



CANADA

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## CANADA'S ROLE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS

The address from which the following passages have been taken was given on March 11, at Carleton University, Ottawa, by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, as the last in a series entitled "The Communist States and the West."

...Anyone who has followed this series of lectures will already have asked himself what is the significance for a country like Canada of the far-reaching changes in the nature of world politics which my predecessors on this platform have analyzed. So far have these changes gone, in fact, that it is even legitimate to ask whether there is still such a thing as "East-West relations". Is there still a contest between two camps, each arrayed around one of the super powers, with a mass of non-aligned nations looking on, sometimes on the sidelines, sometimes caught in the cross-fire?

A few years ago this was the world scene. The expression "East-West relations" in practice covered everything of real importance in international affairs. That bipolarity has gone, and we find ourselves today in a much more complicated political and economic and military environment. In such a situation of relative fluidity it is clear that the smaller powers, including Canada, have greater scope both for the pursuit of their own national interests, which are unique by definition, and for the exercise of constructive initiative in search of solutions to problems of concern to the world as a whole.

This scope I intend to explore tonight. In doing so, I shall argue that the growth of pluralism does not necessarily mean the dissolution of "East" and "West" as we have known them, but rather the adoption by the Soviet Union and the Communist states closest to it (China, with its friends is perhaps

another matter) of a pattern of international relations similar to that of the rest of the world. This, I believe, is likely to be accompanied by the gradual abandonment in practice of world revolution as an instrument of the policy of Communist states. The end result of this tendency, if it is maintained, would not necessarily be the disappearance of rivalry between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, but the removal of that rivalry from the sphere of ideology and related military moves to a more rational and stable plane.

It is on such a plane that Canada can best play a creative role. But how close are we to it? Clearly we have not yet reached a point of stable international balance, let alone international harmony. Evolution in that direction has gone, perhaps, far enough to demand adaptation of our policies, but we must not confuse identification of a tendency with its fulfillment...It is essential to define one's own view of that evolution before suggesting the policy implications for Canada and other Western countries...The Sino-Soviet rift seems irreparable, short of a profound change of policy amounting to a *de facto* surrender by one side or the other to the ascendancy of its rival. The rift has been a lever which certain East European Communist countries, notably Roumania, and some non-ruling Communist parties, have used to enlarge somewhat the area of their independence from Soviet control....

But it is to be noted that this independence stops short of any significant departure from the general line of Communist policy toward the non-Communist world. The most that can be said is that, having smaller resources and fewer vested interests elsewhere in the world than the Soviet Union itself, the

East European countries are able to reap many of the advantages of the strategy of peaceful coexistence in its positive aspects, while avoiding serious involvement in those aspects which entail risks of conflict with the West, and specifically the strategy of wars of national liberation.

This is by no means the same as saying that the political unity of the Soviet camp has been seriously undermined. Neither the East European leaders nor the Soviet Union are prepared to allow that. The East European leaders seek to enlist for themselves the same support the regimes in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia enjoy, through the same appeal to nationalist sentiment which those regimes can make....

Clearly...polycentrism in the Warsaw Pact area has not destroyed the cohesiveness or the essential Communism of the regimes. This is not surprising. The appeal to national sentiment was never intended to achieve this result. On the contrary, by attempting to strengthen the domestic position of the regimes, its basic aim was to consolidate their existing alignment....

### THREE PHASES OF SOVIET POLICY

The West, in general, is well content if countries in Africa and Asia remain independent and non-aligned. After a few disastrous experiences, the U.S.S.R. has decided that nothing is to be gained by direct attempts at Communization. Its policy has evolved in at least three distinct phases during the post-Stalin era. In the first four or five years up to 1959, the major thrust was toward the exploitation of anti-colonialism by direct external support of the new governments, without much concern about their domestic policies, in the belief that aid would have a decisive effect on their policies.

Anti-Communist measures taken in 1958-59, both in the U.A.R. and in India, were a clear demonstration that this would not work, and the sudden emergence of large numbers of independent African states in 1960-61 made it imperative to devise a new approach. This was that of the "national democracy", wherein the "most advanced section of the working class", i.e. the Communists, where they existed, should ally themselves and co-operate with the nationalist ruling party in order to press on with the revolution that had only begun with the achievement of political independence.

Unfortunately for this line, only one or two of those countries in which the nationalists displayed really radical militancy were equipped with Communist parties, and they showed no particular anxiety to accept the Communists, who, as in Algeria, had done little or nothing to contribute to the achievement of independence, as allies. The others were certainly not prepared to allow the formation of Communist parties which would tend to divide a national unity that was often hard-won. Accordingly, the policy changed again. The third phase, which emerged during 1963, after the outlawing of the Algerian Communist Party, was that of liquidationism - the decision that Communists should work from within to promote the economic revolution, put their countries on the "non-capitalist path", and eventually succeed to the leadership....

...Bound by their "scientific" world views, the Communists, whether Soviet or Chinese in orientation, are united in the view that non-alignment is an historical dead end. The U.S.S.R. holds that it is a way-station on the road from colonialism to Communism. The Chinese reject it out of hand as impossible. In practice this does not prevent them from welcoming the rejection of Western alignment which it entails, but they do so *faute de mieux*. The difference between the two is an aspect of their different approaches to the question of peaceful coexistence....

### PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

...We can probably take Soviet assurances at face value; in peaceful coexistence war *between states* is to be avoided. Other forms of war, namely national-liberation war, are not, and in fact form an integral part of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The reasoning behind this is that the power of the Soviet Union and its allies is now such as to deter any attack by the "imperialists" on them. The existence of this power, it is claimed, both encourages revolutionary forces elsewhere to struggle for their freedom and inhibits the deployment of the full strength of "imperialism" against them....

The strategy of national-liberation war is an integral part of peaceful coexistence, as the Soviet Union sees it. The success claimed for it justifies the policy whereby the Soviet Union can benefit from the advantages of a peaceful relation...with the West, while the cause of world revolution progresses more or less by its own momentum. The parallel with Stalin's policy, whereby the prime duty of all other Communists was to contribute to the defence and development of the U.S.S.R., comes readily to mind. There is no particular reason, however, to think that the U.S.S.R. has a consistent policy toward violent revolutionary outbreaks, or necessarily has a hand in them when they occur. This is a matter of tactics. Thus the support, measured though it is, which the Soviet Government has given to North Vietnam and the NLF of South Vietnam since the end of 1964 differs from the relative indifference shown by Krushchov before his fall, and differs again from the apparent reluctance of the Soviet Union to encourage armed insurgency in Latin America....

### WHY SOVIET BACKS REVOLUTION

It is reasonable to ask why the U.S.S.R. should want to tie itself to revolutionary movements in various parts of the world which it cannot always control and which might embroil it in conflicts with Western countries with which it is in its own best interests to cultivate normal relations.

...Having greater power than China, the Soviet Union is less dependent on the exploitation of such struggles to promote its objectives than is China. The constructive and skilful exercise of diplomacy at Tashkent advanced the Soviet Union's cause in a manner which does it credit....

...Official Soviet doctrine holds that, as a corollary of the decisive strength of the Communist world in the present stage of international relations, the "imperialist" world has gone over to the counter-offensive. Seeing their power inexorably slipping

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### COPPER CONTROLS TIGHTENED

Mr. Robert H. Winters, Minister of Trade and Commerce, made the following statement recently, in the House of Commons:

On January 31, I advised the House that in the interest of orderly marketing and domestic supply it had become necessary to make certain changes in export controls affecting copper scrap, copper-alloy scrap and copper-bearing scrap. For the same reason, I wish now to announce changes in the control of exports of copper ores and concentrates.

The production of copper in Canada depends largely on supply of mine concentrates purchased from or processed for a large number of independent mines. If this supply should be interrupted or diverted elsewhere to any considerable extent, it would affect the supply of copper available for use in Canada.

On November 22, when export controls were put on

various forms of copper as a precautionary measure, a general export permit was issued for ores and concentrates moving to off-shore destinations. This general export permit is now being revoked and, effective March 21, individual permits will be required for shipments to off-shore destinations. The advance notice will provide an opportunity for exporters to apply for permits where required under existing contracts.

It is not the purpose of this move to interfere with supplies moving to smelters abroad under contracts now existing. However, the individual permit requirement will enable the Government to prevent diversion to off-shore destinations of ores and concentrates now under contract to Canadian smelters.

This action is taken under the authority of the Export and Import Permits Act.

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### IMMIGRANT INVESTMENT

Immigrants purchasing businesses or farming enterprises made a major contribution to the Canadian economy in 1965, Citizenship and Immigration Minister Jean Marchand said recently. Reports by field officers indicate that 1,533 immigrants established their own businesses or purchased farms in 1965, making a financial commitment of \$30,848,180, of which \$15,091,625 had already been paid. There were 1,167 new businesses established and 366 farms purchased.

#### FIGURES ONLY PARTIAL

Since many immigrants, especially those who speak English or French, become integrated quickly and do not maintain close contact with the Department, it is estimated that field officers' reports cover only 25 per cent of those who have actually established businesses and 50 per cent of those investing in agriculture.

Mr. Marchand said that, in the 1950-1965 period, 26,128 immigrant owners had established their own enterprises. Their families numbered 96,475 individuals, and these enterprises employed 79,706 wage or salary earners. Total investment was \$324,639,285, of which \$164,109,945 had already been paid.

Immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands continue to lead the number of those the Department knows to have launched their own enterprises between 1950 and 1965. The figures for this period are as follows:

Business		Agriculture	
Germany	2,883	Netherlands	5,558
Netherlands	2,258	Germany	1,633
Italy	1,770	U.S.A.	753
Britain	1,352	Poland	383
Hungary	830	Belgium	369
U.S.A.	811	Britain	338

### BUSY YEAR FOR NUCLEAR INDUSTRY

The start of construction on a large nuclear-power station capable of producing economic power and the first production of irradiated food on a commercial scale were among the highlights of a busy year for Canada's nuclear industry.

The practical applications of nuclear energy, particularly in the generation of power, may be expected to increase rapidly over the next few years. Some indication of the scale of work for industry is given by the fact that about \$50-million worth of equipment must be supplied each year for Ontario Hydro's Pickering generating station, now being built about 20 miles east of Toronto. Contracts worth millions of dollars to Canadian industry will come from construction by India of the Rajasthan atomic-power project, a nuclear station that is essentially a duplicate of the 200,000-kilowatt Douglas Point nuclear-power station on the shore of Lake Huron, and from the Karachi nuclear-power project, which will be built in Pakistan by the Canadian General Electric Company Limited.

The decision by Ontario Hydro to build the Pickering station, one of the three largest nuclear-power stations in the world, followed successful operation of the 20,000-kilowatt nuclear-power demonstration station near Rolphpton, Ontario, which has been in operation since 1962, and the construction of the Douglas Point station within the original plant and equipment cost estimates.

#### QUEBEC TO GET STATION

Agreement in principle between the Federal Government and the Quebec Government to build a nuclear-power station in Quebec drew attention to work on advanced types of power stations. While the operation of the heavy-water-moderated and heavy-water-cooled power reactors in the Pickering plant will mark the first production of economic nuclear power in Canada, the nuclear industry must be working years ahead on

developments that will lead to reduced costs and will keep Canadian plants competitive with nuclear stations designed in other countries.

Atomic Energy of Canada Limited last year formed a special engineering division in Toronto to design a prototype power station that would use heavy water for the moderator but ordinary water to transfer energy from the fuel to the turbine. If design and development studies prove successful, it is expected that agreement will be reached with Quebec to build a 250,000-kilowatt station for operation in the Hydro Quebec system about 1971.

#### FOOD IRRADIATION

The world's first commercial food-irradiation plant, designed and built for Newfield Products Limited at Mont St. Hilaire, Quebec by the commercial products group of AECL, started irradiating potatoes in September to prevent them from sprouting. The commercial products group designed and installed six industrial-scale irradiators in Canada and the United States for sterilization of medical supplies, preservation of onions and potatoes, improvement of detergents and a variety of other irradiation applications. A new engineering production building, completed in 1965 near South March, outside Ottawa, helped meet the growing demand for Canadian-designed equipment for the application of radioisotopes. The commercial-products group sold 138 laboratory-scale irradiators to 26 countries and more than 500 cancer-therapy machines to 47 countries.

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#### NWT HOSPITALS UNCROWDED

Waiting lists for hospital beds are the rule in many Canadian municipalities but not in the Northwest Territories. Dr. W.H. Frost, Chairman of the Territorial Hospital Insurance Services Board, reports that the average occupancy of territorial hospitals is about 40 per cent.

The rated bed capacity for the 11 territorial hospitals and 15 nursing stations for 1964 was 379, plus 51 for tubercular patients. The total number of hospital days for insured and non-insured patients was 67,600, with an estimated 16,000 days for tuberculosis cases. Even with the low occupancy, the patient-day cost compares with that of hospitals in the South.

#### PATIENT-DAY COSTS

In 1964, the Station Hospital in Yellowknife, with a 49 per cent average occupancy, operated at a net daily cost of \$27.04 a patient. A recent audit at the Fort Smith St. Ann's Hospital shows the daily cost for the first half of 1965 as \$26.03 a patient with only 29 per cent of the beds occupied. In the Northwest Territories the cost of operating a hospital and the number of beds occupied are not in direct ratio. Many of the fixed costs are not affected by occupancy. Part of the staff costs are geared to the number of patients and not the number of beds.

Ontario patient-day costs average over \$30. Dr. Frost remarks that it is in the small and remote cottage-type hospitals, called nursing stations, that costs are highest. "The population of the NWT is 27,000," he observed. "Three hundred and seventy-nine hospital beds for this number is far above the normal. It can be reduced substantially by providing other establishments that give simpler and less costly care, i.e. homes for aged persons and for persons under treatment that does not require a hospital".

There has been a great decrease in the need for beds for patients under treatment for tuberculosis, Dr. Frost states. The sparsely-occupied buildings at Chesterfield Inlet, Fort Resolution, Pangnirtung, Fort Simpson and Rae reflect the changing picture of tuberculosis in the North.

#### CRASH POSITION INDICATOR

A radio message that ended a two-day search for a missing aircraft in the Canadian North proved for the first time that a National Research Council invention called the Crash Position Indicator can save lives. It consists of a crash-activated aerodynamic recovery system that is automatically ejected from the fuselage of an aircraft in the event of a crash. It delivers to safety a radio distress-beacon payload, and keeps it on the surface of land or sea, where it is oriented to send out a distress signal as far as 80 miles for many days to allow search aircraft to "home-in" to its location.

On November 21, 1965, a *Beaver* plane carrying its pilot and a passenger took off from Fort Simpson in the Northwest Territories on a flight to Nahanni Butte and thence to Hay River and Fort Smith. About an hour and a half later, the aircraft ran into a blizzard and crash-landed in a desolate stretch of country near Great Slave Lake. The temperature ranged from 10 degrees above zero to 20 degrees below. Royal Canadian Air Force search and rescue headquarters in Winnipeg were notified on November 22, by the Royal Canadian Air Force at Fort Simpson, that the *Beaver* was missing.

#### SIGNAL DETECTED

On November 24, flying above cloud at 8,000 feet, an RCAF *Albatross* search and rescue plane picked up and "homed-in" on distress signals from a *SARAH* (Search And Rescue and Homing) manually-operated distress beacon and the CPI automatic one. A second *Albatross* picked up only the CPI beacon signal. The maximum ranges obtained with the *SARAH* were 24 miles and, with the CPI, 32 miles. After the crash site had been pinpointed, a civilian aircraft from Hay River picked up the two survivors, who had not been injured.

The Crash Position Indicator was developed jointly by NRC's National Aeronautical Establishment and the Radio and Electrical Engineering Division. NAE developed the aerofoil crash recovery system, while REED and NAE jointly developed the

beacon payload that will operate in Arctic weather for many days.

Harry Stevinson, an engineer with NAE's Flight Research Section, who directed the development of the aerofoil system, said that, before last November 21, there had been seven aircraft equipped with the indicator that had crashed. In all cases the CPI system had detected the crash and operated properly, but an RCAF search had not been required because these crashes were near airports or were not sufficiently violent to smash the aircraft's own communication radio. "The November 21 crash was an historic event in the development of the CPI" he said. "It was the first time that the CPI contributed to the finding of an aircraft which had disappeared".

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### INCREASED EXPORT OF SPORTING GOODS

Substantial increases in the export of Canadian sporting-goods to the United States are expected to follow a recent successful display by 21 Canadian manufacturers at the National Sporting Goods Association Convention and Show in Chicago. The Department of Trade and Commerce has sponsored a Canadian exhibit in this show for the past nine years. Open only to sporting-goods dealers, manufacturers and representatives, it is one of the largest and most important exhibitions of its type in the world.

Reports from the 21 companies participating are not yet available but 12 have reported that they sold \$56,000-worth of goods and expect \$905,000-worth of further business from new contacts. These companies project their total export sales to the United States in 1966 to \$2.5 million, compared to \$739,000 last year. One firm sold its entire 1966 production for the U.S. market on the first day of the show. In 1965, Canada exported sporting-goods worth \$8 million to the United States.

Though they once concentrated almost exclusively on exporting winter-sport equipment and clothing, Canadian manufacturers have found that there is also a good market for summer gear. This year Canadian exhibitors showed fishing tackle, hunting rifles and shot guns, golf shoes and camping equipment as well as hockey equipment, motorized snow scooters and winter sportswear.

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### INCO AWARDS SCHOLARSHIPS

Twenty new scholarships in science, engineering and mathematics have been awarded by the International Nickel Company of Canada, Limited, for the 1965-66 academic year to students at 20 Canadian universities.

The awards, valued at about \$90,000, are based on a four-year course and are part of INCO's broad programme of aid to education in Canada. Since the programme was started in 1956, the value of INCO's education grants has exceeded \$8 million.

Each award has an annual maximum value of \$1,200, providing the recipient with tuition and fees plus \$300 and a grant of approximately \$500 as a cost-of-education supplement to the university.

Awarded on a one-year basis, the scholarships are renewable for three more years of study if the recipient meets the academic standards and conduct requirements of the university.

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### HOURS AND EARNINGS

Average Canadian weekly wages in manufacturing for November rose to \$89.65 from \$89.37 in October, according to an advance release of data that will be contained in the November issue of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics report "Man-Hours and Hourly Earnings With Average Weekly Wages". Average hourly earnings were 1 cent higher and average weekly hours were 0.1 hours shorter. Compared with the November 1964 figure, average hourly and weekly earnings were 12 cents and \$5.61 higher, respectively, while average weekly hours rose by 0.3 hours.

Durable-goods manufacturing showed an advance in weekly wages of 48 cents to \$98.89, while average hourly earnings rose by 2 cents to \$2.35; average weekly hours remained unchanged. Increased employment and longer hours in transportation equipment, where rates are above average, was the major factor responsible. Overtime payments in transportation equipment, scattered wage increases in electrical apparatus and fewer lower-paid employees in wood products also contributed to the increase in average hourly earnings.

### NON-DURABLE GOODS

Average hourly earnings in non-durable goods rose by 1 cent from the October level. Average weekly hours were 0.2 hours shorter and average weekly wages, at \$79.89, were 9 cents lower. Seasonal lay-offs of lower-paid workers and overtime payments in food and beverages, and increased employment in textiles, where rates are below average, were the main contributing factors. An offsetting factor was reduced earnings in tobacco, resulting from the seasonal employment of many lower-paid workers.

Construction showed a gain of 3 cents in average hourly earnings for November. This was mainly attributable to the continuing lay-offs of lower-paid employees.

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### SENIOR SPEAKERS SPRUCED UP

Former speakers of the upper chambers of Canada's various historic legislatures are to have their faces "lifted".

It was announced recently by Public Works Minister George McIlraith that a contract had been awarded for the general restoration of 16 portraits hanging on the walls of the corridors on either side

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of the Senate Chamber in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. About half the portraits date from before Confederation in 1867. The oldest is that of Jonathan Sewell, Speaker of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada from 1808 to 1837.

The refurbishing task, which is to be finished by March 31, will consist of cleaning the portraits, relining them, revarnishing them and improving their installation in the frames.

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### CANADA'S ROLE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS

(Continued from P. 2)

away from them, the "imperialists" are said to be turning desperately to military means to retain it. It is in these terms that events in the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and sometimes Indonesia are accounted for. In these circumstances the U.S.S.R. maintains that it has no choice, it is its "sacred duty" to give moral and material assistance to "peoples fighting for freedom and independence"....

...Finally the U.S.S.R. and its allies are inhibited from acknowledging the primacy of their national interests as states over the world revolutionary role they have traditionally assumed....

### CHOICE OF COMMUNIST POLICY

...It is evident that the pluralistic but still basically united "East" is faced with a set of apparently contradictory choices in foreign policy. On the one hand, the perpetuation of its own social and political system and the retention of control over the international Communist movement...seem to demand a continuing commitment to a strategy which entails a constant danger of collision with the West.

On the other hand, the overriding need to avoid such a collision...the need to find a solution to the problems of nuclear proliferation, and the necessity to resist the Chinese challenge - all these seem to demand accommodation with the West and therefore relinquishment of a revolutionary role.

The solution that is apparently being tried...could be both disturbing and encouraging from the Western point of view. I prefer on the whole to regard it as encouraging... If the revolutionary imperative presents an accommodation with the West in general, it does not prevent accommodations with certain Western states in particular, and some of the benefits of *détente* can be retained even at a time when the most important *détente*, that with the United States, is in suspense because of the revolutionary imperative....

### CANADA AND THE U.S.S.R.

It takes two to conduct friendly relations, and what is Canada's position vis-à-vis the U.S.S.R.?... Canada, like most other Western countries, has participated in...exchanges for a number of years not only with the U.S.S.R. but with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other countries of Eastern Europe. Canada...has sold great quantities of wheat to these same countries. The volume of private tourism from Canada to the European Communist countries is rising rapidly, and they have ceased to be entirely remote and mysterious regions. Our inter-governmental

relations are reasonably good, always allowing for the gulf between us on fundamental issues....

Purely from the Canadian point of view...we have a definite interest not only in the absence of hostility but in genuine co-operation. Moreover, like every other country...Canada acts in the world and is acted upon in two ways: as itself alone, pursuing its own unique national interests, and as an ally, a neighbour or a member of one or another group....

...Our own conception of our place as a nation committed to the NATO Alliance in defence of the West is different from that attributed to us by the Communist countries, and this difference has an observable effect on the sort of role we can play in relations with them.

That role is also profoundly affected by another observable fact - that, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there is really only one non-Communist country in the world whose policy is of vital significance to it - the United States....

It is a matter of traditional wisdom that Canada's closeness in all senses to the United States has lent its views greater weight than they might always have received uttered in isolation. This is the positive aspect of our situation, on which I think it reasonable to lay greater stress at this juncture in East-West relations than on the negative aspect, that we owe our security in an age of super-powers to our great neighbour. But let that fact not be forgotten....

Those who argue that Canada would be able to play a more effective role internationally if we withdrew from NATO fail to meet two arguments. They cannot demonstrate that we should gain new influence. We could not hope to lead the non-aligned states, whose principal concerns are different from our own. And we should lose the close association with the United States and the other major members of NATO which is the source of much of our influence in the world....

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### TWO-NATION CENTENNIAL PLAN

Delegates representing northern British Columbia, Alaska and the Yukon met in Whitehorse late in January to plan a joint centennial project for the province, the state and the territory. Its name has not yet been chosen, but the aim of the group is to stage a mammoth campaign to attract more visitors over the Alaska Highway during the summer of 1967. The occasion is not only the centennial of Canada, as well as of British Columbia and Alaska but the twenty-fifth birthday of the Alaska Highway.

Supported by chambers of commerce and other local organizations from Mile Zero at Dawson Creek, B.C., to Mile 1523 at Fairbanks, Alaska, the group expects additional support from all communities on tributary access routes such as Dawson City in the Yukon and Skagway, Anchorage and Juneau in Alaska.

Suggestions for a name for the summer-long event are invited from all parts of North America by the Department of Travel and Publicity at Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada.