was a second choice, for using the ground corridors into the Eastern area would allow the transportation of far greater quantities of supplies. The situation could be met far better through their use instead of hazardous flights in an air corridor over the jungle, close to aircraft transporting arms. Still, the rebels have constantly opposed the proposals of the Red Cross and Nigeria with regard to the use of the ground corridors, and although one can understand their military concern, one can certainly question the merits of such priorities. As the food supplies decrease, it becomes obvious that even the most efficient and best organized airlift will not be sufficient. Ground transportation therefore remains the only adequate solution. And this requires the approval of Colonel Ojukwu.

With regard to air transport, let us look first at the fact that the Red Cross asked us for *Hercules* aircraft because of their exceptional capacity and other features which made them particularly suitable for that type of work. Now, that request involved the use of Canadian armed forces aeroplanes and, consequently, we had to get beforehand the authorization of the Nigerian authorities. Such authorization was required not only for the flights over rebel territory, since these territories were under Nigerian sovereignty. It was then that Nigeria made it clear that any flights over rebel territory not previously authorized by it would be considered as "acts of hostility". As a friendly and responsible government, we were not going to ignore that warning. Therefore, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Sharp) attempted to get from the Nigerian Government permission to fly over the rebel territory. Through painstaking and persevering efforts, such permission was granted on October 8. The sole condition stipulated by the Nigerian authorities was that Canadian aeroplanes should operate their mission under the auspices of the Red Cross. We were also advised that this permission would not continue if transport operations were made under the auspices of other organizations, such as the churches for instance. Therefore, it was with the authorization of the Nigerian Government that our *Hercules* aeroplanes went to Lagos last summer.

I should like to pause briefly at this juncture to recall what I said a moment ago about the inviolability of territory and about the principles of international law which support non-intervention. Much as we may argue that, in this instance or that, such principles may or should be bent, we must remember that we cannot take unto ourselves such a decision. To do so means that we are setting

ourselves above the law, as judges in our own cause. Rules of international conduct are not perfect but they are designed to ensure order. Breaking these rules because we think it is right only leads to chaos.

Following the agreement reached between the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Nigerian Commissioner General for External Affairs, a Canadian *Hercules* aircraft did operate on the Red Cross night airlift from Fernando Po into the rebel area for some days. During that period it made a most significant contribution to the effort, carrying 20 tons of food each trip. Our experience quickly showed, however, that daylight flights by relief aircraft would be better; more flights could be made more safely, and much greater quantities of food could be delivered to those in need. We could see no reason why the rebel authorities should refuse to allow daylight flights if they were really interested in receiving food for their people in the quantities required.

It was about this time that I decided, in constant consultation with the Secretary of State for External Affairs and based on the continuous stream of information available to the Government from its missions in Africa and elsewhere, that it would be appropriate to send to Lagos a personal representative of the Prime Minister of Canada to discuss with the Nigerian Head of State the Canadian interest in an early settlement of the war. Accordingly I asked my legislative assistant, Professor Ivan Head, who had previously been in Nigeria, to fly to Lagos and speak on my behalf to General Gowon. This initiative was taken not because we thought that Canada possessed any wisdom not available to the Nigerians nor because we possessed some magic key which could solve the deadlock. I sent Mr. Head with instructions to explore the most effective avenues of Canadian relief assistance. And I sent him to assure General Gowon of our interest in a conclusion of hostilities in Nigeria and the establishment of a federal structure on terms which would guarantee the political and economic security of all minorities in Nigeria.

That initiative was successful. It was during Professor Head's discussion with General Gowon that it emerged that the Nigerians would have no objection to daylight relief flights by the Red Cross. I regard this statement as one of the most meaningful to date in this entire sequence of events, and one which is evidence of the good faith of the Federal Military Government in Lagos.

I therefore issued my appeal on November 4 to the rebel authorities to permit these relief planes to land by day in their territory. Shortly thereafter we learned that the Nigerians would no longer agree to the continuation of night flights into the rebel area. It was evident that the Federal Government intended to step up military action against the shipments of arms which were going in at night, evidently in increasing quantities.

As I have reported to the House, my appeal was conveyed to the rebel authorities by the International Committee of the Red Cross, and although many days have passed we have received no clear-cut reply. We are seeking every means possible to commence the daylight operation. Hon. Members will

understand the reason why we cannot accept at face value every statement attributed to some self-claimed rebel spokesmen. These statements have proved again and again to be contradictory. At the same time I stress that we do not reject these statements out of hand. In each case, as with the message conveyed to me yesterday by the Hon. Member for Greenwood (Mr. Brewin), we attempt through the Red Cross channel to determine the authenticity of the communication. The Red Cross has served in this fashion as a channel of communication for decades, and with great honour. We see no reason to doubt either the integrity or the effectiveness of the Red Cross in these respects.

Our aircraft stationed on Fernando Po has not been without work. It has been able to perform several useful assignments for the Red Cross related to their work in the Nigerian area, but if it remains unable to participate in the airlift into the rebel area the responsibility rests squarely with the Ojukwu regime.

We have, of course, also offered aircraft to fly relief supplies into the federal-held regions of Eastern Nigeria. A *Hercules* flew to Lagos for this purpose in October. Accompanying that aircraft were reconnaissance officers whose task it was to ascertain landing sites. To the distress of all concerned it was learned that the forward airports were incapable of utilization for relief flights by this size of aircraft for prolonged periods without permanent runway damage. The foundation of the runway at Enugu had been weakened by severe and prolonged rains, the heaviest in the history of Nigeria; the runway at Calabar was not well constructed and was, in addition, damaged as a result of the fighting in that area.

While Mr. Head was in Lagos he therefore discussed with General Gowon and his officials the provision of other, lighter aircraft which could replace the *Hercules*. The Nigerian Government expressed a desire to receive Canadian *Caribou* aircraft and my Government stated it was willing to supply them. However, as I repeated in the House yesterday, the policy of the Canadian Government throughout has been to make our relief assistance available not to the Nigerian Government nor to the rebel authorities but to the Red Cross for impartial administration and distribution according to civilian need. We have been informed by the Nigerian Red Cross that that body is not now able to utilize efficiently the *Caribou*. We have been asked to delay the dispatch of these airplanes, and we have done so.

Before concluding, Mr. Speaker, I should touch on another important aspect of the Nigerian problem. Canadian participation in the international team of observers has been studied at length by the Committee and I need not comment in detail. I would like to say, however, that it has seemed most worth while for Canada to participate. We are pleased to continue to participate in the extended work of the team. There was much loose talk at an earlier stage accusing the Federal Nigerian Government of genocide, and I think that that Government acted wisely in inviting observers from a number of countries and organizations to assess the situation independently. The reports of the observer

team have refuted these glib charges. For our part, we take this operation very seriously and expect our observers to move about freely, observe and report fully and frankly. They have done so. So has the United Nations observer.

May I pay a personal tribute to the Canadian officers involved, as well as to the officers and crews of the Canadian aircraft involved in our relief contribution, for the spirit and competence with which they have been performing duties which are somewhat out of their regular line? We are proud of them all.

With respect to our aircrew, Mr. Speaker, I have great pleasure in informing the House that the ICRC has communicated to the Canadian Red Cross its praise for the efficiency and conduct of the Canadian *Hercules* crew presently stationed in Fernando Po. The National Commissioner for the Canadian Red Cross states that this heartwarming message is of particular significance because no similar message had been received by the ICRC in Switzerland from its official in Africa with respect to any other aircrew.

There are many facets to the Nigerian problem. Much information has been brought out in the Standing Committee, and I believe the Canadian people are now better informed about its complexities and better able to understand the position of the Canadian Government. I should like to put that position briefly again in conclusion. The Government shares the deep concern of the people of this country with the suffering that is going on in Nigeria, and is anxious to help relieve it. It is doing so in a generous and responsible manner. We will continue to afford assistance and to increase it, if that is feasible, in order that human suffering can be alleviated. We will, moreover, continue to encourage in whatever way possible the peaceful settlement of the Nigerian dispute. We measure any suggested action against a single standard: Will it be effective?

Canada intends to remain friendly with all the peoples of Nigeria long after this dispute is settled, and to be in a position where we can play a useful role in assisting the African states to meet their problems. Our policies to this date have been designed to ensure that possibility. All information that reaches us from both parts of Nigeria indicates that we are successful to date.

The torment of the Nigerian peoples must be concluded as soon as possible. At the same time, the future welfare of the Nigerian peoples must be protected and assured. We must not permit our anxiety to achieve the first objective so to foul our reputation and hinder our effectiveness that we will not be given by the parties the opportunity to assist in the long-term recovery of Nigeria.

*Toward the end of the day, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, spoke on the same topic as follows:*

Mr. Speaker, in rising to speak as this debate nears an end I should like to reassure the members of the House that I do not intend to go again in detail over ground that has been covered by other speakers. May I congratulate all of those on all sides of this House who have taken part in this debate upon

the very high level of the contributions they have made. If any evidence were needed of the concern of the people of Canada about this tragic war in Nigeria, that evidence is to be found in the speeches made by the representatives of the Canadian people in Parliament. We have no reason to apologize, it seems to me, for spending a day talking about this tragic situation.

The civil war in Nigeria has presented both human and political problems of a high order. The humanitarian problem has been one of amassing vast quantities of food and other assistance for those in need as a result of the hostilities. A great effort, and I think this will be agreed upon on all sides, has been made by the International Red Cross and by other international and national bodies to alleviate the suffering. It is seldom that people of the world have gathered so much in a voluntary way, and amongst governments, for relief of the suffering in a country which has been torn by civil war. But more will be needed as long as the war continues. I can assure the House that Canada will continue to play an important part in this effort.

The political problem is more delicate because, as has been made clear, this is a civil war. There will have to be a readiness by all parties to compromise if a negotiated settlement is to be reached. We in Canada would, of course, be ready to facilitate the peace-keeping if there were any indication whatever that this would help bring an end to the war. Let us be frank about this. What has been missing so far is not more mediators.— there are lots of those — but an indication from both sides that they are willing to participate in meaningful negotiations. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, the Organization for African Unity, both stand ready at a moment's notice to assist in the negotiating process. All they are waiting for is word from both parties that they are prepared to make the concessions necessary to get meaningful negotiations under way. As has been said by many speakers, action by outsiders in a situation such as exists in Nigeria is of no value whatever unless it is effective. As the Prime Minister himself said at the opening of this debate, unless the action is responsive to the wishes of those directly involved, it can produce hostile reactions.

Canada's whole policy towards African and other newly-emerging countries in recent years has been built on a spirit of co-operation rather than intervention. African history is ripe with examples of domination and intervention by peoples from other countries, and Africans are rightly sensitive about their hard-won sovereignty and their right to manage their own affairs.

Canada has earned a good name in Africa. Many speakers have mentioned this. They have said that Canada has a good reputation. Why do we have a good reputation? Because we observe these principles of co-operation and non-intervention. We have been able to make a positive contribution to developments on that continent. We have been welcome in the Commonwealth countries of Africa, and we have been welcome in the *francophone* countries of Africa. We have been welcome because our policy has been to assist Africans and not to tell them how to run their affairs.

Canada's policy has therefore been recognized as sympathetic and disinterested. This Government does not intend to change that policy regardless of emotional appeals, however well-intentioned they may be, because I believe, and so I believe do all Hon. Members of this House, that if we were to abandon that policy we would become unacceptable and ineffective in the vast task that remains on that continent to overcome the problems of under-development and to create viable political societies on that continent.

I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that the Government will have the support not only of a majority of the Members of this House — I hope of all Hon. Members — but of the overwhelming majority of the people of Canada in pursuing this course.

The Government's responsibilities on the international scene are different from those of private organizations. In saying this I am not criticizing non-governmental groups operating in Nigeria or in other areas. The churches and other groups have done commendable work in bringing aid to the needy, and I join with many of the Members who have spoken in praising their work. I support it. I hope that everybody in this House and that all Canadians will support the work of the churches. What I am saying is that governments must act as governments. For example, the Canadian Government has chosen to funnel its food and transport aid in the Nigerian situation through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the traditional organization for the assembly and distribution of assistance in difficult situations of this sort.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has maintained working relations with the federal Nigerian authorities and with those in charge on the rebel side. It has the necessary support staff and organization on both sides. It has proven worthy of our support and continued co-operation, and I am quite sure that Hon. Members who spoke would not wish to reflect in any way on the excellent work done over years and years by the International Red Cross, which is working so effectively in Nigeria.

The Standing Committee [on External Affairs and National Defence] has made a most commendable examination of the many complex factors involved in this difficult situation. Its report contains recommendations in nine areas, and it might be useful if I commended briefly on those recommendations. We shall, of course, be giving further study to the points made, and shall be pursuing them if this is feasible or desirable as the situation develops further. An indication of our views on them, however, may be helpful at this stage.

On the observer team the Committee noted that the initial invitation for the observers was for two months, and suggested the Government request the Nigerians to extend the duration of this invitation. In the interval since the Committee's report was presented the Nigerians have, in fact, extended the operation of the team for a further month. We have been able to extend our participation accordingly and would expect further discussion of this and related questions at an appropriate time with the Federal Military Government, and

with those other countries and bodies participating in the observer team.

The question of whether the observers or a similar team should make observations on the rebel side is complicated by conflicting reports from the rebel authorities. I do not know whether the House is aware of some of the criticisms that have been made by the Biafran authorities, but let me read how the Biafran Commissioner of Information described the observer team. He said : "We don't recognize the observer team. They are a bunch of crooks." It is difficult, under these circumstances, for there to be any particular welcome for that group of observers in Africa. We shall, however, continue to study the feasibility of this proposal.

To the extent that the Committee's second recommendation deals with continuing and future Canadian assistance to Nigeria, I can report that we are in regular contact with the World Bank and with interested governments. The World Bank currently has a team of experts in Nigeria studying economic projects and priorities, and we expect to have the benefit of the conclusions of this team when it returns. It is important to note that assessments of this kind in any country must be carried out with the concurrence of the government concerned, and I may add, Mr. Speaker, that in this respect the co-operation between Nigeria and the World Bank is proving to be very useful at this critical juncture.

In so far as the Committee was referring to emergency food aid, the Government has had constant advice from the International Committee of the Red Cross, both on the amounts needed and on the particular categories of food to be emphasized.

The question of land and sea corridors has been discussed in the Committee and in this House. It is one of those items on which it has not been possible for the two sides to agree, despite the best efforts of the relief agencies. I am sure we all regret this because it is quite clear, as was pointed out by one of the speakers in the far corner, who said : "It would take planes moving in at about one a minute to supply the food that will probably be needed", and what we need will probably be land corridors. I regret, as I am sure do all Hon. Members, the fact that it has not been possible to work this out. I hope it still will be possible. Most of all I hope that the war will be over.

The Committee's proposal for international machinery to aid innocent civilian victims of hostilities is one I supported at the United Nations. The House may recall, and the Members who were observers at the United Nations General Assembly will remember, that I made specific recommendations along these lines. These are now being discussed with other governments, and I hope will result in some positive action.

The Committee's third recommendation relates to the continuation of our emergency aid to the victims of the hostilities. The Government has intensified its efforts to be of assistance in the humanitarian sphere. I wish to announce, Mr. Speaker, that we have made a further allocation of food aid to Nigerian-

Biafra in the amount of \$1,600,000. A shipment will be made early in the new year.

This aid will be distributed, as the other food aid was, to both sides. When we made our shipment on the vessel that left some time ago — and the vessel arrived recently — it was decided that the food was to go to various bases so that it could be moved either into the rebel areas or into the areas controlled by the Nigerian Government. The planning we have undertaken has followed consultations with the Red Cross and other contributors in order that the delivery of our supplies could fit in with their plans.

As to the airlift into rebel territories, it is obvious that daylight operations would permit the delivery of much larger quantities of relief. The Prime Minister therefore appealed to the rebel authorities to agree to daylight flights. I earnestly hope that Colonel Ojukwu will give his consent without further delay. It is tragic that food should be waiting to be moved in to feed hungry children, and is being held up because the necessary authority has not been granted for the movement. As to relief operations on the Federal side, Canadian *Caribou* aircraft have been offered through the Canadian Red Cross Society, and we await confirmation from the Nigerian Red Cross that they can be put to effective use.

In all these efforts we have worked closely with and relied heavily on the International Red Cross and the Canadian Red Cross Society. We are grateful for their help and advice.

The Committee proposed that we should offer, in concert with other interested governments, to provide non-military assistance in building a civil airstrip for the exclusive use of relief flights. This is a useful proposal, which will be explored, along with others, in preparing further development of our aid programme to Nigeria. For the immediate future we have considered it better to use the facilities already existing and, for example, just recently we offered the lighter *Caribou* aircraft for use in federal-held territory, since the *Hercules* is too heavy for the forward airfields. It has been said on a number of occasions that the Canadian Government would like to have the *Hercules* aircraft fly into Nigerian territory and into Biafran territory. They are not flying to Biafran territory because we cannot obtain agreement from the rebels, and they are not flying into Nigeria because there are no airstrips suitable for that size of aircraft.

I hope Colonel Ojukwu is listening when the Prime Minister of the country makes an appeal. I hope he responds quickly so that we may help to feed these people.

The Government heartily endorses the Committee's appeal to all Canadians to support the relief effort with their contributions. With the new allocation I have mentioned, the Government's contributions to relief and transport activities now come close to \$3 million.

The Committee's sixth recommendation deals with assistance to children from stricken areas. The Canadian *Hercules* aircraft stationed on the island of

Fernando Po has been authorized to transport refugees to other neighbouring countries which are ready to welcome them. These people have been brought out from the rebel area by the Red Cross in order that they can be given better care. The Government has been happy to assist the International Red Cross in moving them to other countries. As to bringing children from the rebel area to Canada, the Government does not think it wise to press this idea in the face of the adverse views of those directly concerned.

The Government accepts the Committee's view that Canada should not sell arms to either side in this conflict. Indeed, as Hon. Members know, that has been the Government's policy throughout.

In its eighth recommendation the Committee urged the Government to intensify its efforts to persuade the parties to accept mediation. The caution attached by the Committee to this point is sound: that we should not operate in such a way as to jeopardize the effectiveness of our relief efforts. There are, as we have said, limitations on the Government's action on this essentially political question; but I can assure the House that within these limits we shall work strenuously for a peaceful settlement of this dispute.

On the proposal that Canada should contribute to an eventual peace-keeping force in Nigeria, I think it is premature to offer comment before a settlement or cease-fire has been achieved or before the terms of any peace-keeping operation are known. I may add this, however: As is well known, Canada has always taken a positive look at peacekeeping proposals, and I can assure the House that any proposals in respect of the Nigerian situation will be given prompt and careful consideration by the Government.

An amendment has been proposed to the Committee's report, Mr. Speaker, which would oblige the Government to take this question to the United Nations, to the General Assembly or to the Third Committee. As the Prime Minister explained this afternoon, and as has been made clear before, following intensive study of the matter we have come to the conclusion that this is neither a practical nor a useful initiative. Any proposal to have the matter discussed at the United Nations would not gain more than minimal support. For that reason alone an initiative would not be effective and would have no helpful influence on the situation. Moreover, if we were to press on regardless of the lack of support, Canada's position in the world body would be affected and the possibility of our taking useful steps on this or other matters would be seriously reduced.

In opening this debate this afternoon the Prime Minister spoke these words with which I concur entirely:

I remain convinced that an attempt to inscribe the Nigerian conflict on the agenda of the General Assembly would not only be bitterly resented by the Nigerian Government and the member states of the Organization of African Unity, but would also be totally unsuccessful . . . .

He also said:

Should we attempt to employ a General Assembly committee for such a discussion, conceding for the moment that we could do so, which is not entirely clear, our efforts would prove not only divisive but totally counter-productive.

I am asking, in the face of these statements, do Hon. Members think we should persist when the consequences of our actions would be those put forward today by the Prime Minister?

The Prime Minister said that we would incur the hostility and opposition of African states, and that would jeopardize our policy of dealing with the situation effectively. We would probably be told that we were not welcome in providing relief assistance in Nigeria, and our observer would probably be told to go home.

And now may I comment on the suggestion that we should intervene to press Britain, the U.S.S.R. and others to cease their sales of arms to the participants in this war? I am sure this House would be gratified if all the countries currently supplying arms to the two sides would cease to do so, and, if I thought that action by Canada would accomplish this, I would not hesitate to propose it. This is, however, a matter of policy for each government to establish for itself. It is well known that the French Government has denied it provides arms to the rebels. Moreover I ask the Members of the House this question: Would the situation be improved if external pressure caused the British Government to cease all its arms supplies to Nigeria, leaving the field open to the U.S.S.R. to become its principal source?

I should like to refer again to the hope, widely felt by the Canadian people, that this civil war can be brought to an end. I said earlier that the achievement of a peaceful negotiated settlement does not depend on the provision of facilities or the making of proposals by outsiders. Canada stands ready to be of assistance if that would be helpful; and I hope that the responsible course we have followed enhances the possibility of our playing a useful role. Whether any progress can be made toward peace depends, however, on the parties to the dispute. In particular, in my view, it depends on the Nigerian Government providing sufficiently convincing guarantees to the Ibos of their security after the conclusion of hostilities, and on the willingness of the rebels to envisage a negotiated settlement short of complete independence from Nigeria. To advocate a negotiated settlement and secession is a contradiction in terms. I would therefore urge those Canadians who have influence with the rebel side, both in this House and outside, to press them toward conciliation, and thus toward a peaceful settlement. And I call on the parties to this tragic civil war to show their willingness to negotiate positively, in order that with the assistance of the OAU or the Commonwealth Secretariat, a peaceful settlement can be achieved.

In conclusion may I restate the basic principles which have guided the Canadian Government's policy in this matter and which will continue to guide that policy:

1. The Government will continue to provide assistance generously to meet the needs of the people of Nigeria as a whole.

2. We will maintain close liaison with the legitimate government of Nigeria in order to provide relief to the population under its control.

3. We will continue to urge the secessionist authorities to co-operate in arrangements acceptable to the Nigerian Government for the relief of the population under rebel control.

4. The Government will be ready, when this tragic conflict is over, to co-operate with the Nigerian Government in the important tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation it will face.

5. We will work toward a better international legal framework within which humanitarian assistance can be provided to people affected by civil conflict.

6. The Government will not violate international law by supporting or endorsing any move, bilateral or multilateral, which will constitute intervention in Nigerian internal affairs.

7. We will continue to call upon both sides in the conflict to negotiate their differences.

8. The Government will vigorously support any conciliation effort which may develop under the auspices of the OAU, the Commonwealth Secretariat or any other body acceptable to the parties.

9. We will stand ready to assist, if so desired by both parties, in promoting a negotiated settlement.

## *Franco-Canadian Co-operation*

**C**O-OPERATION between France and Canada was recently enhanced by certain significant developments.

At the end of September, the Prime Ministers of the two countries met under melancholy circumstances. On a special visit to Canada to attend the funeral of Premier Daniel Johnson of Quebec, Mr. Couve de Murville had a private interview on September 30 with Prime Minister Trudeau, during which the two discussed the international situation and dealt in a spirit of mutual understanding with the various problems affecting bilateral relations between their countries.

In the realm of nuclear energy, Franco-Canadian co-operation got off to a good start some years ago owing to the excellent relations between French and Canadian scientists. It is not surprising, therefore, that the more significant achievements of Franco-Canadian co-operation during the past few months should have been in the sphere of atomic energy.

With the agreement of the Canadian and French Governments, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) concluded with the Commissariat for Atomic Energy of France (CEA), on September 30, a contract for the sale of plutonium, the value of which is estimated at \$1.5 million. Noting that this transaction was the first Canadian sale of such material to France, the communiqué released by AECL stated that it was one of the most concrete results of the co-operation that had been developing in recent years between the atomic agencies of the two countries. Annual meetings between representatives of AECL and CEA are now held alternately in France and in Canada, and there are exchanges of teams of experts for the discussion of matters of mutual interest.

### **Five-Year Agreement**

Another development in Franco-Canadian co-operation in the field of nuclear energy took place on October 15 with the conclusion of a new five-year agreement between AECL and CEA to promote joint efforts in research, development and information related to heavy-water medium-power reactors. This instrument provides for the exchange of technical data that are already known or are expected to become known during the next five years as the result of AECL and CEA programmes. Co-operation will apply to the development of other medium-power reactors by either party. This exchange does not, however, include detailed plans of important power-station projects such as Douglas Point, Pickering and Gentilly in Canada and E1-4 in France. The agreement further provides for the exchange of commercial information and for a payment by CEA as compensation for the difference in value of the initial technological exchange.

At the United Nations, on October 4, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs had an interview with Mr. Michel Debré, the French Minister

of Foreign Affairs, at the close of which Mr. Sharp transmitted to Mr. Debré a Canadian proposal for space co-operation with the French Government. The ministers agreed, like their predecessors, to meet as often as possible.

In Ottawa, on October 28 and 29, the France-Canada Committee for Defence Co-operation met to review progress and to make plans in this sphere, which was the subject of a November 1967 agreement between the two countries.

During the autumn of 1968, Canadian Parliamentarians had the opportunity of making a contribution to a strengthening of ties between France and Canada and other countries of the French-speaking world.

#### **Parliamentarians Meet**

On September 26, 27 and 28, the International Association of Parliamentarians of French-speaking countries, which was founded in Luxembourg in May 1967, held its first general meeting in Versailles. A large Canadian delegation, headed by Mr. Goyer, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, took an active part in the work of the assembly, which aimed, among other objects, at promoting cultural and technical co-operation with France and other French-speaking countries.

The France-Canada Interparliamentary Association, whose previous meeting was in June 1966, met in Paris from December 1 to 9, 1968. Parliamentarians of both countries reviewed the progress of co-operation under its cultural, economic, scientific and technical aspects, in order to promote its harmonious development between France and Canada.

## *Visit of the Prime Minister of Lesotho*

FROM October 22 to 26, 1968, the Prime Minister of the southern African kingdom of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, paid an official visit to Canada. Prime Minister Jonathan was accompanied by his wife, the Minister of Finance, Chief Peete Peete, the Lesotho High Commissioner to Canada, Mr. A. S. Mohale, and several officials. The party were tendered a formal welcome at Uplands Airport, near Ottawa, by the Prime Minister of Canada. Senior Canadian officials and members of the diplomatic corps were in attendance. In welcoming Chief Jonathan, Mr. Trudeau observed that Canada was best known in Lesotho through the efforts of Canadian missionaries who had worked in that country for generations. The Canadian Prime Minister expressed the hope that Chief Jonathan's first visit to Canada would be of particular significance in broadening relations between the two countries.

On October 23, Prime Minister Jonathan paid a formal call on Mr. Trudeau, with whom he had talks. Subsequently, accompanied by other members of his party, he had a lengthy discussion with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and officials of his Department and of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The subjects discussed included the Canadian aid programme to Lesotho, African political questions



*Prime Minister Jonathan of Lesotho with Prime Minister Trudeau.*

(including the Rhodesia problem and the Nigerian civil war), and the forthcoming Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting, which both Prime Minister Jonathan and Prime Minister Trudeau will be attending for the first time.

During the Ottawa portion of the visit, Prime Minister Trudeau gave dinner in honour of Chief Jonathan and his party. In his turn, Prime Minister Jonathan was host at a reception. These occasions gave the visitors from Lesotho the opportunity to meet many representative Canadians.

#### **Events Outside Ottawa**

Prime Minister Jonathan and his party left Ottawa early on October 24 for Fredericton, New Brunswick, where they were greeted by Premier and Mrs. Robichaud. The Premier gave a lunch for the visitors, after which they called on the Mayor of Fredericton and visited the Mactaquack power project. They left that evening for Halifax, where Prime Minister Jonathan and his wife were guests of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia at Government House. On October 25, after a call on Premier Smith of Nova Scotia, the group travelled to Antigonish, where they visited St. Francis Xavier University and its affiliate the Coady Institute. That evening, on their return to Halifax, the party were entertained at an official dinner by the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and Mrs. Oland.

The official visit ended in Montreal on the morning of October 26. Chief Jonathan and his party spent the rest of the day privately in Montreal as guests of Canadian friends of Lesotho and, in particular, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and Oxfam of Canada. The visitors left Canada on the evening of October 26.

# Arbitration of Lake Ontario (Gut Dam) Claims

CANADA and the United States have now reached a settlement of the long-standing dispute involving some 230 claims by U.S. citizens against the Government of Canada for damage allegedly caused by the construction of the Gut Dam by the Canadian Government in the international section of the St. Lawrence river between 1903 and 1907. The U.S. claims amounted to approximately \$650,000, with a further sum of about \$650,000, a claim for interest of 6 per cent *per annum* from the date of damage in 1951-1952, bringing the total amount claimed to approximately \$1.3 million (U.S.). As a result of negotiations between Canadian and U.S. officials, agreement was reached on settlement in full of all U.S. claims by payment of \$350,000 (U.S.) by Canada to the U.S. without prejudice to the legal and factual positions maintained by the parties and without precedential effect.

## Background

The U.S. Gut Dam claimants originally sued the Government of Canada in United States courts, at which time the Canadian Government took the position that no U.S. court had jurisdiction to determine the case and pleaded Canada's sovereign immunity, with the consequence that these law suits were rejected on technical grounds of procedure. Subsequently, from 1962 to 1964, intergovernmental negotiations between the two countries were held on an intermittent basis in order to determine how the claims should be dealt with. The Canadian position throughout the proceedings was that communicated to the State Department on May 14, 1953 :

The Government of Canada stands ready to compensate U.S. citizens for any damage attributable to the Gut Dam but Canada does not believe on the basis of evidence now available that the Gut Dam was a material cause of the injury.

Canada has denied accepting any liability to compensate U.S. citizens under the arrangement made in 1903-1904. In addition, Canada has denied that the Gut Dam was a material cause of the injury.

However, pressure from the United States for action by Canada to settle the dispute was maintained and intensified on the ground that Canada ought not to determine the issue unilaterally by rejecting the claims without submitting them to some form of settlement procedure. In August 1962, legislation was adopted by Congress authorizing the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States to examine these claims and to report on each of them to the President. The legislation stipulated that the Commission would automatically be relieved of its functions in respect of the Gut Dam claims "if the Government of Canada enters into an agreement with the Government of the U.S. providing for arbitration or adjudication of the claims".

### **Agreement on Tribunal**

The Canadian authorities considered that the claims were not well founded on law and that, as has subsequently been proven correct, adjudication would reveal both their legal weakness and the fact that they were inflated. In addition, Canadian authorities felt that it was clear that no *prima facie* case had been established in relation to the cause of the damage. However, it was equally clear that, in the interests of good Canadian-U.S. relations, there existed sound reasons for establishing a tribunal. In these circumstances, the Canadian Government agreed with the U.S. Government on the setting-up of the special international tribunal constituted in accordance with the agreement of March 25, 1965, for the purpose of adjudicating the claims.

Following extensive discussions between U.S. and Canadian officials, it was agreed that the three-man tribunal should consist of Dr. Lambertus Erades, the First Vice-President of the Rotterdam District Court, the Netherlands, Mr. Justice W. D. Roach, who had recently retired from the Ontario Court of Appeal, and Professor Alwyn V. Freeman of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The tribunal held its first meeting on January 11, 1968.

At a later session, the tribunal ordered a fracturing of the legal arguments, with the result that the initial sessions were devoted to the question of whether an agreement of 1903-1904 under which the Gut Dam was constructed extended to all U.S. citizens suffering damage or was restricted, as argued by the Canadian Government, to the owners of Les Galops Island and to the period immediately following construction of the Dam. The tribunal decided against Canada on this issue on February 12, 1968, concluding that the agreement, whatever the obligations contained therein, extended to all U.S. citizens and was not limited as to time.

### **Basis for Settlement**

Following the ruling, both sides agreed to hold informal consultations to determine whether a settlement of the claim might be possible. As a result of these discussions, agreement was reached on a settlement of all the claims on the following basis :

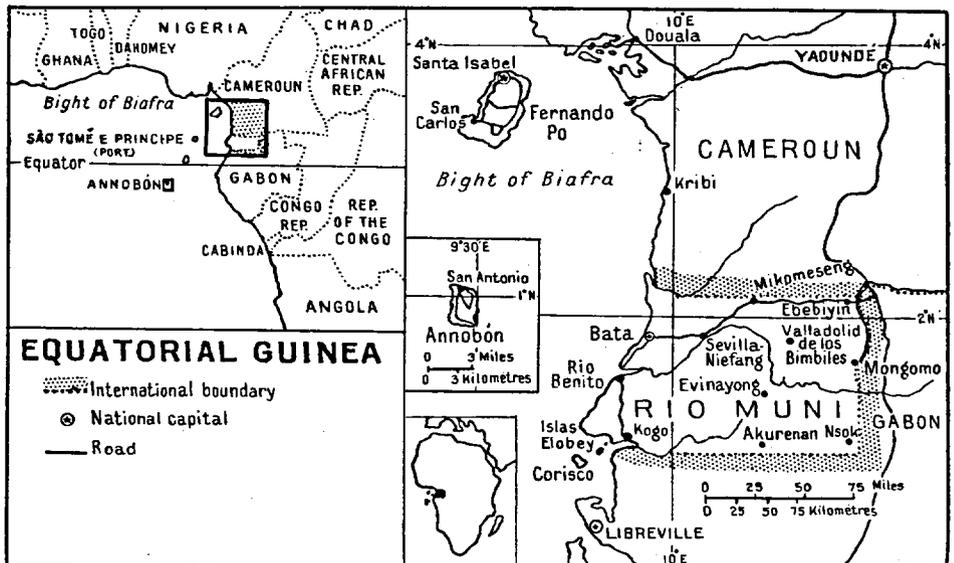
- (1) Payment by the Government of Canada to the Government of the United States of a lump sum of \$350,000 (U.S.) in full and final satisfaction of all claims of the United States for damage allegedly caused by Gut Dam.
- (2) An undertaking by the Government of the United States not to prosecute further the claims before the tribunal.
- (3) Recognition by the Government of the United States that the lump-sum payment of \$350,000 (U.S.) constituted full and final settlement of all claims, past, present or future, of nationals of the United States, whether natural or juridical persons, against the Government of Canada on account of damage or detriment attributable in whole or in part to the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam.

(4) Recognition by both Canada and the United States that the settlement was being made without prejudice to the legal and factual positions maintained by the parties and without precedential effect.

The Lake Ontario Claims Tribunal held its last meeting on September 27, 1968, when the representatives of the Canadian and U.S. Governments notified the court of the settlement which had been reached by the two governments and the chairman of the tribunal took note of this and confirmed that the settlement of the dispute concluded the functions of the Lake Ontario Claims Tribunal. It is expected that the payment required from Canada under the terms of the settlement will be made very shortly.

# The Republic of Equatorial Guinea

ON October 12, 1968, Equatorial Guinea became the forty-first African country to achieve independence. The new state had been a Spanish colony since 1778. On July 30, 1959, it acquired the status of a Spanish province. On December 15, 1963, it gained internal autonomy by referendum. Last August, again by referendum, it voted for independence. General elections followed in September, when Francisco Macias Nguema was elected first President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.



Separation from the mother country was not achieved without difficulty. In the referendum of December 1963 on the creation of a single governing council and a single territorial assembly for both provinces, the majority in Fernando Po voted against unification, while the majority in Rio Muni supported the motion. Spain, however, wished to carry out the United Nations General Assembly resolution favouring the acquisition of sovereignty by Spanish Guinea by July 1, 1968. The Spanish Government, therefore, tried to win the approval of the delegates of both provinces for its draft constitution. The first constitutional conference, held in Madrid in November and December 1967, ended in failure because of the separatist views of the Fernando Po delegates. At a second constitutional conference, however, held in May and June 1968, differences were finally resolved, and the delegates agreed on a new constitution that would both maintain national unity and safeguard the social and economic features peculiar to each province.

### Size, Population and Economy

Equatorial Guinea, with the Spanish Sahara, the enclave of Ifni, the Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla, was one of the last Spanish possessions in Africa. It is today one of the smallest countries on the continent (10,800 square miles — about half the size of Nova Scotia). It consists of two provinces — Rio Muni on the mainland (population 250,000) and the island of Fernando Po (population 60,000). The country has important agricultural resources (35,000 tons of cocoa, 15,000 of bananas, 250,000 tons of wood and 10,000 tons of coffee a year). It possesses a flourishing processing industry, an extensive, well-maintained road system, and the best sanitation system in Africa. Its literacy rate is 85 per cent, and the annual income *per capita* is about \$270. Equatorial Guinea's principal economic outlet was, and still is, Spain, which buys almost all its produce. The new state will probably continue to reflect Spain's cultural influence as well.

Canada immediately recognized the independent state and voted in favour of its admission to the United Nations. Although there are as yet few common bonds between the two countries, they are already co-operating. Fernando Po is an important stopover for the *Hercules* planes sent from Canada on mercy flights to Nigeria. It is hoped that this collaboration will gradually be extended to other areas, to the greater benefit of both countries.

## Joint Mexico-Canada Committee

THE formation of the Mexico-Canada Committee was announced during the Mexican phase of the Canadian ministerial mission to Latin America, November 19-24. The exchange of notes setting up the agreement marked the end of bilateral negotiations to establish the Committee and opened a new phase in the development of Canada's relations with Mexico.

The proposal to establish a Joint Committee was first advanced in December 1965 by the Mexican Foreign Minister, Mr. Antonio Carillo Flores, to the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, then Minister of Finance, who was making an informal visit to Mexico. It was the intention of the Mexican Government that the principal, but not exclusive, aim of the Committee should be to study means of promoting trade between the two nations. On that occasion, Mr. Flores pointed out that Mexico had bilateral committees of this kind operating with other countries but not with Canada, an important trading partner. In agreeing to consider the suggestion, the Canadian Government recognized that a Joint Mexican-Canadian Committee would serve as a concrete expression of Canada's growing interest in Latin America and would be of mutual benefit, politically and economically, to both countries.

During the negotiations that followed, it became clear to both governments that a Joint Committee would indeed be desirable. They agreed that useful discussions of matters arising from common membership in international bodies such as the United Nations, the UN Conference on Trade and Development and the Economic Commission for Latin America, as well as those affecting areas where one country or the other was not active (for example, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Organization of American States) could more advantageously be held in the framework of regular committee meetings than on an *ad hoc* basis.

The Joint Committee as it was finally established in the formal exchange of notes between the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and the Foreign Minister of Mexico is designed "for the purpose of holding periodic discussions on matters of political, commercial and economic interest to the two countries". This does not preclude the discussion, upon mutual consent, of other questions, such as those relating to cultural exchanges. It is understood that the Committee will not take decisions on these matters but will be able to place its recommendations before the two governments for their consideration and possible action.

The Committee is to meet from time to time by agreement of the two governments and, in any case, not less frequently than every two years. It has been agreed that the Committee should be established at the level of senior officials with provision for participation as appropriate by ministers, the representatives for each meeting to be determined by the nature of the agenda.

## *Visit of the Foreign Minister of Israel*

**T**HE Foreign Minister of Israel, His Excellency Abba Eban, accompanied by the Deputy Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Mr. Arthur Lourie (formerly Israeli Ambassador to Canada), and other officials, visited Ottawa on October 21, 1968. The visit provided an opportunity for a cordial exchange of views on international questions and bilateral relations between the distinguished visitor and the Canadian Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. Eban, who had attended the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York prior to his visit, proceeded to Washington *en route* to Israel following the meetings in Ottawa.



*His Excellency Abba Eban, Foreign Minister of Israel (right), accompanied by Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, strolls from the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa toward the East Block.*

## *Sixteenth ICAO Assembly*

THE sixteenth session of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was held in Buenos Aires from September 3 to 28, 1968. It was attended by the representatives of 103 governments and observers from a number of international organizations.

ICAO, with 116 member states, is one of the larger United Nations Specialized Agencies. It was established in 1947 to assist member states in the development of international civil aviation. Article 44 of the Chicago Convention, which serves as the constitution of the Organization, assigns to ICAO the functions of "developing the principles and techniques of international civil aviation throughout the world".

In the 21 years since ICAO was established, its membership has grown more than fourfold and the range and complexity of its activities have naturally expanded to keep pace with the rapid growth in national and international air transportation, with the constant improvement of aircraft, with the need for better communications and safety precautions, and with the pressure to develop airports and facilities to handle one of the world's fastest growing industries.

In his welcoming address at the meeting in Buenos Aires, the National Director of Civil Aviation of Argentina, Brigadier Alcides Numa Sanchez, who was elected President of the Assembly, described some of the major economic and technical problems with which ICAO and its member states were faced in providing for "the safe and orderly growth of civil aviation throughout the world" :

The Assembly will have to decide on questions of fundamental importance so that international air-transport services may develop soundly and economically and be established on the basis of equality of opportunity for all nations. The introduction in the near and more distant future of new aircraft offers the hope of ever more fruitful development of this activity, but at the same time gives rise to some uncertainty about the conditions for the development of competition — which is related to equality of participation — and about the obligations that will be placed upon the states providing the facilities and services required by air transport. Our discussion of the possibility of improving planning for the introduction of such aircraft with the participation of manufacturers, operators and states as providers of facilities may point the way to a better solution. The Assembly will have to bend every effort to analyse the situation with respect to international passenger and freight tariffs, not to establish a rate structure but to give to the airlines general guide-lines in harmony with the aspirations of member states as representatives of the public interest which these services must satisfy; it will have to weigh the influence the new aircraft will have on the position of international air transport, not only in regard to commercial rights but also in regard to the facilitation measures the development of these services will require.

This will also, surely, be an appropriate forum for exchanging ideas and recommending measures to improve the participation of the states of the world, not only in the Chicago Convention itself and the International Air Services Transit Agreement — since these are the very cornerstone of our activity — but also in all the other conventions developed under ICAO's auspices. We have come a long way in our search for standard international solutions. Retreat is unthinkable....

One of the first actions taken by the Assembly was the election of the 27-member ICAO Council, the executive body of ICAO that carries on the work of the Organization between Assemblies, which are held every three years. The Council is composed of representatives from the following categories of member :

- (a) States of chief importance in air transport;
- (b) states not otherwise included which make the largest contribution to the provision of facilities for international civil air navigation;
- (c) states not otherwise included whose designation will ensure that all major geographical areas of the world are represented.

Nine states are elected to each of the three categories. Canada, ranking third among ICAO member states in its air-transport activity, is a member of the first category, and has been a member of the Council since 1947. It was again elected to the ICAO Council in this category at the September Assembly for a further term of three years.

### **Growing Pains**

A variety of problems has arisen as a result of the very rapid developments in aircraft technology and the growth of civil aviation in so many countries. One of the most controversial items discussed at the Assembly was a proposal to establish a fund under the regular budget of ICAO to provide for the training of aeronautical personnel. Delegates from a number of developing countries contended that the present level of technical assistance administered by ICAO, using funds provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), was inadequate. They argued that the lack of resources of the developing countries and the numerous problems which they faced in financing and carrying forward the economic and social development of their countries made it difficult for them to provide the facilities and the trained technical personnel required for their civil aviation programmes. Under these circumstances, a resolution was introduced in the Assembly proposing that a sum of \$100,000 be provided annually from the ICAO regular budget for training purposes. This proposal was opposed by some delegations, which agreed that there was a real need to provide training opportunities for personnel from developing countries but considered that the programme should be financed with technical assistance funds of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and not from the ICAO regular budget. The resolution was passed, however, and it now remains for the Council to formulate more explicit plans for the expenditure of this fund.

A number of other recent developments in the field of civil aviation were also considered by the Assembly. One of these is the problem of the development and commercial use of airliners so large that they are aptly known as "jumbo jets". These giant craft will require basic and costly changes in the physical design and construction of airports, in airport facilities and in the arrangements, including customs and immigration clearance, for handling quickly the 500-900 passengers who will travel on these jets.

### **Supersonic Aircraft**

Another development which the ICAO Assembly considered is the introduction into commercial service of supersonic aircraft. A working paper was presented to the Assembly by a number of European countries describing some of the major technical problems, such as the effects on the public of the sonic boom, involved in the commercial use of these aircraft. The related problem of aircraft noise in the vicinity of airports was also discussed. The delegate of Australia, in presenting a working paper on this subject, stated that it was time for ICAO to take positive steps to deal with it and suggested that the Organization could perhaps call a conference to consider methods of measuring and reducing noise. The location of airports equipped to handle the new large jets, passenger safety and the level of public tolerance of aircraft noise were further dimensions of this general problem discussed in the Assembly. The Assembly eventually adopted resolutions requesting the Council to make a thorough study of the problems of the introduction of supersonic aircraft and to arrange as soon as possible for an international conference to examine the entire question of airport noise.

Among the many other matters which were discussed at Buenos Aires, two are of particular interest at this time. The first concerns the implications for civil aviation of developments in the exploration and the use of outer space. The second involves the increasing number of cases in which aeroplanes have been unlawfully seized and forced to fly to other destinations. The Assembly requested the Council to keep under review developments in the exploration of outer space and their implications for civil aviation, and to make a study of the steps which could be taken to deal with the problem of hijacking.

Finally, the Assembly approved the ICAO budgets for the years 1969, 1970 and 1971, which are \$8,004,481, \$8,169,554 and \$8,514,359 respectively. The Canadian share of these budgets is between three and four per cent for the next three years, and amounts, for the fiscal year 1969-70, to a total of \$265,000 (Cdn).

While the sixteenth ICAO Assembly was being held, another international meeting, the International Conference on the Authentic Texts of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, also took place in Buenos Aires, from September 9 to 20. The purpose of this latter conference was to discuss the adoption of a trilingual text produced by the Convention, the constitution of ICAO, which was originally signed in English only. The conference ended with the signing by the plenipotentiaries of a protocol giving equal authenticity to the French and Spanish versions of the Convention.

The Canadian delegation to the sixteenth ICAO Assembly was headed by Mr. George Scott, Assistant Deputy Minister, Air, Department of Transport. The alternate head of delegation was Mr. Gilles Sicotte, Assistant Deputy Minister, General, Department of Transport. Other advisers and delegates included representatives of the Department of Transport, the Air Transport Committee and the Department of External Affairs.

## *Canada and Cambodia*

CANADIANS who have had an opportunity to serve in Cambodia come away with warm admiration for the Cambodians as a people and for their determination to maintain their independence and their peaceful way of life. Descended from the ancient Khmers whose empire once extended over most of Southeast Asia, today's six and a half million Cambodians occupy an area of only about 71,000 square miles bordering on Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, with the Gulf of Siam on the south. Historically, relations between the countries of this area have been troubled and the traditional suspicions and hostilities still remain, heightened by the effects of the conflict in Vietnam.

### **International Commission in Cambodia**

In 1954, the Geneva Conference which brought about a cease-fire in the Indochina war created International Commissions for Supervision and Control in each of the states of Indochina — Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Canada, India and Poland were invited to serve on these three Commissions to supervise the proper execution of the terms of the cease-fire agreements by the parties directly concerned. Although they were not expected to be of long duration, the Commissions are still in being. Canada has maintained on each of them a delegation headed by a Commissioner.

By 1955, the International Commission in Cambodia had effectively fulfilled the functions assigned to it under the cease-fire agreement, but remained in existence in deference to the wishes of the Cambodian Government. Although generally inactive during the first few years following 1955, the Commission became more active as the course of events in the Vietnam conflict began to be felt in Cambodia. In response to requests by the Cambodian Government, the Commission has recently devoted much of its time to investigating complaints of violations of Cambodia's borders with South Vietnam and allegations regarding the presence on Cambodian territory of Vietnamese Communist forces.

In accepting the invitation to participate in the International Commissions in 1954, the Canadian Government stated :

Canada is geographically remote from Indochina and its collective security responsibilities in Southeast Asia are limited to those that arise from membership in the United Nations. We know from experience, however, that, just as local conflicts can become general war, so conditions of security and stability in any part of the world serve the cause of peace everywhere. If, therefore, by participating in the work of these Indochinese Commissions, Canada can assist in establishing such security and stability in Southeast Asia, we shall be serving our own country, as well as the cause of peace.

Put in terms of the present situation of Cambodia, the Canadian Government's objectives on the International Commission are to fulfil the responsibilities under the Cambodia cease-fire agreement undertaken by Canada and to help insulate Cambodia from the effects of the Vietnam conflict.



*Mr. R. V. Gorham, Canadian Commissioner on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia, presents to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia a volume of photographs of Angkor Wat taken by a camera team from Canada's National Film Board.*

In keeping with these aims, the Canadian Government has tried to ensure at all times that the Commission is an effective international body able to carry out its responsibilities in an objective and impartial manner. The *troika* composition of the Commission, however, does not always permit it to fulfil these responsibilities as Canada considers it should, and Canada's differences of views with its Indian and Polish colleagues are sometimes embodied in the reports of the Commission as minority views.

Despite its shortcomings, the International Commission serves an important purpose in the complex situation of the Indochinese peninsula, since it provides evidence of international interest in the preservation of Cambodian sovereignty and independence, which had been achieved in 1953. The machinery created at Geneva in 1954, however, is only part of the structure of international support which the Cambodian Government has attempted to develop in its concern to ensure Cambodia's national survival. In the last two years, Cambodia has attempted to obtain from as many governments as possible unilateral declarations regarding its territorial integrity and its borders.

#### **Canadian Declaration**

On September 2, 1968, Mr. R. V. Gorham, the Canadian Commissioner on the Cambodia Commission, transmitted to the Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a Canadian declaration which stated :

It is a fundamental tenet of Canada's foreign policy that international relations must be conducted on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter, including, in particular, the obligations to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. In accordance with these principles, Canada declares that it recognizes and respects the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within the limits of its present frontiers.

The Canadian Government's intention in responding to the Cambodian Government's request for such a declaration was to add Canada's voice to those of other governments concerned to see an easing of the tensions in the area.

Canada's interest in Cambodia has developed steadily since it undertook the International Commission commitment in 1954 and sponsored a resolution at the United Nations in 1955 that resulted in the admission of Cambodia and nine other new members to the United Nations. Since the inception of an aid programme for Cambodia in 1954, the Canadian Government has contributed \$1,250,000 to Cambodian development under the auspices of the Colombo Plan. This modest programme has provided capital assistance in the form of food aid and technical assistance that has brought Cambodian trainees to Canada. By mid-1968, 73 Cambodians had received training in Canada in a variety of fields. There are at present some 25 Cambodians being trained in Canada, including ten studying hotel administration whose training will be of considerable importance to the developing tourist industry in Cambodia. By the middle of this year, a total of 25 Canadian experts, mainly teachers, had also been sent on assignment to Cambodia under the technical assistance programme. There are at present seven Canadian teachers in Cambodia.

### **Prek Thnot Project**

On November 13, 1968, Canada joined nine other donor nations and Cambodia in signing, at the United Nations headquarters in New York, a multilateral agreement regarding a power and irrigation project on the Prek Thnot River in Cambodia. Canada, the third largest donor, has agreed to provide \$2 million in the form of grant aid to this \$27-million project.

This contribution represents a continuation of the assistance Canada has already given to regional programmes for the development of the Lower Mekong River, which links Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. Apart from their economic value to the riparian states involved, these programmes are of considerable importance as a means of stimulating co-operation among countries that have a history of conflict. Canada was one of the first countries to offer assistance to the Committee for the Co-ordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin. The Mekong Committee, as it is called, was established in 1957 by the four riparian states under the aegis of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), its task being the comprehensive development of the water resources of the basin of the Lower Mekong River. From 1959 to 1961, Canada contributed \$1.3 million for the aerial survey and mapping of

the mainstream and major tributaries of the Mekong, projects that have helped the Committee in its planning functions.

The Prek Thnot project is Cambodia's first multi-purpose river project under the Mekong scheme. It is designed to provide in the first stage a mean yearly output of 50 million kilowatt-hours of power, irrigation for some 12,500 acres (with further major extensions planned in the later stages) and flood control. Located about 45 miles from the capital of Phnom Penh,<sup>(1)</sup> the project, which is expected to be completed in about three and a half years, will include a dam, a power-station, a diversion weir, an irrigation system and a transmission-line. It will provide power for industries and other consumers in the Phnom Penh area and eliminate the hazards of drought and flood suffered by the region's farmers.

By co-operating with the Cambodian Government on these various programmes, Canada has been able to make a modest but useful contribution, with a number of other countries friendly to Cambodia, to the efforts the Cambodian Government is itself making to increase the nation's economic development.

### **Canadians in Cambodia**

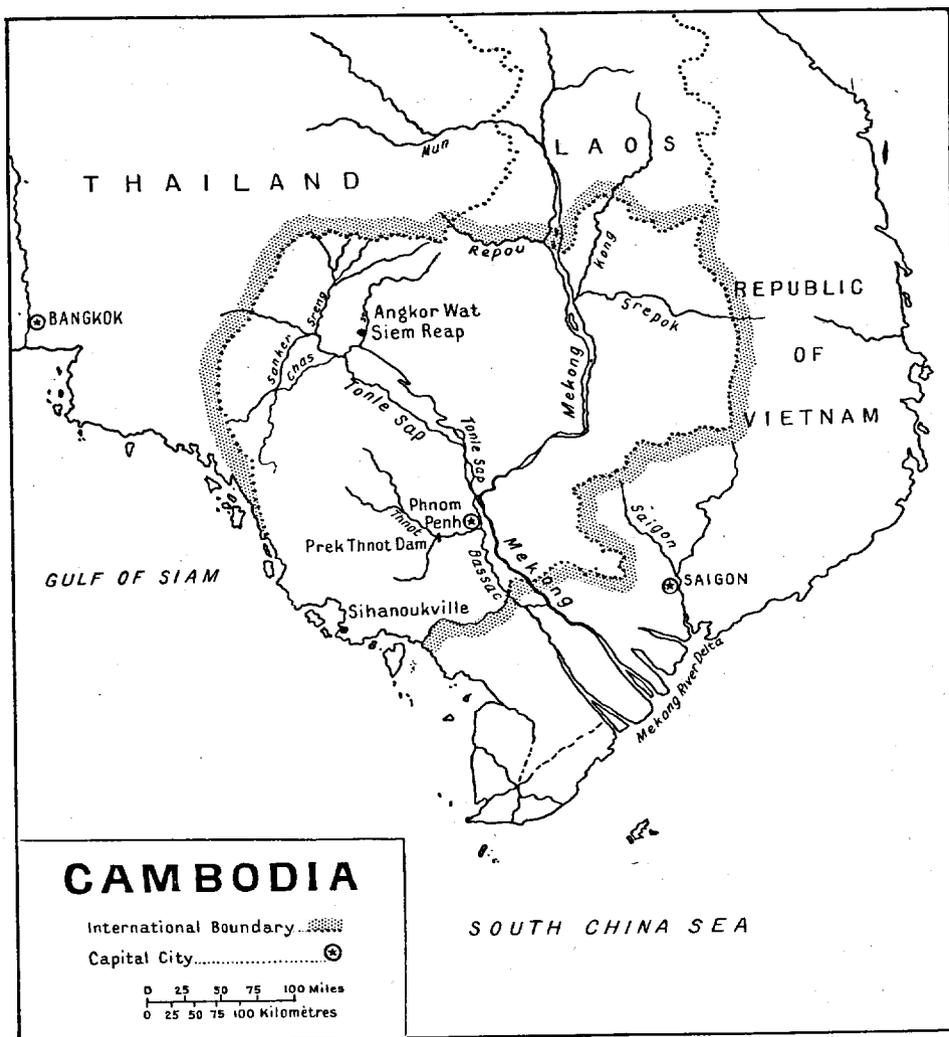
Canada has not established a diplomatic mission in Cambodia (or, indeed, in any of the successor states of Indochina), and is represented only through the Canadian delegation on the International Commission. The present delegation, consisting of four members of the Department of External Affairs and one member of the Department of National Defence, is small in comparison with the original 32-member delegation of 1954. Yet, over the years, many Canadian diplomatic and armed services personnel have seen service in Cambodia as a result of Canada's commitment on the International Commission — probably even more than in some of the smaller Canadian diplomatic missions during a comparable period, because of the short tours of duty. To these have been added teachers and other experts sent on assignment under the Colombo Plan programme. Many more Canadians from the Commissions in Laos and Vietnam have, at one time or another during their tours of duty, made visits to Cambodia to see the ancient temples of Angkor Wat and the attractive capital of Phnom Penh.

During Canada's centennial celebrations, thousands of other Canadians were given a glimpse of Angkor Wat in the *Labyrinth* pavilion at Expo 67. Scenes of the magnificent ruins of the ancient Khmer civilization at Angkor were filmed by a unit of the National Film Board that visited Cambodia in 1966. Prince Sihanouk, who is enthusiastic about film production, took a personal interest in the project and facilitated the work of the film crew. A special volume of photographs of Angkor Wat taken by the NFB crew was presented to Prince Sihanouk on behalf of the NFB by the Canadian Commissioner during his audience with the Head of State on September 2.<sup>(2)</sup>

For their part, Cambodians had an opportunity to see the high quality of

(1) See map, Page 521

(2) See photograph, Page 518



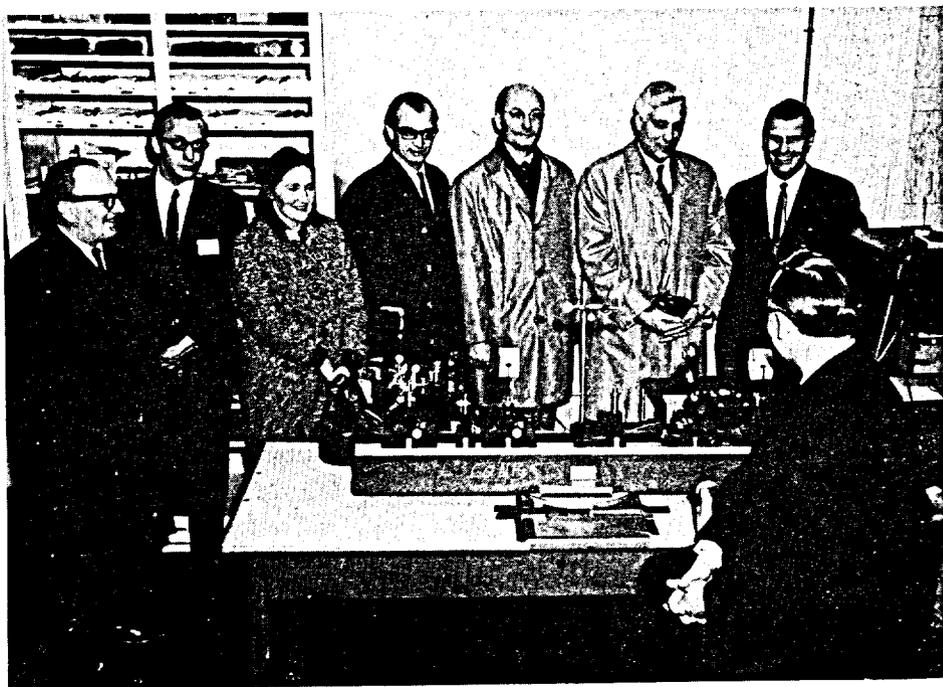
NFB films when two of the Board's productions, *Flight* and *Pas de Deux*, were shown at the International Film Festival in Phnom Penh in November. The latter film, by Norman McLaren, received the first prize as the best short production entered in the festival — a golden statuette of an *Apsara*, a temple dancer depicted in the sculpture of Angkor Wat.

## *Visit of Belgian Science Delegation*

**A** DELEGATION of Belgian scientists under the leadership of Dr. Jacques Spaey, chairman of the Interministerial Committee on Science Policy of Belgium, visited Canada from October 4 to 20, 1968, at the invitation of the National Research Council of Canada. The visit was arranged under the cultural agreement between Belgium and Canada signed in May 1967. Other members of the delegation were Mr. Wautrequin, a member of the National Council for Science Policy of Belgium, Mr. Tougarinoff, Director of Research in Metallurgy at Hoboken, Belgium, Mr. J. Bolland, Chief Engineer at the Electrical Engineering Works of Charleroi, Professor A. Monfils, Institute of Astrophysics of the University of Liège, and Mr. Amelinckx, Associate Director-General for Scientific Matters at the Nuclear Energy Study Centre. The delegation visited Ottawa, Chalk River, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Winnipeg and Churchill.

### **Purpose of Visit**

This visit was intended to give the delegation the opportunity of studying the



*Belgian scientific delegation visiting Canada inspecting a piece of equipment at the space research laboratory of the National Research Council at Churchill, Manitoba: left to right — Mr. J. W. Ostiguy, NRC; Mr. Amelinckx; Mrs. and Mr. J. Bolland; Professor A. Monfils; Mr. M. Wautrequin; Mr. John Hill, NRC; Dr. J. H. Brandy, NRC (seated).*

scope of research activities in Canada, of familiarizing themselves with the policies and methods used for the development of scientific research in Canadian universities, and of discussing the organization and promotion of scientific research in Canadian industry.

Conversations with officials of the National Research Centre and of the departments concerned resulted in a common study of the possibilities for co-operation between Belgium and Canada in science and technology. Dr. Spaey expressed his satisfaction at the success of the visit and said that he hoped that it would be the starting-point for useful exchanges between Canada, Belgium and Europe as a whole.

## Canadian Naval Visits

THE visits that are made periodically to foreign ports by vessels of the Canadian Armed Forces often have an important role in the development of Canada's external relations. Accordingly, the Department of External Affairs is consulted by the Department of National Defence in the planning of each year's programme of visits and detailed arrangements for individual visits are worked out through the Canadian diplomatic missions in the countries concerned. The external relations aspects of these visits are complementary to the operational and training requirements of the Canadian Armed Forces. Although the majority of naval visits are purely for operational purposes, it is considered worthwhile, two or three times a year, to give visits connected with what are primarily training cruises a somewhat more official and public character.

### Uses of Visits

The latter type of visit provides an opportunity for close and friendly contacts between the government and people of a foreign country and a representative group of Canadians. Thus the visits are a useful vehicle for the representational and public information activities of Canadian missions abroad and, of course, provide a welcome meeting with fellow countrymen for the members of their staffs. The contact of Canadian naval units with the civil and military authorities of other countries can also serve as an advertisement for Canada as a technologically-advanced nation with a distinguished military record. Another important foreign-policy consideration is that visits to which a particular emphasis is given can demonstrate an intensified Canadian interest in a certain country or area — as, for example, when a new diplomatic mission is established.

In 1968 a number of major cruises in this category were made by Canadian naval units, including one in the spring to the Far East and a second in the autumn to Western Europe following NATO exercises in the North Atlantic.

### Manila Visit

The Asian tour started with the arrival off Manila of HMCS *Qu'Appelle* and HMCS *Saskatchewan* of the Second Canadian Escort Squadron. Months earlier the Department of External Affairs had arranged diplomatic clearances for the visit with the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs.

Friday, April 26:

0815 — Ships arrival at breakwater.

0900 — Ships boarded by Canadian Consul, Mr. E. L. Bobinski, and the Services Attaché at the Australian Embassy, Commander D. M. Wogan-Brown, Royal Australian Navy (who helped in the practical arrangements for the visit).

1000 to 1200 — Courtesy calls by Squadron Commander and commanding

officers of ships to Philippine Secretary of National Defence; Chief-of-Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines; Flag Officer-in-Command, Philippine Navy, and Consul General of Canada, Mr. J. L. Mutter.

1230 — Lunch on board HMCS *Qu'Appelle* given by Squadron Commander, Captain J. B. Young.

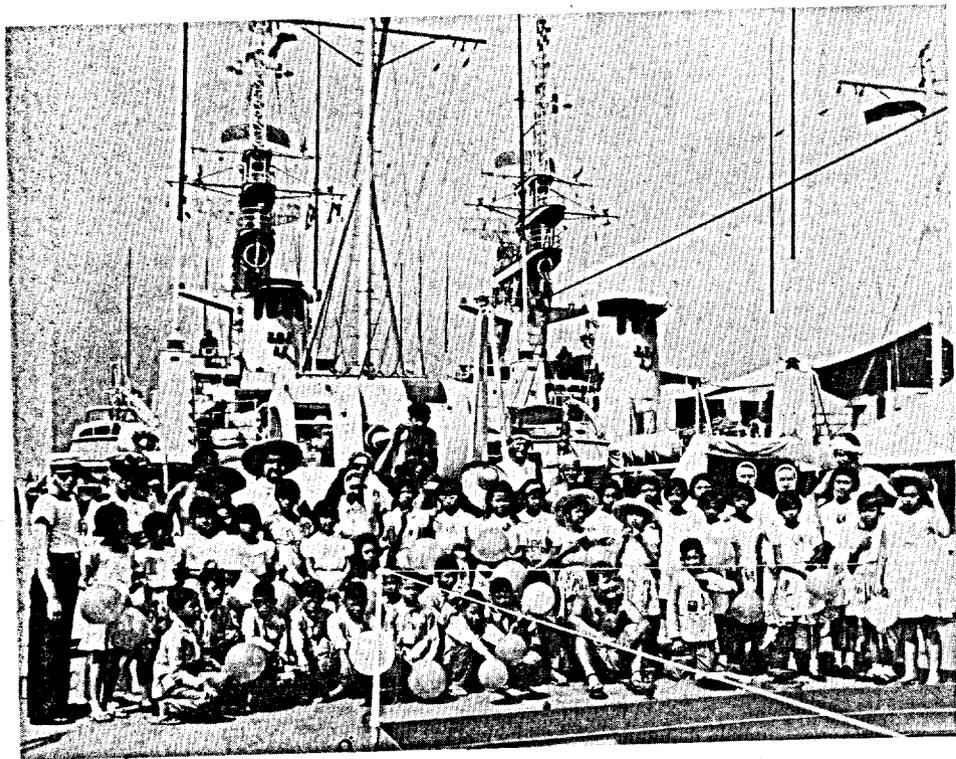
1900 — Canadian Consul General's reception at the Manila Polo Club in honour of the Squadron Commander, commanding officers, officers and cadets.

Monday, April 29:

1000 — Bus tour, with lunch at San Miguel, for 60 ratings.

1400 to 1600 — Party on board HMCS *Saskatchewan* and HMCS *Qu'Appelle* for 100 underprivileged children.

On other days, the Canadian ships were open to the public, sporting events were held at a Manila athletic club and there was a Squadron reception for 300 guests on board HMCS *Saskatchewan*. The party for underprivileged children was considered a great success by both guests and hosts. A popular and somewhat unusual feature of the visit was the appearance on a main Philippine television network of the *Saskatchewan* "rock combo". At the same time, TV clips showing the Canadian ships in action during a Canadian Forces



*A group of Philippine children are entertained aboard the Canadian destroyers Saskatchewan and Qu'Appelle during the April visit of the two ships to Manila.*

submarine exercise were shown by two other networks. The Philippine press gave enthusiastic coverage to the visit.

The Squadron went on to Singapore for a ten-day visit and thence to Kobe, Japan, from June 12 to 16 and to Tokyo from June 17 to 21, where the general pattern of formal activities, public inspection of the vessels, and sporting and social events was repeated.

### **Dublin Visit**

The Third Canadian Escort Squadron, comprising the helicopter-carrying destroyers *Annapolis* and *Skeena* and the destroyer escort *Restigouche*, under Captain R. W. Cocks, C.D., paid an informal visit to Dublin from September 12 to 16, 1968. This visit also was counted a great success and received good publicity. The representational aspect of the Squadron's stay in Dublin gave the Canadian Embassy there a special opportunity to entertain many people representative of the Irish Government and the military and business spheres. Moreover, the presence of 605 easily-identifiable Canadians in the city, meeting, being entertained by and entertaining Dubliners from all walks of life, was considered to have been a useful contribution to Irish-Canadian relations.

### **Copenhagen Visit**

HMCS *Skeena* and HMCS *Annapolis* continued to Aalborg, Denmark, for a six-day visit. *Restigouche* joined the Canadian aircraft-carrier *Bonaventure* and its escort, the destroyer *Nipigon*, which had been visiting Belfast, and all three entered Copenhagen Harbour on October 4 to the accompaniment of a 21-gun salute. Besides the courtesy calls on the Commandant of Copenhagen, the Lord Mayor, the Flag Officer of the Naval Base and the Commander in Chief, Royal Danish Navy, the return receptions given by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. M. H. Wershof, and the unit Commander, Commodore Porter, aboard *Bonaventure*, and a full programme of other activities, including soccer matches with the Danish Naval Base and a visit to the famous Carlsberg Breweries, this visit included an important additional element. The Department of National Defence, through its Canadian Forces attachés, and the Department of Defence Production, through its representatives in Western Europe, arranged a series of tours of the vessels by interested naval officers and representatives of commercial firms from a number of West European countries. Thus Canadian-engineered and -manufactured equipment was displayed and demonstrated with a view to developing a sales interest.

During this period, the operational-support ship *Provider* visited Hamburg, where a large number of civilian and military visitors were received aboard.

There are, it will be noted, many elements that go into the planning and conducting of a successful naval visit. When they are brought together through close co-operation and co-ordination, the result can be a significant contribution to the projection of Canada abroad.

# South by East

## A FEW STEPS ON THE ROAD TO WASHINGTON

THE presence of Sir Robert Borden at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 was important to the development of Canadian autonomy in the conduct and control of foreign relations. For the first time Canada was represented at a major world conference by a delegate with plenipotential status. Nonetheless, it is an over-simplification to claim that Versailles was the Canadian coming-of-age party. It is similarly over-simple to suggest, in keeping with the Canadian mythology, that the true advent of Canadian autonomy came during the ensuing decade with Mackenzie King's rejection of the twin conceptions of an Imperial Cabinet continuing out of the Imperial War Cabinet and of a unified imperial foreign policy. Rather, the development of Canadian autonomy in foreign affairs has been a long, slow process which began as early as 1870 and continued until the end of the Second World War, if not longer. It is only after the complexity of the development of Canadian autonomy has been recognized that a reasonable understanding of that phenomenon can be attained.

One issue that demonstrates this complexity is the establishment of Canadian representation at Washington. The movement began under the Borden Government, was continued by Meighen, and was concluded by King. In 1917, when the exigencies of the war made it desirable to have Canadian representation at Washington, the Canadian War Mission was established. It was recognized at the time that, while the Mission would meet the needs of the situation for the duration of the war, it would be necessary to reconsider the whole question of representation after the conclusion of hostilities. <sup>(1)</sup>

### An Early Memorandum

During the Peace Conference, a paper entitled "Memorandum from the Dominion Prime Ministers on the Dominions' Rights of Legation" was drawn up. Although this paper reached a fairly final form in its third draft, there is apparently no evidence that it was ever formally presented to Lloyd George, the British Government or the British Empire delegation at Paris. The first draft, which was completed on February 6, 1919, read :

"1. The Dominion Prime Ministers are convinced that the time has come when the right of the Dominions to send diplomatic envoys to foreign states should be recognized, and that the appropriate steps should be taken immediately in order that this right may be exercised.

"2. They consider that any provision made for this purpose should not only take into account the necessity for preserving the unity of the British

(1) See *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, Ottawa. (The Queen's Printer), 1968. Volume I, Documents 25-37, Pp. 24-35.

Commonwealth in its relations with foreign states, but should also be based upon a full recognition of the status of the Dominions 'as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth' entitled to 'an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations', in accordance with Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. To this end they submit the following proposals.

"3. At any foreign capital where a Dominion wishes to send a diplomatic envoy, the envoy of the British Commonwealth shall be given the permanent rank and status of His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

"4. The envoy sent by any Dominion to such capital shall be given the rank and status of His Britannic Majesty's Joint High Commissioner and Minister Plenipotentiary.

"5. A Dominion envoy shall be responsible to, and shall communicate directly with, the Dominion Government by which he is appointed.

"6. The envoy for the British Commonwealth and Dominion envoys shall work in the closest conjunction with each other, and shall keep each other informed of the main lines of their action."

The authority of the document is not clear. Loring C. Christie's letter of February 18, 1919, suggests that he wrote it. On the other hand, the first paragraph of the draft seems to indicate that it was the work of all the Dominion prime ministers. What is clear is that Sir Robert Borden and the other Dominion prime ministers discussed the question of representation while at the conference. (2) It is probable that they were all familiar with the text of the memorandum.

Although this document was not formally presented by the Dominions to the British Empire delegation, it did receive some informal attention by various people. One instance of this is documented in a series of three private letters exchanged between Loring C. Christie, Legal Adviser to the Department of External Affairs and one of Borden's closest advisers on external policy, and Lord Eustace Percy, a former official of the Foreign Office, who attended the Peace Conference as Private Secretary to Balfour.

#### First Percy Letter

A copy of the first draft was given to Percy to read and, on February 14, he returned it to Christie with the following letter:

"My dear Loring,

Many thanks for letting me see the enclosed. I fully agree with it with one exception.

"It is proposed in Paragraph 4 that the envoy of a Dominion should be given the rank and status of H.B.M. *Joint* High Commissioner and Minister Plenipotentiary. I am unalterably opposed to the word *joint*. It is mere

(2) On October 3, 1919, Borden sent a telegram to Hughes of Australia informing him of Canadian plans for representation at Washington. In the last paragraph of this document he refers to "our conversation at Paris".

camouflage. You cannot put the representation of His Britannic Majesty into commission, and as a matter of fact you know that the envoys of the Dominions would not act jointly as a committee with the British High Commissioner. What would happen would be that the envoy of any Dominion would claim the right to go to the Government to which he was accredited and to urge upon that Government the views of his Dominion with the whole force of his status as a representative of the British Empire as a whole, and you would have the British Empire as a whole urging possibly quite different views, if not actually different policies, upon the Government concerned. I do not think that in practice that would happen in the case of Canada. I know and you know that it would inevitably happen in the case of Australia. Either the Dominions must be content that their envoys should have the status of H.B.M. Assistant High Commissioner and Minister Plenipotentiary, or they must face the issue and go to foreign capitals as the representatives of separate Dominions carrying just as much influence and no more as the separate status of that Dominion entitles them to. What your proposal means is that the Dominions are trying to get their status as *independent* Powers recognized by foreign Governments while trying to prevent themselves from being classified as small Powers. There is no good confusing the situation more than it is confused already, and I would not go one inch beyond the word 'assistant'. Would you accept an Australian Joint-High Commissioner if a Canadian were appointed H.B.M. Ambassador and High Commissioner at Washington?

"A rather smaller point, I do not think the words 'and Minister Plenipotentiary' are right. The words should be 'with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary'. That is a personal rank in such a case. Babington Smith and Crawford at Washington were not H.B.M.'s Ministers Plenipotentiary at Washington, they were Assistant High Commissioner and Commercial Commissioner respectively with the *personal* rank of Ministers Plenipotentiary. If you have altered that title designedly then the remarks that I have made above with regard to the word 'joint' apply to this expression too, and I should be wholly opposed to it.

"For these reasons, if this memorandum were presented in its present form to the Imperial War Cabinet, I should strongly advise that the reply should be a direct negative and an invitation to the Dominions to assume the status of small Powers if they wish, but not to claim the right to carry out their own foreign policy under the cover of the power of the British Commonwealth as a whole."

#### **Memorandum Redrafted**

Christie tried to overcome these objections by redrafting the memorandum on February 18. Only the third and fourth paragraphs of the original document were altered. They then read :

"3. At any foreign capital where a Dominion wishes to send a diplomatic envoy, the envoy of the British Commonwealth shall be given the permanent

status of 'His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner' with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

"4. The envoy sent by a Dominion to such capital shall be given the status of 'His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for Canada', 'His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for Australia', or as the case may be, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary."

Paragraph 4 of the original draft was retained as an alternative to the new paragraph and altered to read :

"4. The envoy sent by any Dominion to such capital shall be given the status of 'His Britannic Majesty's Joint (or Associate) High Commissioner' with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary." (3)

### **Christie Letter**

On the same day Christie replied to Percy's letter in the following terms :

"My dear Eustace,

Many thanks for your letter.

"I fear that wires have got crossed, or else the subject has become explosive in itself. I have not suggested that a Dominion envoy should be able to pose as a representative of the British Commonwealth. In its essentials my memorandum seems precise enough on that. In paragraph (5) it was proposed that 'A Dominion envoy shall be responsible to, and shall communicate directly with, the Dominion Government by which he is appointed'. Such a person could scarcely get very far in an attempt to drag in by himself the Government (whatever it is) of the British Commonwealth. The question of the label has some importance, but I certainly had no far reaching design in trying out the word 'Joint'. I rather envisaged the fellow as becoming commonly known as the 'Canadian Minister' and acting and being treated accordingly. Besides that, I thought, and still think, it would be well if possible to have some word or formula that would indicate to the world the notion of co-operation. Perhaps the word 'Joint' has some camouflage in it, but it has less, I am sure, than 'Assistant'. It is certainly more accurate. An envoy responsible only to the Government of Canada cannot accurately be described as an assistant to the envoy appointed by another Government. Any real difference between them would have to be settled between their principals. I think also that some misunderstanding has arisen because the name of the Dominion was only implicit in the formula. It may be difficult to combine the name of the Dominion with any such qualifying word as we have been discussing and it is probably most accurate all around to use the formula 'H.B.M. High Commissioner for Canada, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary'. The words 'H.B.M.' will themselves indicate the point as to co-operation. I quite agree there is no good in confusing an already confused situation. But I don't think we shall confuse it more by trying to agree on a way that will rightly and fairly recognize a real development

(3) The third and final draft was drawn up on February 25, 1919. It is to be published in *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, Volume III.

that has not yet been adequately recognized. The development is inevitable and right (I heard your chief, A.J.B., describe it the other day as 'inevitable and therefore right'); it cannot be wrong or objectionable to recognize it. That much is certain and that far, surely, we can step. It will not do to hesitate because of some apprehension that some objectionable step must inevitably follow. Wrong steps do not inevitably follow right steps.

"To be frank, I do not quite understand what you mean by suggesting that a Dominion envoy 'would claim the right to go to the Government to which he was accredited and to urge upon that Government the views of his Dominion with the whole force of his status as a representative of the British Empire as a whole'. I know of nothing in past experience to justify this apprehension, and I cannot imagine a Canadian posing as anything but a Canadian for the purpose of pressing the views of the Canadian Government. Many Canadians would indeed feel that they might be even more effective by confining themselves rigidly to that role. I quite understand that there may be some far reaching implications in this last, and I do not press them or 'face' them just now because it is not necessary to do so. There will be time enough for that when it really is necessary.

"Nor do I quite understand your last paragraph. It would indicate that you really believe that H.M.G. might be prepared to talk to the Dominions in terms of ultimata. That is something new, and personally I should be glad to know if there is anything in it."

### Second Percy Letter

To which Percy replied on February 19 :

"My dear Loring,

Many thanks for yours of yesterday. Please do not take anything that I say to you as representing anything but my own views. I do not believe that H.M.G. are at all prepared to 'talk to the Dominions in terms of ultimata', or that persons in authority regard the subject we have been discussing as 'explosive'. I have little doubt that anything Sir Robert Borden proposes will be accepted in a vague and easy-going spirit by our people. That is just the trouble. The authorities always politely ignore the fact that there is a choice before the British Commonwealth. I only wrote my letter to you because I think it is for people like you and me, who know that there is a choice before the British Commonwealth, not to disguise from ourselves the direction in which we are going.

"If you look in my letter, you will see that I said there that I did not anticipate the difficulties I foresaw would come from Canada. But Canada is not the only Dominion, and you know the tendencies of Australia as well as I do.

"I had thought that the object of putting a new label on to H.B.M. ambassadors and calling them High Commissioners was to enable us to give a name to the Dominions representatives which, while marking their 'assistant' capacity would be more dignified than the name 'counsellor'. If you do not want to give them this assistant status, then there is no object in changing the title of H.B.M.

ambassadors. You can simply call the Dominion representatives H.B.M. Canadian Minister; or H.B.M. Commissioner for Canada. In that case, I lose interest in the whole idea. I maintain that it is a further confusing of the situation, because the label is not true. You and everyone admit that the British Commonwealth can only have one set of foreign relations, though different parts of it may have many interests abroad arising out of different internal conditions which may require separate expert handling. Such matters are not, however, of the first importance. They can be handled perfectly well by trade commissioners or technical representatives, and we all hope that as a result of the formation of the League of Nations these special matters will more and more tend to be dealt with in permanent international commissions and bureaux on which each part of the British Commonwealth will be separately represented. Consequently, it is not true to say that the Canadian representative will be H.B.M. High Commissioner for Canada. He would be H.B.M. High Commissioner for such Canadian questions as are not part of the general foreign relations of the British Commonwealth, and are, therefore, not handled by H.B.M. ambassador. H.B.M. cannot have five representatives at the same capital. In these circumstances, I should, personally, be strongly in favour of saying that Canada might by all means appoint a High Commissioner anywhere she pleased, call him a minister or anything else she liked, but that there is no necessity for giving him a commission from His Majesty. If you really want to express the co-operation of all parts of the British Commonwealth in foreign policy, I would present you with an alternative scheme. It is quite obvious that the previous scheme we have been discussing has broken down.

“The true way of expressing the co-operation between them is that there should be formed at the Foreign Office in London a Council on foreign affairs for the whole Empire, consisting of representatives of the Dominions *and a representative of Great Britain*. This Council should have the same kind of relation to the Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (who might or might not be an Englishman) as the India Council has to the Secretary of State for India, that is to say, it should be a mainly advisory body, but a statutory one with defined powers. Its rights should be safeguarded by some such arrangement as that employed in the case of the India Council, i.e. that the Secretary of State for India may not override the contrary opinion of the India Council unless he minutes his reasons for disagreement — which in practice is a real deterrent to disagreement and very rarely happens. As a counterpart to this Council in London, every Embassy of sufficient importance at the foreign capitals should be provided with Dominion representatives, who would both be able to act in an advisory capacity to the British Ambassador (who might or might not be an Englishman) and would be able to undertake themselves the settlement of technical questions particularly affecting their respective Dominions. Such a system would give a new meaning to the word ‘counsellor’, which, by an alteration in spelling, might become a satisfactory title for Dominion representatives — e.g. H.B.M. Councillor for Canada.

"Quite frankly, if the Dominions are unwilling to accept an 'assistant' status, or to embody co-operation in some such logical scheme as the above, then I think that the time has arrived to talk in terms of ultimata. I believe that you are very justifiably disgusted and discontented at the unsatisfactory way in which the representation of the British Commonwealth has in practice been arranged at this Conference, but you should not forget that many Englishmen like myself are discontented about it in rather an opposite sense, and are tired of being dragged at the tail of certain Dominions (I do not refer to Canada) in matters contrary to the interest of Great Britain and of the British Commonwealth as a whole, and I am anxious for a 'show-down'. The British Dominions are, if I understand the situation aright, claiming the right to be separate and independent signatories of every treaty, and to have their views voiced both by the British representatives on the Executive Council of the League of Nations and by their own representatives on the Body of Delegates of the League of Nations and at the same time, they are insisting that, in spite of their separate right of signature and their separate representation on the League, the British Government is to do nothing not pleasing to them. The old remark of Lord Bryce's about the Holy Roman Empire just before the French Revolution comes into my mind — that it might have gone doddering on through all the stages of impotent decay, but that God was kind and slew it in the light. I am almost inclined to apply those words to the British Commonwealth at the present moment. I say all this with all the greater emphasis as I am quite sure that no British Minister would have the courage to take any such line. A.J.B.'s words which you quote are characteristic. Perhaps you will let me put my own gloss on them and say that death may be inevitable and therefore right, but it is none the less the wages of sin!

"You know you are the only person at whom I can swear like this, because you do want to get a settlement which is something more than a doubtfully honest makeshift.

"P.S. This letter is too long, I might have summed it up in one phrase. You very justly say in your letter that 'an envoy responsible only to the Government of Canada cannot accurately be described as an assistant to the envoy appointed by another Government'. Quite true, and it is also true that an envoy responsible only to the Government of Canada cannot accurately be described as the envoy of His Britannic Majesty. Those words 'another Government' are equivalent to the word 'finis' at the foot of the history of the British Commonwealth."

The aspect of these letters of greatest interest to the student of Canadian constitutional development is the fact that, despite Percy's protestations to the contrary, the British in 1919 were probably willing to sit down and examine the fundamental bases of the Imperial structure. Certainly, Percy acknowledges that he (and we can reasonably assume that he was not in isolation among influential Englishmen of his day) would rather examine the basic structure of

the Empire than simply allow it to drift into destruction. Even his scheme for unified imperial diplomatic representation, which had strong support within the British Cabinet, shows a willingness to make some fundamental alterations in the imperial system.

The accuracy of Percy's statement on the willingness of the British Government to accept any reasonable request from Canada can be seen in the ease with which the arrangement for Canadian representation in Washington was reached during the next two years. The fact that a Canadian representative was not sent to Washington until 1927 suggests that the Canadian Government was afraid to initiate so far-reaching a change in the imperial structure; perhaps they feared that such a change might lead to the necessity of talking in terms of ultimata. Whether this is true or not, it can certainly be safely asserted that the long, slow development of Canadian autonomy was not, as has been so often claimed, a process of Canada continuously pressing for greater independence from an Imperial Government intent on jealously guarding its prerogatives.

These letters demonstrate the fact that one of the unspoken presuppositions of the period was the existence of the British Empire. Christie and Percy almost reached the point of questioning this basic assumption. But the very timidity with which they did so demonstrates the place of "empire" in the contemporary order of things. What these letters do reveal is the search for methods of adapting the political machinery to the realities of the evolving situation. The development of Canadian autonomy was a continuous process of adaptation. When this is acknowledged, and the complexity of Canadian constitutional development is recognized, the violence done to Canadian history by the mythmakers can perhaps be overcome.

## CONFERENCES

United Nations General Assembly, twenty-third session : New York, September 24 — December 20

Colloquium of AUPELF (Association des Universités Partiellement ou Entièrement de Langue Française): Tunis, December 10-17

Economic and Social Council, resumed forty-fifth session: New York, December

UNCTAD, Trade and Development Board, eighth session: Geneva, January 21 — February 7

Economic Commission for Africa, ninth session: Addis Ababa, February 3-14

OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, February 13-14

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Mr. J. R. Groves posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, effective September 17, 1968.

Mr. A. E. H. Campbell posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective September 25, 1968.

Mr. F. J. Douma resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective September 27, 1968.

Mr. J. R. R. Fournier appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 1, effective October 1, 1968.

Mr. H. M. Geltman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective October 1, 1968.

Mr. J. C. E. L. Lavigne appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective October 1, 1968.

Mr. L. J. O'Toole appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Programme Administrator 7, effective October 1, 1968.

Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason, Canadian Ambassador to Norway, posted to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1968.

Mr. D. Stansfield posted from the Public Service Commission Bicultural Development Programme, Quebec City, to Ottawa, effective October 3, 1968.

Mr. M. DeGoumois posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, effective October 5, 1968.

Mr. R. A. Bell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective October 7, 1968.

Mr. J. R. W. Fieldhouse appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 7, 1968.

Mr. L. S. Clark posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective October 8, 1968.

- Miss S. M. Plouffe posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective October 11, 1968.
- Mr. G. S. M. Woollcombe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, to Ottawa, effective October 12, 1968.
- Mr. M. Perron posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, to the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, effective October 14, 1968.
- Mr. J. G. Sinclair appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 9, effective October 15, 1968.
- Mr. L. J. C. Walker appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective October 15, 1968.
- Mr. L. M. Berry posted from the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, to Ottawa, effective October 17, 1968.
- Mr. J. J. Noble posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, effective October 18, 1968.
- Mr. J. M. Robinson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 21, 1968.
- Mr. A. J. Pick, Canadian Ambassador to Tunisia, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Libya, effective October 26, 1968.
- Miss M. C. Gillies appointed Canadian Consul, Budapest, effective October 28, 1968.
- Mr. R. B. Lapointe appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 1, effective October 28, 1968.

**TREATY INFORMATION**  
**Current Action**

**Bilateral**

**Denmark**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark concerning the exchange of defence science information.

Copenhagen May 30 and July 25, 1968.

Entered into force July 25, 1968.

**Multilateral**

Statute of The Hague Conference on Private International Law.

Done at The Hague October 13, 1951.

Entered into force July 15, 1955.

Canada's Instrument of Acceptance deposited October 7, 1968.

In force for Canada October 7, 1968.

International Coffee Agreement, 1968.

Done at New York March 18, 1968.

Signed by Canada March 29, 1968.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited August 21, 1968.

Entered into force October 1, 1968.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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