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THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND
NATIONAL DEFENCE - WHO PARTICIPATES?

1945-1983

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It has become standard fare for journalists and foreign affairs specialists in Canada to decry the lack of attention given to international affairs by our parliamentarians.¹ In the past, there has been very little empirical evidence gathered over any considerable period of time to sustain these allegations. Nor has there been much effort made to identify trends or to give recognition to certain members of parliament who have had a very discernible interest in international relations. (See Graph)

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This paper attempts to quantify and explain the members participation in discussions before the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence since the committee's inception in 1945. In the absence of regular foreign policy debates in the House of Commons it has, over the years, been the committee which has provided the main forum for elected representatives to express their views, to obtain information on foreign affairs and to hold accountable the department charged with carrying out Canadian diplomacy.

In an era when international affairs were very much at the forefront of the Government's activities, the Prime Minister of the day, Mackenzie King, somewhat reluctantly gave in to sustained pressure from the opposition parties for the creation in 1945 of a House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs that would supersede the moribund Committee on Industrial and International Relations. Precisely what this new committee's terms of reference were to be was a matter of some

* The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily represent those of the Department of External Affairs.

controversy. The committee itself asked that "it be empowered to consider matters connected with external affairs and report from time to time any suggestion or recommendation deemed advisable to the House of Commons.² Innocuous as this might sound today, it was totally unacceptable to the Government of that era as demanding powers that were far too wide, setting a dangerous precedent for other committees, and seriously affecting the order of business of the House.³ These were basically procedural concerns. A more serious objection came from the prime minister's principal secretary, Jack Pickersgill:

To give the committee the power to consider any matter connected with External Affairs and report any suggestion or recommendation comes very close to giving the committee power to recommend, if not to determine, foreign policy. This is the function of the government and it is difficult to see how confusion could be avoided if a committee of the House should, as would likely be the case, make recommendations which would be different from the views which the government, with the information at its command, thought it proper to recommend to the House.⁴

The Hon. Louis St. Laurent, who was acting minister at the time, thought that the committee would be satisfied if the Government merely referred the department's estimates to it, but Pickersgill still doubted, in view of the complexity and delicacy of international issues, whether it was wise to place officials in a position where they could be questioned in public about almost any aspect of the department's activities. Nevertheless, when the Conservatives suggested that the reference of estimates would suffice, the Government quickly agreed. For the Committee to go further would require a specific reference from the House.

Right from its inception, the Standing Committee on External Affairs became one of the more active committees of the House. During its first seventeen years it averaged 15 meetings lasting a total of 23 1/3 hours per year. The range varied from a low of 6 meetings cramed into one week in 1949 to a high of 27 when the Columbia River development was on the agenda in 1955. (See Table 1). In addition to holding the department accountable for its estimates, the foreign policy

issues associated with Canada's new and rapidly expanding role in international affairs provided plenty of topics for discussion.

What sets this period apart from later years is the attention that the committee gave each year to departmental administration. At the outset it was necessary for Associate Under Secretary Hume Wrong to provide the committee with a general overview of how the department functioned. Thereafter, an average of five hours or one quarter of the committee's time was devoted to an examination of the department's finances and methods of operation as opposed to foreign policy subjects. An additional hour and a quarter was spent on approving grants to various international organizations which entailed a further review of administration. Members took these administrative subjects seriously. Fifty-four per cent of the 35 member committee turned out to question departmental officials. While these meetings did not last as long as some devoted to more politically charged policy issues, there was a high rate of participation and sustained questioning. (See Table 2) Areas of most consistent interest to members were recruitment procedures and standards for the foreign service and the acquisition and furnishing of properties abroad. In fact, the most intense discussion of the entire period centred on the purchase of Canada House in New York. In 1957 a record 76 per cent of the members turned out for three meetings on this politically sensitive issue. When a minority Conservative Government threatened to renege on an agreement concluded by their Liberal predecessors, a barrage of questions persuaded the Government to change its intended course of action.⁵

Another reason for the interest in the department's operations stemmed from the inability of the committee to curtail what the Official Opposition regarded as the extravagant expenditure of funds for the acquisition by the Government of real and personal property abroad. While in theory the committee was to give its approval to the department's estimates, it very quickly discovered that there were substantial blocked funds in foreign currencies over which it had no

control. These funds originated from reparations, loan repayments and wartime compensation. They could be spent only in the debtor country and could not be converted to Canadian currency. For this reason they appeared in the annual estimates as only a nominal sum. By 1952, \$1,860,000 of these blocked funds had been spent without any parliamentary approval and another \$7,190,000 in equivalent Canadian funds was available to the department in five currencies.⁶ When the committee learned that \$239,499.32 of this "windfall" had been spent on a residence in Paris and an even greater expenditure anticipated for one in Rome, there were understandable charges of extravagance over what the Government defended as good real estate deals. The best the opposition could manage was eventually to have some of the blocked funds diverted to scholarships for Canadians studying abroad.⁷

Certainly departmental expenditures in this period were more closely scrutinized by the committee than at any other time. With the exception of meetings at which the minister was present to give his overview of the international situation and the special hearings on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service in 1953-54 and the Columbia River Basin in 1955, no subject brought out so many members of the committee. (See Table 2). Administration also engaged more members in the debate than did foreign policy issues. At the beginning of 1956 and after an examination of the questions asked in the committee over the previous three years indicated "very strongly the perennial interest of members in regulations and statistics", the minister and his staff decided to forego the preparation of the ministers handbook on policy questions likely to arise in parliament.⁸ Even before this, those officials working on the foreign policy handbook had been instructed to focus on subjects involving Canadian expenditures and contributions. The administrative handbook continued as it was. With a change in Government in 1957, however, the department reverted to its old practice of including both foreign policy and administration, presumably in recognition that an inexperienced minister would need a more comprehensive briefing when he faced the committee.⁹ In spite of

this general interest in administration there were few recommendations that emerged from the committee. Even these were always rather vague, such as one in 1958 urging that paintings being purchased for embassies and chancelleries be truly representative of Canada and one the following year favouring the purchase rather than leasing of properties abroad. In any case, both recommendations were already part of official policy therefore it was not surprising that the committee's final report ended with commending the department for its expenditure of appropriations voted by parliament.¹⁰

Apart from the extensive hearing on the Columbia River Basin, the committee tended to hold short inquiries into foreign policy issues. There is no indication that the committee felt unduly constrained by the Government's limitation on its activity. It regularly sought and received the permission of the House to investigate subjects of interest to its sub-committee on agenda and procedure. On one occasion it even entertained a request by the Zionists to appear before the committee but ruled that the Arabs must be given equal time to present their case on the future of Palestine. Members, however, showed little interest on the four meetings devoted to this subject. Only 36 per cent of them came out and the meetings were the shortest on record. Those few members who were interested in the subject, however, maintained a lively dialogue with the witnesses. This unusual procedure of receiving outside witnesses was regarded as an educational experience for the members. The chairman was careful to stress that no recommendation arising out of the hearings would be sent to the House.¹¹

Major foreign policy subjects were handled by the minister in meetings that were consistently well attended. There was, in this early period, a very clear distinction drawn between ministers and public servants' roles as witnesses. When the Under Secretary was asked in 1952 about unrest in Tunisia he replied: "I would not care to express an opinion categorically in answer to the member's question... it touches pretty closely on policy, something on which I am not supposed

to express an opinion."¹² Officials were to provide information, not views on policy or projections thereof. Members did not regard the committee as an agent for changing foreign policy. As one member explained in promoting a discussion of the International Civil Aviation Organization: "My reason for raising this question is to, first of all, secure some information, from the officials, and also to try and give a little publicity, through this committee, to the public of Canada about some of the activities of this organization."¹³ Further confirmation of this attitude is found on the fact that except for the 1957-58 session, few members showed much interest in having an input into the committee's reports to the House. (See Table 1). Moreover, foreign policy was a non partisan issue as members in all parties kept reminding their colleagues on the committee. As the Conservative External Affairs critic told his colleagues: "everyone in this chamber is anxious that, so far as one can, we should try to find common ground on at least the major points of our policy with respect to world affairs...whatever may be our differences at home, we should try very hard to have one voice for Canada in the councils of the world."¹⁴ Since the committee's deliberations were in the public, partisan differences were to be avoided. This practice was made easier to follow by the fact that foreign policy was seldom an issue on the hustings and the committee had, unlike other committees, very few bills to vote on.

At first the Liberals had difficulty in getting their members to attend but an initial 39 per cent attendance record improved after 1949 thanks to the encouragement of Prime Minister St. Laurent and Secretary of State for External Affairs, L.B. Pearson. The Conservatives also had difficulty while in opposition persuading half of their members to attend although those who did attend participated in the discussion more than members of the other three parties. Social Credit members maintained a better than 70 per cent average attendance while those in the CCF had just over 50 per cent. When the Liberals became the Official Opposition in 1957, their attendance dropped to 33 per cent and they remained far less active in asking questions than the Conservatives had been while in the opposition. (See Table 3).

During the 1963 to 1968 period there began a discernible increase in the committee's activity. This trend was reflected more in the attendance records than in the number of meetings. (See Table 5). Attendance which averaged 46 per cent over 14 meetings in 1961 rose to 63 and 74 per cent in 1964 and 1966 respectively. While much of the initial increase can be attributed to the interest of members in the 26 hearings on the Columbia River Treaty, which established a new record in the number of questions and interventions heard in the committee* (See Table 6), the substantial increase in 1966-67 can be explained by the reduction of the size of the committee from 35 to 24 members and a growing public interest in and criticism of Canadian foreign policy, especially over Vietnam, China, aid appropriations and general relations with the United States. In retrospect, this was but a prelude to the most active period in the committee's history.

In December 1968 Prime Minister Trudeau introduced a package of procedural changes that ushered in a new parliamentary era. The package was designed to streamline parliamentary procedures by shifting the focus of really substantive examination of the Government's policies from the House to the committees. For the most part the changes had more impact on the other standing committees than on External Affairs, which already had a tradition of automatically examining estimates and few bills to consider. For the External Affairs committee, the most important change was the additional responsibility given to it for national defence and an increase in size to 30 members. In the short term, the impact was not as great as might have been expected. The major defence items on the agenda - NATO, NORAD and peacekeeping - also had a substantial foreign policy component and the Prime Minister had made it

* Questions refer to substantive policy questions as opposed to procedural or supplementary ones seeking clarification or additional information on the same aspect of the subject covered by the original question. An Intervention is a cluster of questions or a statement on the same subject or theme that is pursued without any substantive interruption in the proceedings by another member. In part they reflect a member's ability to sustain a debate or presentation on a specific issue.

quite clear that he no longer wanted defence considerations to preempt general foreign policy considerations.¹⁵ The committee would require more meetings in order to consider defence estimates but otherwise there seemed to be little change.

Over the next few years, however, the combining of these two subject areas caused a substantial increase in the number of substitutions which in turn affected the continuity of members on the committee. Before 1968 the rate of substitution had never gone above an average of one per meeting. Considering the number of legitimate reasons that take a member away from the committee's meetings, this was not very high. In the 28th parliament it became even less when the average for all standing committees stood at 2.4 members per meeting. Beginning in the mid seventies, however, the Conservatives, more than the other parties began developing batteries of experts in both areas who appeared in accordance with the subject matter under consideration. While the overall rate of substitutions remained less than in other committees which handled legislation requiring members to rally for votes, there was a discernible impact on the consistency of the committees operations that has led some members to question whether a return to the old division of external affairs and national defence might be preferable. Since 1973 there have been 33 meetings at which 6 to 12 substitutions were made. While there was bound to be changes after a summer or Christmas recess these changes occurred during regular weekly meetings, sometimes from one day to the next.¹⁶ This is also a reflection of the increased partisan nature of the discussion that has caused the party whips to try and ensure better attendance when votes were being held on controversial subjects contained in committee reports to the House and in order to guide the discussion in the right direction.

Not long after the 28th parliament began in the autumn of 1968 the committee found itself the object of much attention. Canada's potential involvement in the Nigerian Civil War had become a politically

contentious issue which the House leaders happily referred to the committee. Political and humanitarian interests ran so high on this issue that over 12 meetings the committee attained an 86 per cent average attendance, a record never equalled. (See Table 6) Also on its agenda was the NATO-NORAD review with its attractive travel opportunities and clearly defined party differences which together produced a keen competition for membership on the committee and an average attendance of 76 per cent over 22 meetings.

Other less contentious issues drew far less support. Although Canada-United States economic relations was a lively issue at the time, only 59 per cent of the members attended the 17 meetings devoted to this issue.¹⁷ When it came to drafting recommendations, the committee could muster only 53 per cent of its members for the final 13 meetings. Government intervention probably had a lot to do with the declining participation rate. In caucus the Prime Minister let it be known that he was displeased with the extent of the review, the attitude taken by certain members including the committee's very assertive chairman, and the projected recommendations. Moreover, he did not want the committee's recommendations to upstage the Government's own internal review of foreign investment. In general, members did not pay much attention to any of the Government's policy papers. Twenty-two meetings on Foreign Policy for Canadians attracted only 48 per cent of the members of which few asked many questions. An even worse fate awaited Defence in the Seventies which attracted only 43 per cent attendance. Most members saw in such deliberations little opportunity for changing the basic tenets of these vague policy guidelines. At best the committee offered a forum for those members of the informed public who wished to offer their comments. Few members, however, considered this reason compelling enough to demand their attendance.

Party attitudes have been another factor in explaining this fluctuation in attendance. (See Table 7) Between 1963 and 1972 the Liberals had sixty-eight members eligible to attend five or more

meetings of the committee, the Conservatives forty-one, NDP eight and Social Credit five. The Liberals maintained a fairly stable average attendance of sixty-eight per cent, considerably higher than that of the opposition parties. The NDP equalled the Liberals while the Conservatives had fifty-two per cent and the Social Credit forty-nine per cent. This was also reflected in the number of questions when individual NDP members averaged almost twice as many questions as the Conservatives, who in turn asked fewer than the Liberals. The Conservatives and NDP however, had more interventions than the Liberals, fifty-two per cent and ninety-one per cent respectively. But when it came to drafting the committee's reports, the opposition parties could not muster even fifty per cent of their members while the Liberals maintained their comfortable majority to avoid defeat.

In spite of the widely fluctuating attendance according to issue and party, overall the committee was in the late sixties and early seventies going through a very active period. Among the five most active standing committees it ranked fourth in the first session of the 28th parliament in the number of meetings held but second only to Transport and Communication in attendance. (See Table 9). Thereafter it sometimes met more often than the other committees but attendance was considerably less.

This decline in the External Affairs and National Defence committee's activity continued throughout the rest of the seventies, reaching a low of 41 per cent in the 1978-79 session. (See Table 10) When attendance was up fewer members participated and questioning was more and more dominated by an even smaller number of members. This was somewhat ironical since in 1969 the committee's rules had been changed to allow for more members to participate in the discussions by confining each member to five minutes. Instead of increasing participation, the ruling resulted in an average of three fewer members per meeting actually participating in the questioning. Even more dramatic, the number of questions put to witnesses dropped by an astounding 64 per

cent. While fewer engaging subjects were referred to the committee in the mid seventies, apart from peacekeeping in Indo-China in 1973 which attracted a 76 per cent attendance and a review of NORAD which brought out 65 per cent of the members in 1973-74, there was a general shift in the committee's interests. Departmental estimates which had hitherto attracted a good turnout seemed less important now as only 45 per cent of the members attended, although 51 per cent of them participated in the questioning. Likewise, ministerial overviews were less well attended than they had been in the fifties and sixties. (See Table 11) The committee also had fewer substantive subjects on which to prepare reports although attendance at drafting sessions was considerably better than it had been in the earlier seventies. In all, the External Affairs and National Defence committee ranked 12th among the 20 standing committees holding meetings in the 1977-79 period. It probably fared little better in attendance since no party could muster more than half their members eligible to attend. (See Table 12)

There was, by the mid seventies, considerable disillusionment with the committee's impact among a goodly number of its senior members. In the first flush of more active committee work in the Trudeau period they thought that they would be able to have an impact on policy. By the mid seventies it was evident that the committee would have little, if any, more direct impact on the policy formulation process than it had had in the past. In March 1975 the Conservative defence critic complained about the Government ignoring the committee's recommendations while the prime minister was pronouncing policy on NORAD before the committee had an opportunity to make a recommendation to the House.¹⁸ Its chief aid critic tried unsuccessfully to have the committee share in the work of an Interdepartmental Committee.¹⁹ Another complained that the committee could only rubber stamp CIDA's operations without being able to change anything.²⁰ In fact, the opposition had a whole list of complaints. Ministers were accused of taking too long to say what they could have had printed and distributed in advance thereby depriving members of valuable time for questioning.²¹

Successive committee chairmen found themselves struggling with how best to apportion time between members who wanted to question the witness or deliver a statement. The five minute rule had not worked and the designated opposition critics resented being confined this way or being supplanted by more eager backbenchers who got their names on the questioner's list before they did. Each questioner was then allowed one question at a time but that did not work either, as some members found ways of stretching one into many questions. After much acrimonious debate that more than once kept a minister waiting for over an hour before he could speak, it was decided that an official spokesperson for each party would have fifteen minutes beginning with the Official Opposition's critic. Other members would be allowed 10 minutes and a second round was possible if the witness and room was available and five members remained in attendance. Quite frequently the chairman had to intervene after the chief critics had their say and apportion the remaining time among those on his questioner's list. This system worked reasonably well but there were still the occasional complaints emanating from backbenchers of all parties who complained that the rules were not being enforced as diligently as they ought to have been by the chairman.²²

Although the Conservative Government of the 31st parliament had promised to revitalize the committee, its tenure in office was too short to affect any major change. Certainly their members took the committee more seriously as 83 per cent of them attended, but fewer members of any party chose to ask questions. (See Table 12)

In the first session of the 32nd parliament that ran from 1980 to 1983 the committee once again took on a more active role. There has of late been a growing interest in international affairs among an increasing number of members. While some of this is a reflection of greater constituent interest and the need to find markets abroad, credit must also be given to the various interparliamentary associations that have taken members to other countries, introduced them to other national

representatives, widened members interests, and given them a better foundation for asking questions. The Conservatives maintained a respectable 61 to 68 per cent attendance, the Liberals a 48 to 57 per cent rate while the NDP fluctuated between 37 and 71 per cent. (See Table 12) Between 1976 and 1979 the committee had averaged only 15 meetings per year. In 1980 this rose to 36 while in 1981 it fell back to 26 before climbing to an all time high of 73 in 1982. (See Table 10) The committee now ranked fifth among all standing committees for meetings held. It produced 16 reports and gathered 4,629 pages of evidence. (See Table 15) The extraordinary work of the committee in 1982 can be explained by the 39 sessions devoted to security and disarmament and the 19 sessions devoted to debating a sub-committee's reports on Canada's relations with the Caribbean, Central and South America. (See Table 11) Both were topical subjects in which there was considerable public interest, marked party divisions and sharp differences within the Conservative and Liberal parties.

For many members it has been on sub-committees, where they could concentrate on a single subject, that they have found their greatest fulfilment. In the last ten years four important sub-committees have focused on international development assistance, the Madrid Conference on European Security and Economic Cooperation and on Canada's relations with the Caribbean, Central and Latin America. (See Table 14)

Parliamentarians had always shown above average interest in international development matters but allegations of mismanagement in CIDA in 1974 served to point up how little control parliament seemed to have over its administration and policies. Even Government members began to have doubts about the operation. "Parliament has less and less control over this organization" argued one member in pleading that members be given copies of the Price-Waterhouse study of CIDA's operations. Another blatantly announced that "CIDA has become a kind of state within a state, and nobody seems to know quite what is going

on".²³ In the next session the Conservative opposition pushed for an investigation by a sub-committee. After twice voting it down, the Government members relented and a sub-committee composed of 7 Liberals, 5 Conservatives and one NDP member came into operation in July 1975.²⁴ Its members were generally quite keen and attendance remained high throughout its almost 67 hours of meetings. Most members believed that it was time well spent and had a beneficial, if indirect, influence on policy and administrative changes.

The CSCE sub-committee which met 35 times in 1980 was slightly less well attended except by the lone NDP member. Its sessions were longer, however, averaging more than two hours compared with less than an hour and a half for those on international development assistance.

The most ambitious sub-committee activity involved the 106 meetings devoted to the Caribbean, Central and South America in 1981-82. While attendance at the 15 member sub-committee's meetings sometimes waned when witnesses were present, there was no lack of interest in ensuring that members turned out for drafting its two main reports to the House. At the outset, no one had anticipated such a lively development. Although the mandate given by the House was to enquire into "all aspects", this was generally expected to be another boring study of how Canada ought to export more to Latin and Central America. The chairman, being urged on by some other members, however interpreted the mandate to mean that studies of controversial political and human rights activities should also be included. As the hearings advanced several members who had initially been on the fringe as "voting fodder" took a greater interest in the proceedings while others fought to get onto the sub-committee. What might have otherwise been considered as a junket to a warmer climate became demanding. Members split into two teams to tour the area in order to obtain first hand evidence and to break out of what some members considered to be an all too pervading United States view of the region. Working sessions were scheduled close together and became long and tedious. In the end, 2,131

pages of evidence had been accumulated. No other standing committee had spawned such an active and controversial sub-committee²⁵ but, in so doing, it had overextended itself. No longer was debate confined to inter party wrangling. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives saw latent internal ideological differences come to the forefront. The Liberals seemed, at least at the committee stage, to be more successful at keeping it under control. For the Conservatives it opened up for public view deep divisions between the Right Wing and the Red Tory elements. Each group competed to have their way by stacking the membership in their favour. Finally, some of their foreign affairs stalwarts had to be removed from the committee and a pacifier brought in. Never before had a committee of the House so carefully debated, clause by clause, a report from its own sub-committee. The division continued to the end and resulted in not a consensus report but several dissenting positions being put forward as well.

At the time, some members thought that they would have a direct impact on policy but it soon became evident that members were no more united than foreign policy specialists on what attitude Canada should adopt on events taking place in Central America. They were disappointed that the Government took 20 months to reply to their report.²⁶ More important in the long term was what the hearings did for parliament and parliamentarians. Interested domestic constituencies now recognized the sub-committee as a forum before which they could obtain a respectful hearing. Foreign policy was suddenly an active political issue and members had more invitations to speak than they could handle. Lobbyists flooded their leader's offices with requests to carry on the sub-committee's hearings beyond the time that had originally been allotted. Members discovered that they could get some mileage out of their committee work. They also became the focus of attention for certain foreign embassies who were following their deliberations more closely than in the past. If there was some scepticism about what Canada could and could not do in the region, there was certainly none about what the sub-committee could do. Most members realized that there

were too many trade offs involved to have a direct impact on Canadian policy but they did see themselves as an important catalyst in that larger public pond out of which foreign policy is made. In this way the sub-committee played an important part in developing a greater public awareness of the issues and a better informed constituency. Their study also led in part to the minister spending an unprecedented 10 days in Central America which concluded with him saying much the same thing that had been said by the sub-committee.

The controversy, however, that these sub-committees aroused in political circles partially accounts for the substantial decline in the committee's activities in the succeeding year. Neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives were anxious to open up internal divisions or allow members to go too far astray, particularly when a change of leaders and an election was in the offing. Attempts to have the committee get into a study of the Pacific Rim and peacekeeping were postponed. In 1983 the committee met only 21 times and attendance declined to 44 per cent. Some members believe that the focus has now shifted to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and its inquiry into the Middle East.

A change in the way standing committees operate also accounts for its declining activity. Beginning in 1983 members could no longer move freely from one committee to another. Each member was assigned to one committee on which they could function as a specialist. This meant limiting the members to 15 with another 15 as alternates. The controlling and voting power was thereby given to the 8 Liberals, 5 Conservatives and 2 NDP members comprising the new committee. Heightened competition for positions on the committee has resulted, especially for the Official Opposition which must find foreign policy, defence, trade and aid critics for the committee. Since these designations are based on power and influence within the party structure there is no longer much opportunity for an interested backbencher to find a place on the committee. Though they are not precluded from sitting in at meetings they are permitted to ask questions only if time remains after the

members have taken their turn.²⁷ Undoubtedly some members will avail themselves of this privilege just to keep up with what is happening before they face questions on the hustings. Others will not and the changes have produced some interesting configurations in party activity. To begin with, substitutions in all parties have been drastically curtailed. Liberal members attended 62 per cent of the meetings while the alternates averaged only 16 per cent. Eighty-five percent of all questions came from the members. The distinction between members and alternates was not so clearly marked among either of the opposition parties. Conservative members attended 51 per cent of the meetings with the alternates close behind at 50 per cent. Their official critics for foreign policy, defence and aid asked 56 per cent of the questions and the alternates 25 per cent. Attendance for the NDP was somewhat less. Its two members attended 43 per cent of the meetings whereas its two alternates attended 26 per cent of the meetings but asked 46 per cent of the questions. Opposition parties then are quite capable of fielding more active participants than their allotted number of members. Given the recently expanded mandate of the Department of External Affairs into immigration policy and international trade there should be no lack of important subjects to keep the committee members busy. It is too soon to determine if the automatic referral of the department's annual report to the committee will allow it to initiate more inquiries. The new department has yet to issue an annual report that would provide for such broad inquiries. The new rules do, however, ensure the committee that the Government will henceforth respond to its reports within 120 days.

Statistics on participation also show a considerable regional variation. While parliament itself is demographically representative, membership on the committee is not and participation levels vary considerably according to provincial representation. In the 1950s members from Quebec and Nova Scotia were much less active on the committee than their numbers warranted. In marked contrast were those from Newfoundland, Alberta and British Columbia. Those from New

Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba had a better than 50 per cent attendance record but seldom intervened in the debate. (See Table 4). In the sixties the pattern changed somewhat. The most regular attenders came from New Brunswick, Ontario and again British Columbia. Newfoundlanders were not regular members of the committee and very seldom participated even when they did attend. The most active participants came from Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. (See Table 8). Because of the work of two new members, Newfoundland fared much better in the seventies and eighties and its views were heard much more often than those from the other maritime provinces. (See Table 13). Quebecers generally showed little interest in the committee and they have more recently been joined by their Ontario colleagues. Members from Alberta and British Columbia continue to be the leading spokespersons on the committee. The British Columbia record, comprising members from both of the opposition parties, is quite exceptional and not confined to just the hearings on the Columbia River Basin which they naturally dominated in the fifties and sixties. Since 1972 they have occupied 17 per cent of the positions on the committee, though they have only 9 per cent of the House members. Their attendance is better by far than those from any other province. They have asked 32 per cent of the questions and every fourth intervention has come from their ranks. The members themselves account for this extraordinary performance in terms of their more expansive outlook. According to them, while Ontario and Quebec have a more inward looking vested interest, those on the west coast have always had to look outward or down south for their markets. Their view, and that of the prairie members generally, has been more internationalist. This is a perceived phenomena which the statistics and record supports but is worthy of further investigation. Also worth investigating is why the maritimers participated so infrequently in Law of the Sea discussions.

While the statistics offered in this paper present some interesting trends, they do not answer the fundamental questions of why individual members do or do not attend or participate. Before 1983

members who showed an interest in foreign affairs in the caucus or asked for a position on the committee were normally regarded as automatic members. Remaining vacancies were filled by whomever the whip decided upon. These conscripts were expected to attend only when required to do so. At any given time about one third of the members have been keenly interested, one third somewhat interested in selective issues and the remainder very definitely uninterested. Over the years there has been little interchange among these three groups though some would display considerable interest on particular issues. Those who were active at the beginning of their parliamentary career remained so throughout and few joined their ranks along the way.

Some, who joined the committee in the expectation that they could affect policy, were soon disillusioned by the prospects. They could advise and monitor but very seldom change policy. Most of the active members give more importance to the committee's role in eliciting information and providing a forum for promoting a greater public interest in international affairs.²⁸ It is for that reason that several active members are often more content to place their viewpoints on the record than to ask questions. Similarly, no member seriously believes that through the committee's work a handle can be kept on departmental spending, yet they all acknowledge that to remove even the perfunctory examination of the estimates from the committee would lessen the Government's accountability to parliament.²⁹

In the mid seventies the committee acquired a new function. Opposition members who disliked the slowness with which they received answers to their questions on the order paper resorted to the committee to get their answers. Beginning with two Conservative members in 1975 a number of others now routinely use the committee as a means of presenting lists of questions to the minister or his officials in expectation of a speedy written reply. Before the committee they could hold the minister accountable and obtain more thoughtful and detailed replies. In general, they have been satisfied with the replies that

they received. In short, the committee has become a means for bypassing the order paper in obtaining desired information. While they may not be able to change policy they can by their questions at least challenge the minister and his officials to begin thinking about issues from a different perspective.

There is also a small cadre of members who participate for the perks. They like the attention that membership on the committee brings from the foreign embassies located in Ottawa. They also like the trips abroad and it is well known that those who faithfully serve the whip are more likely to be given such perks than those who might have displayed a keener interest in and knowledge of the subject. Since the committee has become more partisan of late they are also aware that the whip and chief party spokesmen may conspire to fill positions on the committee with ideologically congenial or complacent party colleagues. No longer does an abiding interest in foreign affairs guarantee one a part of the action. In all parties, power and position within the party structure accounts for much of the juggling of committee members. It also determines who will have the first crack at witnesses appearing before the committee.

Although whips in all parties are constantly baggering their members not to neglect their committee work, Government members have a particularly difficult time in sustaining interest which is reflected in their generally lack lustre performance and poor attendance.³⁰ For Government members it is more appropriate for them to raise their concerns within their caucus. In any case, they certainly have easier access to the minister than their colleagues in the opposition. If they take a too critical line before the committee they are liable for censure by the party stalwarts. Sometimes they are asked to raise questions that will enable the minister to explain in more detail something that had previously been touched on or ignored. Some of the more thoughtful Government backbenchers who understand the minister and party's thinking on a subject will ask questions designed to elucidate

other perspectives on the issue under discussion. These same members also feel a responsibility to ensure that the committee's reports will be in keeping with the Government's general position or what the minister is willing to accept as a set of recommendations. A rebel who will not play the game is not good material for cabinet where solidarity must prevail. There have been more than one chairman who has seen his hopes for a cabinet position flounder during controversial hearings when loyalty to the party and the committee process came into conflict. It is also interesting to note that no member or chairman who played an active part in the committee has ever become Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Members more experienced with the committee and the witnesses tend to become more selective in their attendance. They know when a courtesy call on the committee is appropriate and what witnesses will likely provide good value for the time expended in waiting for an opportunity to raise their questions. Those most interested in foreign affairs realize that much can also be accomplished outside the committee. Officials can be lobbied at cocktail parties and individual members can sometimes find fulfillment in working individually on human rights and refugee cases.

Even though members are fond of citing structural impediments to their participation, few actually exist. The most active members are not impeded by their responsibilities to other committees. Members who devote their attention to committee work can normally find time to serve faithfully on more than one committee. Committee activity is more likely to be hindered by scheduling difficulties than attendance. For example, it was not always easy to schedule the 2,069 meetings of the 21 standing committees, the 393 meetings of their 15 sub-committees along with 974 meetings of the 14 special committees of the House during the first session of the 32nd parliament. Nevertheless, a determined External Affairs and National Defence committee was not deterred, having at times to meet three times in a single day in order to complete its work. By doing so it set a new record of activity in 1982.

Naturally it is advisable to schedule as many meetings as possible when the House is not sitting. This, of course, is not always possible within the traditional Tuesday to Thursday meeting framework. Nevertheless, debates in the House seldom interfere with the committee's proceedings and only on a dozen occasions in the last ten years has the committee been required to adjourn to the House.³¹ Of late the committee has also found time to receive visiting dignitaries in joint sessions with its Senate counterpart.

The main reason for a member's participation remains one of personal interest and a desire to serve the broader interests of the Canadian public through this vehicle. Those who want to ask a question very quickly devise the appropriate tactics for getting on the chairman's list. The one common element running through the core group of participants is a strong humanitarian streak. For the good of mankind they labour so hard on what they expect will bring them only faint praise from their constituents. It is this dedication that sustains the committee stalwarts throughout the periods when partisan interest in the committee's activities begins to wane. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the fact that the committee's level of activity is a direct reflection of that of the House. A sympathetic and helpful minister can foster it, a good chairman can promote it, but it must be seen to pay political dividends before it engages the committee in sustained activity.³²

REFERENCES

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2. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Standing Committee on External Affairs (hereafter cited as SCEA), Second Report, November 12, 1945; p. IV.
3. House of Commons Debates, November 16, 1945, pp. 2182-83.
4. Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, Series J4, Volume 279, file 2882, Pickersgill to King, December 12, 1945.
5. SCEA, January 20, 1958, p. 460.
6. *Ibid.*, Fourth Report, June 27, 1950, p. 372 and SCEA, April 22, 1952, Appendix B and C, "Use of Blocked Currencies by Department of External Affairs," pp. 80-82.
7. *Ibid.*, Report to the House, July 3, 1956, p. 428.
8. Department of External Affairs, file 4855-C-40, Arnould to Macdonnell, January 9, 1956.
9. *Ibid.*, Macdonnell to Heads of Divisions, November 26, 1953 and USSEA to Heads of Divisions, August 30, 1957.
10. SCEA, Second Report, August 20, 1958, p. 283; May 4, 1959, p. 198 and Third Report, June 16, 1961, p. 239.
11. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1946, pp. 199-201.
12. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1952, p. 33.
13. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1953, p. 292.
14. Debates, July 4, 1947, p. 5098.
15. *I.E. Trucan, 'The Relation of Belgium Army to Foreign Policy' Statement and speeches, 6/7/5. Department of External Affairs*
16. Probably the most dramatic change occurred on November 23, 1982 when 11 substitutes who had not been regular participants in the discussions suddenly appeared for the final drafting session for the report on Latin America.
17. See D. Page, "Unlocking Canada's Diplomatic Record" International Journal, XXXIV (Spring 1979), pp. 261-62. SCEAND itself had to increase from 1000 to 1500 the print run of its proceedings due to popular demand. April 8, 1975, p. 8.
18. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, (hereafter cited as SCEAND) February 2, 1975, pp. 14-15.
19. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1975, p. 28.
20. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1974, pp. 4-6.
21. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1973; p. 4 and May 15, 1973, p. 18.
22. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1975, p. 31; March 13, 1975, p. 4; March 15, 1973, p. 4; April 8, 1975, p. 8; April 15, 1975, p. 15; May 18, 1976, p. 29. For examples of how questioning got out of hand see the proceedings of March 21 and 27, 1974.
23. SCEAND, April 30, 1974, p. 11.
24. The struggles over this issue can be seen in SCEAND, April 29, 1975 and May 16 1975.

25. The next two most active sub-committees were on import policy and acid rain which met 48 and 40 times respectively. A total of 15 sub-committees met during the first session of the 32nd parliament.
26. The Department of External Affairs did not have a mechanism for doing so and the issues raised were so controversial that to comment on them required the attention of senior management and the minister.
27. SCEAND, May 12, 1983, p. 33. See the complaints of Mr. McRae and his dialogue with the chairman.
28. Ibid., See statement to this effect by M. Laniel, May 13, 1983, p. 13.
29. Ibid., May 2, 1974, p. 6; May 13, 1982, pp. 42-43.
30. Ibid., December 7, 1982, p. 47.
31. Ibid., see proceedings of March 1, 1973, November 22, 1977 and May 18, 1982 as examples.
32. In preparing this paper I am indebted to members from all parties who willingly shared their perceptions with me. At their request, they remain anonymous.

HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE
 EXTERNAL AFFAIRS & NATIONAL DEFENCE
 1945-1983

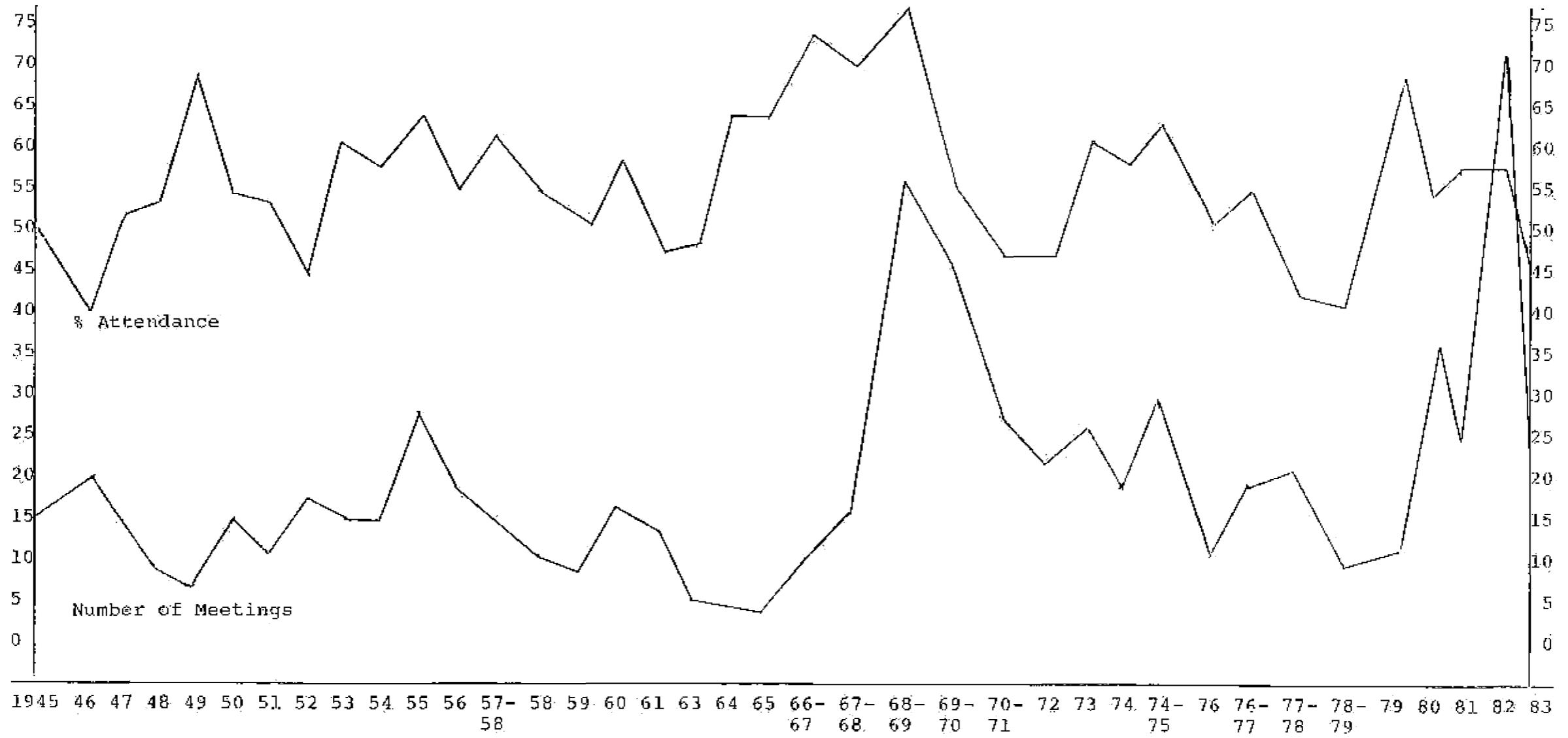


TABLE 1
HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS - 1945-1961
ACTIVITY BY PARLIAMENT SESSION

Year	Meeting Period	Numb. of Meetings	Length of Meeting (hrs)	M.P.s Present (%)	Organiz. Meeting M.P.s Present (%)	Report Drafting Sessions M.P.s Present (%)	Quest. per Meeting (aver)	Quest. per Member (aver)	Interven. per Meeting (aver)	Participation (%)
1945	Oct. 23-Dec. 11	15	24.55	48	51	41	62	3.6	15	66
1946	May 14-Jul. 30	22	31.32	35	47	41	57	4.0	9	64
1947	Apr. 17-Jun. 20	15	27.42	51	---	---	57	3.3	13	55
1948	May 10-Jun. 14	9	15.50	51	51	---	75	4.2	15	55
1949	Nov. 18-Nov. 24	6	11.05	69	---	---	80	3.3	12	53
1950	Apr. 20-Jun. 22	16	29.30	53	69	---	79	4.4	16	59
1951	May 17-Dec. 11	11	15.25	51	49	39	64	3.3	20	53
1952	Apr. 04-Jun. 11	17	26.10	47	---	31	58	3.5	12	58
1953	Feb. 19-Apr. 14	15	23.50	61	---	57	68	3.1	19	51
1954	Apr. 06-May 27	16	25.10	59	---	51	62	3.0	17	46
1955	Mar. 01-Jun. 07	27	51.35	65	71	37	47	2.0	11	38
1956	Mar. 13-Jul. 03	18	27.25	56	69	37	54	2.8	16	45
1957-8	Nov. 28-Jan. 28	15	26.10	61	49	69	95	4.5	24	49
1958	Jun. 12-Aug. 19	9	14.00	55	66	40	58	4.0	15	45
1959	Feb. 12-May 04	10	13.20	51	57	40	33	1.8	11	46
1960	Feb. 23-Apr. 27	16	17.45	58	63	31	35	1.7	11	39
1961	Jan. 31-Jun. 16	14	16.20	46	43	29	34	2.3	10	52

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TAB
HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS - 1945-1961

ACTIVITY BY SUBJECT MATTER

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Numb. of Meetings</u>	<u>Time (hrs)</u>	<u>Attend. (%)</u>	<u>Quest. per Meeting (aver)</u>	<u>Interven. per Meeting (hrs)</u>	<u>Aver. Meeting (hrs)</u>	<u>Participation</u>
Ministerial Overview	45	76.05	60	50	13	1.41	49
DEA Administration	51	84.00	54	77	17	1.35	59
Grants to International Org.	16	21.42	46	77	18	1.21	60
International Joint Commission	13	28.20	51	40	10	2.11	38
Columbia River Basin (General)	7	10.05	51	18	6	1.54	24
Columbia River Basin (Special-1955)	16	19.35	71	47	9	2.06	26
Colombo Plan	9	14.18	51	71	18	1.35	56
Aid Generally	7	10.00	49	62	16	1.28	66
ILO Conventions (1945)	3	4.25	52	57	13	1.28	65
Extradition (1945)	5	9.45	48	71	16	1.57	70
Palestine (1946)	4	9.05	36	76	6	1.16	67
Atomic Energy (1947)	3	5.57	43	83	16	1.59	71
United Nations (1947&1950)	8	14.40	52	36	8	1.50	42
Cda-Japan Peace Treaty (1952)	3	3.50	41	47	8	1.17	42
NATO Immunities Bill (1951)	3	4.35	46	45	28	1.31	58
CBC-IS (1953-1954)	4	6.30	67	83	18	1.37	39
Canada House - New York (1957)	3	5.50	76	150	40	1.56	52

TABLE 3
HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS - 1945-1961

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

PARLIAMENT	LIBERALS			CONSERVATIVES			G.C.F.			SOCIAL CREDIT		
	Attend %	Int. per MP pres	Quest per MP pres	Attend %	Int. per MP pres	Quest per MP pres	Attend %	Int. per MP pres	Quest per MP pres	Attend %	Int. per MP pres	Quest per MP pres
1945-1948	39	0.3	1.4	47	0.8	5.0	67	0.6	4.9	71	0.8	4.0
1949-1953	55	0.5	1.6	48	1.4	8.3	61	0.8	4.9	64	0.9	3.8
1954-1956	57	0.3	1.1	62	1.2	5.2	55	0.8	3.0	78	0.7	2.8
1957-1958	43	1.0	3.6	76	0.8	3.3	67	1.2	4.9	71	1.2	5.7
1958-1963	33	0.9	3.8	58	0.4	1.1	68	0.9	2.9			

TABLE 4
REPRESENTATION BY PROVINCE - 1945-1961

	Nfld	N.S.	N.B.	P.E.I.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALB.	B.C.
% of MPs on Cttee	2.5	4.7	3.9	0.8	24.0	31.3	6.2	7.2	6.4	12.4
% of mtgs attended	60	48	67	66	41	57	62	48	62	54
% of total interventions	4.3	2.0	3.5	0.6	12.2	34.7	5.7	7.9	9.5	19.4
Interventions per MP pres.	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.9
% of total quest	3.9	1.7	3.0	0.3	11.2	38.4	4.4	8.7	9.4	18.9
Quest per MP pres.	3.7	1.0	1.5	0.1	1.6	3.1	1.6	3.6	3.0	3.7

HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

BASIC STATISTICS ON MP PARTICIPATION

Session of Parliament	House of Commons Meeting Days	Size of Committee	Number of Meetings (1)	Average Attendance (2)	Attendance	Total Hearings	Total Closed Sessions	Total Drafting Sessions	Total Substitutions	Substitution per Meeting	Interventions (3)	Average 7 Inter-ventions per hearing	Questions	Average 9 Questions per hearing	Average 8 Questions per Intervention	Average 8 Questions per MP Present	Average 7 of MPs actively participating per meeting	Average 7 of Questions per active MP in a hearing	Average 1 of Interventions per active MP in a hearing
26-1 (1963)	117	35	4	17	67	3	0	1	0	0	87	29	201	96	3.25	3.3	13.0	7.2	2.2
26-2 (1964)	238	35	30	22	63	35	1	2	22	0.59	641	18	1755	107	5.86	4.9	9.4	11.9	1.9
26-3 (1965)	53	24	5	15	63	5	0	0	1	0.2	46	9	179	36	3.69	2.4	8.6	4.5	1.1
27-1 (66-67)	268	24	12	17	74	12	0	0	10	0.83	190	16	805	67	4.26	3.9	8.7	7.7	1.8
27-2 (67-68)	155	24	16	17	70	16	0	0	13	0.81	220	14	922	58	6.19	2.4	8.7	6.6	1.6
28-1 (68-69)	197	30	57	22	76	46	1	10	33	0.57	706	17	4773	104	6.05	4.7	11.8	8.8	1.6
Rule Change for Questioning																			
28-2 (69-70)	153	30	44	16	55	30	0	14	11	0.29	312	10	1101	37	1.52	2.3	7.9	4.7	1.3
28-3 (70-71)	263	30	29 ⁽⁴⁾	14	47	28	0	1	25	0.86	379	19	1019	17	1.72	2.6	7.1	5.1	1.4
28-4 (1972)	91	30	21	14	47	17	1	4	19	0.81	163	8	608	36	4.25	2.6	6.3	5.7	1.3
Total			227		62	192	3	32	135	0.59	2706	14	11466	70	6.97		9.9	7.7	1.5

(1) Initial organization meeting not included.

(2) Nine meetings of Sub-committee on International Development Assistance are not included.

(3) As recorded by the clerk and checked in the proceedings. Attendance by observers has not been tabulated since it is less than 1% of the membership.

(4) Interventions: a cluster of questions on the same subject or those pursued without interruption by another member.

(5) Questions: supplementary questions seeking clarification on information given by the witness and questions on procedural matters are not included.

TABLE 6

House of Commons Standing Committee on
External Affairs and National Defence
1967-1972

MPs Participation During Hearings by Subject and Witness

Subject	Number of Meetings	% Attendance	Average # Participants	Average Interventions	Average Question
Columbia River Treaty	26	65.9	9.9	20.5	122.8
Nigerian Civil War(1968)	12	85.8	14.2	19.0	131.8
Biafra Assistance(1971)	3	67.8	7.6	8.3	44.0
Foreign Policy for Canadians	22	47.7	7.4	9.8	31.7
Canada-United States Relations	17	59.0	8.3	10.9	33.5
DEA Report(1967-68)	13	73.7	9.5	13.4	67.2
External Aid	9	69.5	-	15.1	70.5
DEA Estimates	41	63.3	9.1	14.7	64.6
Defence Estimates	16	56.7	7.7	12.9	73.6
Defence Policy Review (NATO, NORAD)	22	76.2	11.5	16.0	82.4
Defence in the 70s	11	42.7	6.0	8.5	33.2
Bill C-203	4	41.7	6.7	10.0	31.5
Bills C-21, C-43	5	50.8	5.8	7.2	29.0
General Drafting Sessions	15	55.3	-	-	-
Wahn Report Drafting Sessions	13	52.6	-	-	-
<u>Type of Witness at General Sessions</u>					
SSEA	29	71.7	-	16.9	73.4
DEA official	19	61.5	-	15.4	82.4
Non-government	16	78.8	-	15.6	100.5

TABLE 7

House of Commons Standing Committee on
External Affairs and National Defence 1963-1972

MP Participation by Party

	LIBS	CONS	NDP	SC-RC
Number of MPs on Cttee for more than five meetings	65	41	8	5
Present-Participation	2023	1008	344	147
Absent-Participation	927	901	160	15
Attendance %	68	52	68	49
Present-Drafting	373	146	53	17
Absent-Drafting	174	161	51	19
Attendance %	68	47	50	47
Interventions	1239	939	412	57
Average Intervention per MP in attendance	0.61	0.93	1.19	0.38
Questions	10023	4924	2516	137
Average Questions per MP in attendance	4.94	4.78	7.3	0.93

TABLE 8

House of Commons Standing Committee on
External Affairs and National Defence 1963-1972

MP Participation by Province

	NFLD	NS	NB	PEI	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALB	BC	NWT	Total
Number of MPs on Cttee for more than 5 meetings	2	6	4	3	27	39	9	4	3	19	1	122
Present - Participation	11	168	144	174	789	1242	186	39	214	559	2	3528
Absent - Participation	61	108	50	122	565	508	139	50	227	197	26	2173
Attendance %	15	60	74	58	57	57	57	45	45	73	7	62
Present - Drafting	3	31	20	25	146	220	39	4	32	71	1	592
Absent - Drafting	20	17	12	31	80	122	25	1	55	40	2	405
Attendance %	13	65	63	45	67	64	61	80	37	64	33	59
Interventions	1	126	68	158	387	932	147	45	245	532	2	2646
Average Intervention per MP in attendance	1.09	1.75	1.47	0.9	0.49	0.75	0.73	1.23	1.45	1.95	1.0	0.75
Questions	5	670	287	757	1494	4561	621	202	1411	3169	1	13180
Average Questions per MP in attendance	1.45	3.93	1.99	4.35	1.89	3.67	3.33	5.17	6.59	5.66	1.5	3.73

TABLE 9

28th Parliament House of Commons Committees

Attendance by Members

<u>COMMITTEE</u>	<u>SESSION</u>	<u>SIZE OF COMMITTEE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF MEETINGS</u>	<u>% ATTENDANCE</u>
Agriculture	28-1	30	61	73
	28-2	30	80	84
	28-3	30	116	79
	28-4	30	28	55
	AVERAGE			70
Finance, Trade & Economic Affairs	28-1	20	90	67
	28-2	20	106	66
	28-3	20	64	65
	28-4	20	34	63
	AVERAGE			65
Health, Welfare & Social Affairs	28-1	20	53	65
	28-2	20	31	54
	28-3	20	49	53
	28-4	20	13	60
	AVERAGE			60
Transport & Communication	28-1	20	67	84
	28-2	20	80	75
	28-3	20	40	70
	28-4	20	25	59
	AVERAGE			72
External Affairs & National Defence*	28-1	30	57	76
	28-2	30	44	55
	28-3	30	29	47
	28-4	30	22	47
	AVERAGE			56

*Initial organizational meeting not included.

TABLE 10

HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS - 1973-1983

ACTIVITY BY PARLIAMENTARY SESSION

Parliament	Year	Period Meetings	# of Mtgs	Length of Mtg (hrs)	MPs Pres. (%)	Org/Mtg MPs Pres. (%)	Report Drafting Sessions MPs pres (%)	Quest per Mtg. (aver)	Quest per Member (aver)	Inter. per Mtg. (aver)	Participatic (%)
29-1	1973	Feb.16-Dec.12	29	39.43	60	73	68	30	1.7	9.2	44
29-2	1974	Mar.5-May.7	17	25.16	57	87	--	33	2.3	9.2	50
30-1	1974/5	Oct.4-Dec.2	33	48.29	64	77	63	37	1.9	7.3	34
30-2	1976	Mar.23-Jun.3	13	20.00	50	---	65	36	2.5	6.7	44
30-2	1976/7	Nov.18-May31	21	31.24	54	57	63	33	2.1	9.6	37
30-3	1977/8	Nov.15-Jun.15	22	34.52	43	60	--	45	3.5	8.4	54
30-4	1978/9	Nov.22-Mar.29	10	14.18	41	70	--	31	2.7	6.7	52
31-1	1979	Oct.25-Dec.6	11	17.05	67	87	--	29	1.4	9.6	49
32-1	1980	Apr.23-Dec.18	36	63.41	54	73	56	37	2.3	7.6	43
32-1	1981	Mar.17-Dec.16	26	45.59	58	73	66	36	2.2	8.1	43
32-1	1982	Feb.2-Dec.7	73	150.08	58	63	65	43	2.7	9.4	53
32-1	1983	Feb.24-Nov.29	21	34.57	44	67	--	32	2.5	9.0	38

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TABLE 11
ACTIVITY BY SUBJECT - 1973-1983

	# of Mtgs	Total Time (hrs)	Attend %	Quest per Mtg (aver)	Inter per Mtg (aver)	Aver Mtg (hrs)	Participation %
<u>HEARINGS</u>							
DEA Ministerial Overview - 1973-83	40	72.09	59	30	8	1.48	41
DEA Estimates - 1973-83	17	28.05	45	33	8	1.39	51
DND Ministerial Presentations - 1973-83	41	77.19	60	52	10	1.53	45
DND Estimates - 1973-83	25	35.54	48	42	9	1.26	47
CIDA	33	53.55	55	28	8	1.38	42
Humanitarian Aid to South Africa - 1974	3	4.47	47	35	8	1.35	48
Indo-China - 1973	6	8.55	76	34	13	1.29	48
European Co-operation & Security - 1973	3	3.49	40	17	4	1.16	36
Security & Disarmament - CSCE - 1982	23	54.41	49	43	10	2.22	59
Law of the Sea - 1973-74	11	18.16	55	34	9	1.39	46
NORAD - 1973-74	8	11.58	65	41	9	1.29	39
NORAD - 1980	10	20.20	44	47	8	2.02	50
<u>REPORT DRAFTING SESSIONS</u>							
NORAD - 1973-74	4	5.50	68			1.27	
NORAD - 1980	6	9.54	58			1.39	
Armed Forces Reserves (Sub-Cttee report) - 1981	6	12.07	69			2.01	
Security & Disarmament - 1982	16	32.56	59			2.03	
CSCE - 1980	2	1.57	50			0.58	
International Development Assistance - 1976	3	5.09	64			1.43	
Relations with Latin America - 1981	2	4.06	58			2.03	
Relations with Caribbean & Central America - 1982	10	22.16	74			2.13	
Relations with South America (OAS)	7	10.52	72			1.33	

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

YEAR	PARL SESSION	# OF MEETINGS	LIBERALS			CONSERVATIVES			N.D.P.			SOCIAL CREDIT		
			Attend %	Quest. per MP pres.	Int. per MP pres.	Attend %	Quest. per MP pres.	Int. per MP pres.	Attend %	Quest. per MP pres.	Int. per MP pres.	Attend %	Quest. per MP pres.	Int. per MP pres.
1973	29-1	29	70	1.0	0.3	57	1.8	0.5	57	2.5	0.7	29	0.5	0.3
1974	29-2	17	57	1.6	0.4	56	2.1	0.5	82	2.5	0.6	23	0.5	0.2
1974/5	30-1	33	65	1.2	0.3	66	2.3	0.5	53	3.8	0.6	12	0.5	0.5
1976	30-2	13	59	1.0	0.2	52	2.8	0.5	50	3.7	0.6	23	2.3	0.3
1976/7	30-2	21	64	1.1	0.3	50	2.7	0.7	21	3.2	1.0	--	---	---
1977/8	30-3	22	42	1.1	0.3	48	5.8	1.0	36	5.1	0.9	5	3.3	1.0
1978/9	30-4	10	39	0.7	0.2	47	3.9	0.7	45	5.5	0.9	10	0	0
1979	31-1	11	49	2.3	0.7	83	0.6	0.3	58	1.4	0.7			
1980	32-1	36	52	0.8	0.2	61	2.6	0.5	46	3.1	0.7			
1981	32-1	26	57	1.3	0.3	67	2.8	0.6	37	3.4	0.8			
1982	32-1	73	48	1.5	0.4	68	3.8	0.7	71	3.1	0.8			
1983	32-1	21	39	1.8	0.6	51	2.9	0.7	34	3.5	0.9			

TABLE 13

HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

REPRESENTATION BY PROVINCE

1973 - 1983

	<u>NFLD.</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>N.B.</u>	<u>P.E.I.</u>	<u>QUE.</u>	<u>ONT.</u>	<u>MAN.</u>	<u>SASK.</u>	<u>ALB.</u>	<u>B.C.</u>
% of M.P.s in House of Commons	2.6	4.2	3.8	1.5	28.0	32.9	4.9	4.9	7.2	8.7
% of M.P.s on Committee	0.5	4.6	3.0	2.0	24.0	37.8	5.4	2.9	3.0	16.7
% of Meetings Attended	40	58	48	56	50	58	56	46	63	64
% of Total Interventions	0.6	6.4	2.1	1.9	14.5	33.8	5.9	3.7	5.4	25.5
Interventions per M.P. present	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7
% of Total Questions	1.0	6.6	2.0	1.2	10.4	32.5	6.3	4.0	4.9	31.7
Questions per M.P. present	4.4	2.7	1.2	1.0	0.8	1.8	2.3	3.0	3.1	3.8

TABLE 14

SCEAND - SUB COMMITTEE ACTIVITY

<u>PARTY ACTIVITY</u>	International Development Jul.22/75 - Jun.17/76	International Development Mar.3/77 - Jun.9/77	CSCE Madrid Conference Jul.3/80 - Oct.28/80	Latin America & Caribbe May 12/81 Nov.9/82
<u>Liberals</u>				
# on Sub-Cttee	7	8	4	8
% Attendance				
Witnesses	70	66	47	40
Drafting	65	71	70	55
<u>Conservatives</u>				
# on Sub-Cttee	5	5	2	5
% Attendance				
Witnesses	74	70	60	50
Drafting	54	87	60	70
<u>NDP</u>				
# on Sub-Cttee	1	1	1	2
% Attendance				
Witnesses	65	10	85	55
Drafting	71	0	86	74
<u>ACTIVITY ACCORDING TO WITNESSES</u>				
<u>1. Cabinet Ministers</u>				
# of Meetings	2	1	---	2
Total Time	2.47	1.50		4.52
Average time per Meeting	1.23	1.50		2.26
% Attendance	82	80		60
<u>2. Government Officials</u>				
# of Meetings	5	3	6	18
Total Time	6.40	4.15	12.41	34.09
Average Time per Meeting	1.20	1.15	2.06	1.54
% Attendance	76	53	78	53
<u>3. NGO</u>				
# of Meetings	18	6	14	34
Total Time	25.52	8.50	29.46	59.32
Average Time per Meeting	1.26	1.28	2.07	1.45
% Attendance	63	52	67	53
<u>4. Report Drafting</u>				
# of Meetings	7	3	14	50
Total Time	11.25	5.16	28.56	86.40
Average Time per Meeting	1.37	1.45	2.04	1.44
% Attendance	57	67	69	63
<u>TOTAL TIME (hrs)</u>	46.44	20.11	72.38	185.46
<u># OF MEETINGS</u>	33	13	35	106

TABLE 15
HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ACTIVITY IN THE 32nd PARLIAMENT
1st Session - April 14, 1980 - November 30, 1983 (519 sitting days)

<u>COMMITTEES</u>	<u>Total Mtgs.</u>	<u>Total Time Spent</u>	<u>Gov't Bills Referred</u>	<u># Reports to House</u>	<u>Pages Evidence</u>	<u># of Subs.</u>
Finance	235	446.09	15	26	8,516	1,236
Transport	215	533.19	5	18	10,079	1,024
Justice	169	281.40	6	9	5,965	1,002
Miscellaneous Est	166	267.04	7	9	5,413	1,272
<u>External Affairs</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>299.54</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>4,629</u>	<u>982</u>
Agriculture	124	186.43	8	10	3,843	600
Public Accounts	111	161.34	--	22	3,239	568
National Resources	107	185.08	4	6	3,634	716
Fisheries	100	178.40	2	7	3,836	574
Health	98	179.56	2	7	2,910	634
Regulations	94	101.10	--	15	4,054	160
Indian Affairs	85	148.53	1	7	2,953	368
Communications	79	120.42	1	7	2,240	338
Labour	68	111.30	4	7	2,399	416
Management	66	97.06	--	4	158	96
Regional Development	59	97.44	2	7	1,930	332
Privileges & Elections	49	91.50	1	6	1,681	278
Energy Legislation	46	86.45	8	8	1,895	160
Northern Pipeline	17	21.32	--	3	398	82
Veteran's Affairs	17	23.59	--	1	518	84
Misc. Private Bills	7	4.00	4	12	68	112
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>2069</u>	<u>3,909.21</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>70,358</u>	<u>11,034</u>

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